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Francis D. Klingender (1907-1955):
An Intellectual Biography

by

Grant F. Pooke

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

July 2006



UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Francis D.Klingender 1907-1955: An Intellectual Biography
by Grant F.Pooke

This thesis explores the life, work and contexts of the Marxist art historian, cinéaste and sociologist Francis Donald Klingender. Fifty years after his death and with the centenary of his birth approaching, Klingender remains under-researched and largely neglected. The thesis starts by delineating the familial and cultural context to Klingender's early years in Goslar, suggesting the significance of paternal influence, both in respect of Francis Klingender's developing aesthetic ideas, but also, by contradistinction, his nascent Communism. It suggests that the industrialised hinterland of the Harz Mountains informed Klingender's eventual approach to the representation of landscape in *Art and the Industrial Revolution*. It then considers the contribution of those LSE teachers which Klingender later acknowledged as having had a formative influence on his own intellectual development. This chapter concludes that Klingender, through his own academic study and from various external political engagements, had already developed the essential political and anthropological ideas which informed his sociology of art before he met the Hungarian émigré, Frederick Antal in 1933.

This thesis asserts that the various Comintern and Communist-orientated organisations including employment for the Soviet Trade legation, provided Klingender as a relatively recent émigré, with a surrogate and supportive network which informed and supported his political and cultural aspirations. It evaluates Klingender's co-authored essay *Money Behind the Screen*, his association with Grierson and his wider engagement with film as a cultural and political medium with revolutionary potential. The next section delineates Klingender's AIA involvement and the subsequent art historical work authored under its auspices between 1934 –1948. It evaluates Klingender's approach to abstraction and Soviet Socialist Realism. The penultimate section considers the final years of Klingender's life from 1948 –1955 and the personal repercussions of the Cold War. The chapter argues that the themes and re-orientation of Klingender's late work can be seen as a response to the apparent malaise of the Communist cause and as a metaphor for his estrangement from its politics and priorities.

The concluding section explores the probable rationale behind Klingender's decision to leave the Communist Party of Great Britain. It also offers an overall characterisation of Klingender's contribution to art history and its relationship to his political beliefs.

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'In his house the young one has received fruitful stimulation;
on the rocky walls of your woods the older one converses with
'silver images of a previous world' and from the earth of rough
mountains your 'farewell' echoes to the one who has to leave.

To Goslar return greetings from far away.'

(signed Louis Klingender)

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, GRANT F. POOKE, [please print name]

declare that the thesis entitled [enter title]

Francis D. Klingender (1907-1965) An
Intellectual Biography

and the work presented in it are my own. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission; ~~or [delete as appropriate]~~
~~parts of this work have been published as: [please list references]~~

Signed: 

Date: 27/7/06

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My neighbour Lady Hedwig Williams provided invaluable help with German translations, particularly with its idiomatic use in some of the early articles by Francis Klingender. My thanks to Ralph Schrader and his colleagues at the Stadt Archiv, Goslar for their help and permission to use some of the early photographs of Goslar. Thanks also to Herr Steinecke of Goslar Gymnasium and to Klaus and Johanna Rellensmann of Ebert Strasse, Goslar, for allowing me to see their apartment, Francis Klingender's place of birth. The time to complete material relevant to the completion of this thesis was greatly helped by an AHRB funded extension to accrued research leave from the University of Kent. My thanks to friends and family who have supported and tolerated the demands made by this research. In closing, my gratitude and appreciation to Jobst Rothmann, painter and restorer, Breite Strasse, Goslar, for his kindness and generosity in Goslar, October 2005.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my grandparents:

Jane Edwards
(1904–1992)

Frederick Pooke
(1902–1954)

Catherine Glennon
(1904–1976)

James Riches
(1899–1970)

Abbreviations of Terms and Sources

Notes:

When first mentioned, the full title of an organisation will be used, followed by its acronym. Thereafter just the acronym will be used within the text.

Similarly, where archive or source information is referenced, its first use will be in full, and all subsequent references will be abbreviated. So, for example, references to material prepared for Klingender's entry file for the *Dictionary of Labour Biography (DLB)*, located within the Special Collections Archive, Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull, will be subsequently referenced *DLB*. References to the published entry itself will be referenced *DLB* (1993) with page as appropriate.

Within this thesis, reference is made from material and entries within Klingender's MI5 file. At the time of viewing, this material had yet to be released into the public domain and so did not have a National Archive reference. Therefore, where used this material will simply be referenced 'Klingender MI5 file'. However, at the time of viewing, not all of the file entries were individually referenced or paginated. In the early file entries, dating and signatures were frequently absent. Presumably because of the diverse nature of information gathering and the various agencies involved (Special Branch, Metropolitan Police, County Constabularies and MI5's own sources etc.), some file entries, hand-written or typed, had been inserted at different times and by various caseworkers. Therefore, where such details are noted they are stated in the reference. If not, the file extract is recorded as 'unpaginated' with date where given.

Abbreviations

AI(A)	Artists International, subsequently (after 1934) the Artists International Association
AkhRR	Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia
ARCOS	The All Russian Co-operative and Trading Organisation
ASTUC	Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee
BBFC	British Board of Film Classification
Comintern	Communist International
CPGB	The Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSU	The Communist Party of the Soviet Union
<i>DLB</i>	<i>The Dictionary of Labour Biography</i> File Collection, Special Collections Archive, Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull
GSA	Goslar Stadt Archiv
GZ	<i>Goslar Zeitung</i>
KPD	The German Communist Party
LAI	The League Against Imperialism
LSE	The London School of Political Science
LWFS	London Workers' Film Society
MNB	Moscow Narodny Bank
MM	The Minority Movement
MML	The Marx Memorial Library (Clerkenwell)
NEP	New Economic Policy
NLWM	National Left Wing Movement
NPO	National Probate Office
OST	Society of Easel Painters
PRO	Public Record Office, London
SCR	The Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR, subsequently the Society for Co-operation with Soviet Studies
VKhUTEMAS	Higher State Artistic & Technical Workshops
WFPL	Workers' Film and Photo League

INTRODUCTION

This thesis sets out to explore the life, work and contexts of the Marxist art historian, sociologist and cinéaste Francis Donald Klingender (1907–1955). A central premise of Marxist ideology is that individual consciousness is mediated through the social, economic and the political, rather than articulating a trans-historical category of subjectivity. The relationship between individual agency and seemingly abstract historical forces, has both galvanised and problematised Marxist political and cultural critique.¹ Among the arguments of this thesis is that if Klingender's deeply held convictions on the social production and meaning of art are to be intelligibly explored, they must be situated against what can be established of the formative influences, activities and experiences of his life, both acknowledged and otherwise. This thesis therefore sets out to address one central question or problematic: what were the origins and influences which delineated Klingender's approach to art and politics, and how did Communist ideology mediate the relationship between his life and his professional work?

Literature Review

This section will survey what has so far been authored on Francis Klingender and will consider some of the possible reasons for the relative inattention to his life and work. Whilst increasing interest has been given to characterisations of British cultural life and personalities in the 1930s, scholarship concerned specifically with the British inflection given by that generation to a Marxist tradition of aesthetics and image making has been more limited.² However, it could be argued that exploration of how British and émigré Marxist art historians propagated or adapted Soviet cultural policy has been comparatively marginalised by more mainstream publishing interest in the history and legacy of the Soviet regime itself.³ In turn, such attention had been supported by the implosion of Soviet and German Communism in the late 1980s and early 1990s which began to make available previously closed archive material as well as

¹ Williams (1997) 31–32 & 83–89; Eagleton (1990) 4–5 and Anderson (1989) 1–48.

² Williams and Matthews (1997).

³ Sebag-Montefiore (2004); Amis (2002); Beevor (1999).

starting a process of historical and critical retrospection concerned with Cold War ideology. For example, this was the explicit context and rationale for two recent anthologies: *Opening the Books* and *Party People Communist Lives*.⁴

Compared to the efforts of Soviet national reconstruction, the human cost of the Great Patriotic War, and the mass deportations and liquidations of what Anna Akhmatova evocatively termed the 'meat-eating years', the various genuflections of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and its members in cultural and artistic matters was, and is, small beer.⁵ That said, it remains indisputable that Communist ideology galvanised an entire generation throughout Europe and beyond, frequently cutting across social, ethnic and class differences.⁶ The corollary being, that despite its modest size, the CPGB and its highly active 'cadres' exercised a disproportionate, and arguably irrevocable influence on British culture and politics throughout the 1930s and 1940s.⁷

Francis Donald Klingender (1907–1955) is given a two-page entry in D.D. Egbert's survey of the period, *Social Radicalism and the Arts* (1970). Klingender is described as the 'best of the remaining Marxist-Leninist critics' and an 'excellent art historian'.⁸ He is characterised as a supporter of Socialist Realism in art although the statement is qualified by the observation that Klingender had 'no respect for the Soviet Socialist Realism of the 1930s', although this remark is unsourced.⁹ Egbert also identifies the genre of 'art sociology' associated with Jean Marie Guyau, whose work it is claimed, subsequently influenced Frederick Antal.¹⁰

Klingender (and Anthony Blunt) are briefly mentioned as 'the best-known of Marxist art critics' in Noreen Branson's and Margot Heinemann's *Britain in the*

⁴ Andrews, Fishman and Morgan (1995); McIlroy, Morgan and Campbell (2001).

⁵ Figes (2002) 483.

⁶ Srebnik (1995).

⁷ Croft (1998) 1–6.

⁸ Egbert (1970) 562.

⁹ Egbert (1970) 563.

¹⁰ Egbert (1970) 564.

Nineteen Thirties (1971).¹¹ Authored by two highly active members of the CPGB, the survey is unsurprisingly geared to the social and political issues of the time, rather than a consideration of the visual culture associated with the Communist cause. One has to go forward twelve years to Lynda Morris and Robert Radford's *The Story of the Artists International Association 1933–53* (1983), for the first detailed account of the AIA which includes further information on aspects of Klingender's organisational and theoretical contribution to its work.¹² Morris and Radford include extended extracts from Klingender's first major essay on Marxist aesthetics, 'Content and Form in Art' which featured among the contributions to the AIA's first anthology, *5 on Revolutionary Art* (1935). Brief mention is made of some of Klingender's later work, although given the book's primary focus this is fragmentary and limited in scope. Morris and Radford's highly informative and well-illustrated account of the AIA, using as it does archive testimony, interviews and documents, offers an invaluable insight into the visual and political culture of the 1930s.

For the first attempt to give a short biographical outline of Klingender's life, one has to look to Arthur Elton's preface to the revised and re-edited edition of *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, published by Paladin Press (an imprint of Granada Books) in 1968 and re-printed in 1972.¹³ It is due to Elton's researches that we have testimony from a contemporary of the Klingender family from their time in Goslar, Germany, and material from others who knew Francis

¹¹ Branson and Heinemann (1971) 262. Branson (1910–2003) was a contemporary of Klingender and knew him through the AIA in which her husband, Clive Branson, had work exhibited. Noreen Branson was a lifelong CP member. For her obituary notice see the *Bulletin of the Marx Memorial Library* (no.139) Spring 2004 36–40. Margot Heinemann (1912–1992) was also a CPGB member (from 1934), an employee of the Labour Research Department between 1937 and 1949, and a member of the *Marxist Quarterly* editorial board. See Callaghan (2003) 311.

¹² Morris and Radford (1983). The Morris and Radford book was occasioned by a travelling exhibition which marked the thirtieth anniversary of the dissolution of the AIA's political clause. Morris, having earlier completed postgraduate work on the AIA, was then the Exhibitions Officer of the Midland Group, one of the few surviving regional associations established under AIA auspices. The authors note (2) that much of the earlier AIA archive material had been lost through bomb damage which was only partly offset by donations of records by Diana Uhlman and Adrian Heath.

¹³ (Sir) Arthur Elton, (1907–1971), 10th Baronet to Clevedon Court, had known Klingender since the 1930s. He left Cambridge in 1927 and worked in the scenario department of Gainsborough Films before joining the film unit of the Empire Marketing Board (EMB) under John Grierson in 1931. A director and film producer on his own account, Elton's films included *Men Behind Bars*, *Housing Problems*, (with Edgar Anstey), *Voice of the World* and *Aero Engines*. See: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/31074>.

Klingender such as Mrs Evelyn Antal (wife of Frederick Antal), and AIA contemporaries J.D.Bernal, Mischa Black and Richard Carline. Elton was also assisted by a curriculum vitae, dated February 1st 1954 (**Appendix 1**) which Klingender had drawn up himself, for unspecified reasons.

However, for a more detailed account of Francis Klingender's life and work, one has to look to the *Dictionary of Labour Biography (DLB)* entry by John Saville and Joyce Bellamy.¹⁴ Although Saville knew Francis Klingender from his time at the LSE and during the last seven years of his life at the then University College Hull, the entry is also an affectionate and sympathetic account of a friend, colleague and fellow CPGB member. It is from Saville that we have interview material from Millicent Rose, with whom Francis Klingender lived for three years between 1941–44 and a fragmentary recollection from Hymie Fagan, one-time national organiser for the CPGB. The *DLB* provides the reader with a listing of Francis Klingender's published work, although the account is incomplete, omitting early articles written in Goslar, his LSE-based journalism and film reviews.

Klingender receives mention in Miranda Carter's biography, *Anthony Blunt: His Lives* (2002) as the 'English Marxist art-critic' who Blunt invites to lecture at Cambridge in the 1930s after his own apostasy to Communism.¹⁵ Carter notes that Klingender lived for a time with one of the Courtauld's few Marxist students Millicent Rose.¹⁶ The reference concludes with a comment on Klingender's 'clumsily deterministic' use of the dialectical method.¹⁷ Klingender is given passing mention in Bert Hogenkamp's *Deadly Parallels* (1986) as having once spoken on a Workers' Film and Photography platform and for his co-authorship of the film industry economics *Money Behind the Screen*.¹⁸ John

¹⁴ The idea of the *DLB* originated with the late G.D.H.Cole who compiled manuscript volumes of names with some biographical detail. After his death, the project passed to Professors Asa Briggs and John Saville. With the support of the Institute of Social History, work started on ten volumes which were published between 1971 and 2000. The span of the *DLB* is broadly that of the Labour movement in the period of industrialisation from around 1790 to the present day. Each volume is organised on a self-contained A to Z basis. Source: *DLB* website <http://www.york.ac.uk/res/dlb/history.htm> (September 2005).

¹⁵ Carter (2002) 126.

¹⁶ Carter (2002) 19.

¹⁷ Carter (2002) 128.

¹⁸ Hogenkamp (1986) 125 and 139.

Robert's *The Art of Interruption: Realism, Photography and the Everyday* (1998) describes Klingender as 'one of the best Marxist intellectuals of his generation', but concludes that he was among the purveyors of a 'Stalinised positivism'.¹⁹ Noting the publications completed under AIA auspices, Charles Harrison states that Klingender was 'a scholar of distinction' who deployed 'an (occasionally vulgarised) historical materialist critique'.²⁰ Klingender is given a passing two-line mention in Udo Kultermann's *The History of Art History* (1993) which notes that he came to England and 'followed a dialectical approach in his publications'.²¹ Jonathan Harris (*The New Art History: A Critical Introduction*, 2001), notes Klingender as one of several exponents of a 'social history of art' between the 1930s and the 1960s, a tradition which is referenced by T.J. Clark in his own appraisal of the discipline.²²

Harvey J. Kaye's *The British Marxist Historians: An Introductory Analysis* (1990) considers how individuals like Maurice Dobb, Christopher Hill, Eric Hobsbawm and E.P. Thompson attempted to re-fashion and re-vitalise the academic discipline of history through Marxist discourse. Kaye describes the academic ethos and rationale of the Communist Party Historians' Group as being 'between history and sociology'.²³ Klingender's name is not mentioned in relation to this forum, although it could be argued that *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, first published in 1947, was consistent with its academic orientation. In discussion, Saville recalled that whilst Klingender had not been directly involved with the Communist Party Historians' Group, he had nevertheless taken an interest in the projects it discussed.²⁴ Subsequent research from MI5 records has confirmed that Klingender indeed held membership, although he does not appear to have directly contributed to its activities.

¹⁹ Roberts (1998) 70.

²⁰ Harrison (1981) 307.

²¹ Kultermann (1993) 236.

²² Harris (2001) 8. In passing, T.J. Clark recalled Klingender's name, with that of Antal, at his acceptance speech for a honorary doctorate at the Courtauld Institute, July 10th 2006.

²³ Kaye (1990) preface x.

²⁴ Between 1946–1956, then CPGB members, Maurice Dobb, Rodney Hilton, Hill, Eric Hobsbawm, John Saville and Dorothy Thompson developed the idea of convening the group arising from A.L. Morton's *A People's History of England*. See: Kaye (1990) 10–11. Saville interview (2002).

At the time of writing this thesis, the anthology, edited by Andrew Hemingway, *Towards a History of Marxist Art History: Critical and Historical Essays*, is awaiting publication. Among the contributing essays is David Bindman's 'Art as Social Consciousness: Francis Klingender and British Art'.²⁵ Bindman considers how Klingender's most well known writing revised and expanded perceptions of British artists such as Hogarth, and then unknown caricaturists such as Richard Newton, C.J. Grant, and the token maker Thomas Spence, all of whom have since attracted critical attention.²⁶ In the light of subsequent scholarship, Bindman questions aspects of Klingender's characterisation of his subject matter. Noting the conclusions in Klingender's *Hogarth and English Caricature* (1944), Bindman suggests that despite his trenchant satire, Hogarth remained politically conservative and tied to the 'social hierarchies of the day'.²⁷

Other artists such as Gillray, given positive mention by Klingender as exemplars of a committed and progressive aesthetic, were, as Bindman notes, used as propagandists by the government of the day, and can by no means withstand analysis as champions of a particular class.²⁸ Bindman also comments that Klingender's analysis tended towards a 'pre-industrial nostalgia' which sometimes resulted in convenient readings of issues. For example, Klingender attributed two influences upon Hogarth's aesthetic; one from the Netherlands and the other which was suggested as being wholly indigenous and English. The point being that Klingender would have well known that German culture had been heavily influential in the genesis of the popular print. However, given the essay's timing and its 'urgent topicality', appearing as it did in war-torn Britain, Klingender chose to overlook this point.²⁹

Bindman's essay is a very perceptive and long overdue consideration of aspects of Klingender's contribution to British art history. However, whilst its author is correct in emphasising the class-basis to much of Klingender's thinking

²⁵ My thanks to Professor David Bindman for allowing me sight of his draft essay in advance of its publication.

²⁶ Bindman (2006) draft manuscript 10.

²⁷ Bindman (2006) draft manuscript 13.

²⁸ Bindman (2006) draft manuscript 14.

²⁹ Bindman (2006) draft manuscript 15.

and his frequent penchant for over-determination and politically convenient generalisations, such formulations reflected Soviet and British Communist Party orthodoxy. This is not to exonerate Klingender, but merely to suggest that it begs wider questions about the nature and trajectory of Klingender's art history; the extent to which its themes, subject matter and analysis reflected Klingender's own background and influences, as well as the wider orientations within British Communist politics and in turn, the CPGB's relationship to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and to Soviet cultural orthodoxy.

From the above survey of the extant material on Klingender, several observations might be made. Compared to the critical attention given to British Marxist historians, politicians and CPGB history in recent years, Klingender and other British Marxist art historians of the 1930s and 1940s await comparable critical consideration.³⁰ In one sense, it might be argued that art history remains a comparatively recent academic discourse, with its roots in antiquarian connoisseurship, rather than in social or political history. In this context, it is relevant to recall that it was the foundation of the Courtauld Institute in October 1932 by an Anglo-American grandee and former Tory Minister together with a millionaire textile magnate which furnished the basis for the British academic study of art history.³¹

Perhaps it is with such antecedents in mind that Hemingway has made the point that art history as a discipline has tended to marginalise 'oppositional' strands of Marxist scholarship, especially before the emergence of the New Left in favour of more established figures such as Riegl, Panofsky and Warburg.³² Similarly, as Kevin Morgan suggests, Communist historiography has not been known for its attention to the specificities of individual or personal narratives, choosing instead to valorise the collective or an aberrant cult of personality.³³

³⁰ I had in mind here the intellectual profiles and publishing records achieved by E.P. Thompson and Eric Hobsbawm. See for example John Callaghan's biography of Rajani Palme Dutt (1993) and Kevin Morgan's biography of Harry Pollitt (1993). Also: Branson (1998); Eaden and Renton (2002); Callaghan (2003).

³¹ Whinney (1949) 161–169.

³² Letter from Andrew Hemingway which was attached to an email circular outlining the proposed volume, dated November 14th 2003.

³³ For a broader discussion of the admissibility or otherwise of the 'new biography' to Communist histories see: Morgan (2001) 5–26.

Ironically, it might also be argued that even with the emergence of the New Left and the hiatus following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist Eastern Bloc, further consideration of work by Britain's Marxist art historians, has been hamstrung by perceptions of its 'unreconstructed' nature. Klingender's art history is unexceptional here in foregrounding class experience, rather than gender or ethnicity, as the subject and object of history.³⁴

However, in Klingender's case, and in relation to the CPGB, I would venture an important qualification: of all the political parties of the time, it was the CPGB that was most aware of, and receptive to, the wider international dimension of class oppression.³⁵ Secondly, aside from active involvement as a CPGB member, research from MI5 records has confirmed that Klingender was involved in the activities of the Comintern sponsored League Against Imperialism (LAI). The point being that whilst it is easy for retrospective editorialising of the failures and elisions of the political left of the 1930s and 1940s, Klingender's art history, paralleled *active* political engagement and a genuine conviction that an internationalised Marxism offered a universal panacea, transcending categories of class, race or gender.

I would speculate that Klingender's Anglo-German identity; the inter-war interregnum in which he worked, his Communist politics and an early death during the Cold War, have variously contributed to the comparative absence of critical attention, both in relation to his work and legacy.³⁶ However, in the course of research, Klingender's name frequently appears on the periphery of other associations, other histories, confirming an 'outsider', émigré status beyond the socially homogenised coteries of left-wing British intellectuals with their frequently shared school, university and social networks. Additionally, the wide-ranging and interdisciplinary nature of his work – social research, social

³⁴ Klingender (1936a) 167–173.

³⁵ Callaghan (1995) 4–22.

³⁶ Klingender was a Weimar refugee, born in Germany of a British father and a German-born mother. His father lived an assimilated rather than expatriate life in his adopted Goslar. Described by Egbert as German (1970) 562, Klingender always held British nationality, but such suspicions dogged his professional life. On one occasion during the so-called 'Phoney War' Klingender was detained by the Oxfordshire Constabulary on suspicion of espionage because of his German sounding name and accent. He had in fact been undertaking wholly legitimate Home Office sponsored research (Klingender's MI5 Security file, Special Branch telegram dated October 17th 1939 confirming Klingender's identity to the Oxfordshire Constabulary).

history, cinema economics and reviews, art and architectural history, to essays on religious and animal iconography and art historiography – has fragmented its reception among diverse and very different constituencies. At a time of what appears to be increasing academic specialisation, Klingender's oeuvre speaks to a wider aspiration of connecting discourse with the generality of social and lived experience. For example, his improbable involvement with a local and highly successful version of the Brain's Trust (see **fig 56**), regularly convened in a Hampstead pub during the war suggests a more 'clubbable' aspect to a personality described by one contemporary as 'capricious' and 'difficult.' It also suggests Klingender's belief in the ultimate commensurability of art and other value forming agencies with the ordinary social life of men and women.³⁷

Methodology

This thesis sets out to address various problematics in relation to Francis Klingender's life, work and influences. In doing so, it has attempted an intellectual biography of an unjustly neglected figure. Using a broadly chronological approach, this thesis situates aspects of Klingender's life and work in relation to broader social, political and cultural influences of his time and milieu. Aside from Bindman's recent essay and Saville's three-page entry in the *DLB*, Klingender's life and work has received scant treatment. In researching this thesis it has become apparent as to just how limited the surviving primary and secondary sources are. Whilst this study has used Saville's affectionate memoir and interview recollections as a starting point, some of what follows has been an exercise in exhumation and re-construction in an attempt to give greater definition to Klingender's life and intellectual contribution. The extent to which time, self-censorship and an intervening Cold War has erased wider cultural reference has been salutary.³⁸ Where conjecture and speculation has been employed, I have attempted to provide evidential or at least circumstantial material in its support.

³⁷ The Brain's Trust was a popular radio programme in which a panel of subject specialists addressed and discussed questions sent in by the show's audience (author knowledge).

³⁸ For example, the memoirs of Julian Huxley (1978), a highly active fellow-traveller; a leading organisational presence on various cultural and Comintern-orientated organisations in the period, and among Klingender's mentors, appears to have edited out various associations, affiliations (and some friendships) which other material and research confirms.

This thesis has used several previously inaccessible and overlooked sources of information. First, access to Klingender's MI5 files which spanned almost twenty five years of his life, in advance of their redaction and official release under the '50 year rule' has been of significant assistance.³⁹ Not only did such access help to delineate the extent, range and history of Klingender's Communist affiliations, as well as providing some surprising associations, but it also indicated the Cold War imperatives which informed government interest in Klingender and other Communist intellectuals of the period.

Secondly, a genealogy of the Klingender family (**Appendix 2**), lodged obscurely in the British Library and dated to 1895, has been useful in establishing Anglo-German antecedents and a sense of what might be referred to as an informing family ethos which might be defined as bourgeois, aspirational and mercantile. This background was particularly useful in establishing a context for Louis Klingender whose paternal and artistic influence Francis Klingender conceded shortly before his own death.⁴⁰ This family genealogy appears to have been overlooked by Elton and Saville.

Third, access to the yearbooks and account summaries held by the Society for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union (SCR), identified financial and sponsorship relationships with various Soviet co-operative organisations which *may* explain Klingender's association with Arcos, the purchasing company of the Soviet Trade Legation (considered in chapter three). The context to this association has not been previously researched.

Fourth, access to a small tranche of recently deposited letters from the estate of Hetta Henrietta Empson (née Crouse) provided another window onto aspects of Francis Klingender's life at Hull as well as a sense of the Cold War milieu. Similarly, the discovery of a tranche of previously un-referenced articles by Klingender whilst still a student at the LSE has provided a new perspective on the early development and direction of his Communist beliefs.

Finally, use of the Goslar archives provided previously unpublished early photographs of Francis Klingender and his family. Associated research into

³⁹ These are due for official release to National Archives in March 2006.

⁴⁰ Klingender (1954a)

editions of the GZ dating from 1924–25 have identified several articles by Francis Klingender (and Louis Klingender) which were previously unrecorded in any existing bibliography. These in turn have provided a different inflexion, not just to the personality which emerges from the Goslar years, but have also contributed to an understanding of the appreciable re-orientation of Klingender's late work which occurs after 1948.

If this thesis can be said to have a 'methodology' as such, it derives from the themes of Klingender's work; the directions suggested by the existing research and the evidence and perspectives which the above sources have provided. Given the stated intention of an intellectual biography, the overall chapter structure is chronological. However, given the concurrent nature of his various affiliations and activities there has necessarily been some thematic re-ordering of the material in order to attempt an intelligible whole. So, for example, Klingender's involvement with the documentary film movement, oppositional cinema and what can be established of his views on these media, are explored in chapter four, whilst his parallel engagement with the Artists International Association (AIA) and his complementary writings on aesthetics and art criticism are considered in chapter five. Cross-referencing has therefore been used throughout the thesis in order to emphasise points of coherence and difference across media or to suggest changes in emphasis, treatment or context.

The chapters which follow have attempted to address the following questions. Chapter one explores what can be established of the Klingender family's milieu in Germany and to what extent both it, the wider pre-and post-war German context and industrial Harz landscape provided Klingender, then or later, with an informing frame of reference. Chapter two evaluates whether the cited intellectual exposures at the LSE were the principal determinants, both of Klingender's approach to art history and his engagement with Communist politics. Additionally, this chapter asks the question whether Klingender's early political journalism and sociological writing can be indexed to the policy changes of the CPSU and the CPGB.

Chapter three investigates the ramifications of Klingender's involvement with the SCR and the possible rationale and context to his employment at

Arcos. What conclusions and readings can be made from such associations? Chapter four explores Klingender's involvement with and writing for, the British documentary film movement. To what extent were Klingender's cinematic and photographic preferences in strict keeping with Soviet cultural orthodoxy? Given the association with Grierson, in addition to Communist film producers like Ralph Bond and Ivor Montagu, did Klingender perceive in film reportage a usable political art form?

Chapter five assesses the nature of Klingender's theoretical and organisational contribution to the AIA from 1933 to c.1947/48. The central question that it asks is how Klingender's art historical writing, developed under the auspices of the AIA, might be characterised and the extent to which its themes, subjects and chronology are explicable in the wider context of Comintern, Soviet and Allied inter-relationships. To what extent did Klingender's published art criticism and essays on aesthetics from this period qualify or differ from the cultural orthodoxy of Socialist Realism as outlined at the Soviet Writers' Congress of 1934? The final chapter considers the last seven years of Klingender's life and the immediate circumstances of his appointment at Hull University College. It explores aspects of the Cold War ethos and how this may have affected British Communist academics like Klingender. The chapter considers the possible motivations behind Klingender's decision to leave the Communist Party and looks at how we might account for the apparent re-orientation of his late work and writing.

The conclusion will offer an overall appraisal of Francis Klingender's contribution as a Communist and his legacy as a Marxist art historian. It will also identify some areas for future research and enquiry.

Chapter One: Early Years in Goslar, Germany 1902–c.1926

Introduction

This chapter opens with a brief outline of the Klingender family history, with emphasis on Francis's father, Louis Klingender.¹ The rationale here is that Louis Klingender's approach to art and his various intellectual interests did influence aspects of his son's aesthetic ideas and outlook. This chapter will consider the economic profile of Goslar and that of its hinterland in which Francis Klingender spent some of the formative years of his life. I will suggest that there are some striking and informing parallels between the Harz mountains and England's industrialised north-east from which Louis Klingender had emigrated in the late 1870s or very early in the 1880s.² The point being that it might be possible to suggest some connections between Klingender's seminal book, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (1947) and its cogent sense of landscape as the subject and object of industrial spectacle, and the context in which both its author and his parents spent some of their formative years. Similarly, research in the Goslar archives has identified several early and previously un-documented articles which Klingender authored for the town paper, some of which touch upon themes and ideas which are re-visited in his later work.³ The final section will attempt a reading of events following the outbreak of war and its consequences for the Klingender family. I will consider aspects of German culture, both before 1914 and in the years which followed the country's military defeat in 1918, and how these may have contributed to the family's personal fortunes.

¹ Louis Henry Weston Klingender (1861–1950). Dates taken from the *Klingender Genealogy* (1895) and from Elton (1972) preface x.

² From the available evidence it is impossible to corroborate the exact date.

³ Articles by Francis Klingender in the *Goslar Zeitung* (GZ) cover the period from September 2nd 1924 to December 23rd 1925. Those by his father cover the period from 1911 to 1927. Source: Goslar Stadt Archiv (GSA) visit by the author, October 21st 2005.

The Klingender Family Genealogy

Francis Donald Klingender was born on February 18th 1907 at 4 Ebert Strasse (**fig. 1**) in the north-eastern German town of Goslar (**fig. 2** and **fig. 3**).⁴ Klingender's father, Louis Henry Weston Klingender (**fig. 4**), was born in Liverpool in April 1861.⁵ Francis Klingender's mother, Florence, born in 1871, was the daughter of Emil Hoette, a retired merchant from Liverpool and a former Mayor of Düsseldorf (**fig. 5**).⁶ By virtue of his father's place of birth, and as a consequence of the 1772 Nationality Act (in force until 1914), Francis was given British subject status at birth since the Act's provisions extended to those born abroad in the legitimate male line.⁷ In the context of the family's decision to leave Germany, the nature of Anglo-German relations which followed the Treaty of Versailles, and popular sentiment within the country, the Klingender family's nationality status could only have helped the case for entry to England.⁸

In the British Library there is a small bound volume which outlines the Klingender family tree dated February 1895 (**Appendix 2**).⁹ It has a short preface,

⁴ Elton preface viii. (1972). The address was a large, detached corner street property, originally owned and built in 1898 by a local horse trader, one Herr Mönnig. The Klingender family rented some of the accommodation from the owners since the property was only sub-divided into three apartments in 1978 (Source: Klaus and Johanna Rellensmann, 1st Floor 4 Ebert Strasse, interviewed by the author, October 21st 2005). The family subsequently moved to an address at Claustorpromenade (subsequently Claustorwall) 36 until they emigrated. Letter from Ulrich (1966) 6. The original building has not survived. Source: Author visit to the site October 21st 2005.

⁵ Elton (1972) preface vii.

⁶ Klingender Family Genealogy (1895) vi.

⁷ This point was clarified in a response from the Home Office Immigration and Nationality Directorate, dated February 17th 2005. Under the provisions of the 1948 British Nationality Act, (Section 12 (2), a person born before January 1st 1949 would have become on that date a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies (CUKC). In this regard, the conjunction of 'Francis Donald' with the German sounding surname 'Klingender' gives a clue to the family's lineage. Francis was the middle name of Louis Klingender's younger brother, Walter, born 1864, as it was of one of Louis Klingender's uncle's children, Francis Vincent, who died in 1891, aged 5 months. Klingender Family Genealogy (1895) preface vi. and iv. There were no paternal antecedents for Donald.

⁸ British authorities made the passport compulsory in 1915. Two years before the Klingender family migrated, the 'Special Restriction Order' was instituted. This required all non-Britons to register with the police on arrival. Winder (2005) 285–286.

⁹ The document is not referenced by any of the existing sources on Klingender and does not appear to have been consulted.

autographed simply 'A Member of the Family'. With its capitalisation unchanged, the introductory text reads as follows:

The Record, more or less imperfect, which is imprinted upon the following pages, has been compiled under circumstances of much difficulty, and great hindrance, from evidence to be found in the State Archives, Church Registrars, Memoranda in possession of the family, and Notices in the Works of Foreign Writers. It remains to be seen whether the researches which are in progress, and which, on the death of the present compiler, will be continued by his successor, (to whom funds are bequeathed for the purpose) will, or will not, result in the discovery of that which is lacking for a thorough establishment of the case.¹⁰

There is no record of the genealogy's author, although there are various details which may suggest Louis Klingender, who, as Elton notes, claimed Huguenot descent.¹¹ The 'thorough establishment of the case' mentioned could have been an attempt to demonstrate just such ancestry, either simply for the sake of posterity or to disprove third party scepticism.¹² The timeframe is generationally consistent, and from the notes and marginalia, the manuscript has every appearance of having been principally researched in its author's adopted country, Germany. The wording suggests that the manuscript may eventually have formed part of a legal will or a similarly notarised document; the bequest referenced suggesting that the enterprise was seen by its author as 'work in progress' with an obligation on a legatee to continue with the genealogy. However, its grammar and

¹⁰ A cloth bound, paginated and typed manuscript comprising a preface and eleven pages. Ref: LB.31.a. 1977, British Library.

¹¹ Elton (1972) preface vii.

¹² As discussed later in this chapter, Louis Klingender was interned for a time on charges of spying following the outbreak of war in 1914. As a non-national resident in Germany, it is possible that he had used some of these earlier researches as a means of demonstrating his German antecedents to the investigating authorities.

syntax suggests someone well educated and bi-lingual.¹³ Millicent Rose, with whom Francis Klingender lived for three years between 1941–1944, knew Louis Klingender well as a frequent visitor to her flat at 45 Downshire Hill, Hampstead.¹⁴ At interview she recalled Louis Klingender's 'beautiful diction.' Although this falls well short of corroborating this document's authorship, it assists in the picture of a scholarly and urbane personality, not inconsistent with such an extensive genealogical enterprise.¹⁵

The Klingender genealogical map is highly detailed and professionally formatted and would certainly have taken considerable time and historical research. We know from Elton's preface something of Louis Klingender's interests and accomplishments: geology, natural history and anatomical draughtsmanship in which he evidently showed patience and observation. The undertaking of such a meticulous genealogy, perhaps over several years, is similarly an exercise in exhumation, albeit of a more personalised kind.¹⁶ However, the wording of the preface seems to imply that the process was somehow problematical or otherwise subject to some form of duress. It may well be that the wording is simply the rhetorical flourish of an exasperated author. However, another possibility could be that sections of the research, first started in early middle age, were hastily completed and offered to the German authorities in demonstration of the family's Germanic origins when Louis Klingender was accused and interned for spying at

¹³ Elton (1972) states that 'he (Louis Klingender) and his wife both spoke German without a trace of accent', preface viii.

¹⁴ Millicent Rose aka 'Militant Rose', (1913–1980) studied English Literature at Cambridge before taking a Diploma in Art History at the Courtauld, between 1933–34. Her AIA membership card, with a distinct red-ink signature, is lodged at the Hyman Kreitman Research Centre.

¹⁵ This was recalled during the interview which Millicent Rose gave to John Saville (1977).

¹⁶ Additionally, in the *DLB* there is a three page unsigned typescript (dated November 23rd 1963) taken from the GZ (no. 273) which appears to have been authored by a Goslar resident and friend of the Klingender family. Elton's acknowledgements for *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (Elton, 1972) preface xv., confirms that it was a Herr Hans W. Ulrich with whom he had been put in touch by the then Goslar archivist, Dr Hillebrand. The affectionate memoir concludes with the sentence 'So he (Louis Klingender) returned to England where he lived to a great age working probably until his death at the National Library'. The characterisation suggests that Louis Klingender was indeed known for his scholarly and archival pursuits. Again, although well short of corroborating the genealogy's authorship, it suggests that Louis Klingender's intellectual interests might match the profile required by such a project.

the outbreak of the First World War.¹⁷ I have no evidence for this conjecture, but it remains a possibility. More prosaically, the motive may well have been that of simply recording familial lineage, the date of authoring coming within six months of Louis Klingender's marriage to Florence Hoette in Düsseldorf.¹⁸ Another authorship possibility could be Louis Klingender's older brother, Edward Henry Klingender (b.1853) who is known to have been resident in London's Kensington area within the timeframe in which the genealogy was published. However, there is no further evidence to support this conjecture.¹⁹

The genealogy confirms that although Klingender's immediate family had settled in Liverpool, they were originally descended from French Huguenots who had settled and married in and around Kassel, Germany, after the Revocation of the Treaty of Nantes.²⁰ Francis Klingender's father, Louis Henry Weston Klingender, was the first born of William Klingender's second marriage to a Henrietta Jane Weston.²¹ The genealogy indicates that William Klingender either established or partly inherited 'Klingender Brothers', a Liverpool based cotton and shipping business.²² Louis Klingender is believed to have emigrated to Germany

¹⁷ Klingender Family Genealogy (1895) i. The Robert line married into the Tischbein family. Johann Heinrich Tischbein was Court painter and Court Councillor in Kassel. Louis Klingender could therefore claim at least one artistic antecedent.

¹⁸ Klingender Family Genealogy (1895) vi.

¹⁹ Klingender Family Genealogy (1895) vi.

²⁰ Klingender Family Genealogy (1895) i. The Edict of Nantes (1598) gave religious and civil liberties to Protestant Huguenot French subjects after the Wars of Religion. Louis XIV revoked the treaty in 1685, Crystal (2002) 1060. The first reference to the Klingender name is to one Martin Klingender, fencing master to the Landgrave Karl of Hesse-Kassel, dated December 1st 1682. His grandson appears to have been a Johann Friedrich Klingender, the French Pastor in Kassel, who married into the Robert-Tischbein Family and so started Francis Klingender's family line. Kassel is a north-Hessian city situated on the river Fulda in central Germany. It is now known as a health and spa resort as well as the location of the 'Documenta' modern art fairs (source: author knowledge). The genealogy records a Jean Robert, the Klingenders' maternal French ancestor, who, after the Revocation of the Treaty of Nantes, moved with his wife to Kassel and was appointed by the local Landgrave as Secretary to the Commission established to regulate the affairs of the French refugees.

²¹ Klingender Family Genealogy (1895) iv. His first wife is recorded as Emma Gostenhofer, died Grassendale, Liverpool, December 3rd 1856. Henrietta is recorded as the daughter of a Colonel J. S. Henry Weston of the Bengal Native Infantry and Companion of the Order of Bath.

²² Klingender Family Genealogy (1895) preface iv. There is no indication as to whether this was a success, but he is recorded as having settled in Patea, Taranaki, New Zealand in 1887.

either in the late 1870s or early in 1880.²³ This chronology would be consistent with a youth in his late teens or early twenties seeking an apprenticeship or wishing to make a career.²⁴ With aspirations to become a professional painter, Elton states that Louis Klingender studied art in Düsseldorf under the animal painter, Carl Friedrich Deiker.²⁵ Louis Klingender is recorded as a 'Privatschüler' within Deiker's studio in 1881 and as having subsequently exhibited in the later 1880s and 1890s in Bremen, Dresden and Madgeburg.²⁶ The genealogy subsequently places Louis Klingender as a painter living in Cronberg in Taunus, near Frankfurt (**fig. 6**).²⁷ Elton records that the family moved to Goslar in 1902, a date corroborated by the *Goslar Address Book* from that year.²⁸

Louis Henry Weston Klingender

In what may have been important antecedents for Francis, Louis Klingender was a keen empiricist and atheist.²⁹ He was also an accomplished painter of animals and hunting scenes and is noted as having played a part in developing the Goslar

²³ Elton (1972) notes that he was in Düsseldorf by 1881 (preface vii).

²⁴ Louis Klingender's emigration to Germany was counter-cyclical as regards general trends. See: Winder (2005). By 1871, the German community was 'the largest foreign-born minority in Britain'. (160). German migration in this period was the other way, with net flows into Britain.

²⁵ Carl Friedrich Deiker (1836–1892). Deiker's work continues to be collectable at auction. See: http://www.hampel-auctions.com/archiv/kuenstlernamen/Deiker-Carl_Friedrich/index (June 2005).

²⁶ Bruckmann (1998) 248.

²⁷ Klingender Family Genealogy (1895) vi.

²⁸ Elton (1972) preface viii. If correct, this would have been two years after his marriage. See also the Goslar Address Book (1902) 65, Goslar Stadt Archiv (GSA).

²⁹ According to the interview testimony of Millicent Rose (referenced above), this was cited as one of the reasons behind the couple's separation. Rose noted that Florence Klingender 'became Roman Catholic and this widened the gap' between her and her husband. Florence returned to Germany, (where she had several sisters), although the timing is unknown. Elton's preface (1972) viii, implies that she left during the initial years in London which could have covered her son's time at the LSE between 1927–1934. He states that she died in Germany in 1944 (viii). Francis Klingender appears to have made no mention of his mother or indeed disclosed any information on the maternal line of his family history to colleagues. However, as noted in the next chapter, he did return to Germany in 1931 for a brief period, although it is not known whether Florence was already resident in the country by this time.

municipal museum's holdings, principally its geology and natural history exhibits.³⁰ Egbert claims that Louis Klingender was an admirer of Kropotkin and Thoreau although the claim is uncorroborated and its source un-referenced.³¹ Hans Ulrich, as Goslar contemporary of the Klingender family, notes that Louis Klingender was involved in the town's Museum Association before the Goslar Museum was formally incorporated as having municipal status.³² He continues:

Mr K. arranged the museum's collections and supervised their display. His extensive knowledge of architecture, archaeology, geology, etc., enabled him to do this work expertly. He also created a department of comparative geology which demonstrated the evolution of birds and fishes throughout the ages by means of their petrified remains. This was at the time a completely new departure.³³

In recognition of his curatorial duties, Ulrich recalls that the Museum Association gave Louis Klingender studio and working space in the garden annexe of the town's old Post Office at 67 Breite Strasse (**figs. 7, 8, 9 and 10**).³⁴ I would suggest that these antecedents were deeply formative ones for Francis Klingender and for

³⁰ In the preface to the reprinted edition of *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, (1968), Herbert Read places him as keeper of the Goslar museum, although the claim is not corroborated or referenced. (preface vii).

³¹ Egbert (1970) 562.

³² The Goslar Museum Society (Musuemverein Goslar) was entered into the register of clubs and societies on April 3rd 1905. Two months later, the Society was granted a loan for the purchase of a property at 67 Breite Strasse (the Lattemannsche Haus c.1737), which also housed the exhibits of the Natural Science Society (Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein). In 1922, the Museum, by then owned by the Town, and managed by volunteers and members of the Museumverein, moved to its present location at 1/2 König Strasse. After 1933, the Museum was re-named the Museum of the Reich Farmers' City (Museum der Reichbauernstadt). Source: Information Panel, Goslar Museum Vestibule, seen by author, October 22nd 2005.

³³ Letter from Ulrich (1966) 4. Even today, Goslar Museum has an extensive geological collection. Source: author visit, October 21st 2005.

³⁴ Letter from Ulrich (1966) 4; The annexe and gardens have since made way for parking space and an extension to the building. Source: author visit to the site, October 21st 2005.

his subsequent theorisation of art. In his curriculum vitae of February 1st 1954, he directly attributes his interest in art to the influence of his father. The entry reads:

My interest in art was due to the influence of my father, who had settled in the Harz Mountains to pursue his profession as a painter and who also arranged the museum at Goslar...³⁵

The surviving descriptions of Louis Klingender's personality and painting style derive from two letters from Ulrich. Aside from the one to Elton mentioned previously, there are three typed manuscript pages which formed part of an earlier entry on Klingender's father for the *Goslar Zeitung* (GZ) dated November 23rd 1963 (see **Appendix 3**).³⁶ It records him as one of the 'intellectual leaders' of Goslar; a man with a high profile in the town's affairs who had been instrumental in the establishment of the local museum and in drawing up architectural plans for the reconstruction of the Georgenberg Monastery, based on its original design.³⁷ Describing Louis Klingender's contribution, the text reads:

In spite of his many talents and his great culture he remained a very modest man who never sought the limelight. He was a member of the Scientific Association, the Harz Club, the Music Club, and the Oberharzer Ski-ing Club. As a born Englishman he loved sport, and it would be true to say that he was

³⁵ Klingender (1954a).

³⁶ Letter from Ulrich (1963).

³⁷ The Church of St Georg at Grauhof, situated to the north of Goslar, was built between 1711 and 1714 and shares the site of a former Augustine Monastery. At the time the Abbey Church was being erected, Italian architects from southern Saxony were contracted to start the restoration of the monastery complex itself. The latter was based around an octagonal, Baroque design in which Christoph Treutmann installed an organ which remains the only authentic surviving example of his work. After secularisation, the monastery was dissolved and became part of the Kingdom of Hanover. See: <http://www.marktplatz-goslar.de/orgel/kirche.html> (August 2005). Louis Klingender's interest in the project may have been inspired by the church's appearance and history: during the Reformation it had been destroyed in the religious upheavals between the citizens of Goslar and Duke Henry the Younger.

the first among us to promote and popularise swimming, athletics, and skiing.³⁸

Ulrich records Louis Klingender as 'a tall man, very slim, fit and tough, a sportsman', noting that he was also a fluent German speaker on good social terms with several prominent Goslar families.³⁹ He continues:

Klingender was a man of many parts and of great culture, yet he was modest, always friendly and ready to help and a good and fascinating companion at a party.⁴⁰

Recalling Louis Klingender's painting subject matter, the memoir continues:

Louis Klingender was not only an excellent draughtsman, his small statues of animals were also the work of a master and he was a skilful wood-carver as well. The special quality of his paintings was their dynamism, their drama. He hardly ever painted game in a serene setting, it was always caught in animation, in a situation of drama, whether it was stags fighting, stags shot, a boar at bay, terriers and dachshunds tearing a fox, or a red deer in flight. Added to this, every detail was meticulously true to life – there were no

³⁸ Letter from Ulrich (1963) 2. There is a vivid recollection of a life-saving demonstration by Louis Klingender which is very funny, and in an oblique way, revealing of some of Francis Klingender's own, subsequent character traits. Ulrich's anecdote runs: 'At one of these swimming competitions he demonstrated life saving. After explaining the theory of it in a short lecture, he demonstrated it in practice with a non-swimmer as guinea pig whom he had persuaded to jump into the swimming pool. The man sunk and came up with flailing arms only to sink again. While we, as onlookers, were convinced that the man would drown before our eyes, Klingender explained that as a rule every drowning man came up three times. He was poised on the jumping board and when we had already given up all hope for the life of the drowning man, he jumped into the water to save him. There followed an instruction in artificial respiration'. An amusing example of a belief in theory at the expense of practice.

³⁹ Letter from Ulrich (1966) 1.

⁴⁰ Letter from Ulrich (1966) 2.

sketches, no vague hints, even the moss on a tree trunk, the grass and the plants of the various seasons were clearly discernible.⁴¹

The writer describes an example of Klingender's work, a 'huge' painting which depicted a stag being attacked by wolves. He continues:

While the leader of the pack had its fangs in the stag's throat, a second wolf attacked his neck, others his flank and his hind legs. The background was a wintry, misty landscape with some large granite cliffs which left the spectator to guess that the extraordinary animated group of animals was on the edge of a yawning precipice. The agony and fright of the great animal was realistically caught, in splendid contrast to the murderous lust of the attacking wolves... I remember Klingender telling me that this had been a true event, some long time ago; the huge antlers – which he had painstakingly recorded in his painting – had been found in a ravine on top of the skeletons of several wolves.⁴²

A similar painting titled *Stag being attacked by Wolves*, by Louis Klingender, and dated to 1902, hangs in the vestibule of Goslar Museum (**fig. 11**).⁴³ Although different in size and some of the details Ulrich describes, it gives an idea of the genre in which Louis Klingender evidently specialised. Another somewhat smaller painting of a dog by Louis Klingender provides an example of his highly naturalistic, but expressive painting style (**fig.12**).⁴⁴

⁴¹ Letter from Ulrich (1963) 2.

⁴² Letter from Ulrich (1963) 1.

⁴³ My thanks to Professor David Bindman who first drew my attention to a similar painting which now hangs in the vestibule of Goslar's Museum. Source: author conversation with Professor Bindman, January 13th 2005.

⁴⁴ The painting was purchased by Herr Jobst Werner Rottman, a painter and art restorer still resident in Breite Strasse. Herr Rottman described Louis Klingender as a 'great' and 'very quick' painter. Source: Conversation with the author: 21st October 2005.

Francis Klingender would doubtless have grown up around, and become familiar, with such paintings. The entry recalls Louis Klingender's refusal, on principle to undertake 'illustrations for hunting journals or books although this would have earned him good fees'. In view of the sensibilities of the time and the choice of genre, this appears unusually conservation-minded. The entry also records that he never shot an animal, apart from a 'few birds of prey in Russia'. The text continues:

He did, however, attend many shoots including boar hunts conducted in the old-fashioned manner with spears. Animal photography was in its infancy in those days. What he painted was the result of years of constant and thorough observation, so true to life that no zoologist or huntsman could ever fault it.⁴⁵

From Ulrich's recollections, Elton notes Louis Klingender's sketching trips to the Russian steppe, in addition to recording his visits to Turkey, and making specific reference to his familiarity with the game reserves of the regional nobility, Count Henckel-Donnermarck and Count Pless.⁴⁶ Assuming Elton's chronology to be correct, Louis Klingender's arrival in Germany would have been less than a decade after the formation of the German state.⁴⁷ Given his choice of vocation and genre, the timing had been fortuitous. Shearer West has identified the years after unification with a 'new internationalism, a well-organised commercial system of art dealerships and art publishing'.⁴⁸ She notes:

⁴⁵ All passages from Letter from Ulrich (1963) 2.

⁴⁶ Elton (1972) preface viii.

⁴⁷ This was a military, diplomatic and bureaucratic process which arguably started with Bismark's incorporation of Hanover into Prussia in 1866 and concluded with the formal setting of the frontiers of the German Reich in 1871. Evans (2003) 8–11.

⁴⁸ West (2000) 3.

The years between 1870 and 1890 were known as the Gründerzeit, or 'taking-off period', as this was a time of transformation, and the growth of bourgeois political and economic power'.⁴⁹

During the latter stage of his tenure in Germany and the years immediately prior to 1914, Louis Klingender's highly naturalistic style placed him squarely outside the modernist aesthetic of the various Expressionist groupings.⁵⁰ Similarly, the use of a highly realistic and anatomically precise painting style differentiated him from the strain of idealism which had typified the earlier German Romanticism of painters like Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840) and Otto Runge (1777–1810).⁵¹ However, following the process of unification, the landscape genre and paintings of traditional rural pursuits such as hunting, had become increasingly popular and saleable.⁵² Notwithstanding Louis Klingender's English mercantile background, his choice of genre and subject parallels the concern with nature and the pursuit of game as part of the *gemeinschaft* identified in Ferdinand Tönnie's *Community and Society* (1887).⁵³ Recalling Louis Klingender's painting style, Ulrich writes:

His speciality was to paint animals in action (boars attacking the hounds, stags at bay, terriers harrying a fox, herds of animals in full flight etc.). Thus his canvases conveyed a sense of drama which made them something true to life, both anatomically as also (sic) from the hunting point of view, and his

⁴⁹ West (2000) 13.

⁵⁰ Paradoxically such avant-garde groupings shared Louis Klingender's preference for the country, if not his choice of subject, as the colonies at Dachau and Worpswede demonstrate. West (2000) 43–45.

⁵¹ Craske (1997) 67–70.

⁵² West (2000) 33–46.

⁵³ West (2000) 42.

background landscapes held great charm, every blade of grass was true to nature and the season of the year.⁵⁴

However, the choice of hunting scenes, it could be argued was sufficiently 'völkish' in character for Louis Klingender to be able to profitably trade from such cultural fashions. Given the 'high prices' which Ulrich recalls he sought for his hunting scenes, it would appear that this was indeed the case.⁵⁵ Paintings of peasant pursuits also reflected the popularity of the term '*heimat*', the connotations of which ranged from 'home', 'homeland' to 'natural habitat'.⁵⁶ This in turn influenced a concomitant range of artistic practice and taste resulting in '*Heimatkunst*' ruralism.⁵⁷ West notes:

The search for the *Heimat* was not located in one specific place in Germany, and this diversity of artistic regionalism added to the rich associations that *Heimatkunst* ideology attributed to the German countryside.⁵⁸

From the available evidence, it would appear that cultural fashion and taste enabled Louis Klingender to employ his evident talents in making a good artistic living in the decades after unification. Elton characterises their family life in Goslar before 1914 as 'happy, prosperous, busy'.⁵⁹ Certainly, Louis Klingender's wide-ranging civic, social, sporting and zoological activities suggest that there was enough discretionary time available to achieve a profile within the town, sufficient to have been vividly recalled by Ulrich over fifty years later. It therefore seems

⁵⁴ Letter from Ulrich (1966) 1.

⁵⁵ Letter from Ulrich (1963) 2.

⁵⁶ West (2000) 42.

⁵⁷ West (2000) 43.

⁵⁸ West (2000) 43.

⁵⁹ Elton (1972) preface viii. Recalling this period and Louis Klingender's artistic success, Ulrich's letter (1966) 1, recalls that 'connoisseurs acclaimed his paintings which commanded high fees'.

plausible to suggest that at least up until 1914, Francis Klingender, as the only and fairly late family arrival, would have had an economically secure upbringing.⁶⁰

Information on the relationship between Francis and his parents is scant. In an interview Elton gave to publicise the revised edition of *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, he suggested that Francis Klingender's unfinished work on animal iconography was a 'kind of atonement for his feeling towards his father whom he had not altogether liked'.⁶¹ It is unclear if this was Elton's interpretation of the book's motivation or whether he was passing on disclosures from his late friend. What is known is that Louis Klingender appears to have remained financially dependent on his son from the time of his arrival in England to his death in 1950. It is also unclear what the effect was on Francis of his parents' separation which Elton dates to Florence Klingender's return to Germany whilst her son was completing his education in London.⁶² It is known that Francis did undergo some form of psychoanalysis towards the end of his life, although the immediate or longer-term reasons for this remain speculative.⁶³

Goslar: Economic and Industrial Background

Goslar, in north Germany, is situated at the northern rim of the Harz Mountains.⁶⁴ It is about eighty kilometres south of Hanover and around forty kilometres south of

⁶⁰ Assuming the *Klingender Genealogy* to be correct on this date (iv), Florence Klingender would have been thirty-six when her son was born. Given the vagaries of childbirth and mortality in this period, it might be seen as a late motherhood. Ulrich (1966) 2, also notes her 'frail health'. Louis Klingender would have been forty six at the time of his son's birth.

⁶¹ McNay (1972) 8.

⁶² Elton (1972) viii.

⁶³ Klingender's period of psychoanalysis was recalled in conversation with Constance Saville (October 14th 2005). This was disclosed by Francis Klingender in a letter to his friend, Lady Hetta Henrietta Empson (née Crouse). Her reply (dated August 29th 1947) suggests that she saw the immediate cause as Sonia Miller with whom Klingender had had an abortive and very short marriage annulled six months previously (Saville and Bellamy, 1993) 164. She writes: 'I had not heard of your difficulties, and felt troubled by your hints. To my mind it always seemed that it was the other person (at least in the instances that I knew about) who needed the help of Mr. Freud, and certainly not you. Perhaps I have now done irreparable harm and interfered with the treatment and you will have to start all over again, so I will leave the ball with you'. Source: Copy Ref DEN/5/13 DLB Archive.

⁶⁴ Hans-Gunther Griep (undated tourist office guidebook) 1. Consulted by the author October 2005.

the regional centre of Braunschweig (**fig.13**). Silver, copper, lignite, lead, zinc, iron and sulphur were variously mined for over one thousand years up until 1988, placing Goslar and its hinterland among the oldest industrial sites in Northern Europe (**figs.14 and 15**).⁶⁵ Both the Rammelsberg Mine and the medieval Old Town of Goslar were added to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1992.⁶⁶ The quantity and quality of silver-rich ore was among the reasons Goslar was chosen as the site of several imperial diets and was at one time a member of the Hanseatic League, remaining until 1802 a free imperial city.⁶⁷

In 1815 after the Saar coalfield was incorporated into the new Prussian province of the Rhineland, and during attempts to reconstruct the industry after the Napoleonic Wars, skilled miners and engineers were brought in from the Harz Mountains. Along with that of the Ruhr, the area is recorded as being chosen as one site for the expansion of Germany's mining industry by the French entrepreneur and engineer, Heron de Villefosse.⁶⁸ The technical expertise in mining associated with the Harz Mountain area was recognised when one of its regional centres, Clausthal, was chosen in the 1760s, along with Hamburg and Freiburg (Saxony), for the endowment of the German's first higher technical college in mining.⁶⁹ The dynamic industrial expansion which the recently federated Germany witnessed between 1834 and 1914 was preceded by significant demographic shifts in population distribution which developed throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ The large scale industrial developments and the innovations in farming practices from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, albeit regional, were made possible by these antecedent changes. Before the

⁶⁵ The Rammelsberg Mine ceased commercial operations in 1988. Source: Visitor Information Leaflet, produced by the Rammelsberg Mine and Mining Museum, consulted by the author, October 2005.

⁶⁶ Source: Visitor Information Leaflet, produced by the Rammelsberg Mine and Mining Museum, consulted by the author October 2005.

⁶⁷ <http://reference.allrefer.com/encyclopedia/G/Goslar.html> (June 2005).

⁶⁸ Henderson (1975) 30.

⁶⁹ Henderson (1975) 24.

⁷⁰ Henderson (1975) 24.

early decades of the nineteenth century, Germany had been a primarily agrarian economy. Gustav Stolper's study *The German Economy 1870 to the Present*, attributes the relative lateness of the industrial revolution (and the subsequent character of the German nation), to the devastating legacy of the Thirty Years' War which eliminated the country as a political power after 1600.⁷¹ In consequence, the period immediately prior to the industrial revolution, between 1640 and 1740, witnessed momentous social and economic changes in England, France and Spain. These developments largely bypassed Germany.

Goslar, a satellite of the regional centre Hanover, was among the thirty-nine states which existed after the Napoleonic Wars. Along with the two great powers of Prussia and Austria, there were several medium-sized states which included Saxony, Baden, Bavaria and Wurttenburg. Goslar and the Harz Mountain area came within the Rhine and Westphalia regions which formed two of the western provinces of the Prussian state and were considered some of the most industrialised territories comprising its hinterland.⁷² These areas exercised various degrees of self-government and autonomy, passing laws, levying tariffs, river tolls and taxes on the movement of goods through their regions and localities. In addition to coal mining, there were two other significant industries which survived into the 1880s when Klingender's father immigrated to the region. Collectively, these areas of activity would have affected the landscape's topography, a major thematic within Francis Klingender's *Art and the Industrial Revolution*.⁷³

The mining of lignite or brown coal had existed, albeit mined at a peasant subsistence level, from the sixteenth century. One record notes significant deposits in the Halberstadt (Harz Mountain) area which were owned by the Prussian state in 1851. Described as a 'fuel intermediate between bituminous coal and peat' which was mined either underground or surface quarried, lignite came to replace wood as

⁷¹ Stolper (1967) 4.

⁷² Henderson (1975) 31.

⁷³ Klingender (1972) 72–90.

timber reserves declined in the middle of the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ It was also used in briquette form for heating in factories, foundaries, workshops and for domestic use as a timber or coal substitute.⁷⁵ By the 1850s lignite production was an important resource for both Saxony and Germany, supplying power for the chemical, refining, salt and potash industries. One local entrepreneur, Adolf Riebneck, a miner from the Harz area, is recorded as having established a plant near Weissenfels-an-der Saale in 1858, which distilled lignite to produce tar resulting in factory production of mineral oils such as paraffin.⁷⁶

The third industry within the Harz region was that of textiles. After agriculture, and per unit of production and manpower, textile production was the most important industrial activity by the middle of the nineteenth century. Although levels of mechanisation varied, Hanover and Saxony were ranked as important centres of cotton spinning and manufacture.⁷⁷ Although the linen industry had been hit by the export of Irish textiles to the Central and Southern American markets and was hampered by poor investment and high labour costs, the industry retained footholds throughout Hanover, Westphalia and the Rhineland territories.⁷⁸ However, by the 1860s, the industry was in overall decline with the axis of production having shifted to France and England.

Nineteenth Century Germany: Economic Context

The country to which Louis Klingender emigrated was one in economic, social and political transition. As Anna Sommariva and Giuseppe Tullio note in *German Macroeconomic History 1880–1979*, national economic history within the period

⁷⁴ Henderson (1975) 139.

⁷⁵ Henderson (1975) 139, records 'Nine tons of lignite is equal to about two tons of coal in heat value. Since lignite had a high content of water and crumbled when dry it was not usually transported but was used locally or converted into briquettes near the workings'.

⁷⁶ Henderson (1975) 139.

⁷⁷ Henderson (1975) 143.

⁷⁸ Henderson (1975) 147.

can be divided into three main periods.⁷⁹ Between 1880 and 1913, the initial years of unification under the Bismarck state, the country benefited from:

...the gold standard, characterised by low and stable government expenditures and budget deficits, inflation fluctuating within relatively narrow margins and a steady growth of the real stock of capital and real net national product.⁸⁰

Appreciable levels of economic and social prosperity encouraged net immigration from other European countries, especially from those regions facing economic slump and instability. Louis Klingender's emigration to Germany coincided with a decade in which there was a record 1,342,000 people entering the country with an approximate resident population of 52 million. This figure was double that of previous and subsequent decades recorded to 1930.⁸¹ By 1870 Germany was experiencing a period of unprecedented and sustained economic prosperity; military defeat of France, a unified Reich and increasing autonomy for joint stock companies, had created economic and social self-confidence.⁸² But early payment by France of a war indemnity of 5,000 million thalers, most of which was circulated directly into an economy, already grappling with a currency transition lead to inflation and 'speculation mania'.⁸³ Henderson writes:

There was a frantic rush to buy shares, land and houses in the hope of making a quick profit from a rise in price. Gambling on the stock exchange

⁷⁹ Sommariva and Tullio (1987) 13.

⁸⁰ Sommariva and Tullio (1987) 13.

⁸¹ Stolper (1967) 22.

⁸² Henderson (1975) 161.

⁸³ Henderson (1975) 161–166.

and the property market became a national pastime. Bankers, who should have known better, stoked the fires of speculation.⁸⁴

When the crash came it was sudden. Austria was forced to issue a moratorium on financial transactions on May 8th 1873. This was followed by fourteen German banks defaulting on credit repayments, widespread collapse of German businesses and sharp decline in revenues and industrial output which was put back five years.⁸⁵

Louis Klingender: Emigration and Early Years in Germany

The subsequent economic expansion of Germany under Bismarck and a more watchful and interventionist state spanned the remaining decades of the nineteenth century and appear to have prompted the continuation of net immigration flows. From the available evidence Louis Klingender's specific choice of Germany as an emigration destination can only be guessed. If the pursuit of an artistic vocation had been the prime motivation, an apprenticeship could presumably have been followed in Britain, France or several other European capitals. However, as the popularity of animal painters such as Edwin Landseer (1802–1873) suggests, there appears to have been shared, albeit historical, Anglo-German taste for depictions of flora, fauna, equine and landscapes.⁸⁶ Although Landseer belonged to an earlier generation than Louis Klingender, hunting scenes also remained popular both in Germany and Britain.

From the available examples, Louis Klingender's painting style was more technically conservative than either tendency. Despite Germany's economic dynamism, much of its art production was controlled, as in England, by academic

⁸⁴ Henderson (1975) 164.

⁸⁵ Henderson (1975) 170.

⁸⁶ Following Prince Albert's marriage to Queen Victoria, (and given the origins of the English Royal Family itself), there was a heightened vogue, at least among sections of the bourgeoisie and upper-classes for German culture and lifestyles. Winder (2005) 159–160 and 165–166.

and state-based institutions which had their origins in the late eighteenth century.⁸⁷ Under such forms of patronage, joining the right atelier or securing an apprenticeship with a commercially successful artist like Deiker would have been highly desirable. Additionally, opportunities for making a successful artistic career in Germany would have greatly helped by the prevalence of frequently competing regional academies within the major cities such as Berlin, Dresden, Düsseldorf and Hamburg. Characterising the culture's attractiveness to potential artists, West describes the role of the *Kunstvereine* (art unions) thus:

The *Kunstverein* was designed to encourage local art, and thus stimulate the art market. These unions purchased works of art, exhibited them, then sold them off by lottery, thus increasing the potential buyers for art... The democratic profile of the *Kunstverein* resulted in a sort of eclecticism that did not favour one particular style or subject over another.⁸⁸

Whilst it is not known for certain if Louis Klingender was a member of the art union, Elton mentions that he was 'a frequent exhibitor at the Berlin Academy from the late eighteen-eighties and later at the yearly exhibitions at Goslar'.⁸⁹ Such exposure and the art union network would have been particularly useful for a non-German national seeking to make a name in a genre for which he evidently had talent. However, the choice of country could also have been determined by more family related reasons. Perusal of the Klingender genealogy identifies repeated inter-generational patterns of Anglo-German and Anglo-American marriage combined with a penchant for travel. Two of Louis Klingender's siblings had emigrated to pursue engineering or commercial careers in Uruguay and New York. A third is recorded as having taken Holy Orders in New Zealand.⁹⁰ Louis

⁸⁷ West (2000) 13.

⁸⁸ West (2000) 13.

⁸⁹ Elton (1972) preface vii–viii.

⁹⁰ Klingender Family Genealogy (1895) vi.

Klingender's own father, William, emigrated seven to eight years after his son left for Germany, having previously internally migrated from his place of birth, London's Bethnal Green, to Liverpool.⁹¹

From these antecedents, a picture emerges of an educated and aspirational mercantile family which made sensible, and socially advantageous, marriages and matches. Family members pursued lucrative bourgeois careers, ranging from civil engineering, plantation ownership, brokerage, farming, law with a smattering of professional soldiers and sailors.⁹² Such precedents may well have made Louis Klingender's own choice of profession an unusual or unexpected one.⁹³ It could be conjectured that emigration to seek his fortune, clearly customary within the family, precluded the need for immediate disclosure of his true intentions, if indeed an artistic career had been an issue.

Industrial Parallels with Nineteenth Century North Western England

Charlotte Erickson notes in *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century*, that there has been relatively little study of English-born people as immigrants and no attempt at the systematic collation (and preservation) of archive material which might provide more comprehensive data.⁹⁴ However, some general observations can be attempted both on the overall nature of emigration in these years and of the industrial character of Merseyside (the Klingender family point of departure), which suggest intriguing parallels to the Goslar region of the Harz Mountains to which Louis Klingender eventually found his way.

Liverpool and its Merseyside hinterland were important hubs of Britain's Industrial Revolution providing the base for shipping companies, canals, railways, coal production and textiles – a profile shared in part by German's similarly

⁹¹ Klingender Family Genealogy (1895) iv.

⁹² Klingender Family Genealogy (1895).

⁹³ However, there was a genealogical precedent: one of Klingender's eighteenth century French ancestors (Johann Heinrich Tischbein) had been Court Painter and Councillor in Kassel. See: Klingender Family Genealogy (1895) i.

industrialised North East. Merseyside's economic expansion from the middle of the nineteenth century attracted a diverse ethnic and religious community. As Sheila Marriner notes in *The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside*, Liverpool was Europe's largest emigrant port with up to 200,000 people seeking passage during these peak years.⁹⁵ Migration was both external and internal with English migrants coming from depressed areas of the North West, also Cornwall, Somerset and Devon, as well as from London and the South. In 1861, census returns suggest that nearly half of Liverpool's population and that of nearby Birkenhead, could be classed as immigrant. As just noted, in William Klingender's case (Francis Klingender's paternal grandfather), it can be assumed that the profile just mentioned made internal migration to Liverpool an attractive business opportunity.

The trade and production in salt around Cheshire encouraged coal production and assisted in the early development of a regional transport infrastructure.⁹⁶ As in the Harz Mountain area, Merseyside witnessed the early development of chemical production and Lancashire developed a linen and textile industry. The latter, like its equivalent in north east Germany, was also under-capitalised but remained among the region's most important domestic industries with supplies of flax augmented by imports from Ireland.⁹⁷ However, up until the early part of the nineteenth century, the region retained a strong craft and agricultural heritage with the localised production of household clothing and some luxury products.⁹⁸ A further intriguing parallel to the Harz mountain area of Germany, and a subject which informs some of Francis Klingender's historical analysis in *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, is the presence of highly skilled precision and mining workers. This category of labour was crucial to the expansion in technological production in both Germany and Britain. As with the Harz Mountain region, Merseyside saw innovations in chemical and engineering manufacture

⁹⁴ Erickson (1994) 1.

⁹⁵ Marriner (1982) 1–12.

⁹⁶ Marriner (1982) 2.

⁹⁷ Marriner (1982) 9–10.

⁹⁸ Marriner (1982) 49.

which allowed the production of alkali, sulphuric acid and soap derivatives, further expanding mechanised production and demand for specific categories of labour.⁹⁹ By the 1870s and 1880s, these industries had become increasingly dominant.

There are further social and political parallels between these two ostensibly different cultures which merit brief mention. Marriner suggests the strong and conservative presence of a large Irish Catholic and Protestant immigrant population in Liverpool largely prevented the spread of Chartist and Owenite Socialist ideas.¹⁰⁰ Where early forms of labour organisation did take hold they did so largely through clubs, societies and unions.¹⁰¹ It should be noted here that as a social economist, sociologist and art historian much of Klingender's oeuvre pays considerable attention to the role, dynamic, and transformation of organised, collective labour, both manual and professional.¹⁰² However, as with industrialised parts of Germany, where militancy did take place it was limited largely due to the narrow regional, occupational and organisational base of those involved. The relative inactivity and emasculation of large sections of the German middle and working class under the autocratic Bismarck state has been documented elsewhere.¹⁰³

It is also relevant to note that in both the Liverpool of the later nineteenth century and the Harz Mountain region, the process of capitalism provided *the* social, economic and environmental dynamic, observable as cause, effect and spectacle. Furthermore, as Erickson observes, population and migration flows of which the Klingender's were a part over at least two generations, were a 'means of

⁹⁹ Marriner (1982) 56.

¹⁰⁰ Marriner (1982) 82.

¹⁰¹ Marriner (1982) 82.

¹⁰² For example, Klingender's PhD thesis and what became his first book, *The Conditions of Clerical Labour in Britain* (Martin Lawrence Ltd.), London, 1935, considers the process 'whereby the clerical worker has been downgraded from lower-middle-class to proletarian levels' (preface vii). A related thematic which considers the compositional and social shifts is the subject of his last sociological work completed at Hull, Klingender (1954b).

¹⁰³ Eagleton (1990) 241.

dealing with structural dislocations in the phases of industrialisation in Europe'.¹⁰⁴ In a Marxian vein it could be argued that Klingender and his forebears were the historically determined subjects (and objects) of these conjunctions and ruptures between labour and capital. It is perhaps unsurprising that the legacy of such processes; economic, social, political, historic – and the diaspora which accompanied them – were as much part of Francis Klingender's own life and those of his immediate antecedents, as they were intrinsic to the empirical and polemical basis of his own writing. However, the profile just presented of the Goslar area is a reminder that the Klingender family had moved to a highly industrialised landscape, even if the topography of the Harz Mountains also provided for the social pursuits of hunting which gave Louis Klingender's painting its *völkish* feel.

The Klingender Family and Events in Germany after 1918

Compared to the relative pre-war prosperity enjoyed by the Klingender family, Germany's economic and cultural situation after 1918 must have been a real shock.¹⁰⁵ The humiliation of Versailles, the November Revolution, the ongoing Allied economic blockade and the punitive level of war reparations convulsed Germany's federal structure and radicalised public opinion.¹⁰⁶ It seems inconceivable that its repercussions would not have extended to Goslar in Hanover's hinterland. Richard Evans makes the point that wartime defeat resulted in the 'immediate collapse of the system created by Bismarck' almost fifty years before.¹⁰⁷ He notes:

Money, income, financial solidity, economic order, regularity and predictability had been at the heart of bourgeois values and bourgeois existence before the

¹⁰⁴ Erickson (1994) 3.

¹⁰⁵ Evans (2003) 60. Evans notes that since the war had been brought to a close before the Allies had entered German territory, it was thought that the settlement would be fairly equitable. Many Germans saw its outcome as punitive.

¹⁰⁶ Evans (2003) 65.

¹⁰⁷ Evans (2003) 61.

war. Now all this seemed to have been swept away along with the equally solid-seeming political system of the Wilhelmine Reich.¹⁰⁸

The experience of hyper-inflation is described as a trauma which affected all of German society.¹⁰⁹ In these circumstances, and with British nationality, it seems reasonable to consider why the Klingender family stayed in Germany for another seven years and in fact to ask why they left when they did. There is some consensus that by 1925/6 Weimar Germany was beginning to turn the corner and was starting to benefit from the economic investment arising from the American Dawes Plan.¹¹⁰

Aside from the deteriorating political and economic situation, the art market and patrons for Louis Klingender's hunting scenes would have dried up, although given Louis Klingender's ostracism that followed his arrest and return to Goslar, it seems probable that painting sales may already have suffered between 1914-18, in addition to the austerity and trade blockades of the war years.¹¹¹ However, in any event, as West notes, the post-war artistic fashion was increasingly for varieties of '*Sachlichkeit*' or 'objectivity' which, in any event, increasingly signified metropolitan sensibilities.¹¹² Elton notes Louis Klingender's 'intervention' in the Treaty of Versailles, presumably by letter, in an attempt, presumably as a British national, to ameliorate its conditions.¹¹³ Again, the source for this is Ulrich, who provides more detail on Louis Klingender's motivation and political persuasions. He

¹⁰⁸ Evans (2003) 111.

¹⁰⁹ Evans (2003) 112.

¹¹⁰ Evans (2003) 108.

¹¹¹ What can be stated from the *Goslar Address Books* from this time, is that Louis Klingender appears to have given up his studio space in the annex of 67 Breite Strasse by 1919, although he is listed in the 1921 edition as back in residence (120). It is possible that Louis Klingender attempted to re-establish his studio, anticipating more benign trading conditions.

¹¹² West (2000) 160.

¹¹³ Elton (1972) preface viii.

writes:

After the war...he saw the danger of communism approaching from the east and was wise enough to realise that Germany would be the first to be effected by it. Were Germany to be left destitute it could become an easy victim of communism, which in turn might spread to England and France.¹¹⁴

This information, omitted by Elton, provides a useful insight into Louis Klingender's concerns and some of the political ideas which Francis Klingender would have been aware of in his early adolescence. Overall, I would suggest that among the reasons the Klingender family stayed as long as they did in Goslar was to enable the young Francis to matriculate from the town's Gymnasium or senior high school.

Ulrich letter recalls that Francis Klingender was regarded as 'a very clever scholar' who passed his 'matriculation exams in 1925 with top marks'.¹¹⁵ The completion of his high school studies would have been a means of increasing the young Klingender's employment or professional opportunities (with a view to alleviating the family's economic situation) as soon as they arrived in England. As Ulrich notes:

Even after the war the Klingenders must have been very hard up. Nobody in Germany had any money to buy his pictures. The Klingenders led a very modest life and never talked about their difficulties.¹¹⁶

However, the fortunes of the Klingender family had been on the turn before the 1918 armistice. Elton states that following the outbreak of war in 1914, and as a

¹¹⁴ Letter from Ulrich (1966) 3.

¹¹⁵ Letter from Ulrich (1966) 5.

¹¹⁶ Letter from Ulrich (1966) 3.

non-German national, Louis Klingender had been accused of spying and interned for several months at Ruhleben, near Berlin.¹¹⁷ He was subsequently released and returned to Goslar under license to report to the local police. Elton states that he was 'shunned as an enemy by most of his former friends' and as a consequence the family's final years in Germany, those of Francis Klingender's middle childhood and teenage years, were both economically and socially precarious (**fig. 16**).¹¹⁸ In 1925 aged eighteen, Francis matriculated with honours from Goslar Gymnasium where, according to Elton, and reflecting the wishes of his father, he received a 'good classical education (**fig. 17**)'.¹¹⁹ Between 1925/6 the family left for England.

Following enquiries to Goslar gymnasium, it was confirmed that Klingender's *abitur* record, along with many others from that period, were lost during the war.¹²⁰ However, the general nature of the formal education which Francis Klingender received at the Goslar gymnasium can partly be inferred from the 'classical' education just alluded to by Elton. Safranski has noted, unsurprisingly given Germany's contribution towards an idealist philosophical tradition, the prominence of neo-Kantian and Hegelian paradigms in cultural life throughout the nineteenth

¹¹⁷ Elton (1972) preface viii. Ulrich's original text (1966) 3 reads 'I don't believe that Mr Klingender did any military espionage. Goslar had only a small garrison, and was not fortified and nowhere near any frontier – so there was nothing to spy. It is possible that before the outbreak of war he sent reports to the Secret Service about German attitudes in general, about the political mood, the economy or cultural affairs, as did all other Englishmen who knew Germany as well as he did'.

¹¹⁸ Elton (1972) preface viii. The effect which such ostracism had on the personality and outlook of the young Klingender can only be guessed. It should also be noted that the family's evident financial and social hardship did not end with their departure from Germany, but continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s in England (see chapter two). However, the available evidence on his personality and the testimony of those who knew him such as Elton and Saville suggest a volatile and sometimes defensive personality. Saville (1993) 164, recalls that his 'private life had always been rather difficult and tumultuous and (that) he could be 'capricious in personal matters'. An anonymous entry in Klingender's MI5 file (dated 1941) describes him as a 'tactless person whose German name and aggressive manner occasionally gets him into trouble'. However, Klingender's letters to Fred Uhlman who had been interned at the Hutchinson Camp, Douglas, Isle of Man, between June and December 1940, suggest someone capable of empathy and supportive friendship. (See correspondence with Uhlman dated July 17th, August 5th and 14th, September 13th, October 16th 1940, *DLB* Archive).

¹¹⁹ Elton (1972) preface viii. Ulrich's letter (1966) 2, notes that Greek and Latin were part of the curriculum.

¹²⁰ Letter from Herr Steinecke (2005).

century.¹²¹ Goslar could also claim other cultural presences; the stays of both Goethe and Wordsworth are prominently commemorated within the town.¹²² But the closing stages of the century witnessed a marked shift towards empirical and positivist strands of thought demonstrated by figures such as Henri Bergson, Wilhelm Dilthey, Friedrich Nietzsche and Max Scheler.¹²³ Collectively termed '*lebensphilosophie*', Safranski cites this as the 'dominant intellectual current outside universities'.¹²⁴ Critical of the idealist tradition, it proved attractive to a generation for whom 'life' became 'the slogan of the youth movement, of the neo-romantic movement, and of pedagogical reform ideas'.¹²⁵ Related ideas of the Dionysian and a fugitive modernity, provided the ideas for 'vision, protest, transformation' associated with the pre-war Expressionist avant-garde.¹²⁶ Although in tension to this *zeitgeist*, Charles Darwin's materialist contribution towards German culture also remained influential, as elsewhere. Safranski notes:

Evolutionary biology, then, seemed a grand legitimization of the method of attaining order through anarchy and achieving success through error, lending almost insuperable evidential force to the axiom that truth is nothing other than practical success.¹²⁷

In view of the subsequent linkage claimed by Marxist theorists between the iron laws of economic determinism and the apparently ineluctable laws of nature, Darwinian paradigms may well have been formative for the young Klingender, as

¹²¹ Safranski (1998) 48–49.

¹²² Wordsworth's plaque is on Breite Strasse and that of Goethe on Worth Strasse.

¹²³ Safranski (1998) 49.

¹²⁴ Safranski (1998) 48.

¹²⁵ Safranski (1998) 49.

¹²⁶ Safranski (1998) 51.

¹²⁷ Safranski (1998) 35.

was the paternal interest in geology and anatomical observation.¹²⁸ Given Bismarck's systematic construction of a centralised secular state, and the concomitant strategy to marginalise the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, it seems reasonable to suppose the presence of evolutionary biology as well as such anti-idealist strains within the secular context of a pre-war and post-war provincial gymnasium. But arguably of equal relevance, was the cultural ethos of the Weimar period which characterised the seven to eight years between 1918–1925/6, which in turn marked the start of Francis Klingender's adolescence through to early adulthood.

The Germany in which Francis Klingender spent the formative early years of his life was far more volatile in its economic reality than the relative stability probably experienced by his father as a youth in Liverpool and in Goslar before 1914. Sommariva and Tullio cite the period between 1914 and November 1923 as one of sustained economic disorganisation, culminating with hyperinflation at 618 per cent per week in the week ending November 13th 1923.¹²⁹ Militarily defeated, partially occupied and humiliated by the terms of the Versailles Treaty, Germany in 1918 faced the polarised interests of Soviet revolution on the streets of Berlin and Kiel and the nationalist resurgence of the Freikorps.¹³⁰ The attempts of the Weimar Republic to provide a liberal democratic alternative soon collapsed and by the late 1920s political authority had been re-invested in the ailing President Hindenberg. Elton's preface to *Art and the Industrial Revolution* notes, in valedictory fashion, that Louis Klingender in response to the growing chaos, had 'vainly interceded with British politicians in an attempt to ameliorate the terms of the Versailles Treaty' before leaving Germany to settle in England.¹³¹ It must have all seemed a long way from archiving geological exhibits in Goslar's civic museum.

¹²⁸ Anderson (1989) 59.

¹²⁹ Sommariva and Tullio (1987) 3.

¹³⁰ Evans (2003) 60–117.

¹³¹ Elton (1972) preface viii. The source for this is un-referenced, but it seems likely that Elton wrote to the Goslar town archives for some of this information, when preparing the revised and updated edition of the book.

Francis Klingender in Goslar c.1918–1925/26

I would suggest that the industrial and mining ethos of Goslar's hinterland, the Harz mountains, his family's experience of immigration (and emigration), provided Francis Klingender with an immediate and informing frame of reference which is a noticeable vein in much of his subsequent sociological and art historical work. For example, *The Condition of Clerical Labour in Britain* and his more widely known *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, make cogent and compelling arguments which foreground class experience and art as more (or less) mediated responses to the spectacle and displacements of economic revolution. In the latter book, one is struck as much by the breathless prose as by the velocity of events which the chapters describe. I would suggest that Germany's precipitous expansion to 1914, witnessed locally, regionally and nationally, later provided Klingender with a natural and informing parallel to his own research on the English Industrial Revolution as did the hubris and chaos which ensued. However mediated, Klingender was a teenage witness to the start of the Weimar coalition's slow collapse. Described by Callaghan as 'only the shallowest of democratic arrangements', the Weimar Republic was cited by Bolshevik propaganda as 'proof of the sham character of the bourgeois commitment to democratic forms'.¹³² If Klingender was not fully aware of the Weimar polity when in Germany, his subsequent years in England would have given ample opportunity to see what was happening on the other side of the Channel.

Although generationally similar to many of those who became prominent among the British intellectual left, Klingender had actually been raised in a culture which had witnessed at first hand political revolution as an ideological intervention of both the left and right.¹³³ As a Weimar refugee such an experience may have given Francis Klingender an additional and immediate sense of camaraderie with older émigrés such as Frederick Antal, Arnold Hauser, John Heartfield and Oskar

¹³² Callaghan (1987) 2.

¹³³ For example, Blunt and Caudwell were also born in 1907. W.H. Auden, J.D. Bernal, C. Day Lewis, Louis MacNeice, Stephen Spender and John Strachey were all born between 1900–1910. See: Wood (1959) 79–84.

Kokoshka.¹³⁴ Similarly, as will be seen in the next chapter, it is significant that his initial CPGB involvement appears to have been through an émigré family, the Tomchinskys, who (like Antal and Hauser) had fled the Hungarian counter-revolution of 1919. However, it is inconceivable that such early adulthood experiences and their associated cultural dislocation, did not inform at some level Francis Klingender's subsequent outlook and ideology.

It is not known if Klingender had taken an active interest in party politics during the family's final years in Germany. Aside from the record of his father, he makes no mention of his early Goslar life.¹³⁵ Although young, it is not inconceivable that Francis Klingender could have become involved in the Social Democratic or German Communist party (KPD) youth sections although it would seem unlikely.¹³⁶ Research by Peter Schyga suggests that by 1924 the KPD remained marginal within the Goslar area, only polling a maximum of 6 per cent of the local vote for elections to the Reichstag's National Assembly compared to a national average of 12 per cent.¹³⁷ However, Elton preface omitted one further observation made by Ulrich who recalled:

In the years 1924/5 Donald, the son, had a certain amount of difficulties at

¹³⁴ I use the term in a social and economic sense. Perhaps the contemporary designation would be that of economic migrant. Without knowing more about the political affiliations of the Klingender family at this time, it is impossible to judge if they would have indeed come to the attention of local National Socialist networks after 1933.

¹³⁵ It is conceivable that psychologically, Klingender simply closed off memory of this period.

¹³⁶ Francis Klingender belonged to a generation that just missed the ascendancy of the German Social Democratic Party which from c.1887–1912, had been the largest of Europe's Socialist Parties. Pierson (1993) 234–44 and 256–259. However, one edition of the GZ to which Francis Klingender contributed an article (September 26th 1924, 5), included on the same page, listings of names running for office in local elections. Under a strap line 'Proposal List for Communist Candidates' there are several names, variously drawn from the local mining industry, machine making and construction trades, as well as from the smaller businesses (locksmithing, tailoring and carpentry). Whatever its wider national fortunes, the KPD clearly had a local presence among Goslar's skilled working class and smaller business community.

¹³⁷ Schyga (1999) 48. These figures may appear surprising given the prominence of Goslar's mining industry, although they also suggest a conservative political culture. The photograph of a National Socialist rally in Goslar in the early 1930s (fig.18) was just one event which underpinned the town's re-naming as the 'Reich Farmers' City'.

school. He was regarded as a 'red'. Perhaps he had voiced some socialist ideas, perhaps it was only the other boys' resentment towards a member of the victorious nation. In those days young people in Germany were very nationalist in their attitude.¹³⁸

The original German of Ulrich's letter describes Francis Klingender as an 'Edelkommunist' which actually translates as 'noble' or 'magnanimous' Communist.¹³⁹ The explanation which Ulrich provides about the reasons for the epithet is entirely plausible and as the only surviving testimony on Francis Klingender's school years it has to be considered carefully. That said, as the German speaking son of assimilated and previously respected members of Goslar's community the epithet still seems an unlikely one simply to have been prompted by his parent's English nationality and the outcome of the 1914–18 war. Additionally, as Ulrich confirms elsewhere in his letter, Louis Klingender's known views appear to have been those of an anti-Communist; convictions of sufficient nature to prompt letters to British politicians over the outcome of the Versailles Peace Treaty. One interpretation could be that Francis Klingender, either through youthful idealism or adolescent opposition to his father's politics (or indeed to the religious convictions of his mother who became a Roman Catholic), had simply voiced left-wing sympathies or opinions.¹⁴⁰ Alternatively, as a precocious and intelligent youth, it is possible that he had already formulated a clear commitment to Communist ideas.

Schyga however, notes a revealing incident which occurred shortly after the Klingenders had left Goslar which gives an insight into the kind of educational and teaching ethos to which Francis Klingender and his gymnasium peers would have

¹³⁸ Letter from Ulrich (1966) 3.

¹³⁹ This takes the adjectival use of 'Edel' from the *Oxford German Dictionary and Grammar* (1995) 60.

¹⁴⁰ Millicent Rose interview with Saville (1977).

been subject.¹⁴¹ As part of the celebrations of Goslar's one thousand year history in 1928, pupils from the town's gymnasium and from the higher learning institutes were invited to take part in competitive sporting and musical activities. The awards were in the form of circlets bedecked with ribbons in the colours of Weimar Republic. When the time came for the presentations to be made, several students threw down and stamped on the circlets protesting that they would only wear the true colours of the German Empire. Given the presence of town dignitaries and photographers, the incident became a major scandal.

In due course officials from Berlin came to investigate with the result that two teachers (one of whom was the director of the gymnasium) were removed from their posts on the basis that they had been inculcating the students with inappropriate and anti-Weimar ideas. Among the measures taken to help ensure the future probity of the teaching within Goslar was the appointment of external examiners for the school's matriculation exams. This was seen as major shaming of the town's reputation and was attacked by civic leaders and the schools themselves.¹⁴² Note has already been made of Louis Klingender's social ostracism, occasioned by the allegations of spying and doubtless reinforced by his British nationality. It might be this, Francis Klingender's left-wing views (evidenced by the epithet 'Edelkommunist') and what appears to have been anti-Weimar sentiment among several of the teachers themselves, which Ulrich was referring to when he described Francis Klingender's time at school as 'difficult'.¹⁴³ Given what is known of his intellectual ability, it seems plausible to suggest that Francis may have challenged or questioned aspects of the school ethos which could have further marginalised him among his teachers and peers.

However, what can be said with greater certainty is that Francis Klingender would have witnessed, like many of his generation, the disintegrating spectacle of Weimar's bourgeois democracy and the progressive marginalisation of the KPD

¹⁴¹ Schyga (1999) 75-87. My thanks to Lady Hedwig Williams for the translation from the German for this account (October 2005).

¹⁴² Schyga (1999) 75-87.

¹⁴³ Letter from Ulrich (1966) 3.

after the murder and loss of its immediate post-war leaders, Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Jogiches.¹⁴⁴ Described by Hobsbawm as a 'revolutionary party in a non-revolutionary situation', the KPD had once been the hope of the Moscow Comintern.¹⁴⁵ Germany, the largest of the industrialised European centres and Karl Marx's birthplace, had been seen in the immediate aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution, as the next best prospect for internationalising Communism.¹⁴⁶ The abortive putsch which took place between October 22nd and 23rd 1923, following rising tension over the French occupation of the Ruhr was the beginning of the end for the KPD and marked the start of recriminations between the German and Soviet Comintern over culpability for the event.¹⁴⁷

However, according to Issac Deutscher, the KPD debacle did become a major issue in the power struggle for the subsequent control of the CPSU and the Comintern.¹⁴⁸ At a strategic level, failure in Germany upheld the Soviet Union as the only successful bastion of Communist revolution, an endorsement of the 'Socialism in one country' credo with which Stalin had become publicly associated.¹⁴⁹ The extent to which, as a teenage witness, the unravelling of both democratic and Communist aspirations in Weimar Germany was to prove formative remains at the very least suggestive. However, the timing of the Communist putsch in 1923 and its violent aftermath is consistent with the chronology of Ulrich's letter and Francis Klingender's time at Goslar's Gymnasium.

Research in the Goslar archives has confirmed that Francis and his father were frequent contributors to the local newspaper, the *Goslar Zeitung* (GZ) and its

¹⁴⁴ Callaghan (1987) 2–3 and Evans (2003) 74–75, cite the crushing of the Spartacist revolt and what was effectively the extra-judicial murder of its leaders as an example of the Weimar's army, bureaucracy and judiciary being either unable to control the republic's right wing enemies or being variously complicit with their actions. Klingender cites the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, among others in his article on Heartfield for *Our Time*, Klingender (1944e) 11.

¹⁴⁵ In 1919, the choice of Moscow as the headquarters of the Comintern was envisaged by Lenin as an interim measure, until revolution unfolded in Germany. Hobsbawm (1999) 51–52.

¹⁴⁶ Macfarlane (1986) 90.

¹⁴⁷ Macfarlane (1986) 91.

¹⁴⁸ Deutscher (1964) 141–147.

¹⁴⁹ Deutscher (1990) 390–392.

weekly supplement, on subjects ranging from local architecture, religious iconography and architectural and art history.¹⁵⁰ Between 1924 and 1925, Francis Klingender is listed as having authored five articles.¹⁵¹ The last of these, 'The Monuments of Our Time and the Development of German Art' which was printed in the GZ of June 10th 1925, is particularly relevant for what it conveys about Francis Klingender's early and precocious engagement with aesthetic categories and broader ideas of stylistic and cultural change. The article lists various examples of German Renaissance, Baroque and Classical architecture. The eighteen year old Klingender concludes with the observation:

The Classic and Baroque are the poles of German art. The rhythmic change of renewal from one to the other is the point of its life. Following the French revolution they broke this tradition for more than one hundred years. We look in hope for a new style.¹⁵²

Although highly generalised and forgetful of the contemporary vogue for Jugendstil aesthetics, this article confirms an early and precocious interest in cultural categorisation and stylistic influence which predates any association with Hungarian or British art historians by eight years. Another article, for the *Harzer Heimatland* (June 17th 1925) reviews a book on regional and evidently forgotten picture carvers (*Bildschnitzerfamilien Des Hannoverschen und Hilderscheimschen*) by a Dr Bleibaum. In the closing paragraph, Klingender calls for the examples of

¹⁵⁰ There are various examples that might be cited here. (GZ) Supplement, September 2nd 1924 (141) carries a technically detailed article by Francis Klingender ('News from Town') on the restoration of a decorated door and frame, following fire damage to properties at 3 and 4 Schiele Strasse. (fig. 19) In the GZ supplement of July 8th 1925 (1-2) there is a jointly authored article by Francis and his father on the iconography and history of Goslar's medieval crucifixes. On the July 10th 1925, the GZ supplement (1-2) carried a second leading article by (Francis) Klingender titled 'The Monuments of Our Time and the Development of German Art'.

¹⁵¹ Louis Klingender also appears to have been highly active with twenty-two articles submitted between 1911–1927 of which nineteen were submitted between 1924–1927. This raises the possibility that journalism may have been one of the means by which Louis Klingender supplemented the family income.

¹⁵² Klingender (1925a) 1-2.

such work to be cared for as bearers of the 'artistic imagination of their time' in the same fashion as 'old trees and rock formations'.¹⁵³ It is a striking analogy, suggesting both a conservative and conservationist sensibility, but also an alertness to the nexus between aesthetics and landscape typography.¹⁵⁴ However, this is coupled with an illuminating aside from an eighteen year old:

It is very sad that today you can see shiny paper of dirty magazines richly spiked with sensational illustrations...but not on scientific works...We must greet the work of this very sensitive period [the 18th century] in German art history.¹⁵⁵

Whilst it is plausible to see in this judgement and the religious and architectural subject matter of the various newspaper articles the cultural attitudes and prejudices of Louis Klingender, its declamatory and strident tone is very much that of Francis Klingender's work of the 1920s and mid 1930s. Although unspecific and obviously fragmentary, the teenager's unease with aspects of contemporary Weimar mass culture might suggest the origin of a moralising sensibility at odds with a 'decadent' Modernism. This too, is a thematic within Francis Klingender's later work, albeit one which assumes a Marxist inflexion.

Conclusions

Using available archival evidence and relevant historical context, this chapter has attempted to re-construct aspects of the Klingender family's circumstances and milieu in Goslar before and after the 1914–18 war. As Klingender's curriculum vitae acknowledges, his own interest in art was due to the example of his father, also a

¹⁵³ Klingender (1925b) 3.

¹⁵⁴ It is a pre-occupation which underpins the choice of illustration for *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, Klingender (1947b).

¹⁵⁵ Klingender (1925a) 2.

keen sculptor in wood and bronze.¹⁵⁶ Although it is perhaps too simplistic to see in Louis Klingender's highly naturalistic paintings the stylistic precursor to those art forms which Klingender later supported as a Marxist art historian, it might be argued that Francis Klingender may have internalised, at least at some level, aspects of his father's painting idiom. Louis Klingender is also recorded as having authored two publications before leaving Goslar. One was an introduction to exhibits within Goslar's Museum (*Guide through the Synthetic Department of Goslar Museum*) and the other 'Fruitful Contrasts: Explaining my Theory of Art', an exploration of his naturalistic approach to painting.¹⁵⁷

The paternal example of combining aesthetic practice with its critical exposition through books and journalism may well have been what Francis Klingender had in mind when he acknowledged his father's influence in his 1954 curriculum vitae. Ulrich's citing of Louis Klingender's wide-ranging civic and organisational responsibilities might be seen as having been similarly formative of his son's subsequently driven engagement with social and political affiliations of various kinds. As will be suggested in chapter two, there are traces of Louis Klingender's interests in aesthetics, iconography, history and evolutionary causation which appear within aspects of his son's intellectual engagements.¹⁵⁸ Ulrich's testimony makes one further observation about Francis Klingender from the Goslar years. He recalls:

He must have had a keen interest in antiques himself, as he was in those days forever taking photographs of old locks and door handles of which there were still an abundance at that period. What happened to these collections I do not know.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Letter from Ulrich (1966) 3.

¹⁵⁷ These publications are recorded in a handwritten note in the *DLB* archive (file 9/36). Both were published by the Goslar MuseumVerein (Museum Association). Source: GSA..

¹⁵⁸ One obvious example would be Francis Klingender's article, Klingender (1936a). Both he and his father had separately and jointly explored this subject area in the pages of the *GZ*.

¹⁵⁹ Letter from Ulrich (1966) 5.

Klingender's early antiquarian past time suggests a fascination with both form and function.¹⁶⁰ Ulrich's testimony and the newspaper articles cited above present a picture of the young Francis Klingender as scholarly and intellectually precocious, although the evidence suggests that even within the Goslar gymnasium, he may have had 'outsider' status. However, the range of cultural example (religious iconography, wood carving and architectural history) is overwhelmingly and perhaps unsurprisingly, drawn from Goslar and the legacy of its Imperial past.¹⁶¹ Arguably, Klingender's early interests signify a provincial and conservative orientation, rather than a metropolitan and modernist sensibility. That said, the epithet of 'Edelkommunist' that Ulrich recalls, suggests that at some level Francis Klingender may have begun to radicalise towards Communism whilst still a teenager in Goslar. By extension, it suggests an awareness of Weimar's wider political and social milieu, which, given what is known of his father's political views, Francis may have chosen not to articulate beyond the context of his school peers. Although the degree and extent of such political engagement is unknown, its timing is significant since it suggests that Francis Klingender's Communist ideas were already in formation before he reached London and started his university education at the LSE. If such beliefs preceded the family's arrival in London in 1926/27, the increasingly polarised social and economic situation in the year leading up to the British General Strike could hardly have demonstrated more graphically to the

¹⁶⁰ One of the examples of such an interest can be seen in an article by Francis Klingender which appeared in the GZ of September 2nd 1924. Following a fire which had partially damaged the terraced properties at 3 and 4 Schiele Strasse, the restoration had revealed the remains of a Baroque doorway in the latter property. In a highly detailed article, Klingender describes earlier restorations of the door, its late Baroque frame and records the building's previous owners. The piece concludes with a call for the conservation of such architectural and decorative history. All that remains today is a decorative portal which records a previous owner's motto, date of construction and restoration. (fig.19)

¹⁶¹ Even in present day Goslar, its Gothic and Baroque architectural legacy is evident in the Romanesque churches and the numerous timber framed and slate-clad buildings.

eighteen year old, the compelling inequalities between labour and capital which existed beyond the borders of the town and country of his birth.¹⁶²

¹⁶² The exact timing of the family's departure from Goslar is not known, but the last entry for the Klingender family at 36 Claustorwall (their last known address) in the *Goslar address book* is for 1927/8. This would tie in with Klingender's start at the LSE in September/October 1927.

Chapter Two: Early Years in London c.1927–1934: The London School of Economics (LSE) and Other Intellectual and Political Antecedents

Introduction

This chapter will offer a reading and interpretation of some of the educational influences and political experiences which characterised Francis Klingender's seven years at the London School of Economics (LSE), between 1927 and 1934.¹ In doing so, it will attempt to describe the LSE's distinct educational ethos, exploring the role of those tutors Klingender openly acknowledged as having been particularly formative of his own intellectual development during his undergraduate and postgraduate years.² Specifically, the chapter will consider the extent to which the anthropological ideas of Bronislaw Malinowski and the sociological theories of Lionel T. Hobhouse and Morris Ginsberg provided Klingender with a conceptual framework, which, whilst sharing some of the attributes of the *kunstsociologie* or 'art sociology' subsequently disseminated by émigrés such as Antal, actually derived from a synthesis which included nineteenth century British empirical and positivist thought.³ In teasing out these inter-connections, I will suggest that among the reasons for Klingender's cogent engagement with a Marxist-Leninist conception of the role of art and the aesthetic was this prior exposure to sociological and anthropological paradigms, similarly grounded in materialist and functionalist epistemology.⁴ The chapter will also explore the extent and character of Klingender's involvement in LSE student politics, which ran alongside his external political affiliations both in relation to the CPGB and also the Comintern backed League Against Imperialism (LAI).

¹ Klingender's undergraduate LSE records have been lost. However, the start of this period at the LSE is suggested in a hand written note in the DLB archive (DLB file g/36), which notes 'LSE–1927–30'. However, the available sources agree on this as the probable starting window. See: Elton (1972) preface viii and Saville and Bellamy (1993) 162.

² Klingender (1954a).

³ Egbert (1970) 565.

⁴ By this I mean theories of knowledge and judgements of cultural value which are, *a priori*, utilitarian and socio-political in application. See for example Plekhanov (1953) 19–56 and 100–139.

Early Years in London

Characterising Klingender's first years in London, Elton wrote:

There followed a period of privation, when Klingender had not only to complete his own higher education, in a language in which he was not completely fluent, but at the same time had to support both himself and his mother and father, whose work, to his bewildered mortification, had become not only unfashionable but unsaleable.⁵ During this period his mother returned to Germany where she died in 1944.⁶

Elton's description of these initial years as peripatetic and difficult is corroborated by information held in Francis Klingender's MI5 security file.⁷ Although the first entry is dated June 3rd 1931, six years after the family's probable arrival from Germany, a picture emerges of a continuing hand to mouth existence, with frequent changes of address and claims of rent-arrears. One entry, possibly gleaned from a former landlord or neighbour states that Klingender had moved to other lodgings because of inability to afford the rent.⁸ Another entry records a temporary address as being a second floor flat at 51 Great Ormond Street, which is noted as being in multiple occupation by 'a

⁵ There is a note on Klingender's MI5 security file (memorandum dated June 3rd 1931) which records his father's address as being 39 Stanhope Gardens. There are five possibilities within the A-Z (Edition 3, *Geographers' A-Z Map Co. Ltd.*, 1995) four of which are in north-west London, proximate to Klingender's recorded addresses from this period. There is no mention of Klingender's mother so it is possible that she had already left Louis Klingender by this time.

⁶ Elton (1972) preface viii. No corroboration is provided for this statement and it is not referred to elsewhere within the available literature.

⁷ As Christopher Andrew notes, MI5 was responsible for 'counter-espionage on British territory and for detecting Communist and other seditious movements within the armed forces' (1999) 3. The Special Branch (SB) was charged with oversight of 'civilian revolutionary movements'. These formal responsibilities were revised in 1931 when MI5 took over the SB role, excepting 'Irish and Anarchist Matters' which remained with the SB. Andrew (1999) 6. However, in the normal course of events, different security forces continued to pass on or share information where it was considered appropriate to do so. This seems to explain the varied origins, and variable referencing, within Klingender's security file which covers SB, Metropolitan Police, internal MI5 and County Police Force sources of information.

⁸ The typed note is dated October 26th 1931. The forwarding address was 8 Belsize Lane Hampstead.

number of foreigners'.⁹ Given the varied sources of information and changes in authorship one would reasonably expect differences in the spelling of Klingender's name which is indeed the case.¹⁰ However, the file entries for this period suggest that Klingender may have used at least one alias, that of Fred Klinger.¹¹ There are at least two explanations for the name change. Firstly, the use of aliases was widespread within CPGB circles, presumably to safeguard identities at a time when there was considerable police and Special Branch interest in its public and more clandestine activities.¹² Secondly, as Winder has noted, the anglicising of foreign names in the years before and after the 1914 – 18 war was widespread practice among immigrant German, Hungarian and Jewish communities. This was as a practical step towards assimilation at a time when both 'official' attitudes and those in host communities to cultural and racial difference varied considerably.¹³

Employment with Rudolf Mosse Limited

Elton records Klingender's first employment with the 'advertising agency Rudolf Mosse Ltd.', which he combined with registration as a part-time student at the LSE.¹⁴ A handwritten and unsigned note in the *DLB* archive describes

⁹ The note is dated September 30th 1931. Another address which is recorded for the previous May is 6 Mecklenburgh Street (WC1).

¹⁰ For example, some of the entries are internal memoranda from Special Branch personnel or from Metropolitan Police Officers. Many others are simply (initialled) handwritten or typewritten texts. These variations occur throughout the three volumes of files seen by the author.

¹¹ The name description does not appear to have been the result of a recording error since the informant states that the subject had referred to himself as 'Fred Klinger, ' (unreferenced page). Variations in the recording of Klingender's name continue throughout the three files. One file entry (February dated 23rd 1951), and signed by Kingston Upon Hull's Chief Constable, records three names including Fred Donald Miller and Fred Donald Klingender. Perhaps Klingender felt his first name insufficiently proletarian, and his surname too Germanic sounding?

¹² In this context, it should be noted that in October 1925 twelve prominent CPGB leaders had been arrested, charged and imprisoned for sedition. Klugmann (1969) 74–78.

¹³ Winder (2005) 259 suggests that the legacy of the Anti-Aliens Act had helped to create 'a culture of official harassment and suspicion'. This would have been more appreciable with German-sounding names like Klingender, probably compounded by vehement establishment opposition to Communist ideology. Such attitudes are appreciable in the tone of much of the third party information garnered by the security file. Francis Klingender's cousin, Percy Martin Secker (1882–1978) (the future partner of the Secker and Warburg publishing company), changed the Klingender name by deed poll in 1910, possibly for similar reasons. See: *Dictionary of National Biography* entry (Secker Martin) at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/47449>.

¹⁴ Elton (1972) preface viii.

Klingender's position as an 'Ad Assistant' with the dates 1927–1930.¹⁵ The London branch of the agency was part of the Mosse family newspaper and advertising company, established by publisher, entrepreneur and founding editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, Rudolf Mosse (1843–1920).¹⁶ By 1917 the Mosse organisation comprised independent branches throughout Germany, Austria, and Switzerland in addition to 280 agencies including the London branch which Klingender had joined.¹⁷

How Klingender gained employment with this particular company is a matter for speculation. It is possible that his father, a relative, or perhaps other recent émigrés, had connections with a member of the Mosse family which may have assisted an introduction.¹⁸ Both the Mosse brothers Albert (1846–1925) and Rudolf were prominent within Weimar Berlin's liberal Jewish community, the latter a noted philanthropist and art-collector. In this context, Dora, the daughter of Caroline and Albert Mosse married the art historian Erwin Panofsky.¹⁹ With his wife, Emilie, Rudolf Mosse is recorded as having founded a home for impoverished children in Wilmersdorf and opened a hospital in Grätz.²⁰ However, it seems as likely that as a student with bi-lingual abilities and having recently matriculated from a senior school, Francis Klingender would have met the profile for copy-editing and advertising work within the German company on

¹⁵ DLB Archive (file g36). The shorthand could signify either 'Administrative' or 'Advertising' Assistant.

¹⁶ There is an extensive Mosse Family Archive with the bulk of the material covering the years 1828–1982, housed at the Leo Baeck Institute for Jewish History, 15 West 16th Street New York. See: <http://www.cjh.org/academic/findingaids/lbi/nhprc/MosseFamily.html> (April 2005).

¹⁷ The company was badly hit by the depression in Germany in the 1930s and declared bankruptcy. In 1933 its remaining assets were seized by the National Socialist Party. An attempt to re-open business after the war was unsuccessful and the family business finally closed in 1960. See: <http://www.cjh.org/academic/findingaids/lbi/nhprc/MosseFamily.html> (April 2005).

¹⁸ There is a listing of an Art Collection (Box 2, Folder 23) in the Mosse Family Archive. However, there are no holdings of paintings by either Louis Klingender or C.F. Deiker which might assist in suggesting some formal linkage or business dealings between the families.

¹⁹ I can find no evidence of any connection between Panofsky and the Klingender family in what appears to be the authoritative source: Wuttke (2003).

²⁰ Formerly part of the Grand Duchy of Posen, now Wielkopolski, Poland. See: *The Times Concise Atlas*, (1986) 31, J3.

his own merits.²¹ It also appears that Rudolf Mosse had been an enlightened employer, having established an insurance fund for his employees.²² Given what is known of the Klingender family situation at this time, this may well have been a relevant consideration.²³

Klingender's 1954 curriculum vitae records the award of a First Class BSc in Economics (with the special subject of Sociology), in 1930.²⁴ Throughout his undergraduate study, and presumably to stave off privation, and keep his parents, Klingender appears to have worked full-time at Mosse Ltd., and then studied part-time.²⁵ Despite the change in family circumstances, language and culture, Klingender lost little time and momentum in pursuing his choice of university subject. By staying within the educational system he thereby increased the longer-term prospects of finding professional or related employment. With a brief interlude, possibly of a term or less, Klingender therefore returned to postgraduate study in 1930, starting a doctoral thesis on patterns and developments in clerical employment, titled *The Black-Coated*

²¹ Saville recalled that Klingender was fluent in English but with a German intonation. Fluency in his home tongue appeared to have stayed with him. In the later 1940s Klingender is cited in the AIA newsletters and bulletins as translating for visiting German artists and writers. His fluency in a language other than English made him a useful choice for overseas visits and delegations to other left-orientated cultural organisations. See for example Klingender (1947c) 2.

²² This kind of paternalism has to be seen in the context of the time. For example, the contributory old age pension was not legislated until 1925, only coming into force three years later. In the absence of a National Health Service, there were only ad hoc systems involving self-help, charity for the sick poor and ultimately the poor law. Branson and Heinemann (1971) 226–232.

²³ There is a Special Branch memorandum from Klingender's security file dated June 3rd 1931 which notes his manager at Mosse as being a Mr Fritzsche. This would suggest that Klingender's time at Mosse spanned most of his undergraduate and a substantial part of his graduate years at the LSE.

²⁴ A formal Sociology BSc pathway was not proposed until 1936. Dahrendorf (1995) 248. The LSE Registry have confirmed that although Klingender's original undergraduate records are lost, they do have postgraduate records for the Ratan Tata Foundation Scholarship which was awarded for one year for research in 1930. This suggests there was no break between the completion of his undergraduate study and acceptance for doctoral registration. The other recipient was a Meyer Forte (Email from George Kiloh, LSE Registry, 2005). Forte went onto gain a chair in Social Anthropology at Cambridge University. Young (2004) xxvii.

²⁵ At the time of Klingender's postgraduate registration, study opportunities for part-time or, in LSE nomenclature, 'occasional students', had expanded considerably. In the period 1919–1937, the ratio between such categories reversed resulting in a 2:1 ratio in favour of part-time study. Dahrendorf (1995) 173.

Worker in London. This was submitted and awarded in 1934.²⁶ It seems plausible that the passport or visa photograph of Klingender lodged in his MI5 security file dates from his postgraduate period at the LSE when he would have been in his mid to later twenties (**fig. 20**).

The LSE Ethos and Klingender's Academic Influences c.1927–1934

The LSE had been founded in 1895 by the Fabian socialists Sidney and Beatrice Webb who were committed to harnessing economic theory for the 'greater benefit of the people'.²⁷ Among its unique features was that most day lectures and classes were repeated between 5pm and 9pm for part-time students. This progressive educational pattern naturally enabled the combination of work and study which applied to many students in a similar economic situation to Klingender.²⁸ Additionally, Klingender's arrival coincided with a considerable expansion of the LSE assisted by major endowments for new buildings and additional academic staff from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and from the Rockefeller Foundation itself, totalling \$710,000 by 1931.²⁹ Similarly, the two-year Ratan Tata research studentship

²⁶ His doctorate explored the economic profile and social status of clerical work and related professions of the time. In 1935, the thesis was extended and published in monograph form by Martin Lawrence as *The Condition of Clerical Labour in Britain*. As Saville and Bellamy note (1993) 162, chapter 9 in volume 8 of the *New Survey of London Life and Labour*, directed by Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, was taken from data that Klingender had researched for his thesis. Llewellyn Smith had been a friend and contemporary of Lionel Hobhouse, one of Klingender's LSE tutors, at Marlborough College Collini (1979) 53. It seems plausible to suggest that Klingender's ability and Hobhouse's friendship with Llewellyn Smith may have assisted Klingender's introduction to social science publishing. Dahrendorf (1995) 166, notes that the work of the *New Survey* was funded from Rockefeller benefactions.

²⁷ Snowman (2002) 157–158.

²⁸ Dahrendorf (1995) 173.

²⁹ Dahrendorf (1995) 167.

which Klingender was awarded in 1930 was the outcome of private philanthropy.³⁰

John Saville, one of Klingender's future friends and colleagues at Hull, arrived at the LSE in 1934, Klingender's last year as a postgraduate student.³¹ Similarly active in the student CPGB (he was an organiser of the LSE communist group), Saville's recently published memoirs evoke an educational institution with a student profile which was internationalist and socially inclusive. He notes:

The atmosphere in the common room and refectory was cosmopolitan; above all, public schoolboys were few and the ethos of the British public schools was wholly absent.³²

As a doctoral student, Klingender and his postgraduate peers would have been allocated their own social spaces, but as Saville recalls, the majority mixed and socialised with the undergraduates in their third floor common rooms and within the shared refectory space (**fig. 21**).³³ Saville recalls a highly charged political environment, radicalised by the world economic depression, the rise of the National Socialists in Germany and a resurgent Soviet Union just admitted to a permanent council presence on the League of Nations and as yet untarnished

³⁰ There is a note on Klingender's security file dated December 11th 1933 which states that it was for £200, although no source or corroboration is offered for this. The note continues 'he is regarded as a student of outstanding ability'. This is also unreferenced, but the context suggests a student peer or tutor. In the *DLB* Archive (*DLB* file g/36) there is also a hand written note which records 'Hon mention Hugh Lewis Essay Prize'. Dahrendorf (1995) 124–126. Ratan Tata was the name of the second son of the founder of the industrial and commercial conglomerate of that name. Such benefactions had covered the costs of the merger of the School of Sociology with the LSE and for the establishment of the School of Social Studies. Although the business dynasty collapsed in the 1920s, the funds for the initial endowment had kept the award going. Among those who decided the funding decisions for students were two of Klingender's cited mentors, Ginsberg and Hobhouse.

³¹ John Saville (b1916–). Saville became a Professor Economic History at the University of Hull. He remained active within the CPGB until the invasion of Hungary in 1956. He was among those who initiated the oppositional journal *The New Reasoner*, the precursor to *The New Left Review*. At interview (2002), Saville confirmed that he knew of Klingender by reputation at this time.

³² Saville (2003) 1.

³³ Saville (2003) 1.

by show trials.³⁴ It was an environment in which the political left played a 'vociferous' part in the LSE's formal and informal debates and discussions.³⁵ For those students on the left it was also a close-knit community with Saville recalling that there would have been at most twenty to thirty members of the LSE Communist Group in 1934, Klingender's final postgraduate year.³⁶ In the words of Aubrey Jones, one of Klingender's contemporaries, 'by far the keenest political interest was evoked by Marxism'.³⁷ Despite the modest size of the LSE's Communist contingent in these years, it appears to have exercised a disproportionate influence among undergraduates, due in no small part to its organisational ability and the increasingly precarious situation of national politics and international capital. Norman Mackenzie, a student in the later 1930s, recalled its particular accomplishments in agitational-propaganda:

Though small in membership, it [the student CP] could ensure a steady flow of *The Daily Worker* and *Labour Monthly*, speakers, resolutions, Soviet films and candidates for Union and other elections.³⁸

Additionally, the Communist stance on anti-imperialism was attractive to the sizeable minority of students from the Indian sub-continent, and elsewhere, opposed to the British Empire.³⁹

³⁴ Russia was formally admitted to the League of Nations in September 1934. Kennedy-Pipe (1998) 38–39. The first purges in the Soviet Union occurred 1936–38. See: Sebag-Montefiore (2004) 194–198. Although Saville concedes that they were discussed at the time, he argues that the deteriorating situation in Germany and the onset of the Spanish Civil War detracted from the attention given to the press coverage. Saville (2003) 34. Less charitable readings of the CPGB's refusal to engage in the reality of the show trials are made by Eaden and Renton (2002) 65–66. Branson (1985) 248, one of Saville's contemporaries and a life-long CPGB activist and Party historian, rationalised the failure to act in terms of deference to the CPSU and the Comintern.

³⁵ Saville (2003) 5.

³⁶ Saville (2003) 7. *The Clare Market Review (CMR)* (Michaelmas Term 1935) 30, records that the Marxist Society and the Socialist Society had combined, presumably due to fluctuating numbers. It supports Saville's recollection of relatively small, but highly politicised student coteries. This was the year after Klingender's departure.

³⁷ Abse (1997) 33.

³⁸ Abse (1997) 54.

³⁹ Abse (1997) 55.

The personal and intellectual impact of this academic environment on Klingender, aged eighteen or nineteen at the point of first registration and a recent Weimar émigré, must have been significant. The LSE ethos and the influence of its tutors was to prove formative for Klingender, a point acknowledged in his curriculum vitae, re-drafted a year before his death.

Klingender notes:

To that interest [in art] my training in sociology at the London School of Economics under Hobhouse, Malinowski and Ginsberg added a new dimension, so that most of my theoretical work since the early 1930s has been concerned with the sociology of art.⁴⁰

Like Saville, Klingender took an economics degree, but with sociology as a special subject. From Saville, we can gauge the overall composition of his degree. He recalls:

...the structure of the BSc. Economics degree encouraged reading over a wide range of the social sciences...political history, social philosophy and the history of political ideas were among the additional options to the three compulsory papers of any one specialism.⁴¹

More detail of the syllabus that Klingender would have taken can be gained from Lionel Robbins, a Professor of Economics during Klingender's LSE tenure. In the first year, Economics students would typically have taken Elements of Economics which included applications in Money Supply, Banking, International Trade, Economic History, British Constitutional History, Logic, Scientific Method, Geography and also a translation paper.⁴² Aubrey Jones recalled, 'to know Economics then, one had to know German', although Saville qualified the

⁴⁰ Klingender (1954a).

⁴¹ Saville (2003) 6.

⁴² Robbins (1971) 75.

assertion by stating that the general linguistic level required was not much beyond the contemporary 'A' level standard in whichever language option was chosen.⁴³ In this context, and given his German background, intellectual ability and increasing fluency in English, Klingender's achievement of a first class degree is unsurprising. In the subsequent and final years, students would then take papers in Economics, Politics and History and a special subject. As noted, in Klingender's case, this was sociology.⁴⁴ Looking back to this period, Klingender cites three intellectual mentors, Malinowski, Hobhouse and Ginsberg, all of whom were to play innovative, recognised and controversial parts in the extension and definition of their respective academic disciplines.⁴⁵ It could be reasoned that their combined teaching and research presence must have provided Klingender and other student cohorts from that period, with an intense and stimulating academic environment.⁴⁶

Bronislaw Malinowski

Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) was appointed to the LSE's first chair in Social Anthropology in 1927, having joined the staff in 1913 and named Reader in Anthropology in 1924 (**fig. 22**)⁴⁷. He is widely regarded as one of the founders of modern social anthropology as a 'social science' through his efforts to combine extensive fieldwork as a 'participant observer' with theoretical analysis.⁴⁸ A Polish émigré, Malinowski may well have provided Klingender with an example of a distinguished academic who had changed direction and culture (his first doctorate had been in Philosophy, Physics and Mathematics), to

⁴³ Abse (1997) 38. Saville interview (2005).

⁴⁴ As noted earlier, the curriculum would have simply been duplicated and delivered in the evening sessions for occasional or part-time students such as Klingender.

⁴⁵ Dahrendorf (1995) 244–249.

⁴⁶ Malinowski's correspondence (section 7) has now been fully catalogued by the LSE archives (2005) although there is no mention of Klingender in this documentation or elsewhere in the archive.

⁴⁷ See: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/resources/LSEHistory/malinowski.htm> (May & June 2005).

⁴⁸ For purposes of definition, social anthropology will be taken to refer to factors of ethnicity, ritual, functionalism and kinship. These are studied by fieldwork, structural analysis and language. See: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/resources/LSEHistory/malinowski.htm> (May & June 2005).

pursue his academic interest.⁴⁹ Whilst at the LSE, Malinowski's lecture courses included 'Primitive Religion and Social Differentiation' and 'Social Psychology'.⁵⁰ Through these and his fieldwork, he developed the synthesis of cultural theory with psychological science that resulted in his concept of 'functionalism'. According to this theory, 'culture' should be viewed as the accumulation of collective habits which are ultimately instrumental in character. It exists to 'meet the basic biological, psychological, and social needs of the individual'.⁵¹ The corollary of this is that social and cultural institutions arise from, and are various forms of, human and social 'need'. As Martin Albrow notes:

It asserts that it is through society that human beings develop institutionalised practices which enhance the development of human powers, creative expression, fulfilment of desire and satisfaction of need.⁵²

Malinowski's functionalist theory, like that of the early Marx, suggests that society signifies a collective need of which its social character is the ultimate expression.⁵³ Later critics have identified the limitations of this approach.⁵⁴ Albrow suggests that it has difficulty in recognising the cultural diversity and

⁴⁹ In both cases, the distinctions between subjects and discourses are not an absolute one. In Malinowski's case, aspects of philosophy and epistemology informed the theories of functionalism with which he is associated. See: Moore (1997) 128.

⁵⁰ Since Klingender's special subject was sociology it can be reasonably assumed that he attended one or both of these lecture courses in addition to his main study of Economics.

⁵¹ Moore (1997) 132.

⁵² Albrow (1999) 111.

⁵³ The analogy here would be Marx's idea of an inalienable 'species being' which pre-determines specific forms of human interaction and co-operation. This sponsored the idea that post-capitalism, Socialism would liberate and reveal the 'whole man'. See: Fischer (1981) 19–28; Eagleton (2000) 132–133. Although Marx's *a priori* belief in this is not empirical, his concept of human consciousness as an expression of environmental determination is consonant with the direction of Darwinian thinking. Fischer (1981) 22–27.

⁵⁴ For example, Moore (1997) suggests that Malinowski tended to apply the paradigm of the Trobriand islands case to unrelated traditional societies in general and that complex motivational behaviours could be reduced to reflexes of utility. Additionally, some traditional societies frequently retained aspects of cultural practice which had no appreciable 'utility' in Malinowski's sense, but which held customary or symbolic importance (137).

complexity of institutions when traced back to their supposed human need.⁵⁵ Additionally, it defines society as 'an open-ended solution to needs when we know that there are a restricted number of options and of these some are universal, for instance norms and authority'.⁵⁶ However, in teasing out the precise nature of Klingender's intellectual debt to Malinowski, I would suggest that it was the latter's anthropological approach to cultural values as adaptive and utilitarian which provided Klingender with an academic introduction to issues of social causation and cultural development, albeit as anthropological, rather than primarily socio-political phenomenon.⁵⁷ One example of Klingender applying Malinowski's instrumental theory of cultural value (culture understood here in its widest anthropological sense) is apparent in a polemical piece, 'Bertrand Russell and Marxism' which he authored while a postgraduate in February 1933 for *The Student Vanguard*.⁵⁸ Discussing the nature of human engagement with 'objective reality', Klingender writes:

In fact, man only enquires into the nature of his environment as a part of his task in producing the necessities for his life in struggle with that environment and the criterion for the correctness of any given piece of knowledge is whether it leads him to success in that struggle. In other words, man regards a particular theory of any natural phenomenon as more correct than any other, if it enables him to control and put to use that phenomenon...⁵⁹

While such sentiments might be found within the extant Marxist-Leninist literature of the time, this example does illustrate the potential social

⁵⁵ This has resonance for Klingender's own sociological reading of art practice and stylistic change which becomes apparent in his essay 'Content and Form in Art' (1935).

⁵⁶ Albrow (1999) 111–112.

⁵⁷ Subsequent to drafting this, I read Herbert Read's preface (viii) to the 1968 Sidgwick & Jackson edition of *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*. Read suggests the possibility that of the LSE tutors Klingender cites, Malinowski could have influenced the former's art sociology. However, the observation is not amplified.

⁵⁸ Klingender (1933a) 17–19.

⁵⁹ Klingender (1933a) 19.

applicability of the anthropological paradigm just discussed. Additionally, Klingender's valuation of 'art' as being among the most socially prominent and important 'of the great value-forming agencies' suggests an anthropological awareness or engagement with its role within a wider symbolic and ritualistic system, rather than signifying the more limited construct suggested by the western, 'fine art' academic tradition.⁶⁰ Similarly, the evident materialism of Malinowski's approach to the formation of cultural values was consonant with the trajectory of Marxist-Leninist thinking.⁶¹ That Malinowski's social anthropological method was influential is demonstrated by Klingender's cumulative and systematic approach to data collection, appreciable in work such as *The Condition of Clerical Labour in Britain* (1935). Even if the locale is less exotic than his mentor's, Klingender's first published monograph is a Marxist work of class ethnography *sine qua non*.⁶²

I would suggest that some of the subsequent over-determinations of Klingender's art sociology are similarly traceable to Malinowski's ethnographical methods and the broader empirical and positivist ethos of the LSE and not simply the reductive Marxist orthodoxy which informed aspects of the British cultural left in the 1930s.⁶³ Malinowski's first doctorate had been on the physicist and philosopher Ernst Mach whose belief in knowledge as a means of meeting human needs was to inflect the anthropologist's subsequent thought.⁶⁴ Michael Young, Malinowski's most recent biographer, argues that Mach remained

⁶⁰ Klingender (1954a) 1. Although the context of Klingender's observations was in the form of retrospective summary, the scope and focus of his late writing, confirms the durability of this ethnographic background.

⁶¹ By this I mean the idea that culture is rooted in a physiology of need which is 'utilitarian, adaptive and functionally integrated'. Moore (1997) 135.

⁶² The contemporary experience and formation of the rising generation of middle class professionals was of immense social and political topicality. As Wood notes (1959) 38, by 1934 there was an estimated 'black-coat' force of 300,000 to 400,000 in professional and clerical occupations who were unemployed. According to Marxist analysis, and at times of particular economic and social stress, such declassé bourgeois elements could serve the causes of revolution or reaction. See for example: Fischer (1981) 74–75.

⁶³ In both cases, Darwinian theories were important in providing 'biological variation as a model for enquiry into the nature of human differences'. Moore (1997) 15–16.

⁶⁴ Ernst Mach (1838–1916) was a Moravian scientist and polymath whose name is variously associated with jet aircraft, the speed of sound, physics and human physiology. Mach claimed that the basis of natural philosophy was that knowledge is a matter of sensation and that the 'laws of nature' are actually summaries of experience provided by fallible senses. Young (2004) 83 and also: <http://scienceworld.wolfram.com/biography>.

among his subject's most durable and crucial influences, not least because of the Darwinian and strongly instrumental caste to his thinking.⁶⁵ Additionally, Young makes the point that the majority of Mach's training had in fact been in the areas of philosophy, physics and mathematics. In this context, he notes:

Since Mach took up neither mathematics or physics as a career, it is reasonable to assume that it was his training as a philosopher that most shaped his future thinking.⁶⁶

Similarly, it is plausible to argue that among the reasons for Klingender's subsequently respectful citing of Malinowski's influence was his mentor's receptivity to broader philosophical discourse, internalised from Mach, and arguably signified by his belief in the instrumental and adaptive value of culture.⁶⁷

Klingender's belief in the scientific and objectivity of Marxist dialectic, evident in his final postgraduate years at the LSE, is consistent with such neo-Darwinian empiricism. Malinowski's ethnography provided a practical and theoretical conduit through which Klingender assimilated the ideas of empirically minded theorists who looked to material causation in explaining social and cultural phenomena. For example, Mach's name is cited in debates around social Darwinism which appear within Marxist historiography from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁶⁸ For example, both Karl Kautsky and Frederick Engels were instrumental in constructing (and popularising) a Marxist

⁶⁵ Young (2004) 83–84.

⁶⁶ Young (2004) 81.

⁶⁷ Young (2004) 175 notes in passing that Malinowski was a good friend of the Finnish anglophile Tancred Borenius (1885–1948). Borenius subsequently became a Professor in Art History at UCL.

⁶⁸ Carew Hunt (1963) 211 and Neil Harding (1996) 221–222 records Mach's influence on the Bolshevik A. A. Manilovsky (known as Bogdanov). A contemporary of Lenin, Bogdanov published a three volume study, titled *Empiriomonism*, which explored the relevance of Mach's ideas for a scientific Marxism. This in turn sparked a debate with Lenin over the role of mind and matter in causation. Klingender references Mach in his essay on Bertrand Russell. Klingender (1933a) 19. Malinowski's thinking has influenced ecological anthropology as well as sociobiology. Although the latter stems from Darwinian selection, it has adopted Malinowski's functionalist and adaptive approach to cultural behaviours. See: Moore (1997) 138.

determinism derived from the paradigm of natural history.⁶⁹ But, as Greta Jones has noted, Darwinian ideas were appropriated to legitimate a range of causes across the political and social science spectrum throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁷⁰ However, Marx had particularly welcomed Darwin's secular critique and its refusal of a (religious) teleology in the natural sciences.⁷¹

The influence of Darwinian paradigms on philosophical thought and the social sciences in this period was profound and durable.⁷² It is hardly surprising that the *weltanschauung* of the generation of tutors which lectured Klingender and his contemporaries had been informed by ideas of natural selection, species variation and human evolution relevant to their respective disciplines.⁷³ As Jones notes, 'social Darwinism was to a great extent the product of existing assumptions about the character of sociology'.⁷⁴ In consequence, the thinkers who were influential on the development of Klingender's thought at this stage were either, or had been, formative of sociological discourse itself: Hobhouse and Ginsberg, or influential in its anthropological application (Malinowski).⁷⁵ Given these theoretical influences it seems plausible to suggest that one among the reasons for Klingender's susceptibility to Marxist analysis, and the sense of intellectual camaraderie and empathy he appears to have shared with Antal, was the joint engagement with a sociological tradition which shared the broader precepts of causation, functionality and social development with continental *kunstsociologie*.⁷⁶ It should also be stated here, that in addition to such internal

⁶⁹ Fischer (1981) 159.

⁷⁰ Jones (1980) 35–53 and 54–77.

⁷¹ Jones (1980) 64.

⁷² Randall (1961) 435–462.

⁷³ Hobhouse was concerned to establish a scientific basis for 'moral' evolution and looked to Darwinism to provide one, Jones (1980) 48. Malinowski, although conceding the centrality of Darwinian principle, gave attention to actual social processes as they occurred within society. He stated 'Evolutionism is, at present, rather unfashionable. Nevertheless its main assumptions are not only valid, but also they are indispensable to the field worker as well as to the student of theory'. Jones (1980) 161.

⁷⁴ Jones (1980) 4.

⁷⁵ Although Hobhouse was ostensibly a sociologist, Dahrendorf (1995) 243, notes that he was 'as much an anthropologist as a sociologist at least so far as the data used for his evolutionary theories were (sic) concerned'.

⁷⁶ As suggested in chapter one (24) it is suggested that Klingender would have been exposed to materialist and positivist ideas whilst at school in Goslar. In this regard, LSE teaching would have provided elements of continuity.

academic mediations, there was, as Wood notes, the further influence of the 'social relations of science movement', which was concerned to assert the social and practical utility of scientific discourse to communitarian ends.⁷⁷ This forum was increasingly active from 1932 onwards, the period contemporary with Klingender's postgraduate tenure.⁷⁸ Wood notes:

Rooted in the British scientific-rationalist tradition as well as in Communist theory, the movement captured the imaginations of scientists of varied social and political outlook: liberals, socialists, Marxists, communists, and 'scientific humanists'. With the exception, perhaps of the Soviet Union, there was nowhere else a comparable movement among scientists, at least one so vigorous and influential'.⁷⁹

Klingender's specific views on the social relations of science movement are not known, although it would be plausible to suggest that he was generally supportive of, and engaged with, scientific applications. His most well known book, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* explores art as a crucial means by which the spectacle of industrial technology unleashed by (applied) science, is mediated.⁸⁰ A social scientist by training, Klingender counted prominent scientists among his friends. Of the three referees for his 1948 Sociology application for the then University College of Hull, two (Professor John Desmond D. Bernal and Julian Huxley), were highly active and vocal members of this movement.⁸¹ The third, Professor Alastair C. Hardy, an Oxford zoologist,

⁷⁷ Wood (1959) 121. For an account of the movement see: Werskey (1978).

⁷⁸ Wood (1959) 123–4 records that the movement grew rapidly after the Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology which had been held in London, from June 30 to July 4th 1931. It was attended by a high profile delegation representing the Soviet CPSU and the Comintern, headed by Nikolai Bukharin.

⁷⁹ Wood (1959) 121.

⁸⁰ See for example the section on Joseph Wright of Derby in Klingender (1972) 46–55.

⁸¹ Letters on Klingender Personnel file (1948). Bernal had probably met Klingender either through the AIA or the SCR. See Chapter three for a fuller consideration of their association. Described by Wood as a 'scientific humanist', Huxley was a life-long friend, mentor and supporter of Klingender's. He provided a second obituary for his friend, praising Klingender as possessing a 'rare combination of great erudition with broad and varied interests' Huxley (1955) 11. For a wider consideration of Bernal's involvement with the C.P. Werskey (1978).

would have at least been a Darwinist, even if not a member. As a rationalist and essentially pro-Communist forum, it seems unlikely that Klingender would have opposed its objectives.⁸² The cumulative effect of such ideas, mediated through influential teachers and contemporary scientific forums should not be underestimated for Klingender, then in his middle twenties.

Lionel T. Hobhouse

The second intellectual influence acknowledged by Klingender's curriculum vitae was that of Leonard Trelawney Hobhouse (1864–1929). An academic at both London and Oxford Universities, his appointment in 1907 to a chair at the LSE was the first of its kind in British sociology (**fig. 23**).⁸³ Hobhouse was a liberal thinker, journalist and social theorist whose work arose from opposition to what he perceived as the deep social and economic inequalities of the age.⁸⁴ Hobhouse was a leading proponent of the English school of 'social liberalism' or 'new liberalism'.⁸⁵ In contradistinction to the classical liberal model with its focus on the individual and the assumption of conflict between citizen and state, Hobhouse believed it was possible to reconcile personal with collective or communal liberties without compromising the integrity or well-being of the individual. An opponent of imperialism, and the application of Darwinian principles to social theory, he believed social relationships were the expression of rational and self-expressive norms and as such all social interaction was believed to be unproblematic.⁸⁶ As a corollary of this, he believed in extensive government regulation and economic intervention which, it was argued, would enable (and reconcile) individual and collective development.⁸⁷

⁸² Wood notes (1959) that the movement's attempts to prescribe scientific discourse according to proto-Communist objectives, eventually provoked a backlash from the more sceptical members of the scientific community and by 1948 and the onset of the Cold War it had lost credibility and support. The episode recalls shades of the Lysenko debate in the Soviet Union. Boobbyer (2000) 148–150.

⁸³ Lee (1993) 246.

⁸⁴ He had started out as a socialist radical in his days at Oxford. Collini (1979) 79–87.

⁸⁵ See: <http://www.liberal-international.org/editorial.asp> (June 2005).

⁸⁶ Collini (1979) 154–165.

⁸⁷ See: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New-liberalism> (May 2005).

Critics have pointed to specific weaknesses in this thesis. Firstly, the concept of harmony as presented precluded economic and social competition, otherwise seen as a positive and dynamic by classical liberal thought.⁸⁸ Secondly, Hobhouse tended to homogenise human interests, assuming overall compatibility between people's goals and aspirations, rather than the possibility of inherent contradictions and tensions between personal and communal rights and obligations.⁸⁹ Although active in support of the Labour and reform movement, Hobhouse eschewed both German Idealism and revolutionary Marxism. It is therefore unlikely that Klingender found, then or later, specific intellectual endorsements from this source for his own subsequent Communist affiliations.⁹⁰ Given his tutor's background as a liberal philosopher, this should hardly be surprising. However, the dual liberal concepts of an interventionist state and arrogation to the common good were to be revised and re-interpreted by Communist thinking, even if the definition and context of their eventual application were to be radically different from the norms envisaged for Edwardian England. At the LSE, Hobhouse's main lecture course covered 'Social Evolution' in which emphasis was given to 'social morphology' as the basis for social evolution.⁹¹ As will be seen in chapter five, the extent to which Klingender reads off pictorial style as an index to ideology and class character in his first essay on the subject, 'Content and Form in Art' (1935) suggests a striking transposition of technique, with morphology applied to aesthetic rather than evolutionary phenomena.

Stefan Collini has qualified Hobhouse's intellectual and pedagogic legacy by suggesting that his 'evolutionary' sociology ultimately derived from a form of 'moral collectivism' and 'idealist teleology', rather than the rigorous or scientific objectivity which other proponents of the social sciences such as William

⁸⁸ Carter (1968) 88–116.

⁸⁹ <http://www.liberal-international.org/editorial.asp> (June 2005).

⁹⁰ In passing, Hobhouse perceived in recent manifestations of art part of the decline in moral and ethical standards he claimed were pervasive. In *The World in Conflict* (1915), Hobhouse lamented the deficiencies of modernism: 'The artist's business is ever the same - to express himself in his moving and changeful moods, and despise alike nature and the critic. Noise is to be the note of music; glaring contrast and flaunting incongruity of painting'. Quoted in Collini (1979) 246.

⁹¹ Collini (1979) 220.

Beveridge, LSE director between 1919–1937, were keen to see established at the School.⁹² However, the qualified nature of Hobhouse's influence on Klingender is confirmed by a revealing assessment which the latter made regarding his tutor's legacy in a review of a memorial publication by J. A. Hobson and Morris Ginsberg, titled *L.T. Hobhouse: His Life and Work* (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1931). The initial sections of the piece are laudatory. Klingender claims Hobhouse as 'the last and perhaps the greatest of English philosophers', acknowledging his 'revolutionary and fundamental contribution to comparative psychology and the evolution of moral thought'. But the review concludes with the damning observation that Hobhouse was 'eminently a tragic figure'. Klingender writes:

...he failed to understand and even to analyse the forces of modern capitalism and thus the whole dialectic of modern social development. This is the pathos of Hobhouse's life... His social ethics will stand, a sublime system of thought to which the final stages of social development will approximate; but its elaboration blinded him to the dynamics of the present stage of the struggle and his social policy is being swept away by the forces... of revolution and reaction preparing for the final gigantic contest.⁹³

Klingender's analysis is prescient from what we now know of the effect of the First World War on Hobhouse's belief in the moral improvement he had envisaged through rational, social development.⁹⁴ But in more doctrinaire form, Klingender attributes his former mentor's ultimate failure to evolve a critique of modern capitalism to his 'class background' from which his liberal politics presumably arose.⁹⁵ The timing of Klingender's review clearly confirms its

⁹² Collini (1979) 253. Dahrendorf (1995) 196–198.

⁹³ All passages from Klingender (1931b) 36.

⁹⁴ Collini (1979) 245 quotes Hobhouse's son as saying that the War was for his father 'a shattering blow' which 'struck directly at the whole foundation of his thought'.

⁹⁵ Klingender (1931b) 36. Hobhouse came from a genteel background. His father was a Church of England rector and his mother came from the minor aristocracy. Carter (1968) 8.

author's Marxist affiliations in place by 1931, during the early stages of his postgraduate years at the LSE and before Klingender had encountered Antal's Marxist *kunstsociologie*.

Morris Ginsberg

The third intellectual influence Klingender cites is that of the sociologist Morris Ginsberg (1889–1970). Ginsberg was an émigré from among the small Lithuanian Jewish communities of the Russian Empire.⁹⁶ He became a lecturer in the LSE's sociology department in 1924 and, succeeding Hobhouse, became the Martin White Professor of Sociology in 1929 (fig. 24).⁹⁷ Like his predecessor, Ginsberg continued the teaching of moral evolution as a central theme within sociological thought and social philosophy, becoming the public face of the discipline in the post-war years, authoring texts such as *Sociology*, *Dialogues on Metaphysics* and writing the preface to Hobhouse's influential text *Morals in Evolution*.⁹⁸ However, of relevance to Klingender's research, and his subsequent affiliations with the documentary film movement, Ginsberg had academic interests around the influence of class on environment and social psychology.⁹⁹ Unsurprisingly, given his undergraduate choice of sociology as a special subject, both strands are evident in Klingender's choice of doctoral thesis, *The Black Coated Worker in London*, subsequently published as *The Condition of Clerical Labour in Britain*.¹⁰⁰ The potential viability (and limitations) of sociological and ethnographical approaches to social conditions was

⁹⁶ See: <http://library-2.lse.ac.uk/archives/handlists/Ginsberg/m.html> (May 2005).

⁹⁷ Ginsberg made his career at the LSE, holding the Martin White Professorship until 1954 and continuing as Professor Emeritus until 1968. See: <http://library-2.lse.ac.uk/archives/handlists/Ginsberg/m.html> (May 2005).

⁹⁸ The subsequent appointments of T.H. Marshall and David Glass lead to the eventual re-orientation of the discipline's teaching towards a more 'empirically informed sociological analysis'. See: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/resources/LSEHistory/Departments/sociology.htm> (May 2005) and <http://library-2.lse.ac.uk/archives/handlists/Ginsberg/m.html> (May 2005).

⁹⁹ Hobhouse died in 1929, Klingender's penultimate undergraduate year at the LSE. As his successor, it is unsurprising that Ginsberg's interests are appreciable in the choice and focus of Klingender's doctoral thesis.

¹⁰⁰ Klingender (1935b). The preface to the first edition (preface vii–x) was provided by W. J. Brown, General Secretary of the Civil Service Association. (Klingender presumably met him in the course of research. However, later, during the Cold War and as an independent MP, Brown mounted a campaign, sponsored by the Conservative Press and Roman Catholic Lobbyists, to oust CPGB members from public office and from positions of influence within the trades unions). See: Branson (1997) 161.

underlined by Klingender's book review of *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples* which appeared in the Michaelmas 1930 edition of LSE student publication, *The Clare Market Review (CMR)*.¹⁰¹

Klingender cites the impressive 'correlation of ethnographical data' used to support the book's argument. But, noting the book's thesis, he continues:

...the definite correlation...unassailably established between cultural change as manifested in the realms of government and justice, family life, war and the social structure, cannibalism, infanticide and human sacrifice, and property with stages of economic advance is quite obviously of the very greatest importance to social theory, even though the problem of causation has consciously been left out of account by the authors.¹⁰²

The Marxist base and superstructure model which informs Klingender's criticism would clearly tackle the issue of 'causation' rather than merely suggest the 'correlation' which the authors are claim in their text. However, as with Klingender's assessment of Hobhouse's *festschrift*, there is evident frustration at what the reviewer perceives as the apparent failure or refusal of the text's authors to concede the dialectical process to which ethnographical and sociological analysis points. The caveat is an important one, since Communist orthodoxy rested its claim to the 'scientific' inevitability of cause and outcome (a new Socialist world order) on the probity of historical materialism and its interpretation of the dynamic between labour and capital, base and superstructure.¹⁰³ If the tempo of these statements by Klingender is accepted as indicative of his thinking at the outset of postgraduate study, it would suggest that by 1930/31, Klingender had already adopted the essentials of a Marxist

¹⁰¹ The revised edition of the book had been collaboratively written by Morris Ginsberg, Lionel Hobhouse and G.C. Wheeler and had been published by Chapman Hall (London) earlier that year.

¹⁰² Passages from Klingender (1930b) 40.

¹⁰³ Eagleton (1976) 4–6.

viewpoint within which a commitment to internationalism and pacifism featured highly.¹⁰⁴

In the review of Hobhouse's *festschrift* cited earlier, Klingender defines sociology as 'the discipline which should make us understand the driving forces and inherent tendencies of social and political life'.¹⁰⁵ If this definition is taken at face value as an expression of its author's conviction, it explains Klingender's attachment to the empirical certainties which sociological critiques and abstractions appeared to offer. It would also account for the attractions of a 'scientific Marxism' which similarly claimed a totalistic and materially grounded perspective.¹⁰⁶

Throughout Klingender's career, social and sociological surveys, and the systematic collection of data which necessarily characterised the genre, were to form a recurrent strand, including publications like *Money Behind the Screen* (1937) through to late, albeit minor sociological projects, such as *The Little Shop* (1951) and *Students in a Changing World* for the University College of Hull (1954).¹⁰⁷ Hobhouse, Ginsberg and Malinowski are the three tutors variously acknowledged by Klingender as having been formative of his own intellectual development, but of these three, none were proponents of a Marxist tradition.¹⁰⁸ The extent of Hobhouse's legacy to Klingender appears to have been a belief in a benign, interventionist state. However, as confirmed by the review of his former mentor's *festschrift*, Klingender had categorically rejected the rest of the liberal outlook associated with Hobhouse at least three years before he left the LSE. But Ginsberg and Malinowski were to prove the more durable influences, providing Klingender with a relevant and empirically-

¹⁰⁴ By 1930, it remains arguable whether the ideology of Soviet Communism could be seen as practically 'internationalist'. Although the longer-term objective of internationalising Bolshevism was technically still an objective, Trotsky, one of its main ideological proponents, had been expelled from the Soviet Union a year previously (1929) and ousted from the Politburo in October 1926. However, he had been effectively marginalised far earlier, in January 1925. Deutscher (1990) 310.

¹⁰⁵ Klingender (1931b) 36.

¹⁰⁶ Wood (1959) 45.

¹⁰⁷ Klingender (1954a)

¹⁰⁸ Dahrendorf (1995) 245, characterised Malinowski as essentially non-political: 'Malinowski loathed Mussolini and even more so the Nazis, and he never toyed with Communism...he was as near to an unpolitical being as was possible at the LSE'.

orientated intellectual framework; a 'scientific' basis for a sociology of art which characterised his entire career.¹⁰⁹ Malinowski asserted the 'adaptive significance' of culture not simply 'as a product of history but a functional response to human needs', a viewpoint directly consonant with the *kunstsociologie* which Klingender was to encounter through his friendship with Antal.¹¹⁰ Specifically, Malinowski demonstrated the importance of empirically based research techniques; approaches which established his pioneering approach to modern British anthropology.¹¹¹ As Dahrendorf also notes, when Malinowski was promoted to a Readership post in 1923, he was insistent that it be referred to as one in 'social anthropology', again stressing the interest in wider social and cultural agency.¹¹² At the top of the listing of research work in his 1954 curriculum vitae, Klingender records the engagement with 'theoretical and historical studies designed to elucidate the role of art as one of the great value-forming agencies in the social structure and in social change'.¹¹³ These are the comments of art historian who is acknowledging an intellectual debt both to sociology and to social anthropology.¹¹⁴

Klingender, Student Politics and Harold Laski

In exploring the formative contribution of the tutors mentioned to Klingender's intellectual development, the LSE's wider ethos and the extent to which it reflected the external political environment should also be considered. *The Daily Telegraph* libel of the LSE as a 'hotbed of communism' was made in 1934, but Communist influence had begun to be appreciable within the universities by the

¹⁰⁹ Almost twenty five years later, Klingender concluded his 1954 curriculum vitae with the statement 'To sum up, my chief interest as a sociologist is in the theory of changing social structure, with special emphasis on the roles played by art and science in social life. But I have also felt the need to supplement theoretical work with field studies of current social problems, convinced that both kinds of work are necessary for a balanced outlook in sociology'.

¹¹⁰ Moore (1997) 137. Barley (2004) 24. These ideas would have been mediated both through Klingender's direct friendship and conversation with the older émigré, Saville and Bellamy (1993) 564. Antal's published work did not start to appear in *The Burlington Magazine* until 1935 – four years after the period in question.

¹¹¹ Moore (1997) 128 and 137.

¹¹² Dahrendorf (1995) 243–244.

¹¹³ Klingender (1954a) 1.

¹¹⁴ Klingender's later work demonstrated a renewed interest in social psychology and social anthropology.

late 1920s.¹¹⁵ However, in the middle of that decade, the time of Klingender's initial registration, the LSE ethos had yet to radicalise. Recalling these years, Dahrendorf notes:

...it is probably true to say that in no other period of its history was the School as detached from the political world around it as it was in the 1920s. It was in that sense an academic decade.¹¹⁶

In 1924, the main issue of contention in the 'common room' appears to have been disagreements between the economists and political scientists on the theoretical issue of state intervention and laissez-faire.¹¹⁷ However, among those instrumental in radicalising the LSE's ethos (at least in terms of external, public perception) and the figure missing from Klingender's curriculum vitae is the political theorist Professor Harold Laski (1893–1950). Laski (**fig. 25**) had been appointed Professor of Political Science in 1926 although he had been on the staff at the LSE since 1920.¹¹⁸

It remains an open question whether Klingender's move towards communism in the late 1920s was influenced by the 'modified Marxism' which Laski taught at the LSE. Given Klingender's omission of his name, it might be more plausible to look back to the late years in Germany, or CPGB work in Hampstead as other potential catalysts. However, given Klingender's Marxist trajectory, and his evident ability as an effective 'networker', I found the omission of Laski's name or mention curious. However, having checked back through earlier editions of the termly student journal, *The CMR*, I have found direct evidence of a clear association and shared political involvement with

¹¹⁵ Callaghan (1995) 18 notes for example, that the CPGB had initiated contact with Indian students' societies at Oxford and Cambridge universities as early as 1924 and that both Rajani and Clemens Dutt were assiduous in cultivating and sustaining close ties with their respective Universities after they graduated, ensuring visits as speakers and as contributors to college debates. This influence was sufficiently appreciable for the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge to write to the Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon, expressing his concerns. Callaghan (1993) 20.

¹¹⁶ Dahrendorf (1995) 167.

¹¹⁷ Dahrendorf (1995) 188.

¹¹⁸ See: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/resources/LSEHistory/laski.htm> (June 2005).

Laski, and another LSE professor with a reputation for conservative economics, Lionel Robbins (**fig. 26**), the outcome of which might account for Klingender's silence.¹¹⁹

In the Michaelmas 1930 *CMR*, there is two-page manifesto introducing the formation of a new student organisation, 'The University of London Internationalist Shock Troop', subsequently re-named 'The Internationalists'.¹²⁰ Conceivably, for the purposes of its largely middle-class, student audience, there is no explicit mention of political affiliation; its nomenclature is collectivist and pacifist. The internationalism which the manifesto appeals to, however, can be read as a Communist epithet.¹²¹ The text's opening paragraphs gives a sense of tone and context:

Here is no age of reason. One of the most outstanding characteristics of this retrogression is that the whole theoretical case that might have justified it to an earlier generation has been so completely shattered by such sociologists as Hobhouse and such experience as that of 1914... The Shock Troop will therefore work on the principle that peace is not only freedom from war...but the supremacy of the Internationalist spirit in all departments of human activity. We can support the Shock

¹¹⁹ Newman (1993) 169 notes that Professor Robbins (1898–1984) had been made head of the Economics Department in 1929 making it probable that Klingender would have first known him through majoring in the subject as part of his undergraduate degree. Sociology had been Klingender's special subject only. See Klingender 1954a. In his autobiography, Robbins (1971), states that he was never attracted to Communism, although before his LSE appointment, he had taken an interest in the 'practical idealism' of Guild Socialism and French Syndicalism (58). The collectivist credo of such affiliations might explain his willingness to co-sign the manifesto. Similarly, his experience of active military service in the 1914–18 war might account for his strong support of the pacifist convictions which the text also articulates. (One alumnus, quoted by Abse (1997) 35, recalls Robbins declaiming the calamity of that conflict to spontaneous student applause). However, had the 'Shock Troop' been overtly Communist in its aims, and as a supporter of laissez-faire economics (and given his institutional status), it seems unlikely that Robbins would have endorsed it in this way. There is no reference to this episode in his autobiography.

¹²⁰ Klingender (1930a) 14. The hyperbolic style of the text strongly suggests Klingender's authorship, rather than that of Laski or Robbins, although this has to remain speculative. For a similar declamatory prose style, see parts of his subsequent article on Laski for *The Student Vanguard*, Klingender (1932).

¹²¹ As Fischer notes (1981) 60, Lenin attached decisive importance to the national revolutionary movements in the colonies and overseas territories held by the capitalist countries as a means of internationalising Bolshevism.

Troop because we know; we desire Internationalism because we know: the mission of the Shock Troop is to spread this enlightenment that the nations may act out of their knowledge. It is a fundamental necessity: the spirit of Internationalism has been born out of clear and fearless thought.¹²²

Promising action or 'active propaganda' on 'numberless fronts', the authors state that research groups have been established to look into the economics of the League of Nations; the teaching of History in Schools and the War Office funding of the Officer Training Corps.¹²³ The piece concludes with the promise of regular bulletins from like-minded cadres in France, Belgium and Germany. The names of Laski, Robbins and Klingender follow the text.¹²⁴ However, by the (following) Trinity term of 1931, the collaboration between the authors of the manifesto appears to have unravelled. *The CMR* editorial confirms that Klingender had been the secretary and principal organiser of The Internationalists. The text continues:

A most instructive variation on constitutional procedure was demonstrated recently by Mr F.D. Klingender (who) went to Germany recently and returned so full of enthusiasm for the Communist cause that he found little room in his life for the activities of the Society he had founded. The result of this remarkable farce was that a motion which in effect attempted to abolish the Internationalists was passed by a 6 to 4 majority composed of persons unqualified by the rules of membership and not numerous enough to form a quorum by the Internationalists' constitution.

¹²² Klingender (1931a) 15.

¹²³ Klingender (1931a) 14. Two of these 'fronts' might suggest a rather parochial and arbitrary focus, although there is sense of attempting to tackle forms of institutional status quo or student grievances.

¹²⁴ A subsequent *CMR*, unattributed (1931a) 2, records Klingender as the 'secretary and original organiser' of the Internationalists suggesting that he could have solicited the involvement of Laski and Robbins.

The editorial then continues:

We shall be as ready to welcome sincere endeavour on the part of the new Communists as we shall be to greet the activities of the re-constituted Internationalists. But we feel bound to comment with some acerbity on the activities of any individual who attempts to treat a corporate organisation as his own property.¹²⁵

A subsequent *CMR* entry for the 1931 Michaelmas Term records that the Internationalist group was duly re-constituted with the note that Laski would give a (re)-inaugural lecture, the society having 'cleansed itself of the charge of being one man's plaything'.¹²⁶ Assuming the relative accuracy of *The CMR's* reporting, the question arises as to what motivated Klingender's action in what appears to have been a dramatic turn to the Communist cause?¹²⁷ However, this episode does confirm an association with Laski and strongly suggests the possibility of an ideological parting of the ways, an outcome which might account for the silence noted.¹²⁸ Assuming Klingender's actions to have been undertaken during the Lent period of 1931 (since the Trinity *CMR* was reporting back on the events of the previous academic term), it would have co-incided with a sabbatical term which Laski is known to have taken in the United States.¹²⁹ If Klingender had engineered a putsch of some kind, the absence of one of his co-signatories, would presumably have provided a convenient

¹²⁵ Passages from unattributed (1931a) 2.

¹²⁶ Unattributed (1931b) 8.

¹²⁷ Considering the origin of CP influence within London and Cambridge Universities, Wood (1959) 51 notes: 'The beginning of an unprecedented political ferment took place in 1931, when embryonic communist organisations were established...by students returning from Germany'. Wood's statement is not referenced by specific example, although Klingender's overseas visit fits this timescale.

¹²⁸ There is no reference to this episode in the most recent Laski biography by Michael Newman (1993) or Kingsley Martin's earlier study (1969), or in the extant correspondence from this period lodged with the LSE.

¹²⁹ Newman (1993) 117.

window for action.¹³⁰ *The CMR* editorial suggests that Klingender had undergone a Damascene conversion to Communism and had used the winding down of 'The Internationalists' as the occasion to make this public.¹³¹ The association with Laski and Robbins, both staff members with high institutional profiles, does identify Klingender as an assiduous networker, qualities appreciable in his professional and political associations throughout the later 1920s and 1930s. However, the outcome described and the apparent nature of Klingender's involvement does suggest a gauchness of character in negotiating perceived obstacles and a pre-disposition for precipitate and unilateral decision-making.

At a general level, I would suggest that the founding of 'The Internationalists' had reflected, on the part of its founders, a growing frustration with constitutional politics and the policies of the second minority Labour administration which finally collapsed in August 1931.¹³² However, more specifically, I believe its orientation and nomenclature can be linked to a previous decision made by the (5th Congress) of the Comintern to devolve responsibility for anti-colonial policies regarding the British Empire, to the CPGB.¹³³ Henceforth, internationalist struggle and engagement was to be among the CPGB's political objectives. Both Laski and Klingender, albeit at very differing levels, shared an engagement with debates over British policy towards India which, with the growth of Gandhi's campaign of civil disobedience, was becoming a major government issue.¹³⁴

The Labour Party when in power in the 1920s is described by Newman as having adopted a 'gradualist' position on India and the continuation of a

¹³⁰ The association with Robbins is also intriguing. Newman (1993), 169 describes increasing tension during this period between Laski (who favoured political intervention in the economic cycle) and Robbins whose department became a major exponent of 'neo-classical doctrine'. Although the manifesto was a very general statement of intention, it raises the possibility that Klingender may have facilitated the involvement of the two staff members who held differing ideological (and economic) approaches to some of the issues raised by the text.

¹³¹ Unattributed (1931a) 2.

¹³² Newman (1993) 133. Newman also suggests that MacDonald's move to create a government of national unity made a 'major impact' on Laski's thinking and his expectations of social democracy to deliver progressive, if slow, change.

¹³³ Callaghan (1993) 60.

¹³⁴ Newman (1993) 177.

'trustee role', whilst the CPGB had taken up a vocal position in support of India's self-determination.¹³⁵ Similarly, when describing this period, Saville has noted that of all the parties, the CPGB was the most active in promulgating an internationalist agenda and that such literature was widely disseminated and read within the LSE.¹³⁶ He notes that debates on colonialism and imperialism were widely covered in the pages of *Labour Monthly* and avidly discussed at the LSE.¹³⁷ The presence of a significant minority of students from the Indian sub-continent, some of whom were clandestine members of the proscribed Indian CP, underlined this internationalist ethos.¹³⁸

Klingender's association with Laski suggests that in this period both were travelling along a shared trajectory towards Marxism, even if Laski's journey was characterised by some ambivalence. Although then regarded as one of the 'major publicists of the Left in Britain', Laski's views have been described as oscillating between liberal democracy and an exasperation with the perceived, inherent limitations of the same system.¹³⁹ This in turn, Newman suggests, supported Laski's use of Marxist structural analysis even when he disagreed with the nature of the Communist destination to which it might lead.¹⁴⁰ Notwithstanding these personal reservations, Laski's political profile as the 'Red Professor' provided of focus for subsequent generations of 1930s students which came to a head with the so-called 'Laski Affair'.

¹³⁵ Newman (1993) 116. A major initiative in consciousness raising was the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities held in Brussels in February 1927. Convened by the Comintern, it was designed to establish practical contacts between the CP and foreign nationalists. Callaghan (1993) 60.

¹³⁶ The priority accorded by the CPGB to this work has been noted by other commentators such as Callaghan (1995) Croft (1998) and Eaden and Renton (2002).

¹³⁷ Rajani Palme Dutt was instrumental in establishing the journal in 1921 as part of the Comintern's policy of rapprochement with allied parties. Over the next fifty years, it became an influential platform for anti-colonial debate throughout the British left. See: Callaghan (1993) 43–44. From a perusal of *CMR* Editions from this period one is struck by the extent and incisiveness of the coverage of international events, with an apparent focus on developments in Germany, the Soviet Union and India.

¹³⁸ Saville (2003) 6.

¹³⁹ Newman (1993) 169. In this regard, Saville recalled that Laski's reputation and intellectual cachet were among the reasons he had applied to enter the LSE. Interview with the author, July 28th 2002. Like many other left-wing intellectuals, Laski had seen the 1926 General Strike as a potential turning point for the management of labour relations and for the wider social polity, but was disappointed at the capitulation of the TUC and the subsequent legislation. Newman (1993) 93–100.

¹⁴⁰ Newman (1993) 178.

In brief, Laski was formally censored by the LSE Director, William Beveridge, for a series of articles he wrote for *The Daily Herald* which were perceived by some as damaging to the School's reputation. This galvanised some highly negative press coverage.¹⁴¹ It is possible that Laski's ambivalence towards Marxism had prompted Klingender's actions, although Laski remained active both within and beyond LSE left circles. Although I have found no further evidence of any subsequent collaboration between them, Laski was the object of denigration for an article which Klingender subsequently wrote on Anglo-Irish foreign policy for *The Student Vanguard* in November 1932.¹⁴²

The subject-matter of Irish home-rule (on which Klingender claims that Laski had written disparagingly in a series of articles for *The Daily Herald*), is juxtaposed with the latter's earlier endorsement of national self-determination outlined in his *Grammar of Politics* (1926) and his Conway Memorial Lecture ('Nationalism and the Future of Civilisation') delivered in April 1932.¹⁴³ Given that this was one of the 'manifesto' areas of 'The Internationalists', there is a sense that Klingender was using the opportunity to settle scores and differences, but even so, the tone is venomous. Klingender describes 'Mr' Laski as 'labour's chief publicist' and as being complicit (in his support of the government line against De Valera and for the imposition of British tariffs on imported goods from the Irish Free State), in pointing 'the way to the imperialists by which to maintain the substance of their exploitation – an exploitation drenched in the blood of four centuries of unexampled massacres and starvation'.¹⁴⁴ Although the article has some of Klingender's characteristic rhetorical flourishes ('Not a word of sympathy or encouragement to the Irish masses who are bearing the greatest sacrifices in their noble struggle for self-determination, nor of an appeal to their brothers in England to help them!'), it does underline the nature of Klingender's engagement with the internationalist

¹⁴¹ Dahrendorf (1995) 278–28.

¹⁴² Wood (1959) 43 places Laski, along with John Strachey and Sidney and Beatrice Webb, as one of the four writers who did the most to popularise Communism and the Soviet Union and 'to make them respectable'. Klingender (1932) 12–14.

¹⁴³ Klingender (1932) 12.

¹⁴⁴ Klingender (1932) 13.

cause and again suggests that this, and a thoroughgoing Marxism, would have been plausible reasons for his apparent dissociation from Laski.¹⁴⁵

Aside from the political journalism just referenced, in July 1934, Laski made a scheduled visit and lecture tour to Moscow. In one of the lectures, he had stated that unless Britain saw radical change soon, there was a real prospect of violence and revolution. A political furore ensued with questions in parliament, the intervention of the then Visitor of the University, King George V and direct allegations in *The Daily Telegraph* that as a 'hotbed of Communist teaching', the LSE should not be in receipt of public allocations from the government.¹⁴⁶ The scandal raised issues of accountability and academic free speech which were widely debated, although by October 1934 an apparently contrite Laski had made the appropriate apologies and retractions and escaped with a censure from the Director of the LSE, William Beveridge.¹⁴⁷

There is no indication whether Klingender took an actual interest in the scandal, although it would have coincided with his final years as a postgraduate student. It seems highly probable that he would have attended some of Laski's seminars and classes. As Saville recalled, Laski's weekly lectures were highly attended by students throughout the LSE.¹⁴⁸ However, given Laski's profile, his political convictions, and the Comintern sympathies suggested by the timing of the Moscow visit, the omission of his mention in Klingender's 1954 curriculum vitae, and indeed any reference within the *DLB* documentation, seems to point towards a possible falling out referenced earlier. Although speculative, it is possible that if Klingender had harboured any antipathy towards Laski from his LSE years, subsequent events may not have pre-disposed a softening of attitude. Laski's subsequent organisational role in the Labour Party and the record of mutual antipathy between Labour and the CP which characterises

¹⁴⁵ Klingender (1932) 14.

¹⁴⁶ Dahrendorf (1995) 280.

¹⁴⁷ Dahrendorf (1995) 281.

¹⁴⁸ Saville (2003) 1 and at the interview with the author (October 14th 2005) recalled Laski's weekly lectures as being among the intellectual highlights of his LSE years.

episodes within British political history of the 1930s and 1940s is well documented.¹⁴⁹

What can be corroborated however, is that in these years, Klingender had already developed an independent profile within the LSE as a known and active Communist and that he was influential within a cadre of left-wing student intellectuals whose number included fellow postgraduates H.J. Simmons and Frank Strauss Meyer.¹⁵⁰ In a letter lodged in the *DLB* archive, Dorothy Galton, who knew Klingender between 1933–1935, recalled:

...in those days leading up to Popular Front activities, a group of communist and left-orientated people in London University... met together for discussion. I have a clear notion of Klingender as the dominant intellectual in such a gathering, which was small and consisted mainly of post-grads from the LSE. His wife, who was also present, was, like him, a rather typical Central European intellectual... Both were very earnest, and he rather fiery.¹⁵¹

(Frank) Strauss Meyer, President of the Students' Union, is recalled by Galton as part of this group.¹⁵² As Dahrendorf has noted, Meyer's treatment became something of a political *cause célèbre* at the same time as Laski and the two incidents have been linked in accounting for the LSE's increasing reputation as

¹⁴⁹ Laski was influential in Labour policy, serving on the party's National Executive from 1937–1949 and was Chairman of the British Labour Party from 1945–46. See: Martin (1969) 153–156 and 159–170. See also Fishman (1995) 102–120.

¹⁵⁰ Saville interviews (2002) and (2005).

¹⁵¹ This refers to Klingender's first wife, a Hungarian émigré musician, by the name of Sulamith Tomchinsky (b1908). Saville and Bellamy (1993) 164. Letter from Galton (1977). Margaret Galton was the daughter of the founder of the British eugenics movement, F.W. Galton.

¹⁵² Letter from Galton (1977).

a socialist orientated institution.¹⁵³ However, of specific relevance is Galton's confirmation of Klingender's direct association with Meyer (described by Beveridge as a 'very red politician from America'), through their shared involvement and membership of the LSE's Marxist Society which appears to have been established in the immediate aftermath of 'The Internationalists' debacle, in 1931.¹⁵⁴ Some twenty years later, after he had long since renounced all Communist affiliations to become a noted right-wing polemicist and Roman Catholic convert, Meyer had presumably been approached, or had volunteered the information to MI6 or the Foreign Office, that Klingender was indeed 'among the leaders' of the various LSE student groupings affiliated to the CPGB.¹⁵⁵ By way of bona fides, a note on Klingender's security file states that Meyer had founded the October Club [a Communist front organisation] at Oxford University late in 1931 and had then developed Communist activity at the LSE where he was secretary of the Student Bureau of the CP from May 1932 until the time he was deported to the US in 1934.¹⁵⁶

The CMR confirms that Klingender was also active in student journalism during his LSE years.¹⁵⁷ The Michaelmas Term edition for 1932 notes the sale of three hundred copies of the first number of '*The Student Vanguard*', a

¹⁵³ In brief, the issue arose in January 1934 after Beveridge had refused the Marxist Society permission to use LSE rooms for a series of discussions on Marxist theory and politics. According to Dahrendorf there were 'increasingly acrimonious' exchanges between Meyer and Beveridge. The situation escalated after the left-wing student newsletter, *The Student Vanguard*, claimed that the LSE was involved in systematic spying on colonial students, identifying one of Beveridge's appointees as the alleged culprit. Further exchanges followed with arguments made over freedom of speech, censorship and assembly. Beveridge responded by setting in chain a series of decisions which resulted in the Chair of the Marxist Society, H. J. Simmons and Frank Meyer, being expelled from the LSE (although the former was eventually re-admitted). Meyer, because of his education visa requirements, had to leave the country. (Galton's letter simply recalled that he 'disappeared without trace'.) The affair became another public scandal with high profile interventions by labour peers, several MPs, civil liberties organisations and prominent left-wing figures such as Victor Gollancz and G.D.H.Cole. See: Dahrendorf (1995) 196–278.

¹⁵⁴ Dahrendorf (1995) 277. The Marxist Society meetings which Galton refers to were customarily held on Monday afternoons and Friday evenings. The Monday discussion group was angled towards the discussion of topical issues with some formal lectures scheduled for the Friday meeting. See: Unattributed (1932) 22.

¹⁵⁵ The typed confirmation is on British Embassy (Washington) notepaper and is dated July 16th 1952.

¹⁵⁶ Typed memorandum dated October 16th 1952.

¹⁵⁷ Established in 1905, and widely read, the *CMR* was the termly publication and official voice of the LSE Students' Union.

publication 'written by students who are convinced that conditions in every section of social existence are more and more forcing a radical alteration of society'.¹⁵⁸ Although Communism is not given explicit mention, the epithet 'radical' signifies the ideological slant of the publication. In a subsequent *CMR* edition, for example, the Marxist Society is described as the 'forum for radical student discussion'.¹⁵⁹ Wood describes *The Student Vanguard* as a 'joint product of the movement at the different universities'.¹⁶⁰ Produced monthly in the form of a student newsletter, the publication ran for two years.¹⁶¹ Klingender, along with John Cornford, were prominent among the contributors.¹⁶² An entry in Klingender's MI5 file records that 'Klingender, Cornford and [Donald] Maclean were all mixed up in the federation of student societies'.¹⁶³ Although the composition of its editorial board is not named, it is highly plausible that Klingender was involved in some organisational capacity since the various student contributors tended to be from CP or left-leaning University groups affiliated to the Federation of Student Societies.¹⁶⁴ Although un-attributed, the monthly round-up reports from the LSE outlining Marxist and (usually disparagingly) Labour Club activities, throughout the four years of *The Student Vanguard's* history (and those which regularly appear in *The CMR* student round-up sections during the same period) strongly suggest Klingender's writing style and political pre-occupations.

¹⁵⁸ Unattributed (1932) 22.

¹⁵⁹ Unattributed (1933a) 46.

¹⁶⁰ *Vanguard* was the title of M. N. Roy's pro-independence publication (later called *The Masses of India*). Roy was a Bengali terrorist turned Indian Revolutionary. Callaghan (1993) 60 and 84.

¹⁶¹ Wood (1959) 51. The publication ceased after Klingender graduated from the LSE, although the two facts may not be linked, they support the possibility that he may have played a significant organisational role, although this remains conjecture.

¹⁶² John Cornford (1915–1936) was a prominent Communist intellectual and poet whose early death in the Spanish Civil War gave him an iconic status for sections of the British left. See: Carter (2002) 121 and Sloan's memoir (1938).

¹⁶³ MI5 file entry dated 1st November 1951 (File ref PF.40, 482).

¹⁶⁴ This is apparent from reading off the institutional affiliations of some of the most frequent contributors and comparing them to those organisations which are recorded in *The Student Vanguard* (no.5 May 1933, 20–21) as having extended the initial invitation to other British Universities and Colleges to convene a conference with the aim of affiliation to the FSS. They include: the Marxist Society, LSE, the Gower Socialist Society, UCL, Cambridge University Socialist Society and Oxford's October Club. In 1936, and in keeping with the United Front ethos, the FSS merged with the University Labour Federation. Sloan (1938) 106–107.

I would suggest that Klingender was involved in establishing *The Student Vanguard* as a platform for his own views and those of others with left-wing or CP sympathies.¹⁶⁵ A perusal of the contents throughout its print run confirms that its political agenda was very much a continuation of the credo promulgated by the Internationalists.¹⁶⁶ Although an overt political line is down played at the editorial level (consistent with the CPGB's united front mandate), its Communist politics and direction are implicit.¹⁶⁷ In the case of some of the longer features and essays, including Klingender's last piece of postgraduate writing for the publication ('Democracy II:-Proletarian Democracy') the political affiliation is made explicit.¹⁶⁸ Similarly, Wood notes that among its principal campaign causes was the 'menace of middle class employment'.¹⁶⁹ Whilst the prominence of such an issue should be unsurprising given the student constituency, the phenomenon of 'black coated' or clerical unemployment was of course the specific subject of Klingender's ongoing doctoral research. The correlation of interest seems more than just coincidental. From this period, occur the first references to Klingender lecturing on art, a timescale consistent with his involvement with the AIA (see chapter five). In *The CMR* Lent Term edition of 1933, coverage of the activities of the Marxist Society a talk is noted as having been given on 'Proletarian Art'. Although Klingender's name is not mentioned, the subject is strongly suggestive of his presence or involvement.¹⁷⁰ In the Trinity Term *CMR* of 1934, he is recorded as having given a lecture of 'Marxism and Art' to the Marxist Society which is described as an illuminating sketch of the influence of social conditions on the development of art.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁵ For example, Klingender authored a polemic against Bertrand Russell, Klingender (1933a) 17-19.

¹⁶⁶ Typically, issues of 'Black Coat' or clerical unemployment; imperialist politics, internationalist campaigns, anti-Fascist (and negative) Labour Party coverage prevail.

¹⁶⁷ Taking a sample of editorial items, the political line in fact becomes more strident and overt between 1933 and 1934, principally in response to the worsening international situation.

¹⁶⁸ Klingender (1933c) 14-16,18.

¹⁶⁹ Wood (1959) 38.

¹⁷⁰ Unattributed (1933a) 46.

¹⁷¹ The timing of this lecture coincides with similar talks that Klingender gave to AIA audiences. Morris and Radford (1983) 30. Unattributed (1934b) 47.

In closing this consideration of LSE based organisational and political activities, I will consider two essays which Klingender contributed to *The Student Vanguard* in 1933, the penultimate year of his postgraduate studies. Authored during what many perceived as a time of terminal capitalist crisis, both were concerned to delineate theoretical and practical formulations of democracy and the extent to which such might achieve practical agency within the social polity.¹⁷² Taken together, I will suggest that they illustrate the maturation of Klingender's world view as a Marxist-Leninist and a confirmation that one of the probable reasons for the split with Laski and Robbins was an emphatic conviction that reformist Labour or Liberal beliefs ('the Hobhouse-Laski conception of rights') were inadequate to the ideological challenges at hand.¹⁷³ This would have been underscored by the Comintern's adoption of the 'New Line' after 1928 with the corollary that those working for non-revolutionary change and reform were 'social fascists'. The first of two interlinking articles, 'What is Democracy?' opens with the following declaration which is quoted in full since it summarises the tone and direction of the text. Klingender writes:

The British Labour Movement...accepted for this country the policy of German social democracy which, for almost 15 years, defended the Weimar public against a proletarian revolution, and of the Russian Mensheviks who from March to November, 1917, sided with the bourgeois parties in their defence of newly-born Russian democracy against Bolsheviks. The German Social Democrats were finally relieved of their task of saving German democracy from the proletarian dictatorship by the conversion of that democracy into an open fascist dictatorship. The Russian Menshevik leaders were driven from their country together with their bourgeois friends, when the great mass of their followers had become convinced of the correctness of the Bolshevik policy and had participated in the victorious struggle for the proletarian

¹⁷² The National Socialists formally consolidated their power in Germany's national elections of March 1933, although further reprisals and purges of the KPD had started earlier, following the Reichstag fire. See: Evans (2003) 328–337. Klingender's published writing for *The Student Vanguard* were not included in Saville and Bellamy's listing (1993) 165.

¹⁷³ Klingender (1933b) 15.

dictatorship. History will show to what end the policy of the present British Labour leaders will lead them.¹⁷⁴

Klingender subsequently questions the political viability of achieving a socialist state by 'legislative' means when the apparent alliances noted have acted to undermine a revolutionary working class intent upon achieving 'the classless society'.¹⁷⁵ The article continues by outlining democracy from the perspective of historical materialism in which, Klingender argues, independent producers are entitled to the 'free possession of the fruits of his (sic) own labour'.¹⁷⁶ However, following capitalist rationalisation and expansion, Klingender argues that such fundamental syndicalism was incrementally re-defined into the right of private property. In consequence, the benefit of surplus labour cumulatively accrued by the capitalist, ensured that the proletariat were progressively disenfranchised being forced to sell their labour at its replacement cost (rather than its surplus value) to the owners of the factors of production in order to maintain material subsistence.¹⁷⁷ Klingender argues that this circulation of capital back to those who owned the factors of production (land, labour and capital), ensured that the expropriating capitalist class were able to sustain their hegemony by continuing this exploitative nexus.¹⁷⁸ He argues that this permanent separation between property and labour, subsequently normalised as 'a libertarian mask' which concealed its true controlling relationship has been legitimised by reformist Labour and Liberal politics.¹⁷⁹

In the article's second section, Klingender considers the worsening of class relations arising from the crisis of capitalism and the transition from 'competitive to monopoly capitalism and imperialism'.¹⁸⁰ The various state

¹⁷⁴ Klingender (1933b) 15.

¹⁷⁵ Klingender (1933b) 15.

¹⁷⁶ Klingender (1933b) 16.

¹⁷⁷ Klingender's account of the theory of surplus value is in keeping with Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy. See for example the 1933 CPGB pamphlet *Communist Political Education: A Manual for Workers' Study Groups*. Unattributed (1933b) 12–17.

¹⁷⁸ For a consideration of Marx's theory of surplus value see: Fischer (1981) 94–106.

¹⁷⁹ Klingender (1933b) 17.

¹⁸⁰ Klingender (1933b) 17.

bureaucracies, the military and police are mobilised, it is claimed, to suppress the workers and to maintain the status quo.¹⁸¹ Klingender asserts that the leadership of the trades unions and within the labour movement are complicit in this. Similarly, this 'social fascist' argument was consistent with the sectarian mandate formally adopted by the Comintern, and referenced earlier in this chapter, between the years 1928–1933.¹⁸² This ideology is made explicit in Klingender's characterisation of contemporary crisis in 'democratic' structures. He writes:

...to return to the development of democracy..., we can state that all its changes were confined to its libertarian surface; whether apparent extensions of democratic rights, or drastic restrictions, without exception they were designed to adapt and perfect the repressive machine of the state for the protection and maintenance of its basic and unchanged core: bourgeois class dictatorship. It is this core that survives, even when the mask is dropped and the dictatorship becomes an open one as one of the varieties of fascism.¹⁸³

The premise of Klingender's second and concluding article on this theme, 'Democracy II:- Proletarian Democracy', is that the dictatorship of the proletariat is part of the transition to a true socialist democracy.¹⁸⁴ In the text which follows, he characterises its opposite (fascist dictatorship) as emblematic of the crisis and concentration of capital and of the ensuing social fragmentation. Klingender describes both phenomena as having only one point of comparison which is the 'open monopolisation of the state by one class and the

¹⁸¹ Perhaps in a reference to his time in Germany during the Weimar years, Klingender refers in passing to 'Prussian social-democratic police chiefs'. Klingender (1933b) 17.

¹⁸² Although the formal position was ostensibly adhered to by the CPGB, from 1932 onwards there were tacit examples where for practical purposes, the CPGB broke with this directive. Croucher (1995) 35 and 38–39.

¹⁸³ Klingender (1933b) 18.

¹⁸⁴ Klingender (1933c) 14–16.

unconcealed use of its force for the suppression of the opposing class'.¹⁸⁵ He continues:

Thus the proletarian dictatorship, which is a dictatorship only against an infinitesimal minority of the people, a minority standing for reaction, for the slavery and misery of mankind's prehistoric phase, firmly establishes the basis for complete democracy. That democracy will be finally accomplished when the last remnants of the former capitalist class interests will have vanished, when there will be no other class than the working class...[or] any need for a state.¹⁸⁶

For Klingender the labour movement and the trades unions are complicit in a 'reformist anaesthetic' which keeps the workers in 'stupour' until the reality of a fascist state is revealed. Citing the recent consolidation of National Socialism in Germany and the annexation of Austria, the article concludes with a call to students to master the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and to refuse the 'liberal-labour reformism' through engagement in revolutionary action.¹⁸⁷ Taken together, both texts confirm Klingender's commitment to Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy; his ideological adherence to the 'New Line' mandated by the Comintern and his decisive move from the examples of his LSE teachers like Hobhouse and Laski who are variously disparaged as falling short of the revolutionary action the perceived capitalist crisis requires. Already a Weimar émigré and probably marginally older than many of his undergraduate and postgraduate contemporaries, Klingender's two essays in Marxist-Leninist analysis articulate a palpable sense of frustration and hope as a worsening national and international situation unfolded.

¹⁸⁵ Klingender (1933c) 14.

¹⁸⁶ Klingender (1933c) 15.

¹⁸⁷ Klingender (1933c) 16.

External Political Activities and Affiliations

Klingender's commitment to internationalism is corroborated by details of his activities and affiliations outside the LSE. His security file confirms attendance at meetings and activities scheduled by the Comintern-sponsored League Against Imperialism (LAI) in these years.¹⁸⁸ Formed in 1927, and supported by the CPGB, the LAI brought together nationalists and supporters on the political left. In due course it became a focus for anti-colonial agitation, as well as becoming an organisational point for Communists and other anti-colonial activists.¹⁸⁹ It seems plausible to suggest that the LSE's cosmopolitan environment was among several factors which may well have brought such issues to Klingender's initial attention as an undergraduate in the middle and later 1920s.

At a cultural level, the priority accorded to the internationalist cause was made explicit in 1933 with the formation of the Artists International (AI), subsequently the AIA. As its nomenclature suggested, the AI was heavily committed to opposing colonial oppression and in propagating an understanding of the issues to the workers' struggle in Great Britain. Klingender's involvement with this Comintern-orientated organisation is recorded from 1934 onwards.¹⁹⁰ Seen in this context, internationalism, as the tactical support of other workers' struggles was an integral part of a wider strategy of Communist rapprochement which gradually followed the receding prospect of internationalising Bolshevik revolution after the setbacks of 1919. After the debacle of the General Strike, the prospects for social revolution seemed weak in Great Britain. However, its Empire territories, and those of the other European Imperialist powers suggested another front for potentially

¹⁸⁸ The LAI and the SCR were listed among the Comintern backed 'United Front' organisations subject to British Security Service surveillance. Curry (1999) 103.

¹⁸⁹ Callaghan (1995) 5–22.

¹⁹⁰ When the re-named AIA formalised its aims in 1934 the overriding objective was stated as 'The International Unity of Artists Against Imperialist War on the Soviet Union, Fascism and Colonial Oppression'. Klingender became involved with the AIA in 1934. Morris and Radford (1983) 11.

effective Communist activity.¹⁹¹ If 'The Internationalists' association with which Klingender, Laski and Robbins were briefly involved was not Communist in name, its trajectory, and Klingender's other known affiliations at the time, suggest that it may have been conceived by at least one of its originators as a 'front' organisation of Communist orientation or influence.¹⁹²

In this context, the specific reasons for Klingender's 1931 trip to Germany are unknown, although it is plausible that he may have had links with members of the German Communist Party (KPD), either as a consequence of connections before leaving Germany or as a result of subsequent political activity at the LSE, SCR or CPGB work in Hampstead.¹⁹³ Similarly, it was not unknown for suitable students equipped with languages to be selected by CPGB contacts to act as unwitting couriers between the Moscow Comintern and German KPD, using their British nationality as a cover.¹⁹⁴ However, in the closing section of this chapter, and on the basis of information gained from Klingender's file and its possible linkage to other research, I wish to offer my reading as to the nature and personal repercussions of his trip to Germany in the Spring of 1931.

Consideration of the available evidence and a review of its chronology suggest that in the spring of 1931, Klingender's political views underwent something of a watershed. If Klingender had been a CP fellow traveller before 1931, he returned from Germany a fully committed Marxist-Leninist, disbanding one student association with a generalised commitment to international

¹⁹¹ For example, the Comintern saw India as the 'Achilles heel of British Imperialism'. Callaghan (1993) 59.

¹⁹² As noted, Klingender's review of Hobhouse's legacy rather suggests that by this time he was not placing his faith in radical liberalism for a more egalitarian polity.

¹⁹³ One possibility could be a more obviously familial one – a visit to his mother who by this time appears to have separated from his father and returned to Germany. However, even if applicable, this occasion would not have precluded more clandestine activities. The German Communist Party (KPD) remained the largest of the European Socialist parties and, for a time before the rise of National Socialism, had attracted considerable attention from the Moscow Comintern organisation in the belief that conditions that had precipitated the October Revolution, might be replicated in Germany. Hobsbawm (1999) 51–54 and 70.

¹⁹⁴ Saville (2003) 19, undertook a delivery of this kind in 1937 having been approached by Jack Cohen, the CP organiser for the British student movement. Given Klingender's LSE profile and his CP affiliations, it seems probable that he knew Cohen, or that he was known by reputation. As a fluent German speaker (Saville had passable French), Klingender would have more closely fitted the necessary profile. This scenario remains plausible at least.

solidarity, probably dispensing with the goodwill of one of most influential British left-wing figures (and possible future patrons) in the process. However, a note from the initial sections of Klingender's security file, which also starts in 1931 and describes Klingender as 'chairman of a Marxist study circle', suggests that he may have been radicalised by other, parallel associations.¹⁹⁵ Entries in Klingender's security file from 1931 suggest that he had assumed an active role as part of a Communist, Hampstead-based coterie, which involved members of a Hungarian émigré family, by the name of Tomchinsky.¹⁹⁶ It is plausible to link such external activity to the re-orientation or radicalising of Klingender's politics, culminating with formal CPGB membership and active engagement with the LAI.¹⁹⁷

A Special Branch memorandum dated June 3rd 1931 confirms that a search was made of Klingender's temporary lodgings. The entry records that it revealed a copy of *The Daily Worker*, a book by Karl Marx and other Communist literature.¹⁹⁸ Another file entry consists of a pasted clipping from *The CMR* which recorded Klingender's dissolution of the Internationalists previously referred to. I would suggest that a combination of Klingender's visit to Germany, related LSE activities and his external associations and affiliations had not only attracted security service interest, but generated sufficient concern for an execution of an actual search.¹⁹⁹ Another early file entry refers to the St Pancras CPGB Postal Group of which Klingender and a previously unidentified person, an A.W. McIntosh (aka McLaren), are described as the 'dominant

¹⁹⁵ Typed Security File memorandum dated June 28th 1932.

¹⁹⁶ Many Communists fled Hungary after the short-lived regime of Béla Kun was overthrown in 1919. Palmer (1964) 180. The absence of a PRO birth-date for Sulamith suggests émigré status.

¹⁹⁷ Andrew concedes (1999) 7, that among the MI5 inter-war failures was its 'lack of contact with higher education' with available resources angled towards the Soviet involvement with the CPGB and the wider labour movement. This is despite the fact that the LSE and Cambridge (and to a lesser extent Oxford) became crucibles for student radicalism in the 1930s. This might explain why Klingender's security file only starts in 1931, following his involvement with an existing (and known) Communist coterie.

¹⁹⁸ It is not known if Klingender was present or aware of this search. Given the rented nature of his accommodation at the time, it is plausible that it was undertaken with the co-operation of the landlord/landlady and without Klingender's knowledge.

¹⁹⁹ Reports from *The CMR* suggest that St Pancras, Holborn, was seen very much as a University constituency. For example, Unattributed (1935) 30, reports a campaign visit to the LSE by a South East St Pancras candidate, a Dr Jeyer. By this time the Marxist Society and the former Socialist Society had merged to create the 'New Socialist Party'.

leadership'. The memorandum notes that the group had received a £40 book delivery from the CPGB headquarters at [16] King Street.²⁰⁰

Klingender is also described as being involved in the production of a factory paper called the '*Red Letter*', an evident reference to the employment context of other members of the St Pancras branch.²⁰¹ The timing of Klingender's association is consistent with a *DLB* reference to Hymie Fagan. Fagan was a life-long Party member who became Assistant National Organiser, placing him in a good position to recollect CPGB members.²⁰² Fagan recalled Klingender's membership of the St Pancras CP 'in the early 1930s', although the exact date of initial membership could not be confirmed.²⁰³ Fagan's typescript autobiography makes no specific reference to Klingender so it seems probable that it was a recollection passed on to Saville in the compilation of the entry. However, in passing, Fagan does note the presence of 'very high powered members who lived in Mecklenburg Square'.²⁰⁴ Since one of Klingender's recorded addresses from this time is the adjacent Mecklenburg Street, it is possible that Fagan recalled him as being among some of the UCL students, lecturers and intellectuals who attended.²⁰⁵

However, Fagan also states that in the early 1930s he was made a 'political instructor for the Postman's Group based in Mount Pleasant', suggesting the possibility that he knew Klingender less as a student member,

²⁰⁰ Despite trawls of the extant CPGB histories and the Working Class Autobiography Archives, (Brunel), I can find no reference to a member of this name, although CP branch activists were not few at this time. There is a subsequent note which identifies Klingender as the 'nominal leader' with McLaren as the real influence. Memorandum dated June 28th 1932. Typed Special Branch memorandum dated June 3rd 1931.

²⁰¹ Typed memorandum dated June 28th 1932. I have found no record of its mention in the available literature. Klugmann (1969) makes a listing of some typical factory publications from this period, although notes that given the ephemeral nature of such publications, many have simply not been recorded or kept. The MML, SCRSS or The Museum of Labour History had no pamphlet records by this name. The St Pancras CPGB Branch covered the area from Hampstead to Bloomsbury so would have included a diverse catchment. Fagan: (1987) 59.

²⁰² Burnett, Vincent and Mayall (1987) 105–6.

²⁰³ Saville and Bellamy (1993) 162. The recollection was in a letter sent to Saville from Fagan (1977). Fagan also recalls Klingender as 'very quick' and as someone James Klugmann, the CP historian, 'knew well'.

²⁰⁴ Fagan (1987) 61.

²⁰⁵ Fagan continues 'I tried to speak to one or two, but they were off-hand and somewhat snotty' (1987) 64.

but possibly within the context of the postal branch activity noted by the security file.²⁰⁶ Klingender's involvement with the postal group is potentially significant because it is plausible that he was associated with the 'Minority Movement' (MM), the name given to CPGB efforts to establish political activity within the wider trades union rank and file during the period when the Comintern's sectarian policy had marginalised it in relation to the Labour Party and other left-wing organisations. Although the MM was relatively short-lived, it was associated with the CPGB's militant wing and the attempt to Bolshevize and subvert the wider Labour movement.

From the various file entries dating from the 1930s, it is clear that members of the émigré Tomchinsky family were active communists in Hampstead and elsewhere in the early 1930s. Klingender's name is initially linked to one Alyosha Harry Tomchinsky (**fig. 27**), who had come to MI5's attention through association with the CPGB St Pancras branch as well as active involvement in the Workers' Theatre Movement.²⁰⁷ This suggests that Alyosha may have either introduced Klingender as a prospective CPGB member, or that they had met subsequent to Klingender joining.²⁰⁸ A decade earlier, one entry (transferred into Klingender's file), describes Alyosha as a 'red hot Communist' and places him as an 'agitator' at the Standard Telephone and Cables Company, Colindale.²⁰⁹ The records identify a Sulamith Tomchinsky ('a violin teacher') and a Sophya Peale Tomchinsky, although in some references the names are used inter-changeably and the references are confusing.²¹⁰ Presumably to clarify the relationships, a file note dated November 8th 1932, identifies Sulamith as the sister of Alyosha and Sophya (aka Sonia) as his wife. Sophya's maiden name is noted as Birnbaum.

²⁰⁶ Fagan (1987) 95.

²⁰⁷ The file notes that they had separated in 1930, although the claim is not corroborated. One entry (dated December 16th 1931) records his attending a Workers' Film Society show on May 3rd 1931.

²⁰⁸ Klingender's involvement with *The Internationalists* dates to Michaelmas 1930, although it is possible that he was involved or supportive of such ideas during his undergraduate days.

²⁰⁹ Typed Special Branch entry February 17th 1920.

²¹⁰ In one case, the writer states that these are separate people. Given the tendency to anglicise names and transcription errors, it is perhaps unsurprising.

Klingender and Sulamith Tomchinsky married at the Hampstead Registry Office on October 8th 1932.²¹¹ There is a dated reference (10th January 1930) which states that Sophya had left her husband for Clemens Palme Dutt, the elder brother of the CPGB ideologue Rajani Palme Dutt (1896–1974) and they were living together at an address in South Hampstead.²¹² The files note Klingender's involvement with Sulamith from 1931, although the association, of course, could have started earlier.²¹³ However, several entries record that Alyosha Tomchinsky, like Klingender, was active in the Comintern sponsored LAI.²¹⁴ Given the internationalist convictions which are appreciable in Klingender's contribution to the group of that name, and the tenor of his review of Hobhouse's *festschrift*, his involvement with a Comintern-orientated organisation such as the LAI is consistent.²¹⁵

In view of the above research, my reading of the rationale behind Klingender's visit to Germany was that it related not to involvement with the KPD, but may have involved either taking messages to, or instructions from, the LAI to inform his own organisational activities in relation to LSE student politics. Given the timing of the attempted-dissolution of 'The Internationalists' which Klingender directly instigated on his return, it is plausible to suggest that the two events were in some way linked. If the conjecture is accepted that Klingender was involved or affiliated to the LAI (the principal concern of which was China and India), his association with *The Student Vanguard* publication makes

²¹¹ On the marriage certificate Klingender, still an LSE postgraduate, states his profession as 'Scientist of Political Economy and Sociology'. Sulamith entry states Violinist (PRO September 10th 2005). The witnesses were Alyosha Tomchinsky and a Florence Blofield.

²¹² Clemens Palme Dutt (1893–1975). Dates confirmed by the PRO (September 10th 2005). Unlike his younger brother, biographical and personal history on Clemens Dutt is limited to some of the professional Comintern and LAI responsibilities noted in passing by Callaghan's biography of his brother, Rajani (1993) 60 and 66. However, of relevance here, Callaghan does note that Clemens had various 'amorous entanglements', comparing his more 'passionate' nature to Rajani's (disapproving) aloofness (1993) 148.

²¹³ This is supported by Klingender's move to Belsize Lane, Hampstead in the autumn of 1931. All the addresses for Alyosha, Sophya and Dutt are grouped around Belzise Park, Hampstead or Swiss Cottage.

²¹⁴ A British branch of the LAI was formally established in June 1928. Callaghan (1995) 10.

²¹⁵ The marriage certificate records Sulamith's address as 49 Charlotte St., St Pancras which could have been that of her father, Phillip Tomchinsky. Klingender's address is noted as 8 Belsize Lane, Hampstead. One possibility could have been that Tomchinsky, recorded as a CP supporter in the security files, met Klingender through the local St Pancras CPGB group.

sense.²¹⁶ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, subsequent coverage within *The Student Vanguard*, a venture with which Klingender was involved, alleging that LSE staff were spying on Indian students, precipitated the expulsion of two students Communists, Meyer and Simmons in 1934, causing a major LSE scandal.²¹⁷ *The Student Vanguard* ceased publication soon after. It seems inconceivable that these allegations were made independently of the wider context of LSE-based CP activity with which a sizeable number of Indian students and Communist sympathisers were involved. As noted, Klingender would have known of Clemens Dutt either through the Tomchinsky family or by reputation.²¹⁸ Because membership was proscribed by the British authorities, the Foreign Bureau of the Communist Party of India was based in Berlin. Clemens Dutt was directly involved with its work whilst his brother, Rajani, represented the Comintern's Paris-based Colonial Bureau.²¹⁹ Additionally, Rajani and his wife, Salme Dutt, lived in Brussels between 1924 and 1936.²²⁰ The Dutt's were closely involved with CPGB affairs, with both Rajani and Clemens undertaking Comintern work throughout this period, making Berlin, Brussels and Paris habitual places for the transaction of associated business. In 1931 (the year of Klingender's visit to Germany), Clemens Dutt had just been appointed as International Secretary of the LAI in Berlin and editor of the associated publication, *The Anti-Imperialist Review*. Clemens had previously served as acting editor of *Labour Monthly* in his brother's absence.²²¹ Clemens and Rajani Palme Dutt had been highly active and vocal in support of anti-colonial CP policies since the early 1920s.²²² After the Comintern devolved formal responsibility for anti-colonial work to the CPGB, supporting this continental link became more important.

²¹⁶ Callaghan (1995) 15.

²¹⁷ It seems highly likely, given the federated structure of *The Student Vanguard*, that Meyer would have also known Clemens Dutt. Both had been involved in establishing Communist groups in Cambridge and Oxford respectively, in 1931. Callaghan (1993) 18.

²¹⁸ In passing, it should be noted that Clemens had served as editor in chief of the Soviet Trade Legation's weekly journal between 1926–6.

²¹⁹ Callaghan (1995) 9.

²²⁰ Callaghan (1993) 58–60.

²²¹ Callaghan (1993) 66.

²²² Callaghan (1993) 60.

As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, the LSE had a sizeable contingent of students from the Indian sub-continent.²²³ Galvanising such constituencies was seen as integral to internationalising the Communist agenda. For example, Callaghan notes that as early as 1924 the CPGB had taken a keen interest in the composition of the various Oxford University Indian student societies (or Majlis).²²⁴ In this context, Klingender's subsequent involvement in establishing a Marxist society at the LSE in 1931, parallels similar activity by Clemens Dutt at Oxford and Meyer in Cambridge within the same timeframe. Rajani Palme Dutt was similarly involved in the University Socialist Federation (USF) with which prominent pro-Soviet internationalists such as Margaret Bondfield, Ben Tillet, H.G. Wells, the Webbs and Ellen Wilkinson were associated.²²⁵ Although conjecture, it seems entirely conceivable that, having already demonstrated student commitment with a prominent fellow traveller, Laski, in the generality of internationalism at the LSE, Klingender may have been approached to further the cause in an ideologically more orthodox way. Besides, given what Callaghan describes as the semi-clandestine nature in which routine Comintern activity was undertaken on the continent, Klingender's family associations in Germany and his familiarity with the language would have provided a legitimate basis for such travel and an attractive profile for organisational or courier work in such a context.²²⁶ Public and judicial file entries kept by the India Office suggest for example regular contact between the Dutt and United Kingdom-based CPGB members. One entry records a trip made to Germany by Tom Wintringham on the June 6th 1927 and subsequent entries record speaking engagements made by Clemens Dutt in London and Glasgow, through June and July 1930, the same period as Klingender was known to be active and resident in London.²²⁷ Such visits would

²²³ Dahrendorf (1995) 174 estimates that during the inter-war period, 20 per cent of the LSE's student body came from overseas, of which those from the Indian sub-continent formed the largest single minority.

²²⁴ Callaghan (1993) 18.

²²⁵ Callaghan (1993) 16.

²²⁶ Callaghan (1993) 61.

²²⁷ Public and Judicial Dept., India Office File L/P&J/12/29. Public and Judicial Dept., India Office File P&J (S) 4552A/21.

have afforded additional opportunities for meeting other LAI activists such as Klingender.²²⁸

In supporting my conjecture that Klingender's visit and his subsequent action at the LSE were connected with the LAI, I would also point to the wider political and ideological climate of 1931. The so called 'New Line' taken by the CPSU and reflected by the Comintern dated from 1928–1934.²²⁹ In brief, it reflected the CPSU's domestic priority of urgent industrialisation and the objective of defeating resistance among the peasantry to its agricultural reforms.²³⁰ Unlike the previous New Economic Policy (NEP) which had been used to rebuild the war-ravaged Soviet economy, the New Line was one of left sectarianism. Of specific relevance to Comintern initiatives such as the LAI, it opposed the previous policy of tactical or united front collaboration with other socialist or nationalist parties. A consequence of the 'New Line' for anti-colonial policy was to direct a withdrawal from these pragmatic associations and to assert the unilateral communist cause. Various commentators have cited the problematic consequences (and timing) of this policy shift, especially for the smaller Comintern parties such as the CPGB which had developed a rapprochement with other socialist organisations, both domestically and internationally.²³¹ The irony of this position was especially apparent at the time under consideration here. The years between 1928–33 witnessed a global economic downturn and ensuing financial instability. It seemed as if at the point when Leninist convictions about the deficits and instability of capitalism were beginning to seem justified to fellow travellers and disaffected Labour Party

²²⁸ One India Office File (compiled from a New Scotland Yard report) notes the central role played by Clemens in these years. An internal memo dated February 6th 1929 observes that 'any approaches that are made in India in the interests of the CP are made by Clemens Palme Dutt, or through his influence, and not that of Saklatvala'. (Shapurji Saklatvala served as MP for Battersea in the 1920s and like the Dutt's was an active anti-imperialist). See Callaghan (1993) 30–31.

²²⁹ Eaden and Renton (2002) 36–52.

²³⁰ Taylor (1992) 83–94.

²³¹ Callaghan (1995) 13.

members, the Comintern was obliged to withdraw from wider, and in the case of India, potentially positive, political affiliations.²³²

In these years, CPSU orthodoxy was rigidly enforced throughout the Comintern. Intent on 'Bolshevising' the CPGB, Rajani Palme Dutt and his brother, Clemens were among those who were insistent that the 'New Line' be followed in all policy matters. Of those within the British Party, and as their organisational history shows, both the Dutts were best placed to be able to influence student cadres, the future professional elite, at Oxford, Cambridge and the LSE. Student associations, although having their organisation within the party structure, were no less subject to the ideological discipline of the CPSU (exercised through the Comintern) and the CPGB.²³³ I would suggest that Klingender's attempted dissolution of the left-orientated platform of the Internationalists, and the subsequent establishment of the Marxist society is most plausible if seen in the broader context of the 'New Line' and through this, his association with the Dutts and the Comintern-sponsored LAI. Similarly, if one reviews the political tenor of Klingender's student journalism, his criticisms of tutors such as Hobhouse and Laski, and his known student actions from 1930 through to 1934, they consistently reflect and defer to the 'New Line agenda' promulgated by the Dutts and (officially) the CPGB.

Conclusions

The available evidence confirms that Klingender's LSE postgraduate years coincided with an increasing organisational and ideological engagement with internationalism and the Communist cause both within and beyond the academy. From 1931, there is evidence of CPGB membership, and with appreciable involvement with, or affiliation to, CP front organisations such as the LAI, the AIA and, as will be seen in the next chapter, circumstantial evidence which links Klingender to the SCR from the middle or later 1920s

²³² For example, Callaghan (1993) 153, notes that by 1931 the Indian National Congress Party under the leadership of Gandhi was beginning to exert real pressure for Indian self-rule. The communists had broadly sponsored the cause of Indian nationalism, seeing it as a transitional stage to Socialism.

²³³ This became one of the roles of the Universities Socialist Federation to which the LSE organisation, and those at Oxford and Cambridge, appear to have become affiliated.

onwards. It is possible that Beveridge had Marxist postgraduates like Klingender, Meyer and Simmons in mind when he stated that the Students' Union had:

fallen under the control of people who are not students in the ordinary sense at all, but grown men and women, some with axes to grind... Graduates aged 25... not students in the ordinary sense at all.²³⁴

Whilst the LSE provided training in the theoretical protocols of the social sciences, consonant with the empirical claims of Marxist thinking, and forays into student politics, it could be argued that Klingender's more practical engagement with Marxist politics arose through external associations with Hungarian émigrés like the Tomchinskys with whom he became linked by marriage. Additionally, that family's connection with Clemens Palme Dutt establishes the possibility that by the early 1930s, and certainly before his association with the early years of the AIA, Klingender was already linked, albeit in a peripheral way, to an influential cadre within the CPGB and the Comintern. Whilst Clemens Dutt was to play his own role in party history, his younger brother Rajani Palme Dutt, along with Harry Pollitt, was to be pivotal in defining its wider ideological role within the Comintern, for the next thirty years.²³⁵ The clearly internationalist inflexion to Klingender's thinking is explicable if seen in this context and these associations.

Notwithstanding the pioneering role the LSE played in developing and introducing academic subjects such as sociology and anthropology into the academic curriculum, the overriding context in which those subjects were delivered owed much to a positivist and empirical intellectual and pedagogic

²³⁴ Dahrendorf (1995) 278. The tone of Beveridge's comment is surprising given the institutional statistics cited earlier regarding the LSE's occasional student ratio. Dahrendorf implies that Beveridge had overly-personalised the dispute, and although the LSE governors raised concerns over his handling of the affair, they chose not to formalise the issue through a vote of censure. In any event, Beveridge stepped down from the directorship three years later.

²³⁵ Clemens Dutt was active on his own account in the LAI and the Comintern, subsequently associated with editorial and publishing work for the CPGB. Wood (1959) 25, notes the continuity of CPGB leadership between the 1920s and the 1950s.

tradition. Given the intellectual framework of British culture noted by Anderson the association is unsurprising.²³⁶ However, I would suggest this tradition had a profound resonance for Klingender's subsequent elaboration of art sociology, reinforced as it was by Marxist-Leninist claims to legitimacy through scientific methods. As noted, Malinowski's doctoral thesis was on Ernst Mach to whom positivism and empirical observation were fundamental.²³⁷ Similarly, throughout Klingender's oeuvre there is a marked antipathy to idealist or metaphysical strands of thinking. These are interpreted as expressions of false consciousness which Klingender associates with non-representational and abstract artistic practice.²³⁸

The positivist ethos of Klingender's alma mater was underlined in 1933 after the LSE rejected overtures from the Frankfurt Institute of Social and Economic Research over the possible re-location of the institute (or a working branch thereof) and its library, then under threat following the rise of the National Socialists.²³⁹ The LSE familiarised Klingender with the quantitative procedures and methodologies of the social sciences, although it was nevertheless a discursive and independent forum. However, it was also an environment in which, despite a developing cachet for social radicalism, the academic model remained largely empirical and positivist, even if variations of emphasis existed in and between disciplines and teachers.²⁴⁰ The influence of such paradigms should not be under-estimated at a time when there seems to have been a growing consensus, beyond the political left, that forms of rational or managed intervention in economic and social planning might well provide the

²³⁶ Anderson (1969) 219–225.

²³⁷ See: <http://www.ethbib.ethz.ch/exhibit/pauli/mach.html> (June 2005).

²³⁸ For one example see Klingender (1936c) 472–3. Introducing the sculptor Peter (Laslo) Péri, whose work then enjoyed support in left circles, Klingender notes 'The transition from abstraction to a positive assertion of the concrete reality of to-day is shown in the exhibition of...L. Péri's art'.

²³⁹ According to Dahrendorf (1995) 290, Beveridge had initially acceded to the request, but was later forced to withdraw the offer after pressure from academics such as Lionel Robbins and Sidney Webb who vehemently objected to the Institute as 'a stronghold of Marxism in Germany'. However, Beveridge did attempt to save the library.

²⁴⁰ Newman (1993) 169, notes differences of economic analysis between Laski, Beveridge and Robbins.

answer to capitalism's inherent instability.²⁴¹ As explored in the next chapter, Klingender's placement as an economist and statistician at Arcos (the All Russian Co-operative Society Limited – a London-based Soviet trading agency), provided Klingender with an elementary understanding of the processes of another form of centralised intervention when such beliefs were widespread throughout the British intellectual left.²⁴²

Similarly, Hobhouse's 'new liberalism', sanctioned the principle of an interventionist and highly *active* state. However, as Klingender's *festschrift* review makes clear, he was frustrated with his mentor's liberal analysis for its failure to accept the Marxist nostrums of class struggle and the dialectical nature of the historical process. The frequently quoted dictum that Marxism was the science of human societies and the processes of changing them, could stand as one definition of sociology. In this context, it could be conjectured that a significant aspect of sociology's attraction for Klingender was that just such a (Marxist) teleology could be derived from the analyses of the discipline itself. Egbert's description of '*kunstsociologie*' or art sociology' as a major current of art history, theory, and criticism shifted sociological analysis and precepts towards a materialist analysis of visual culture as another part of the superstructure.²⁴³ The dissemination of these ideas by Antal appears to have demonstrated to Klingender the logical extension of this loop to art, which he later referred to as a major 'value forming agency'.²⁴⁴

Egbert attributes the origin of *kunstsociologie* to the work of the French philosopher and sociologist, Jean-Marie Guyau (1854–1888) and its influence

²⁴¹ One of the recurrent observations made by members of the political left was the extent to which, compared to the apparent success of the centrally planned and managed Soviet economy, seemingly evidenced in its first Five Year Plan, western Capitalism appeared to be on the cusp of global depression, increasing unemployment and social instability. For an example of this analysis, see: Saville (2003) 33. Saville also notes the influence for his generation of pro-Soviet books such as *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation?*, published by LSE patrons and governors, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, October 1935. Reading this volume, one is struck by the claims to managerial logic and social justice which define its crusading tone. As if to underline the susceptibility to the beliefs that Saville alludes to, the question mark was removed in the subsequent 1937 reprint. Saville (2003) 33.

²⁴² Klingender (1954a).

²⁴³ Egbert (1970) 564.

²⁴⁴ Klingender (1954a).

on strands of Marxist aesthetic thinking.²⁴⁵ Egbert suggests that Guyau understood art as a 'social phenomenon whose aim is to produce an aesthetic emotion of a social sort'.²⁴⁶ According to *kunstsociologie*, art only signifies, and is ultimately only intelligible, through its mediation of social consciousness, apparent through the mediation of both form and content. The corollary being that its making, consumption and supporting infrastructure variously express the particular values and mindset of specific societies or groups at particular times. F. T. W. Harding notes that Guyau understood the aesthetic response as 'an association of sensation with feelings and desires of an intellectual, moral and social kind'.²⁴⁷ Harding notes:

For Guyau... art still keeps its windows open to the mystery of the universe; and... his theory of freely creative genius enabled him both to avoid the danger of regarding characters in literature as typifying social situations and that of making a necessary connection between art-forms and socio-economic trends such as conditions of ownership or of economic power.²⁴⁸

Egbert cites Antal as an individual in which Guyau's sociological approach is most appreciable and Klingender's friendship with the older Hungarian émigré as the probable context in which such ideas surface in Klingender's own writing on aesthetics.²⁴⁹ However, the context mapped out by this chapter suggests that broadly comparable ideas of culture as an adaptive and instrumental mode of cognition were being communicated through the positivist and empirical teaching of Klingender's LSE mentors, Malinowski and

²⁴⁵ Egbert (1970) 564 quotes two of Guyau's works as being pertinent: *Problems in Contemporary Aesthetics* (1884) and *Art viewed from Sociology* (1889).

²⁴⁶ Egbert (1970) 564 suggests that this stemmed from Guyau's belief in organic unity which pre-supposed that all social phenomenon, like their organic counterparts, 'were interpretable only in terms of the principle of life, and that every individual, far from being an isolated entity, was bound by sympathy to all other creatures, achieving completeness in unity with them'.

²⁴⁷ Harding (1973) 11.

²⁴⁸ Harding (1973) 115.

²⁴⁹ Harding (1973) 564.

Ginsberg which clearly anticipated Klingender's meeting and association with Antal by several years.²⁵⁰

As the student journalism cited earlier confirms, before leaving the LSE Klingender had already disparaged the views of two of his former mentors, Hobhouse and Laski.²⁵¹ However, I would suggest that Malinowski's thinking remained a formative and durable theoretical influence on Klingender's functionalist approach to art and culture not least because it was congruent with the socio-political role attributed to culture by Lenin and in subsequent Communist orthodoxy.²⁵² If these conjectures are accepted as plausible, it suggests that Klingender's engagement with Marxist aesthetics, as a preparation for its elaboration in his subsequent writing, is traceable to very specific exposures within the LSE, in addition to noted (and external) activities with CPGB, and the Comintern orientated LAI, AIA and SCR.²⁵³ The point being that when other, older émigrés such as Antal arrived in 1933, Klingender had anticipated some of the essential principles of *kunstsociologie*, albeit indirectly through the social anthropology of Malinowski and the sociology of Ginsberg and their own respective antecedents.²⁵⁴ Similarly, I would assert that Klingender had already established a political profile by virtue of his involvement in organisational politics and the broader internationalist cause, both of which were to delineate his subsequent professional and authorial concerns as a Marxist art historian. Within the LSE, Klingender was associated with the CP

²⁵⁰ Harding (1973) 116, argues that for Guyau the explicit social purpose of art was to establish 'sociable relations with personalities not otherwise easily accessible, such as those of other ages, or races, or social groups'. This contention is directly consonant with anthropological investigation and Malinowski's commitment to linking theory with demonstrable and apparently inclusive field practice.

²⁵¹ As noted, although Klingender made no reference to Laski, it could be argued that the latter's influence was negatively encoded insofar as Klingender's early CP affiliations were defined in opposition to Laski's perceived 'reformism'.

²⁵² Although there are no essays by Klingender on visual art or literature from *The Student Vanguard*, a doctrinaire piece on Modernism in the arts by one of its editors, Cornford (1933) 12–13.

²⁵³ The irony being the LSE's noted scepticism towards conflation of social scientific methodology with socio-political formulations of Marxism. This was one of the sources of friction between Laski and Beveridge. Newman (1993) 169.

²⁵⁴ The influence of Antal on Klingender is noted by Egbert (1970) 564, but there was clearly a professional relationship of real, mutual respect, despite the obvious generational differences between the two. The possibility of Klingender having found his 'own way' via LSE sociology to the underlying precepts of *kunstsociologie* may well have accounted for this.

student organisers Meyer and Simmons, in addition to John Cornford, one of the members of *The Student Vanguard's* editorial board. A security file note, made during the Cold War, describes Klingender, Cornford and (Donald) Maclean as being 'all mixed up in the federation of student societies 'and Klingender as 'one of the most active Communists in the student movement'.²⁵⁵ Outside the academy, and as noted, marriage into the Tomchinsky family and Klingender's known involvement in LAI activities, would have brought him into the orbit of Clemens and Rajani Palme Dutt.

In closing, this chapter has made a circumstantial, but hopefully persuasive case which links Klingender's founding of 'The Internationalists' to the LAI's priorities and in turn the Comintern's keen interest in galvanising student cadres in support of the 'New Line'. In turn, it should be recalled that it was *The Student Vanguard* which alleged spying against Indian students by LSE authorities which resulted in the expulsion of an LSE student and CP member, culminating in the publication's subsequent closure.²⁵⁶ That similar allegations had been made earlier by the Dutts at Oxford and Cambridge, only serves to underline the close linkages between personalities and the appreciable commonalities at play in this context. Klingender's previously unrecorded journalism for *The Student Vanguard* confirm his enthusiastic and early adoption of Marxist-Leninism, his support of the Comintern's 'New Line' sectarianism and a preparedness to enter the workers' struggle.²⁵⁷ These years also demonstrate Klingender's capacity for wide-ranging CP associations, both within and beyond the academy, as they do a penchant for rather less attractive actions, plausibly on the part of the CP. Such attributes were to inform Klingender's subsequent organisational involvements and affiliations, as they were to be indicative of his methodologies as a Marxist art historian.

²⁵⁵ Donald Maclean, a modern-languages student at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, was among the early members of the University communist group. Carter (2001) 106–107. See MI5 minute sheet dated November 1st 1951 (also referenced as PF.40.482).

²⁵⁶ The last edition of the publication (March 1934 vol. II no.6) ran a full retraction and formal apology from the editorial board as well as the printers and publishers.

²⁵⁷ Saville and Bellamy's listing of Klingender's published work does not include any of his student journalism. Saville and Bellamy (1993) 165.

Chapter Three: Klingender, Arcos and the SCR

Introduction

This chapter will consider Klingender's employment with Arcos, the commercial arm of the Soviet Trade Legation, which dates from his early postgraduate years at the LSE (1931/32), with the recorded association running until at least November 1933.¹ This chapter will contextualise this involvement with reference to the nature of Anglo-Soviet relations during this period; the activities of the Soviet Trade Legation and the events which resulted in the Arcos raid of 1927. In doing so, it will attempt to account for Klingender's interest and motivation in securing such a position, particularly at a time when the Comintern's adoption of the 'New Line' and the sectarianism which followed, marked an all-time low in relations between the CPGB, the Trades Unions and the National Government. The chapter's second section will consider the role of the Society for Cultural Relations between the British Commonwealth and the USSR (SCR), since 1992 the Society for Co-operation in Russian and Soviet Studies. The chapter will make the case that this forum, as well as acting as an ideological surrogate for Klingender, may well have provided him with the contacts to secure the Arcos position.

Arcos and Anglo-Soviet Relations

Klingender's connection with Arcos, the All Russian Co-operative Society Limited, is noted in his *DLB* entry.² Established in June 1920, Arcos was ostensibly a Soviet trading agency. Saville follows Elton in using verbatim, Klingender's description in his 1954 curriculum vitae. Elton notes:

Just before graduating he held briefly a marketing research appointment with

¹ Arcos staffing lists, (KV2/797).

² The main recorded address is Soviet House, 49 Moorgate, London, EC2, although Arcos had previously been registered at Lincoln's Inn Fields from which it moved in 1921. See: M15 file KV2/818. Santalov and Segal (1927) 241. Saville and Bellamy (1993) 162.

Arcos Ltd., which provided him with what he calls 'an illuminating insight into the conditions under which the more elementary levels of planning research were then conducted in a Soviet enterprise'.³

To understand Klingender's work at Arcos, and to hazard conjectures as to its possible motivation and rationale, it is necessary to situate the association in relation to the wider context of Anglo-Soviet relations with which it was entwined.

Following earlier allied intervention in support of the anti-Bolshevik opposition (seen as a means of restoring Russian involvement in the conflict with Germany), de facto recognition of the Soviet government by Great Britain did not occur until March 1921.⁴ But this was an interim treaty only, designed for the resumption of trade between the two powers.⁵ Effective (or 'de jure') diplomatic relations only started with the period of office of the first minority Labour government from February 1924.⁶ Anglo-Soviet relations were again strained by the Zinoviev letter, subsequent Soviet support for the General Strike and the election of a highly critical Conservative government by the end of that year.⁷ In the aftermath of the strike's collapse, relations between the CPGB, the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress reached an absolute low with mass expulsions, recrimination and the effective marginalisation of the CPGB in relation to the wider Labour Party policy for the remainder of the decade.⁸

With the formal resumption of sovereign, or at least mercantile relations with the Soviet Union, 1925 saw the establishment of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union

³ Elton (1972) viii.

⁴ This had been a consequence of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, concluded between Russia and Germany, and ratified by the Congress of Soviets, on March 15th 1918. Kennan (1960) 17–22.

⁵ Kennan (1960) 37.

⁶ Bilainkin (1944) 37.

⁷ The so-called Zinoviev letter urged British Communists to incite revolution in Great Britain following the collapse of the Labour Government in 1924 general elections. Although subsequently proved to be a forgery, the damage to the pro-Soviet consensus was already done. Kennan (1960) 58–59; Klugmann (1969) 318 and Crystal (2002) 1689.

⁸ Morgan (1993) 53–55.

Committee (ASTUC). Its stated aspirations of 'international trade union unity' were consistent with the Comintern aims of internationalising Bolshevism, even if there were no formal links to the CPGB itself.⁹ From the British Communist historiography of the period, there is a tangible sense that the experience and general disillusionment of the General Strike reinforced a conviction within the CPGB that the Labour Party and the Trades Unions Congress were ultimately committed to maintaining the social and political status quo rather than its overthrow.¹⁰ It is also credited by some commentators as having provided the foundation within British experience which variously supported or acquiesced in the Comintern's sharp turn to the left which followed the Arcos raid.¹¹

CPGB Relations with the Labour Party c.1925–1926

In the run-up to the General Strike, there had been a renewed attempt within the CPGB, to propagate policy interests within the wider British Labour movement. Part of this strategy was the establishment in 1925 of the National Left Wing Movement (NLWM) which was an attempt by CPGB members, initially within dis-affiliated labour sections such as Bethnal Green and Battersea, to establish a

⁹ The Comintern or Third Communist International was established in 1919. Its main aim was to internationalise the Bolshevik revolution. Hallas (1985) 11. Klugmann (1969) 318. As with other left-wing coteries of the time, there was considerable overlap in CPGB membership within and between the Labour Party and the Trades Unions. Although the Labour Party had refused direct CPGB affiliation after it was formed, there was no effective bar on CP members seeking individual membership and many did so with an estimated 1500 of the CPGB's 1927 membership of around 7900 in this category. Influence within the Trades Union organisations would have also been appreciable although there are no extant figures for this period. However, the Minority Movement, a grouping of CP militants and trade union activists almost certainly did influence the agenda of the ASTUC, making the Comintern link a highly probable one. Branson (1985) 5.

¹⁰ This is particularly evident in Klugmann's account (1969) which covers the General Strike period 1925–1926. As a CP member, his account, like Branson's, is far from impartial, but as a contemporary witness and contributor to these events, this legacy of 'betrayal' is made explicit from the preface onwards. Klugmann (1969) 9.

¹¹ As documented, CPGB opinion was divided. Rajani Palme Dutt argued for the adoption of the Comintern line, others like Pollitt and Gallagher resisted and were replaced in the Party hierarchy. Johnston (1990) 13–44. Macfarlane (1986) 167.

revolutionary mandate within affiliated Labour Party branches.¹² Although not formally part of the CPGB, it had links with Comintern policies through *The Sunday Worker*, a CPGB weekly newsheet.¹³ In this regard, although Klingender's CPGB membership has already been mentioned, there is no available evidence that suggests he was personally affiliated to the Labour movement of the time, although given the statistics just footnoted, such an affiliation is at least plausible. Partly as a response to the CPGB sectarianism which followed the collapse of the General Strike and the attempted NLWM activity, the Labour Party drive for Communist expulsions was spearheaded in London. Branson notes that this was also because, from an estimated 1,105 CPGB members within the capital's catchment, 434 were either known to be 'active' in their local labour branches or were placed as delegates to them.¹⁴

However, what is known is that among the wave of Labour Party exclusions which followed the 1926 debacle were several members of the General Committee of the South East St Pancras branch.¹⁵ The allegations cited by Branson related to apparent fraternisation with openly CPGB members of the Greater London Left Wing Committee.¹⁶ As noted in chapter two, Saville quotes Fagan's recollection that Klingender was a member of the St Pancras (Postal Branch) CPGB by the early 1930s.¹⁷ As noted in chapter two, the political direction of Klingender's student journalism, authored in the year his association with Arcos began, confirms an increasing frustration with Labour and Liberal reformism and those like Laski and Hobhouse associated with this political line. However, at a local level, this

¹² Branson (1985) 6–7. One of its first secretaries was a young Communist called Ralph Bond (1927–29). Bond was later instrumental in establishing the workers' film movement. It is conceivable that Klingender met Bond in this context, seven years before the association with Grierson's Film Centre (1936–38)

¹³ Croft (1995) 95.

¹⁴ Branson (1985) 5.

¹⁵ Fagan Typescript (1989) 61 records that the St Pancras Branch, its premises on the Prince of Wales Road, extended to Hampstead and Bloomsbury. Fagan recalls the presence of high profile CP members and activists such as Ralph Fox, Frank Jackson and Dona Torr.

¹⁶ Branson (1985) 8–9.

¹⁷ Saville and Bellamy (1993) 162.

does indicate a context in which there had been a degree of porosity and co-operation between the CPGB and a significant number of London's Labour Party branches. Within this highly politicised milieu, cross-party affiliations or collaboration in the interests of the Comintern would not have been exceptional.

The examples of the NLWM and the Minority Movement both serve to underline the highly fluid and dynamic nature of the political left in years following the General Strike which coincided with Klingender's arrival from Germany. Assuming that Klingender began to take an interest in British politics, either intellectual or practical, during the aftermath of the General Strike, subsequent involvement in the St Pancras branch cadres would have plausibly provided him with the recent history and legacy of Labour relations.¹⁸ As James Jupp has noted, the years between 1910 and 1926 have been widely characterised as part of a potentially revolutionary period.¹⁹ The apparent success and survival of the Bolshevik Revolution, republican insurrection in Ireland, and attempts by the newly established Comintern to seize power elsewhere in Europe, suggested to the political left that capitalism was far less stable than its apologists argued.²⁰ Even if the failure of the 1926 General Strike signified the highpoint of working-class militancy in Klingender's adopted country, the probable time of his employment at Arcos coincided with an increasingly sectarian and embattled CPGB and the deterioration of economic conditions at home.²¹

¹⁸ Klingender's writing for *The Student Vanguard* and *The Clare Market Review* demonstrates a high level of awareness of contemporary political debates.

¹⁹ Jupp (1982) 3.

²⁰ In passing, M15 files relating to Arcos, suggest possible IRA links. Specifically, banknotes traceable to the Moscow Narodny Bank appear to have been found on two Irish gunmen. There were also initial discussions, apparently brokered through a Latvian courier (memo dated 27/4/28) to establish a Soviet trade presence in southern Ireland, using Soviet timber in exchange for livestock. See: KV2/797.

²¹ The aftermath of the General Strike saw increasing unemployment in areas such as mining, shipbuilding and general engineering. The passing of The Trades Disputes Act in 1927 was designed to contain some of the consequences of the worsening economic scenario by restricting picketing, secondary action and by splitting off unions involved in government service from the Trades Union Congress. Branson and Heinemann (1971) 83.

Klingender's Employment with Arcos

The reference to Klingender's Arcos employment is made from Elton's preface to the revised edition of *Art and the Industrial Revolution*. Its origin is not footnoted, although it is plausible, given their close professional collaboration, that its recollection stemmed from either contemporary knowledge (Elton and Klingender had been friends since the mid 1930s), first hand conversation or correspondence with the book's author.²² Klingender matriculated from the LSE with first class honours in 1930.²³ Neither the *DLB* entry, Elton or Klingender's own curriculum vitae record exactly *when* he was at Arcos.²⁴ Given the latter was drafted during the contexts of the Cold War, Klingender may have quite reasonably felt that the association should be minimised.²⁵ However, Klingender's security file places him as an economist and statistician at Arcos between 1932/33.²⁶ As noted in chapter four, the meeting with the British Board of Film Classification (BBFC), in which Klingender is described as 'representing Arcos', enables the association to be extended at least until November 1933, although it seems evident that Klingender was not undertaking this role as part of his formal economic or statistical duties.

The 1927 *Soviet Union Year Book* profiles Arcos as the principal purchasing and selling agency in Great Britain for Soviet exporting and import organisations, accounting for 63.5 per cent of Soviet purchases made in the British market for that

²² When Klingender applied for a passport in 1938, Elton was the witness signature to his identity (unpaginated note MI5 security file). This rather suggests a professional association or friendship through Grierson's Film Centre. In a letter to John Saville dated January 21st 1982, Sir Arthur Elton's widow writes that her late husband had been writing about 'art and the Industrial Revolution as early as 1938 and who generously and ebulliently shared his scholarship and perceptions with Francis for at least a decade before *Art & the Industrial Revolution*'. This interest is evident from Elton's own professional and film making interest in avionics and engineering, and his personal influence on the scientific-educational front through the Shell film Unit. Aitken (1998) 144 and 164.

²³ Saville and Bellamy (1993) 162.

²⁴ Archive letters from the Klingender file at Hull confirm that the research for the Klingender entry was undertaken in the early 1980s which would suggest that it would have relied, if only in part, on Elton's earlier preface to the 1972 revised edition of *Art & the Industrial Revolution*.

²⁵ Klingender (1954a) notes 'a brief engagement with Arcos'. Unsurprisingly, in his application for the lectureship at Hull (dated June 26th 1948), there is no reference to the association.

²⁶ MI5 Security File Minute dated August 16th 1933.

year.²⁷ Typically, Soviet imports from the new regime included timber, flax, furs, ores and hemp, in return for British exports of machinery with industrial, scientific and chemical applications. In the aftermath of the Civil War, and the political pragmatism which had led to the partial re-introduction of a market-led planning of the New Economic Policy (NEP), such exchange was seen as vital to the Soviet Union's longer term survival.²⁸ Principal among the trading agency's donor organisations was the Moscow Narodny Bank which had premises in nearby High Holborn.²⁹ It seems reasonable to assume that the association would also have assisted the trading agency with currency flows and security for capital exchanges. Arcos owned and shared premises with the Soviet Trade Delegation at Soviet House, 49 Moorgate, EC2, although MI5 records suggest that it was an expanding enterprise which owned or leased a further eight buildings in London with a staff of over five hundred, making it a sizeable non-British employer within the City of London.³⁰

The Arcos Raid and Its Aftermath

On May 27th 1927, at around 4.30 pm, the premises of 49 Moorgate were raided on Home Office orders by a force of about 150 armed police, from Scotland Yard, both uniformed and in plain clothes.³¹ Although government sanctioned, Soviet

²⁷ Santalov and Segal (1927) 246.

²⁸ Taylor (1992) 6–7, 31–32, 48–49.

²⁹ The Moscow Narodny Bank (MNB) was incorporated in 1919. Based at 81 King William Street EC4, it was and remains the UK's only Russian owned Bank. See: www.cbirectory.co.uk (May 2005). The Moscow Narodny Bank was established in 1922 with the mandate to finance Anglo-Soviet Trade through the various co-operative organisations like Arcos. Santalov and Segal (1927) 241.

³⁰ As stated in unattributed (1927) 5. MI5 Arcos Organisation File KV2/818. Santalov and Segal (1927) 243–4 list twenty-six organisations, based throughout London which were, in various ways, connected with Soviet trade operations.

³¹ According to Mowat (1968) 338, the raid was not authorised by the full Cabinet as such, but by Sir William Joynson-Hicks, ('Jiks') Home Office Minister, Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister and Sir Austen Chamberlain as Foreign Minister (members of Baldwin's second cabinet November 1924–June 1929). Gorodetsky (1977) 221 argues that Joynson-Hicks was the prime mover of the events which lead up to the raid. For purposes of jurisdiction, Moorgate came within the City of London Police such that nominal responsibility for the raid was given to the City of London Police Commissioner, Colonel Tumball whose uniformed colleagues secured the outside of the building. However, the raid itself was carried out by armed members of Special Branch. Allason (1983) 88.

authorities claimed the raid was a direct contravention of the extra-territoriality agreed in the bilateral trade negotiations of 1921.³² Aside from the domestic causes already noted for the deterioration of Anglo-Soviet relations, there were increasing international tensions which appear to have prompted the government to make such a symbolic intervention. Direct CPSU and Comintern support for the nationalist and anti-imperialist Kuomintang in China was seen as an indirect attempt at undermining British colonial business interests at a time when one of the largest corporate claimants (the Russian-Asiatic Consolidated Company Ltd.), had failed to secure, from Soviet trade representatives, settlement for losses incurred in the Soviet nationalisation of private property which had followed the October revolution.³³

The raid's immediate and given pretext appears to have been arranged by the security services which had undertaken surveillance on a Wilfred MacCartney, a Foreign Office employee, who had been noted making enquiries about arms shipments to Finland.³⁴ An Air Ministry training manual (marked 'confidential') was allowed to fall into his possession and was then witnessed being passed to an employee of the Soviet Trade Legation. Ironically, this document was not among the incriminating material uncovered by the raid.³⁵ The evidence suggests however, that the Arcos raid was ultimately prompted by a nervous and frustrated government trawling for evidence or a pretext to sever relations with the Soviet

³² Kennan (1960) 63. This appears to have been conveniently circumvented through the technicality of applying for a search warrant for Arcos, which as a limited and registered company (albeit on shared premises with the Trade Legation), did not enjoy such immunity. See also: Allason (1983) 88.

³³ Some caveats apply here: the CPSU's short-term policy objective (sanctioned by Stalin as Party Secretary) of supporting the Kuomintang, was directly contrary to Comintern attempts to establish a viable Chinese Communist Party, necessarily with a less nationalist, and more internationalist agenda. The latter was clearly sacrificed to the former and was to set the tone for the subordination of Comintern interests to those perceived to be closer to the geo-political and territorial interests of the Soviet 'bastion'. Kennan (1960) 63, 51 and 71–74.

³⁴ MacCartney was subsequently convicted under the Official Secrets Act and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. Allason (1983) 89.

³⁵ Mowat (1968) 337–338.

Union at a time of increasing working class militancy and British Communist opposition.³⁶

The account published shortly afterwards by the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee (ARPC) claimed that the raid directly contravened clause five of the 1921 Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement which accorded diplomatic immunity to legation staff and 'to the Official Trade Agent to use cypher codes in his communications'.³⁷ During the raid, the cypher room had been broken into; acetylene torches and pneumatic drills were used to open safes and an estimated 250,000 documents were confiscated and examined by the Foreign Office and the Security Services. The Arcos raid was a forensic operation, with the police 'visit' lasting five days (Thursday May 12th to Monday May 16th).³⁸ All legation and British staff on the premises were interviewed with widespread use of body searches, on both male and female staff which provoked specific diplomatic protest. After interview, legation staff, were released, either individually or in small groups.³⁹

The bitterness of the row which followed can be gained from the ARPC rebuttal which was striking both in the speed of its compilation and the detail of its contents; a foreword and thirteen sections and an addendum which ran to just under fifty pages. It also included typed copies of formal complaints made by members of the Soviet legation's diplomatic staff and by the acting chairman of Arcos, as well as signed and witnessed depositions from legation staff, statements of damage to property and medical reports substantiating injury and trauma.⁴⁰ The text of a letter of complaint from the TUC Secretary Walter Citrine underlined wider anxieties within the Trades Union movement and the feared repercussions for government treatment of its own rank and file membership. Beyond concerns over

³⁶ A precedent for the raid had been established in 1925 with the police raid of the CPGB headquarters at King St, London. M15 subject file KV3/15-17 and 34-35).

³⁷ Unattributed (1927) 5.

³⁸ Bilainkin (1944) 65-66.

³⁹ Unattributed (1927) 32-45.

⁴⁰ Unattributed (1927) 47-49.

the diplomatic immunity of legation employees from such state treatment, or the alleged contravention of 'extra-territoriality' accorded by the 1921 Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement, the real driver was both political and ideological; an awareness of ramifications beyond London and the damage to the cause of Anglo-Soviet détente and the interests of the British Comintern.⁴¹ The foreword to the report concluded:

There is strong suspicion that the raid was the result of pressure exerted by those elements of British Public opinion which had always been hostile to an Anglo-Soviet rapprochement and whose aim has always been to bring about a rupture in the relations between Great Britain and the USSR'.⁴²

Swift interventions also followed from elsewhere. The CPGB-backed Labour Research Department circulated a booklet titled *British Trade and the Arcos Raid*, which alleged that it was simply the most recent instance of a government and press-based campaign of anti-Soviet action and propaganda.⁴³ With a political eye to a domestic, employment-based agenda, the case made here was primarily an economic one which alleged a home goal through damage and disruption to British

⁴¹ There were certainly personal ramifications for some of the Soviet legation staff involved which may, or may not have been related to the events of the raid. Cipher clerks Peter and Anton Miller were shot for unknown reasons after their return to the Soviet Union. The former was identified as a Soviet courier and a possible Cheka agent. See: MI5 subject file KV2/797, National Archives, unpaginated typescript, dated 16/2/29. The First Secretary to the Embassy (1927–1929) Dmitri Vasilevich Bogomolov (1890–1937) who was among those who made personal statements to the ARPC, died in the Gulag in 1937. However, it may have been a personal friendship with the avant-garde poet Vladimir Mayakovsky whom he befriended whilst on diplomatic service in Warsaw, between 1927–9, rather than the Arcos debacle, which brought him to the attention of the NKVD. See KV2/797 and Vronskaya (1989) 47.

⁴² Unattributed (1927) 20.

⁴³ Established in 1912 by Beatrice and Sidney Webb as the Fabian Research Department, by 1920 it was staffed by a political faction which eventually formed part of the newly founded CPGB. See: Wood (1959) 77–78. Unattributed (1973).

exports to the new Soviet economy and the implications for employment in the coal and steel yards.⁴⁴

Rajani P. Dutt, among the CPGB's most doctrinaire intellectuals, characterised the raid as part of an ongoing and systematic 'imperialist crusade', realised as a retaliatory measure after alleged Soviet involvement in attacks on British concessions at Hankow in January 1927.⁴⁵ In the 1930s Gollancz Left Book Club title *World Politics 1918–1936*, Dutt concluded:

The line has appeared again and again in British Policy throughout the post-war period at critical turning points...in the Curzon ultimatum of 1923, in the Zinoviev forgery of 1924, in the Locarno manoeuvres of 1925, in the Arcos raid and rupture of 1927...⁴⁶

Dutt conveniently overlooks the fact that various international and domestic espionage activities were indeed being carried out from Arcos and that the identity of the Soviet Trade Legation and that of the Co-operative Trading Company was evidently a porous one.⁴⁷ Denying Soviet allegations that both the commercial

⁴⁴ Unattributed (1973) 7–13. The probity of this argument rests in large part on the actual volumes of Anglo-Soviet trade and its proportion of total net British imports and exports. Bilainkin's biography of Maisky quotes a figure of £200,000,000 for the period running up to 1926, but the figure is unsourced and un-corroborated (41). The LRD publication just referenced provides a more detailed estimate and analysis (8–14) which quotes a 1926 figure of £15,483,572 for total exports to the Soviet Union. It also cites the 'substantial amount of employment...given through Russian (sic) orders' in Birmingham, Leeds, London, Liverpool and Sheffield arising from engineering, construction and textile orders'. (13–14). However, whilst either publication cannot claim impartiality, appreciable trade volumes do indeed appear to have been generated by the NEP in the years after 1921 with resulting business for docks, shipping and warehouses. But the subsequent economic downturn which did effect the steelyards (and much else), cannot be attributed to Arcos and the Anglo-Soviet trade debacle, but rather the depression which hit the western economies on both sides of the Atlantic.

⁴⁵ This is the overall characterisation of Rajani Palme Dutt in Callaghan (1993). Dutt (1936) 337.

⁴⁶ Dutt (1936) 290.

⁴⁷ In this regard, the following extract from Unattributed (1927) 5 may have merely semantic interest:

premises of Arcos and those of the Soviet Legation were clearly differentiated and that such a raid was clearly a pre-meditated act of state conspiracy, the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Austen Chamberlain, wrote to the Soviet chargé d'affaires stating that:

No ostensible differentiation of rooms or duties was observed as between the members of the Trade Delegation and the employees of Arcos, and it has been shown that both these organisations have been involved in anti-British espionage and propaganda'.⁴⁸

The confiscated documentation confirmed that widespread espionage and spying activities in Australia, America, Columbia, Brazil, Mexico and Uruguay were indeed being partly co-ordinated through the legation.⁴⁹

The Arcos raid also identified Jacob Kirchenstein as head of Soviet intelligence-gathering in Great Britain and identified one Robert Koling as a Russian intelligence courier.⁵⁰ This in turn prompted similar raids in Berlin and Paris.⁵¹ However, the ARPC document does cite the reported finding of a small cache of hunting rifles on the premises, which had prompted the Soviet Embassy to issue a robust explanation after the press ran stories reporting their presence on May 15th. The statement read:

'It is particularly important to note that the Trade Delegation, although housed in 49 Moorgate (premises belonging to Arcos Ltd.) occupies apartments which are self-contained and on all the entrances of which are notices in large type, both in Russian and English, 'TRADE DELEGATION OF THE USSR'.'

⁴⁸ Unattributed (1927) document 16 (unpaginated).

⁴⁹ One M15 memo reads, there is 'no possible doubt that members of Arcos and the Russian Trade Delegation are directing and carrying on the work of Bolshevik propaganda and military espionage at 49, Moorgate'. See: M15 Arcos file KV2/797 (typed memo, unpaginated).

⁵⁰ KV3/17 and KV2/806–807 respectively.

⁵¹ Allason (1983) 88.

The Embassy of the USSR is authorised to state that Arcos has a general permit for the purchase in Great Britain of weapons employed in hunting. The small number of weapons found during the raid were samples of those purchased in 1923 from a British firm for the Kara Sea Expedition (an expedition organised yearly since 1921 to Northern Siberia for the purpose of supplying hunting weapons to the local population in return for furs and other products). Arcos has a permit for the possession of these weapons, and the permit is verified from time to time by the police authorities.⁵²

Whatever the apparent justification, and irrespective of its negligible practical or military value, the disclosure of the Soviet legation's small arms cache within a year of the social unrest precipitated by the General Strike provided a further convenient justification for strident anti-communist rhetoric within government and for the severing of diplomatic relations which ensued.⁵³ Among the MI5 organisational records was also a note that an Arcos employee had made enquiries as to the names of British TNT manufacturers and that industrial volumes of tyres and inner tubes, for possible Red Army use, were being acquired through the trading arm.⁵⁴ Similarly, such disclosures, whether legitimate trading activities or otherwise, would have supported the hawkish line taken by the British government.

More recently, sketching the context to Anglo-Soviet espionage and the political milieu of the 1920s Miranda Carter has noted:

⁵² Allason (1983) 31.

⁵³ The Soviet Embassy response quotes a *Daily Express* article from May 17th which conceded 'The few guns that were found were out of date, and the police have accepted the explanation that they were purchased with official authority for a Soviet expedition to Siberia'. However, the damage was done. Allason (1983) 50. On May 24th Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin announced in Parliament that diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union had been closed and the staff of the British Mission in Moscow recalled. Also: Mowat (1968) 337.

⁵⁴ The note records negotiations for the purchase of 3100 motor tyres and 6200 inner tubes. MI5 Arcos Organisational File KV2/818 Section 126 (typed page, unpaginated).

The raid proved that trade delegates were working for Soviet Intelligence, but it produced very little of value apart from the embarrassing fact that the Soviets now knew that Britain had its diplomatic codes.⁵⁵

On the government side, available command papers record 'that there no cyphers or very secret material at the Trade Delegation', but evidence was found confirming Soviet resistance to Chang Kai-Shek in China (an 'agent of British Imperialism') and attempts at subversion within the British merchant fleet.⁵⁶ It was Foreign Office intelligence which Chamberlain had referred to in his letter to the Soviet chargé d'affaires:

The recent examination by the police of the premises of Arcos Ltd and of the Russian Trade Delegation has conclusively proved that both military espionage and subversive activities throughout the British Empire were being directed and carried out from 49 Moorgate.⁵⁷

Before considering how the Arcos debacle might help to inform a reading of Klingender's political affiliations and milieu dating back to the 1920s, it is worth noting that one of the raid's longer term repercussions was the way in which both the British intelligence service and its Soviet equivalent were to re-orientate and support future espionage and counter-espionage surveillance activities. John Curry dates the closer collaboration between the British intelligence service and the staff of the three armed services to this time, part of the rationale being to guard

⁵⁵ Carter (2002) 154.

⁵⁶ *Accounts & State Papers 14*, from *Documents Illustrating the Hostile Activities of the Soviet Government and Third International against Great Britain*, British Library Cmd Papers 2874 237. Foreign Office Documents appended to report (unpaginated).

⁵⁷ Cmd Papers 2874 document 16 (unpaginated).

against Communist subversion within the forces (one of the Arcos disclosures had involved personnel in the British maritime fleet).⁵⁸ Carter notes that 1927 marked a parallel watershed in Communist thinking:

Soviet Intelligence switched from using legal residents, who could be traced back to trade delegations and embassies, to greater use of illegals, (émigrés and political idealists recruited by the NKVD for their loyalty and commitment to the cause) who could not be linked to embassies'.⁵⁹

One example which appears to illustrate Arcos involvement in this context relates to one of their British Communist employees, Edgar Davis. According to a memo in one of the security files, Davis was sent to Berlin where he married a Soviet national. 'Ida' Davis subsequently returned with him to London and gained a job in Arcos.⁶⁰ This more clandestine approach was to be used to cultivate and enlist the support of British fellow travellers and CPGB members like Anthony Blunt, Guy Burgess, James Klugmann, Kim Philby, and others to the Soviet cause in the years which followed.

The Arcos Raid and the severing of Anglo-Soviet relations which ensued was widely publicised in the national daily newspapers. Assuming the chronology established in the initial chapter to be correct, the diplomatic aftermath coincided within months of Klingender's arrival in London. It is not known if he had already begun to be politically active by this time, although given the intellectual profile suggested by his Goslar journalism and the schoolyard epithet 'Edelkommunist', discussed in chapter one, it seems plausible to suggest that Klingender would have at least begun to take a reading interest in the Communist politics of his adopted country. However, given the magnitude and profile of the events just outlined, it is

⁵⁸ Curry (1999) 94.

⁵⁹ Carter (2002) 154.

⁶⁰ M15 security file KV2/818 memo, February 5th 1926.

inconceivable that he was not aware, at some level, of the polemical aftermath and of the wider repercussions which ensued for Anglo-Soviet Relations. In this regard, it seems reasonable to consider why and how Klingender secured employment at Arcos.

Possible Motivations for Association

In this context, and beyond the necessity of earning money, securing employment within the Soviet Trade Legation can be interpreted as an overt and symbolic demonstration of political conviction. I would suggest it gave practical expression to Klingender's desire to make open affiliation to the Soviet and CPGB cause which he was propagating at the LSE. There is no evidence to suggest that Klingender was ever clandestine or reticent about his Communist convictions.⁶¹ The profile established in chapter two confirms his organisational and journalistic role in LSE Communist politics and his willingness to enter high-profile debate and disagreements with tutors such as Laski, Hobhouse or external visitors such as Bertrand Russell. One further instance of this can be seen from a subsequent war-time entry from Klingender's security file. Employed by the Ministry of Home Security as a temporary scientific officer at Princes Risborough, it seems that Klingender made no secret of his Communist affiliations during his civil service tenure, resulting in questions being raised as to the viability of retaining him in service.⁶²

On a more personal level, it is conceivable that such an association may also have fed an element of personal vanity or insecurity. Within the fairly homogeneous intellectual left of the early 1930s, Klingender may well have been

⁶¹ The Blunt testimonial in Klingender's MI5 security file quoted in the last chapter of this thesis asserts that Klingender was invariably open about such activities or affiliations.

⁶² Saville and Bellamy (1993) 162. In a nice irony, Anthony Blunt, then serving in a professional wartime capacity with the rank of Captain in MI5, was asked for his opinion on Klingender. After a brief testimonial, Blunt notes testily 'The general policy of allowing people like Klingender and Bernal (then Klingender's effective head of section) to be in government offices is not my affair'. (handwritten note dated November 7th 1942). It is not known when and why Klingender left the Civil Service, but it does not appear to have been a long tenure. Bernal had in fact already ceased CP membership, although he remained strongly supportive of the cause.

conscious of his outsider or necessarily prolonged student status.⁶³ In joining Arcos, he was engaging with an organisation that had been subject to the polemical press and establishment attention just outlined, and the activities of which had been instrumental in the severing of Anglo-British relations. Approaching his mid twenties, such an association may well have signified, not unreasonably, a certain amount of political cachet in Klingender's eyes. Certainly, the surviving Arcos establishment files in the National Archives indicate that the employment of British nationals who were CPGB members was standard practice within Arcos, although all the managerial and section heads were of Soviet nationality.⁶⁴ Two of the names which appear from 1927 were senior CPGB members, Thomas Wintringham (Editor Publishing Department) and Andrew Rothstein (a member of the CPGB's Central Executive Committee) manager of the Information Section.⁶⁵ Another name which is associated with the trading company in the period before the raid was that of Clemens Palme Dutt.

In addition to the various Comintern-orientated and CPGB activities already noted in chapter two, Dutt had served as Editor in Chief of the weekly journal of the Russian Trade Delegation from 1923–26.⁶⁶ Klingender's name does not appear on the staffing lists from 1927, but since these manifests are incomplete there may well have been other activists associated with the Trade Legation whose names remain unrecorded.⁶⁷ However, the relevance being that the presence or past involvement of some of the CPGB activists listed may well have provided him with an additional motivation for association. In securing employment at Arcos,

⁶³ In passing, during his association with Arcos, and on his first marriage certificate, to Sulamith Tomchinsky (October 8th 1932) Klingender describes himself as a 'Scientist of Political Economy and Sociology'. Whilst technically not untrue, it conceals Klingender's student status.

⁶⁴ Arcos Organisation File KV2/818.

⁶⁵ Klugmann (1968) 24–25 and 337 records Wintringham, along with Ralph Fox, as having become involved with the CPGB through the 'Hands Off Russia Campaign'. He subsequently served as an assistant to J. R. Campbell, who succeeded Palme Dutt as Editor of the *Workers' Weekly*. Klugmann (1969) 90. Andrew Rothstein was also the son of Theodore Rothstein, a Russian Bolshevik and among the CPGB's founding members. Klugmann (1968) 17. Arcos Organisation File KV2/818. Wintringham's name appears in the Arcos staffing lists as late as 1935 (KV5/1).

⁶⁶ Callaghan (1993) 60.

⁶⁷ Arcos organisational Files KV2/818 and KVKV5/1.

Klingender would have been following in good and recognised Communist company.

Elton records Klingender's actual job at Arcos as one involving 'marketing research' which could be either be prosaically correct or a repeated euphemism for any number of roles or activities. According to the organisational files released, Arcos comprised three operational sections: buying, selling and finance.⁶⁸ The 'marketing research' reference seems to discount the financial section, although as a graduate economist, Klingender's profile may have been consistent with the employment profile here. Of the other two, Klingender could either have been involved in 'buying' through procurement and supplier research activities, or selling ('marketing'?) some of the raw materials which Arcos routinely traded for access to western goods and technologies. Either way, the employment is ostensibly consistent with Klingender's academic profile: a first class BSc in economics with sociology as a specialist subject.

The *DLB* entry records Klingender's precarious financial situation in these years and notes his dependent father.⁶⁹ As Saville remarks, such responsibilities were to be characteristic of much of Klingender's adult life; a situation not relieved until he gained tenure at Hull University in 1948.⁷⁰ Elton's preface notes his initial employment at Rudolf Mosse Ltd., an advertising agency where he was 'put in charge of a small market research unit'.⁷¹ As noted in chapter two, research suggests that this employment paralleled his undergraduate degree, between 1927–1930. Klingender's Arcos employment similarly covered stages of his postgraduate LSE study. If money had been among Klingender's additional motivations, the records suggest that employment at Arcos may been an attractive short-term option, even if the opportunities for advancement were limited. A note from its organisation file reads:

⁶⁸ Arcos Organisation File KV2/818.

⁶⁹ Saville and Bellamy (1993) 162.

⁷⁰ Saville interview (2002).

⁷¹ Elton (1974) viii.

Despite the comparatively generous scale of salaries paid by the Soviet Trading Organisations, the general working conditions are bad. There is no security, no chance of commercial advancement, as all the responsible posts are reserved for Russian communists.⁷²

From the records, Arcos appears to have been somewhat cavalier in its treatment both of British nationals and its lower grade Soviet clerical staff. Experienced workers were frequently dismissed on the pretext of insufficient business or trade volume, only to be replaced immediately after their departure.⁷³ In one memo (headed 'Arcos Dismissals') it is recorded that on June 13th 1925, the Cheka had instigated the dismissal of 47 employees (of whom 28–30 were believed to be British nationals) on the grounds of their 'political' unreliability.⁷⁴ Among the practical consequences of such treatment appears to have been a very high staff turnover and, in consequence, regular opportunities for new applicants, such as Klingender, with the right political credentials. In some cases, the latter seem to have counted for as much as relevant employment skills.⁷⁵

Financially then, Klingender was compelled to find work, both to support himself through study but also to look after his parents; real privation was widespread throughout the 1920s and 1930s, in England as well as much of continental Europe. Klingender's circumstances as a recently arrived foreign émigré were neither unusual nor exceptional in this regard. However, beyond the financial necessity of securing regular income, I would suggest that what ultimately motivated Klingender to gain employment with Arcos were his strengthening

⁷² KV2/818 (unpaginated typescript).

⁷³ There is a letter of complaint by one British national to the Director of Arcos over such treatment. See: KV2/818.

⁷⁴ KV2/818. Typed memo dated June 26th 1925.

⁷⁵ KV2/818. One undated memorandum claims that Arcos did not transact its business in a sound commercial way, noting its poor reputation in the City and the numerous credit notes routinely issued to suppliers.

political convictions, demonstrated within the LSE and through his formal membership of the CPGB and involvement with the Comintern supported LAI.

In considering his Arcos association and its rationale, Klingender's early CPGB membership is relevant in that widespread Communist affiliation, particularly among intellectuals, was a phenomenon that did not generally convulse British social and cultural life until the early to middle years of the 1930s, variously galvanised by the worsening international situation, by Comintern sponsoring of a 'Popular Front' which encouraged a more inclusive membership drive, and by the ideological priorities of Stalinist Russia and its need to fight fascism.⁷⁶ Klingender's early willingness to commit to formal CPGB membership and specific affiliations typified by Arcos suggest other personality traits, also appreciable within his professional work as an art historian. The impression which emerges in these years is that of a precocious and doctrinaire Communist. Blunt characterised him as 'a Marxist of great ability, but [as] somewhat rigid in his application of the doctrine', and continued by noting that he was an essentially 'intellectual type of Marxist'.⁷⁷ In recognition of such affiliations and activities, Klingender's MI5 file starts in 1931, when he was 24.⁷⁸

Klingender, Arcos and the SCR

I should now like to consider the 'how' of Klingender's connection with Arcos and his association with what was formerly the Society for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union (SCR).⁷⁹ In doing so, it might be possible to make some broader characterisations, not just about Klingender's specific milieu, but also in relation to the operation of some of the Communist coteries with which Klingender was involved. One plausible possibility could be that tutors sympathetic to Communism, or those who might be characterised as 'fellow travellers' may have provided at

⁷⁶ Carter (2002) 105–6.

⁷⁷ MI5 Security file, handwritten testimonial by Blunt, November 7th 1942.

⁷⁸ Initially stated during a telephone conversation with one of the archivists at MI5, June 7th 2005.

⁷⁹ Now located in Brixton, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the organisation became the Society for Co-operation in Russian and Soviet Studies (SCRSS). See: <http://www.scrss.org.uk/aboutus.htm> (June 2005).

least one important nexus between radicalised coteries of students at the LSE and securing placements which offered politically-based and hence ideologically useful experience. Or to put it another way, there seems no reason why Klingender, unsupported, should arbitrarily have gained a position in the de facto Soviet Trade Legation, without some form of institutional support or endorsement. As noted earlier, given the way in which staff were routinely dispensed with (or in the case of Soviet nationals) recalled by the Cheka, considerable store was placed on 'political reliability'. In turn, this strongly suggests that the Soviet Trade Legation, as with other diplomatic entities, would have had some informal vetting system, or a means by which prospective talent could be discreetly referred for employment purposes or routine courier work. This would have been of particular sensitivity after the resumption of Anglo-Soviet relations in May 1929 and Comintern interests in securing rapprochement with western governments especially after the Nazi seizure of power in Germany in 1933.⁸⁰ However, as noted in chapter two, whilst there was no shortage of intellectual interest in Communism within the LSE, student body, Dahrendorf's profile of the teaching staff might suggest other possibilities that might fit the profile of resident 'talent spotter'.

Of the intellectual mentors that Klingender cites in his 1954 curriculum vitae, Maurice Ginsberg, Professor of Sociology, might be characterised as a fellow traveller and left-leaning intellectual who is on record as having lectured at the SCR during Klingender's Arcos placement.⁸¹ The second name Klingender cites, that of the Liberal-reformist, Professor L.T Hobhouse, was the SCR's inaugural president in 1924/5. Bronislaw Malinowski, the Polish anthropologist, was the third name that Klingender cites. Although Dahrendorf notes the former's vehement anti-Nazi views, he otherwise appears to have taken no direct involvement in left politics or associated organisations. The names of other LSE tutors and visiting speakers like Laski and Keynes appear in the SCR membership lists for 1925/6 and the LSE's Director, Professor Carr Sanders (Beveridge's predecessor), is

⁸⁰ Kennan (1960) 64 and 81–82.

⁸¹ In the SCR Annual Report and Statement of Accounts 1932/33, 4, Ginsberg is listed as having given a lecture to SCR members, titled 'A Scientific Worker looks at Dialectical Materialism'.

listed as a Vice-President for the same year.⁸² Whilst these associations suggest that the LSE, unsurprisingly given its curriculum, had considerable links with the SCR, it clearly does not prove that the former was a conduit for placing students with such employment possibilities. However, neither does it preclude the possibility that within the LSE there were clandestine talent-spotters, who by the nature of their work, may have subsequently remained beyond record.⁸³ Additionally, as noted in chapter two, organised student Communist groupings at the LSE (as with Cambridge and Oxford), only date from 1930/31, more or less contemporary with Klingender's Arcos employment.

The scenario established, at least within the LSE, suggests that the organisational impetus for Communist affiliation *came from the students themselves*.⁸⁴ The CPGB would doubtless have been supportive in providing speakers to consolidate such interest and to galvanise further student support, as indeed appears to have been the case.⁸⁵ This rather suggests that in the early stages, interested and evidently precocious students like Klingender may have looked to external networks, like the SCR or those with access to them, to obtain employment or other politically related placements. However, I would venture the observation that the LSE was among the conduits of increasing political activity because of its location at the heart of the (then) British Empire and because of its internationalist and cosmopolitan student composition. London remained among the main destinations for the increasing diaspora from continental Europe and elsewhere.⁸⁶ The capital afforded many political and social networks. In

⁸² SCR Annual Report and Statement of Accounts 1925/6 16.

⁸³ Given Anthony Blunt's recruitment activities at Cambridge, Carter (2002) 181–193, it seems counter-intuitive to suggest that such connections could not, or did not, happen.

⁸⁴ The corollary being that the CPGB, as with other parties would be doubtless supportive in providing speakers to consolidate such interest and to galvanise further student support. For example, as Callaghan notes (1993) 18 both Rajani and Clemens Dutt were assiduous in cultivating links and invitations with their former Colleges for precisely this reason.

⁸⁵ Perusal of editions of *The CMR* between 1930–1934 confirm that representatives from the CPGB and the Labour Party were frequently invited as speakers to the relevant student organisations.

⁸⁶ Winder (2005) 3–9 and see index 525–528 regarding London's prominence for successive migrations.

Klingender's case, in establishing the 'how' of his placement at Arcos, one should also consider the CPGB contemporaries referenced earlier, especially those with previous Legation (and LAI) connections, such as Clemens Dutt, but also Andrew Rothstein, Ivor Montagu and Tom Wintringham.⁸⁷ Naturally, there are a range of other possibilities, not least from the routine numbers of external speakers which the LSE attracted.

In closing, I would like to suggest just how porous and closely knit Soviet-backed groupings like the SCR were and affiliations and how this may have served in facilitating opportunities such as work placements at Arcos for émigrés like Klingender in the furtherance of Communist interests. A striking feature, not just of Klingender's life and career, but that of some other Communist contemporaries, was the durability and longevity of the political contacts they made with friends, mentors other fellow travellers and the extent to which such associations were to have far reaching professional and personal consequences.

Looking at the bibliography of the period, and this web of associations in which Klingender was situated, one senses a certain cohesiveness and identity not just within the cadres of the CPGB, but among its fellow travellers. Perhaps many perceived themselves to be present at the turning tide of history? For example, in Klingender's case, two of the referees who supported his candidacy for Hull in 1948, Julian Huxley and J.D. Bernal, (both rapidly becoming known figures on the political and intellectual left), had probably known him since the late 1920s and may have met him through the SCR or in the case of the former possibly through

⁸⁷ Rothstein is listed as serving on the SCR's Executive Committee in the Annual Report and Summary of Accounts for 1924/5 1. Montagu is similarly listed as a member of the SCR Executive in the 1934/5 Annual Report and Summary of Accounts (unpaginated) and a speaker in 1925/6 SCR Annual Report and Summary of Accounts (6).

the Documentary Film Movement or conceivably the workers' film movement.⁸⁸ Professor Bernal, a later Stalin Prize Winner, interestingly provided a link with Cambridge since he had undertaken pioneering work as a don in x-ray analysis and molecular biology.⁸⁹ The point has been made that the apparent certainties obtained in scientific research in the 1920s, encouraged a definite tendency towards seeking similarly deterministic (prescriptions) and answers in other spheres. Whilst clearly something of a generalisation, it is clear that Bernal held a high and well-connected profile in 1930s intellectual circles and was not the first to have advanced apparently scientific and 'logical' arguments in the cause of Communism.⁹⁰ It should also be remembered that these interventions came at a time of intense interest among western intellectuals on the 'social experiment' of the Soviet five-year plans.⁹¹ Given Klingender's own empirical turn of mind, and his interest in science and technology, Bernal's example may well have been both formative and tangible. Bernal was known to have lectured at the LSE in March of 1934, but it is plausible that their association stemmed from the later 1920s when Klingender was a recently arrived émigré student.

The SCR was formally constituted on July 9th 1924 after British diplomatic recognition of the new Soviet State. It followed the establishment of a reciprocal organisation in Moscow, the All Union SCR with Foreign Countries. Similarly, its aspirations were essentially those of the Comintern, albeit angled towards cultural and scientific exchange. Its constitution included the following statement of principle:

⁸⁸ Huxley was a Fellow of New College Oxford (1919–1925) before becoming Professor of Zoology at London's King's College. When he was named as referee for Klingender's Hull lectureship, he was Director-General of Unesco (1946–48) and known to the public as a member of the *Brain's Trust* on radio. Huxley (1966) introductory preamble. Both names are recorded in Klingender's Personnel File at the University of Hull (July 2002). John Desmond (aka 'Sage') Bernal's (1901–1971) early scientific work was undertaken at Cambridge where he was a contemporary of the Marxist historian, Maurice Dobb. Keith Robbins (Editor) (1990) 44–45. Julian Huxley is recorded as a founding member and Vice-President in the SCR's *First Annual Report for 1924/25 of 1924/5* (SCR Archives), Brixton.

⁸⁹ Wood (1959) 163; Carter (2002) 49.

⁹⁰ Sullivan (1987).

⁹¹ Amis (2002) 8.

To collect and diffuse information in both countries on developments in Science, Education, Philosophy, Art, Literature, and Social and Economic Life. To take any action deemed desirable to forward the intellectual and technical progress of both peoples.⁹²

A survey of the SCR's membership from the early annual reports suggest that it was *the* major British cultural forum for left-wing intellectuals and fellow travellers in the 1920s and early 1930s, until that mantle was shared with the AIA.⁹³ Its Vice Presidents and membership sections include the following luminaries: E.M. Forster, Julian Huxley, J.M. Keynes, Bertrand Russell, Alexei Tolstoy, R.H. Tawney, Sybil Thorndyke, Sydney and Beatrice Webb, H.G. Wells and Virginia Woolf. The membership of some of Klingender's LSE tutors has already been noted. Although full membership lists do not appear to have survived, the annual report records 350 ordinary members.⁹⁴ Other names which occur from this period were the Trinity dons and Communist Maurice Dobb and R.H. Tawney. One future AIA member and activist, Pearl Binder appears as an evening lecturer on 'Soviet Painting' at the Arts Section's inaugural meeting on December 6th 1934.⁹⁵ Klingender makes his first appearance as a recorded speaker on October 1945 with a lecture on '*Socialist* Realism: The Aesthetics of Soviet Architecture' although given the scenario outlined earlier, I would argue that it was highly likely that he

⁹² SCR First Annual Report (1924/5) 1.

⁹³ Certainly the AIA appears to have been the most broadly based and widely supported artistic grouping. Morris and Radford (1983) 2.

⁹⁴ SCR Annual Report and Statement of Accounts (1924/5) 16.

⁹⁵ SCR Annual Report and Statement of Accounts (1934/35) 2.

was a member or regular attendee far earlier than this.⁹⁶ Klingender's future civil service colleague and referee, J. D. Bernal, appears in relation to membership of the Science Advisory Council, although his association with the SCR went back to at least 1934.⁹⁷ Of particular interest is the listing of Arcos on page fifteen of the statement of accounts as a principal donor to the value of seventy pounds.⁹⁸ This continues through into the accounts for 1926/7 when Arcos is again listed among over seventy major contributors and affiliations although no sums are indicated.⁹⁹ No donations are noted for 1927/8 (the year of the police raid). There were evidently other pre-occupations in that year.¹⁰⁰ The Soviet State funded Moscow Narodny Bank (MNB) also appears as a regular annual donor along with other Soviet Co-operatives such as Centrosoyus and Ukrainian Co-operatives Ltd.¹⁰¹

The SCR, Arcos and the Moscow Narodny Bank

In the context of trying to establish a picture of Soviet sponsorship of sympathetic 'fellow travelling' organisations that might be relevant to Klingender's milieu, it is perhaps pertinent to ask what the actual role of the MNB was, beyond its stated commercial activities. One M15 record lists the bank among the London-based Comintern organisations, simply describing it as a 'sub-department of the

⁹⁶ Klingender's lecture appears to have been one of a series of four delivered under the auspices of the SCR but the venue was at the RIBA. By this time the SCR had developed an Architecture Planning Group (Feb 1945). His theme was the close and regular contact between Soviet and British architects and planners. SCR Annual Report (1945/6) 5. The SCR librarian Jane Rosen (in conversation in 2003) suggested that ordinary membership lists were not retained or simply lost over the years in the successive moves of premises. Only the yearbooks are still extant, which give informative accounts of the various activities undertaken.

⁹⁷ Bernal is noted among the speakers at an SCR weekend school on the subject of 'Science in Soviet Russia' in which he explored the contribution of 'dialectical materialism to science'. SCR Annual Report (1934/5) 6.

⁹⁸ SCR Annual Report and Statement of Accounts (1924/5) 15.

⁹⁹ SCR Statement of Accounts (1926/7) 2.

¹⁰⁰ From the accounting year 1932/33 contributions cease being itemised per donor, although there is no apparent reason for this. One possibility may well have been that in the extending of Comintern and CPGB engagement with other political groups in the run up to the formation of the Popular Front, it may have been judged prudent to exercise less transparency in documenting the exact origins of funds.

¹⁰¹ SCR Annual Report and Statement of Accounts (1925/6) 16.

Commissariat for Foreign Trade'.¹⁰² Further information appears in another file entry, which records testimony from a W.J. Berry, an M15 informer, who was employed as a commercial enquiry agent for the Soviet Embassy between 1925–1928.¹⁰³ Berry's statement claimed that the directors of both Arcos and the MNB were 'receivers of political and private information' and that their spy system 'was worked mainly through the Soviet Banking and Trading concerns here'.¹⁰⁴

Whilst the Arcos disclosures are unsurprising, given the activities which were indeed being directed from Soviet House, the statement suggests a closer, non commercial association between these organisations. As noted, the SCR's early, surviving financial accounts confirm Arcos and other Soviet trading co-operatives as the principal donor organisations.¹⁰⁵ It seems plausible to argue that some or all of its funds ultimately came through the MNB since the latter was charged with 'financing the co-operative organisations which' executed Anglo-Soviet trade.¹⁰⁶ Given the poor credit worthiness of the trading agency noted earlier, it could be concluded that funds for pro-Soviet organisations like the SCR, of which Klingender was probably associated, either through attendance at events or as a member, were simply directed or laundered through Arcos and other co-operatives although there is no evidence to support this conjecture.¹⁰⁷

There is one further member with whom Klingender was later to have an association who merits mention. Before his diplomatic career, Ivan Mikhailovich Maisky (1884–1971) had been a courier and propagandist within Russia's clandestine revolutionary network. Although he appears to have been a Menshevik

¹⁰² M15 file: KV2/818 Memo headed 'The Soviet Trading Organisations in London' (unpaginated).

¹⁰³ KV2/818 (unpaginated typescript dated August 8th 1928).

¹⁰⁴ KV2/818.

¹⁰⁵ For example, In the 1925/6 SCR Annual Report and Accounts, £225.00.

¹⁰⁶ Santalov and Segal (1927) 243.

¹⁰⁷ Certainly the volumes of trade items which were being purchased through Arcos would have made it comparatively easy to conceal rather smaller, annualised subsidies to cultural organisations. Whilst the alleged Arcos subventions made through the Co-op to support the Miners in the General Strike were not proven, the widely known precedent existed for substantial sums (so called 'Moscow Gold') having been made through the CPGB to support strike action. Klugmann (1969) 225–226.

in the early years, he was known by Lenin, and having shared internal exile, he appears to have been trusted by the Bolsheviks and his star rose with the Third Communist International.¹⁰⁸ There are some similarities between the two. Like Klingender, Maisky was a fluent German speaker, with scientific interests. He studied Economics in Munich where he was a foreign member of the Social Democratic Party, finally reaching Britain in 1912 as a political refugee.¹⁰⁹ In 1925 he was assigned to the Soviet mission in London, as a counsellor, the post held at the time of the Arcos raid.¹¹⁰ After the resumption of Anglo-Soviet diplomatic relations in 1929, and a brief spell at head of the Trade mission in Finland, Maisky returned to Great Britain as Soviet Ambassador in October 1932.¹¹¹ His first public function, on December 14th, was an address to the SCR. It was evidently the beginning of a long association since his involvement is noted in the SCR yearbook for 1945/6. His wife, according to M15 records, worked for the License Department in Arcos whilst her husband served as a counsellor.¹¹²

In 1942, Klingender published *Russia: Britain's Ally, 1812–1942*, a comparative study of the caricatures of the Napoleonic Wars and the present conflict. Maisky, the Soviet Ambassador, obligingly provided the introduction. From what is known of Klingender's economic and social situation in these years, it seems highly unlikely that he would have ordinarily met Maisky on the diplomatic reception or formal social circuit. Given the donor status outlined above, one possibility that I would venture here is that Klingender's initial involvement with the SCR, a high-profile, social contact point for left leaning émigrés and fellow travellers, *could have* provided the introduction to work at Arcos and/or an initial

¹⁰⁸ He formally joined the Bolsheviks in 1922 and initially worked in the Foreign Office as chief of the press department. Bilainkin (1944) 40. For a somewhat hagiographic, although informative account of his role in Anglo-Soviet relations, the above book is equally informative about what it conveys about the high water mark of cordial Anglo-Soviet relations in the months leading to Hitler's capitulation.

¹⁰⁹ Bilainkin (1944) 12–17 In the years before 1914, Maisky worked as a journalist on Russian affairs and was evidently a keen observer of the British Labour movement.

¹¹⁰ Bilainkin (1944) 40.

¹¹¹ Bilainkin (1944) 80–81.

¹¹² KV2/797. Item 117 (A) informant information.

meeting with Maisky. Otherwise, of course, one is left with simple serendipity. However, the close inter-connections established between these organisations; the profiles of their respective memberships, the donor streams and the nature of the times would seem to militate against mere chance.

Conclusions

The above account and exploration is necessarily circumstantial in parts. However, the financial returns identify Arcos, the commercial arm of the Soviet Trade Legation and other Soviet co-operatives and banking interests as the SCR's major donors. Whether such funds were legitimately raised through the Soviet's Legation's British trading activities, or whether such monies were routinely and directly laundered through Arcos and other conduits by the MNB from funds ultimately held by Soviet treasuries, remain open questions. That the SCR was a comparatively well funded, Soviet-backed organisation with a CPGB presence within its membership is not in question. Although Klingender's pre-1945 association or membership of the SCR cannot be proved with the surviving records, I would make a circumstantial case that places him within its orbit from at least the early 1930s. Given Klingender's early CPGB membership and the number of his colleagues, teachers and fellow CPGB members and sympathisers who were variously associated with SCR's activities at one time or another within this period, such conjecture seems at least plausible.

Secondly, this chapter has attempted to differentiate aspects of Klingender's political environment from what Miranda Carter describes as the Cambridge 'hot house' of the 1930s. Experientially and culturally, Klingender's points of reference were both earlier and different to those of home grown Communists and aestheticians Christopher Caudwell and Anthony Blunt. Although generationally sharing the same years of birth, along with other prominent thirties intellectuals and fellow travellers, Klingender's schooling which Elton describes as having given him a 'good classical education', had been in a provincial but industrialised part of Germany on the cusp of the Weimar republic and the revolutionary chaos which

ensued.¹¹³ Of the other émigré Marxist art historians, only Antal and Hauser could have reasonably claimed similar exposures to formative events, such as the short-lived Hungarian republic.¹¹⁴ Both belonged to an older generation, which may have helped to account, in Antal's case, for his friendship and mentoring of the younger Klingender and Blunt.¹¹⁵

These antecedents also underline the extent to which Klingender's formative life experiences as an émigré contrasted markedly with the relative homogeneity of (class) experience which characterised the lives of many British Communist intellectuals, frequently extending to shared preparatory, public school and, in some cases, university careers.¹¹⁶ Indeed, one of the marked features of many Communist intellectuals of Klingender's generation was the extent to which they were ostensibly, and in one sense ultimately, very much part of the establishment.¹¹⁷ For example, a reading of (Major) James Klugmann's de-classified security file is demonstrative of such apparent assimilation.¹¹⁸ A high profile CPGB member since his Cambridge days where he achieved a double first, Klugmann became heavily involved in the CPGB's educational and lecture work, ultimately becoming its first archivist and historian. According to Hymie Fagan, one-time national organiser for the CPGB, Klugmann knew Klingender well.¹¹⁹ Klugmann volunteered for military service after the outbreak of war and joined the

¹¹³ Christopher Caudwell's real name was Christopher St John Sprigg which was lost at about the time he moved to London's Poplar district in 1935. Sullivan (1987) 54. Caudwell, Blunt, Auden and Louis MacNeice were all born in 1907. Wood (1959) 84.

¹¹⁴ Egbert (1970) 566-567.

¹¹⁵ Antal was born in 1887 and Hauser in 1892. Morris and Radford (1983) 90.

¹¹⁶ One example was that of Blunt and Betjeman who were within a year of each other at Marlborough. Carter (2002) 19.

¹¹⁷ The profiles of Blunt and Burgess suggest a social and temperamental unsuitability for the collective and communal rigours of Communism which may have assisted in maintaining their cover. Carter (2002) 230-231, 337, 441.

¹¹⁸ Klugmann (1912-1969).

¹¹⁹ The source for this is a handwritten note that Fagan sent to Saville and Bellamy in response to enquiries for various *DLB* entries. Klugmann held a civilian role as Assistant Director in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) just after the war. (KV2/788-789). Klugmann had a particular involvement in Yugoslavia and spoke frequently on the situation, at around the same time as Klingender and other AIA members were sent on a fact-finding mission to see the Youth Railway there.

RASC as a private. He was later transferred to the Special Operations Executive (SOE) without any apparent security vetting. There he achieved the rank of major. Only when his Communist affiliations were discovered was he hastily moved and surveillance activities increased. Some of the comments on his file suggest a respectful incredulity among members of the intelligence community that someone with his war and service record could have such committed political affiliations.¹²⁰

In one sense, it has been suggested that such relative insularity of social and class experience served both to strengthen and undermine the various ideological causes which became such a marked feature of the left-leaning coterie of British intellectuals which defined social and cultural life in the later 1920s and 1930s. Callaghan estimates actual CPGB membership in the spring of 1926 at around 6,000. This number was halved by January 1929 following the Soviet Comintern's move to the left (the 'New Line') and the subsequently disastrous policy directive set for the CPGB of formally opposing the Labour Party.¹²¹ Notwithstanding these unpropitious times, it could be argued that British Communists continued to exert a social and political influence disproportionate to the size of their party, partly through the convictions, sheer effort and abilities of their cadres, but also through the agency of well-placed and well-funded pro-Soviet organisations such as the SCR.¹²² As a comparatively recent and young émigré, supporting both himself through the LSE and responsible for a largely dependent father during a period which Elton characterises as one of 'privation', Klingender lacked the material advantages, schools and established professional networks which were features of the intellectual and cultural world to which he aspired.¹²³ In the comparatively rarefied social context of British art history of the early 1930s this

¹²⁰ Klugmann's M15 file KV2/788–789.

¹²¹ Callaghan (1987) 35 and 37.

¹²² In this regard, Allason (85) notes that one of the principal early responsibilities and tasks of Special Branch through much of this period was the direct surveillance of the IRA, CPGB and related Comintern organisations.

¹²³ Elton (1972) viii.

was especially so.¹²⁴ In this regard, it seems plausible to suggest that it was not only the LSE, but the SCR and its contacts such as Bernal, Ginsberg, Hobhouse and Huxley, who acted as professional and ideological surrogates for Klingender, providing access to existing and new social networks and in all probability to formative experiences and exposures such as gaining employment at the Soviet Trade Legation.

In closing, the influence and symbolism of fellow travelling organisations such as the SCR, and those variously associated with them, should not be underestimated. According to recently de-classified Joint Intelligence Committee reports, the SCR was subject to routine surveillance throughout the Cold War period following an MI5 assessment that 'peace-time espionage' and subversive activity was far more likely from such coteries than it was from the rank and file members of the CPGB who, it was alleged, were more interested in domestic agenda issues such as employment and housing.¹²⁵ Such a level of alertness had not changed much since Klingender's time. According to Curry, by 1934, the SCR was already among the 'United Front' organisations identified by the Security Service as one of many 'practically planned organisations' concerned with subversion and recruitment to the Soviet cause.¹²⁶ One of the M15 files which seems to date from the years immediately after the SCR's establishment similarly notes:

Another field of Communist activity is the SCR. This organisation is concerned with getting as many professors and intellectuals as possible into

¹²⁴ Carter (2002) 359 recalls an illuminating insight into the social snobbery and perceptions of Art History in the 1930s. Approached for advice on how to start a career by an aspiring art historian, John Pope-Hennessy is reported as asking: 'Are you going to get a first (No). Do you have a private income? (No). Oh well, Pope-Hennessy said with a shrug, you'd better go to the Courtauld'.

¹²⁵ Public Record Office Cabinet Papers 130/37 quoted by Hennessy (2002) 82–83. Public Record Office Cabinet Papers 130/37 quoted by Hennessy (2002) 81–82.

¹²⁶ Curry (1999) 103.

its ranks, as it is hoped that when the need arises these people will be a strong propagandist weapon wisely directed.¹²⁷

I would suggest that as Soviet, Comintern and CPGB policy adapted to the practical necessities of the Popular Front, organisations such as the SCR became increasingly important as a means of widening access to 'fellow travellers' and members of the professional elites, who were either already Party members like Klingender, or who might be receptive to its ideas and aspirations. It seems reasonable to conclude here that Klingender's involvement with both Arcos and plausibly SCR was undertaken in the full knowledge of what these closely connected organisations really signified; both internally to British Communists, their Soviet colleagues, and to the security agents of the British state.

¹²⁷ M15 Arcos File KV2/818.

Chapter Four: Early Interventions in the Culture Industry: *Money Behind the Screen* c.1936–1939

Introduction

This chapter will evaluate Klingender's contribution to the new genre of film industry reportage, demonstrated by his co-authored report *Money Behind the Screen*. It will consider his association with the documentary film producer John Grierson (1898–1972) and the wider context in which film was seen as a potentially revolutionary and transformative agent which could be used to support the ideological objectives of the CPGB and the Comintern. An evaluation will be made of some of Klingender's known artistic preferences which feature the adaptation or use of photographic techniques with consideration given to the extent to which such tastes reflected Soviet aesthetic orthodoxy. This chapter will close with an evaluation of Klingender's involvement in supporting Soviet avant-garde cinema in London during the 1930s and what has been established of his association with the Workers' Film and Photo League. These themes will be elaborated over the next two pages as a preliminary to the chapter's main contents.

Money Behind the Screen was commissioned by the Film Centre, a small research unit established by Grierson (**fig. 28**) to explore the social and economic aspects of the cinema industry.¹ The eighty page report was co-authored with Stuart Legg (**fig. 29**) and was published in 1937.² By Klingender's own account, it was his 'first independent research in the applied field', following initial experience gained at the Rudolf Mosse Advertising Agency and with Arcos Ltd., the commercial arm of the Soviet Trade Legation.³ The report's

¹ Aitken (1998) 4.

² *Money Behind the Screen* by F. D. Klingender & S. Legg, was first published by Lawrence and Wishart, London. Stuart Legg's collaboration with Grierson can be traced back to his production for the documentary film organisation, *The New Generation* (1932) undertaken for the Chesterfield Education Society. Legg (1910–1988) had been invited to join the Film Unit of the Empire Marketing Board (EMB) in the early 1930s. Aitken (1990) 124. There is no record of a second edition until Arnos Books (New York) issued a re-print in 1978.

³ Klingender (1954a). Assuming Elton's observation to be correct (1972) preface viii., Klingender's work with the Mosse advertising agency appears to have covered the years 1925/6–1931/2. Klingender was employed as an economist and statistician between 1931–32.

subject was the financial ownership, regulation and organisation of the contemporary film industry. In the preface Grierson states that the study arose from a short profile exploring the financial context to the burgeoning film industry, initially published in the January 1936 edition of the trade journal, *World Film News*.⁴ Rachel Low describes the journal as 'more like a political weekly' or 'very intelligent trade paper', in which Grierson's spirit 'was everywhere'.⁵ Only in existence between 1936–1938, with frequent changes of its nominal editorship, *World Film News* provided Grierson with an industry-wide platform, which as, Low notes, 'young film makers drifted into...[to] research, report or write'.⁶

The working premise of *Money Behind the Screen* was that the operation and development of the British film and cinema industry was subject to American financial and legal hegemony, exercised through patents and distribution legislation.⁷ Notwithstanding Grierson's cultural paternalism and the report's commissioned nature, its publication coincided with the wider importance and potentiality attached to film by the CPGB and the Comintern in the years leading up to, and following, the formation of the united front.⁸ In its focus on the internal dynamics of the film industry and the increasing

⁴ Klingender and Legg (1937a) preface i.

⁵ Low (1979) 117.

⁶ Low (1979) 117.

⁷ Low (1979) 13–14.

⁸ This is a frequently voiced criticism of Grierson's aesthetic. See, for example: Roberts (1998) 59–60. However, as Legg noted it was also a consequence of the *realpolitik* and compliance often required to secure the funding or co-operation of state agencies in the making of documentaries. Legg is on record as stating (of Grierson) 'He always impressed on his people that we were dependent on government officials. He was or became I would say, a master of civil service manoeuvre and craft'. Legg Interview Transcript (1972). Bond (1979) 250 similarly conceded Grierson's 'infinite skill of manoeuvre within the bureaucratic channels'. Realising the medium's potential, Hogenkamp (1986) 28 notes that the CPGB had commissioned a short film of its 1938 Congress, later commissioning a more ambitious production to propagate the policies of the Party. Ivor Montagu's *Peace and Plenty* was conceived as a critique of Chamberlain and the National Government. Jones (1987) 61 records the CPGB commission (comprising Pollitt, Dutt and Inkpin) which reported to the Party's Annual Conference in October 1922. It noted the political importance of entertainment as a means of recruitment and political influence. Given the use of 'agit-prop' by the Soviet authorities and the mobilisation of the avant-garde by the events of the Civil war, it is highly likely that the timing was in some way related. Whilst this was not Grierson's political agenda, he was nevertheless impressed by the educational film making of the Soviet organisations, Sovkino, Goskino and Narkompros and how they had made Soviet cinema 'a manipulator of ideologies and an integral part of the educational life of the country'. Aitken (1990) 124.

concentration of both ownership and capital, *Money Behind the Screen* reflected the unease (although not the overt politics), which had underpinned the oppositional growth and profile of non commercial film production. This was typified by Communist-orientated organisations such as Kino, the Workers' Film Society, the Workers' Film and Photo League (WFPL), and the Progressive Film Institute.⁹ Klingender's journalistic involvement with the documentary film movement can be seen as a continuation of the ideological interests evident in his LSE student journalism (chapter two) and confirmatory of an orientation towards the political potential of cultural production demonstrated by his first AIA essay, 'Content and Form in Art' (see chapter five).

For Klingender, the educative potential of film and of cinema reportage reflected a central conviction: namely, that all cultural production was instrumental to, and constitutive of, the class struggle as theorised by Marxism-Leninism. This contention is supported by recently found evidence within Klingender's M15 security file which links him directly to involvement, on behalf of the Soviet Trade Legation, Arcos, with the British Board of Film Classification (BBFC) in an attempted screening of Vsevolod Pudovkin's film, *The Deserter*.¹⁰ Similarly, between 1936–38, the years just before and immediately following the publication of *Money Behind the Screen*, Klingender is recorded as being employed by Grierson's Film Centre, in the Strand, in close association with Ralph Bond, Ivor Montagu and Julian Huxley.¹¹ Notwithstanding Klingender's contracted status, there are some intriguing philosophical, sociological and personal parallels linking Grierson and Klingender, which makes the commissioning of *Money Behind the Screen* a logical, and I would suggest, a formative contribution to the historiography and aspirations of the British documentary film movement. In concluding this introduction, I would note that Klingender and Legg's essay on finance capitalism and cinema is indicative of the broader interest taken by Comintern-orientated cultural organisations in the privately sponsored and state sanctioned commercial film industry, at a time

⁹ Harvey (1996) 225–251.

¹⁰ Klingender's security file, typed, memorandum, November 23rd 1934.

¹¹ The address is recorded as The Strand Film Company Ltd., St Martin's Lane (undated minute reference, Klingender security file).

when the Soviet Union was seeking a rapprochement with Great Britain and her allies.¹² Whilst Grierson's politics were not those of the Communist left, Klingender's engagement with a project outlining hegemonic corporate ownership of the industry suggests a broader awareness of the potentiality of film in galvanising social and political awareness, at a time of accelerating international tension.

In the course of considering the above questions, this chapter will also consider some of the possible ways in which Klingender's association with Grierson may have arisen, and the extent to which the available evidence supports a particular reading of the various inter-relationships between the Film Society (principally) and the documentary film movement itself. Consideration will be given as to whether Klingender's ongoing involvement with Comintern-orientated organisations such as the SCR and the AIA, and previous work for Arcos, could have provided the professional profile, and access to the personal networks, which may have facilitated the collaboration with Legg and Grierson. The period covered will include the years between the founding of the Popular Front in 1934 and the outbreak of war.¹³

Money Behind the Screen: Format and Structure

When *Money Behind the Screen* was published in 1937, American hegemony over the film and studio industry had been fully consolidated.¹⁴ To substantiate and quantify this in economic terms, Klingender and Legg's report presents a comprehensive financial audit, variously sourced and supported by the Company Registration Office, *Investor's Chronicle*, the *Financial Times* and *Stock Exchange Gazette*. In identifying the commercial and corporate interests of major players and financiers such as Arthur Rank, Max Schach and J. P. Morgan, the authors accessed and cross-referenced standard directories and

¹² Efforts by the Soviet State's Sovkino Film Company to establish commercial screenings in Great Britain of work by avant-garde directors like Eisenstein, Pudovkin and Vertov stretched back to the middle of the 1920s. Thompson and Bordwell, (2003) 124.

¹³ Aside from the evident break of 1939, the year is significant in other ways since it determined the various professional trajectories and directions of some of the principal figures under consideration.

¹⁴ Klingender and Legg (1937a) 14 list the eight major producers and distributors: Paramount, Warner-First National, MGM, 20th Century Fox, Radio, Columbia, Universal and United Artists. Also see the acknowledgements section (unpaginated).

published records like the *Stock Exchange Yearbook*, *Who's Who*, *Directory of Directors* and the evidence submitted to the Moyne Committee.¹⁵

The report comprises three main sections: *Structure* (section one); *Finance* (section two) and *Finance & Conclusions* (section three). Section one, twenty-one pages of tabulated financial data and analysis, surveys the ownership trends referenced above. The *Finance* section, of similar length and arranged by sub-sections (a) to (h), provides a financial breakdown of the constituent ownership groupings within the industry, ranging from the Associated British Picture Corporation, to United Artists and the main producers both in Britain and America. Of the two closing segments of section two, the first (a) considers the 'highly speculative trade boom' which the authors attribute to the pre-war expansion of production by smaller British firms. This section notes the trend for such companies to raise production finance, frequently on an ad hoc basis, through mortgages, guarantees or debentures secured through (re-) insurance policies on the expected audience and distribution figures.¹⁶ The authors dryly note that the industry performance is largely based upon 'expectation' rather than concrete performance and that company expansion is not financed by increasing its own working capital (gained through accumulated and operational profit), but by further external loans.¹⁷

The final segment (*Mortgage and Debenture Finance in the Exhibition Sphere*), looks at the funding of cinema and exhibition assets, again principally through loans extended by banks, insurance companies and trusts.¹⁸ The overall conclusion to the report, section III, part (a), considers what is perceived to be the state of British film funding and part (b), looks at the main players within the industry. In conclusion, the authors argue that the decisive trend is that of consolidation. They note:

¹⁵ The Moyne Committee was established by the Board of Trade to promote British film production and distribution. The outcome, the Films Act of 1938 which was a revision of legislation a decade earlier, paradoxically encouraged more American production units which geared up to meet supposed national quotas. Betts (1973) 103–104.

¹⁶ Klingender and Legg (1937a) 48.

¹⁷ Klingender and Legg (1937a) 54.

¹⁸ Klingender and Legg (1937a) 50–52.

In this process the relative increase of loan money is one of the most powerful agents, for the credits obtained by the various production units tend to an increasing extent to emanate from a few powerful financial groups, who thus obtain a degree of control overriding the competitive barriers within the industry.¹⁹

The argument was that financial unification here would emulate the rationalisation of the American industry which occurred in the late 1920s. Secondly, that British conglomerates such as Prudential Assurance Ltd., the National Provincial Bank and Equity & Law Life will assume the same dominant position as principal creditors of the British film industry as did their American corporate and dynastic counterparts in the 1920 and 1930s.²⁰ The report's one appendix is a re-printed version of an earlier Film Council study, identifying the emergence and phases of the American film industry, initially published in the November 1936 edition of *World Film News*.²¹

Klingender and Legg's thesis was, by the 1930s, an established reality of the commercial and mainstream film industry. Two subsequent surveys of the film industry, Rachel Low's *The History of the British Film*, and *The Film Business* by Ernest Betts, recognise that between 1914 and 1927 America established progressive hegemony over film production and distribution in the Great Britain.²² According to Betts, a foretaste of this had been in 1910 when the ten major American film production companies formed a monopoly through the Motion Pictures Patents Company.²³ Although this was successfully challenged by the then independent producers such as William Fox and Carl Laemmle, higher and consistent financial backing, combined with 'the star

¹⁹ Klingender and Legg (1937a) 55.

²⁰ Klingender and Legg (1937a) 57–59.

²¹ Klingender and Legg (1937a) 63–79.

²² Low (1973). Betts (1973).

²³ Betts (1973) 45. The author notes the influence of the 1909 Cinematograph Act. Ostensibly a safety measure to ensure the appropriate storage of flammable film stocks and to reduce the risk of cinema fires, it enabled local authorities to exercise considerable discretion in the granting of licences. Independent film producers felt that such a system could be used by the larger companies to promote product and distribution uniformity as a safety measure rather than as a means of securing dominance within the supply and show chain.

system and highly efficient screen techniques', ensured audience volume and further investment.²⁴

Reflecting the social-reportage focus to the Film Council's remit and Klingender's own established method of working, *Money Behind the Screen* is a detailed example of financial analysis applied to the film industry and as such is the first example of its kind. Overall, the text contains no less than twenty-six tabulations of financial figures and comparative audit extracts and a further nineteen listings of trustee or corporate membership. In format it conforms precisely to a report with numbered and lettered paragraphs, description of industry structures, trend analysis and projection (with ancillary financial and statistical data), relevant historical data and mention of regulatory frameworks insofar as they impinge upon the financial and economic operation of the subject under investigation. Although Low states that *Money Behind the Screen* drew 'scandalised attention', he characterised the report as offering a cogent financial survey which, however, included too much 'uncollated and uninterpreted' information.²⁵ It is fair to say that as a text, *Money Behind the Screen* is not an easy read. The volume of tabulated data is often overwhelming and its analysis is sometimes insufficient or unclear. The authors seem to rely on the cumulative repetition of the thesis which is supported by using further illustrative example and more data. However, in mitigation, neither Klingender nor Legg had any previously published text or format upon which to base their account.

Film as an academic discipline did not exist and there appears to have been no precedent for *Money Behind the Screen* in terms of financial or economics orientated journalism on the film industry. Whilst an LSE social science background was doubtless useful for statistical purposes, it seems apparent that Klingender, faced with analysing an unfamiliar industry, bound by an expectation of 'objectivity', and lacking any published example, simply tabulated data with supporting analysis. As explored in chapter two, Klingender certainly had experience of student journalism, as several of the polemical

²⁴ Betts (1973) 44.

²⁵ Low (1979) 117.

essays and reviews he authored for *The CMR* and *The Student Vanguard* demonstrate. His first essay specifically concerned with art and social commitment, 'Content and Form in Art', had been published under AIA auspices the previous year. Since there is no way of differentiating the respective contributions of Klingender and Legg, responsibility for deficits of style and presentation must be assigned and shared by both authors. However, given Klingender's mixed experiences of collaboration, one wonders what the day to day *modus operandi* actually was, and whether the resulting text of *Money Behind the Screen* was the even outcome of joint authorship.²⁶ However, its immediate significance as an exposé was the formal attention it drew to the interlinking finance of American corporate and monopoly interests which underpinned the 'dream palaces' and production costs of the film industry.

The information or knowledge was not new, but it evidently touched a nerve. Low notes:

There had recently been a most unhealthy expansion of the feature industry, financed by unsourced manoeuvres involving banks and insurance underwriters. Large sums of money were invested in production without adequate safeguards, and in the nature of things this was bound to lead to a crisis when the films concerned failed to make money, or in some cases, even to be made at all.²⁷

Money Behind the Screen has subsequently proved to be a durable piece of cinema historiography. A government sponsored Political and Economic Planning (PEP) report published in 1952 cites Klingender and Legg's thesis, suggesting that in the post-war years the profile outlined continued to have credibility.²⁸ When Betts compiled his account of British Cinema history thirty five years later, he drew upon Klingender and Legg's analysis, specifically the

²⁶ Lawrence and Wishart confirmed to the author that the original drafts and manuscripts for this book have not been kept. Similarly, there is no record of its commissioning in the Grierson archive (Stirling) or in any of Legg's published works.

²⁷ Low (1979) 117–118.

²⁸ PEP Report 1952 (no author acknowledged) 53, 58 and 60.

observation that the contemporary film industry was predicated upon the highly unstable (and unsustainable) dynamic of 'expectation', which informs the tenor of his own chapter nine, 'Boom and Crisis of the 1930s'.²⁹ Data from the study is approvingly noted in Anthony Dawson's 1948 economic profile of the Hollywood industry, although the circumstances of post-war consumer expansion are different to those cited by Klingender and Legg a decade earlier.³⁰

Janet Wasko's *Movies and Money: Financing the American Film* (1982) explored the relationship between banking institutions and the US film industry, spanning the period from the 1920s through until 1980.³¹ Unlike *Money Behind the Screen*, Wasko argued that throughout the later 1920s and the 1930s the film industry was 'controlled by banks through direct and indirect means' rather than extending the hegemony to both financial institutions and wider corporate interests which was the focus of Klingender and Legg's original research.³² Douglas Gomery cites David Kotz's *Bank Control of Large Corporations in the United States* to support the contention that by 1930, federal intervention had radically circumscribed the control of the banks in favour of control by giant corporations.³³ Whilst it has to be said that Klingender and Legg do not always differentiate between banks and other corporate sponsors, the generality of the scenario they depict, that of widespread and ever more concentrated institutional investment across the financial sectors, appears to have withstood subsequent and more recent critical scrutiny.³⁴ I would suggest that the value or relevance of *Money Behind the Screen* was less the originality of its thesis, but its attempt to format a new genre of reportage, which, whilst engaged with

²⁹ Betts (1973) 99.

³⁰ Dawson (1948) 227–228. Dawson continues (240): 'The economic prospects for American motion pictures appear...relatively stable...the industry is assured of financial assistance from the largest banks and trusts...and widespread popularity...abroad'.

³¹ Wasko (1982). The book arose from the author's doctoral thesis completed in 1977. Gomery (1984) 57.

³² Wasko (1982) preface xxii.

³³ Kotz (1978).

³⁴ At least in Klingender's case, it might be surmised that he was simply concerned to demonstrate the profit motive of finance capitalism and its potentially de-stabilising effects in relation to the film industry, rather than making finer distinctions on the origins of such finance. However, as recently as 1987, Stephen Jones (13), notes *Money Behind the Screen* and the PEP report which draws upon the former), as major contributions towards the study of inter-war film industry economics (13).

factual accuracy, was nevertheless concerned to articulate an ideological position vis-à-vis the film industry. In reading the text, it is only with the concluding evaluation that its partiality, 'voice', and the rationale behind its commissioning become really evident.

Klingender, Grierson and the Film Society

Betts claims that the documentary film movement was 'revolutionary...[because it was] the first important example of creative experiment in British films guided and inspired by a single individual to the end'.³⁵ Similarly, for Grierson, *Money Behind the Screen* can be read as a proxy intervention which allowed its patron to 'voice' a characterisation and critique of corporate ownership of the film industry, but one couched in the apparent objectivity of economic and social scientific discourse. In accounting for this perspective, it is relevant to note that Grierson's own involvement with the industry initially stemmed from his work as a Film Officer for the Empire Marketing Board (EMB), with the role to promote its services and food products. The film unit he set up (the first to be sponsored by a government department) transferred to the Public Relations Department of the General Post Office (GPO) when the EMB closed in 1932.³⁶ Betts notes that the commercial film studios had been deeply antagonistic to the independence and role of the new documentary movement since its inception.³⁷ Given Grierson's professional role as an early pioneer within the newly emerging state-sponsored public relations industry, it is inconceivable that such experiences did not at some level determine his perspective when he came to look at the infrastructure and ethos of the commercial film industry. As Grierson disparagingly observed of the latter, 'The studio films largely [deny the] possibility of opening up the screen on the real world'.³⁸

From the GPO Film unit, Grierson co-founded with Arthur Elton (**fig. 30**), Stuart Legg and J.P.R. Golightly, the London Film Centre which produced its

³⁵ Betts (1973) 173.

³⁶ Betts (1973) 175.

³⁷ Betts (1973) 176.

³⁸ Roberts (1998) 59.

own *Documentary News Letter* and advised on documentary products.³⁹ As noted, the Film Centre's Strand location provided Klingender with a useful central London employment base, at a time when he was no longer affiliated to the LSE, and during a period of active involvement in the AIA and the CPGB. As a commissioned evaluation and critique, Klingender and Legg's *Money Behind the Screen* can be securely located within the documentary film movement. Specifically, I would suggest that Grierson envisaged it as an opening salvo against the hegemony of American film ownership and control against which his own movement and that of other British-based film making interests were being defined.

In support of this claim I would cite the actual timing of the report's commissioning and emergence. Stephen Jones notes that the years between 1925 and 1936 signified a highpoint in British documentary and feature film production with approximately 640 film companies registered, of which 395 appeared between 1930 and 1935.⁴⁰ This was accompanied by major cinema expansion which developed into one of the principal sources of working class leisure and entertainment both during the inter-war and post-war period.⁴¹ Appearing as it did at the highpoint of such expansion, the report's statistically compelling argument over the increasing concentration of American financial ownership within the film making business, was highly resonant. With implicit reference to the earlier history of Wardour Street (the centre of British commercial film making) and Hollywood, *Money Behind the Screen* gives a clear sense that the embryonic film industry of the 1930s replicates the primitive chaos of early capitalism, that is, an acquisitive scenario largely free of any effective regulation or overt social purpose other than entertainment (narrowly defined) and overall shareholder investment based upon short-term speculative gain. This in turn is seen to generate long-term over-supply of competing film production units. The authors conclude:

³⁹ Betts (1973) 179.

⁴⁰ Jones (1987) 13–14.

⁴¹ Roberts (1998) 61.

But today the movie world is one of the major industries of the country and the control of its leading units has been concentrated both directly and indirectly in the hands of the most powerful financial groups in the United States if not the capitalist world. Today the movies are too valuable a prize for the men now in control to relinquish.⁴²

The report's account of the unstable funding dynamic which underwrote the speculative boom in film production proved prescient. Jones notes that during its year of publication, the bank of England and the Securities Management Trust had initiated an enquiry into film financing following concerns over the widespread use of bank overdrafts and short-term insurance company film funding.⁴³ The Moyne Committee concluded that the British film industry had an insufficient supply of capital for its needs and that film making costs had increased disproportionately because the necessary funding was only available at higher interest rates.⁴⁴ However, its findings were anticipated by the bursting of the film investment bubble, involving a succession of receiverships and under-insured losses. Among those who incurred heavy liabilities was Max Schach, among the three major individual investors cited in *Money Behind the Screen*. Whether Grierson felt or expressed any schadenfreude is not known, but the conclusion has a ventriloquial feel, as if Grierson is stating his own concerns on the trajectory of British film through the phraseology of its authors.

As an investigative survey, requiring the analysis of statistical data, and frequent use of tabulated information, *Money Behind the Screen* followed a rubric which Klingender had adopted for his first published monograph, *The Conditions of Clerical Labour* (1935). This might account for Grierson's choice of Klingender as co-author, although the context in which they met remains speculative. One possibility may have been through the Film Society,

⁴² Klingender and Legg (1937a) 79.

⁴³ Jones (1987) 14.

⁴⁴ Jones (1987) 15.

established in 1925 by Ivor Montagu and Hugh Miller.⁴⁵ The support for independent film exhibition in Britain was certainly an aspiration shared by both the Film Society and Grierson's Film Council, the former having been established as a direct response to censorship interference in the screening of Soviet films.⁴⁶ Klingender lived in London for just over twenty three years.⁴⁷ It seems highly unlikely that he was not aware of the Film Society, the screenings of which were widely publicised throughout the capital. As will be seen, he was certainly involved with at least one of the various workers' film and photographic societies which flourished during the inter-war period and with which the CPGB had close ties.⁴⁸ As noted in chapter two, Klingender was closely associated through marriage and by CPGB affiliation with Alyosha Tomchinsky. The latter is recorded as attending meetings of the Worker's Theatre Movement (the forerunner of the Unity Theatre) in the early 1930s, among the activities which had presumably brought him to the attention of the security services.⁴⁹ By the early 1930s, the Tomchinskys and Klingender were all part of the Hampstead milieu, as indeed were many other left-wing intellectuals, émigrés and

⁴⁵ For an account of its founding see: Jen Samson (1996) 306–313. There are several possibilities: One of Klingender's Film Council colleagues also recruited by Grierson was Sydney Bernstein, then a film exhibitor, later Chairman of Granada (coincidentally perhaps, the publisher of the revised edition of *Art and the Industrial Revolution*). He is listed by Samson as being among the Film Society's founder members. Another of which was the sculptor and AIA member Frank Dobson who would certainly have known of Klingender's work. Both Julian Huxley and J. B. S. Haldane were recruited to the Film Society's executive council (Samson 310) to lend the organisation additional respectability. In all probability, both knew Klingender through the SCR, subsequently acting as referees for him over the next twenty years. This inter-connection might appear more feasible, but there is no means of corroboration.

⁴⁶ Hogenkamp (1986) 31.

⁴⁷ The exceptions to this appears to be have been summer school teaching which Klingender undertook for the WEA in North Staffordshire. Saville and Bellamy (1993) 163. Between 1931 and 1948 there are at least six recorded addresses for Klingender although given his lifestyle and the ongoing financial pressures he faced there were probably considerably more. This calculation does not include the period between arrival (1925) and 1931 when Klingender's activities first came to the attention of MI5. The point being, Klingender would have known and travelled throughout inner London, the City, Hampstead, Belsize and Highgate sufficiently to be aware of what the Capital had to offer silver screen-wise.

⁴⁸ In 1934 Montagu organised the Progressive Film Institute (PFI) as a producing and distributing body for the CP. See: <http://www.britmovie.co.uk/bio/m/009.html> (July 2005).

⁴⁹ Klingender's MI5 security file, typed entry (undated).

dissidents.⁵⁰ Coincidentally, or otherwise, Hampstead is noted as the district in which Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* received the highest number of screenings – four in January 1934.⁵¹ It should also be noted that Hampstead was one of the AIA's more successful regional branch network initiatives with which Klingender was actively involved, as both a resident, and as an AIA committee member.⁵² Given the latter's Comintern profile, screenings by left-leaning film societies would have had a more receptive and supportive core audience.

The Film Society and Soviet Cinema

One of the Film Society's areas of 'cross-fertilisation' which Samson identifies is that between Soviet Cinema and the British Documentary movement.⁵³ This is supported by Gerry Turvey who has suggested that Montagu was the 'major conduit whereby Soviet films and montage principles' were introduced to the British film culture of the middle and later 1920s.⁵⁴ Similarly, Grierson's first major documentary, *Drifters*, had been shown at the Film Society in 1929, part of a programme which had included Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*.⁵⁵ If the exact circumstances of Klingender's meeting with Grierson cannot be established, there is archive testimony from Stuart Legg confirming how his co-author was recruited into the documentary cause.⁵⁶ It illuminates Grierson's working practices and how he contracted what was perceived as useful talent. Legg's recollection also corroborates the practical and aesthetic resonance of Soviet Films for the documentary film milieu and the reportage associated with

⁵⁰ The roll call of left-wing intellectuals living in and around Hampstead is extensive. It included, at various times, members of the Carline Family, Naum Gabo, Walter Gropius, John Heartfield, the Haldanes, Philip Henderson, the Huxleys, Eduard Mesens, George Orwell, Hyman Levy, Roland Penrose, Nikolaus Pevsner, Millicent Rose, the Spencers (including Gilbert and Stanley), and Fred and Diana Uhlmann (Source: author knowledge).

⁵¹ Robertson (1989) 30.

⁵² Morris and Radford (1983) 65.

⁵³ For example, the Film Society was responsible for the first ever screenings in Britain of Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* (1925), Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* (1928), his *Enthusiasm* (1931) and Leonid Trauberg's *New Babylon* (1929). Samson (1996) 310.

⁵⁴ Turvey (2002) 318.

⁵⁵ Higson (1996) 73.

⁵⁶ Legg Interview Transcript (1972).

it, since he remembered seeing the Film Society's presentation, referenced earlier, of *Drifters* and Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*.⁵⁷ At interview, Grierson probed Legg's academic background and was apparently pleased by the interviewee's Cambridge background in industrial psychology.⁵⁸ Recognising potential, Grierson initially employed Legg to vet and research scripts, although he later became a film-maker in his own right.⁵⁹ At Legg's memorial tribute, Denis Foreman characterised his former colleague's role within the Grierson group as that of 'resident academic', praising his 'remarkable range of general knowledge' and scholarly precision'.⁶⁰

These were presumably some of the skills and attributes Grierson saw in Klingender, although there were other similarities between the two. Given the apparent difference of academic and social background, and what Aitken notes as the relative social homogeneity of the documentary film movement, it is plausible that Klingender may have previously met Legg either through the Film Society or through film related contacts.⁶¹ Legg had been commissioned by Julian Huxley to work on twelve films exploring evolution for the Zoological Society in London. Huxley, already a noted biologist, had been among the 'influential names' from the original subscriber list who had been drafted onto the Film Society's council in the late 1920s to give it credibility in the face of establishment criticism.⁶² As suggested in a previous chapter, Klingender may have known Huxley since the late 1920s through their shared membership of the SCR. According to Elton, their professional association continued during

⁵⁷ Legg notes that Eisenstein is reported to have conceded the higher quality of Grierson's contribution. Legg Interview transcript (1972).

⁵⁸ Grierson's educative mission was made explicit on this occasion. On being asked if he had any teaching experience, Legg replied that he did not. Grierson continued 'Well, I don't want film-makers, I want teachers'. Legg Interview Transcript (1972).

⁵⁹ Legg became Chief Producer to the National Film Board of Canada. See: press cutting (unpaginated), Stuart Legg Archive, BFI.

⁶⁰ For the full text see: *Stuart Legg Memorial Tribute*, March 8th 1989, produced by the National Film Theatre, Stuart Legg Archive, Item 2 (Single Document Sequence), BFI.

⁶¹ Legg graduated from Cambridge in 1931 and seems to have moved directly into the film industry (Stuart Legg Archive, BFI). Aitken (1998) 7, notes the strong public school and Cambridge nexus which defined the grouping of tyro film producers. One possibility may have been Montagu who had studied zoology at Cambridge and would have been a near contemporary of Legg. Montagu visited the Soviet Union in 1925 and may well have met Klingender in the later 1920s through the CPGB, the Film Society or possibly the SCR.

⁶² Samson (1996) 310.

Klingender's work with Grierson and Legg, only concluding with the outbreak of war.⁶³ The outcome of the agricultural research work was an award of a Leverhulme Research Fellowship in 1939–40 and Klingender's appointment as a research secretary to the PEP and British Association committee charged with exploring the 'reasons for the time-lag between the discovery of new knowledge at the research stations and its practical application on British farms'.⁶⁴ The committee was chaired by Julian Huxley.⁶⁵

At the outset of this research there seemed little direct evidence to relate Klingender's *Money Behind the Screen* as a one-off piece of reportage work commissioned by Grierson and his secondment by the Agricultural Research Council which followed. Elton's preface noted that it was undertaken 'without relinquishing his association with Grierson', although this could simply be taken to mean that, as a freelance researcher (Klingender's effective status in these years), commissioned projects overlapped, necessarily so, given the need to earn a viable living. However, the wording of his 1954 curriculum vitae provides a different inflexion. It reads:

Continuing my association with Grierson and the documentary film movement, I was then engaged to conduct nation-wide series of interviews with agricultural experts on behalf of the Agricultural Research Council...⁶⁶

⁶³ Elton notes: 'Without relinquishing his association with Grierson and the documentary film movement, he was next engaged on a nation-wide series of interviews with agricultural experts for the Agricultural Research Council in an effort to establish the reasons for the lag between discoveries at the research stations and their application in the field'. Elton (1972) preface ix. Huxley also retained close links with the documentary film movement, narrating Edgar Anstey's *Enough to Eat* (1936). Bond (1979) 251.

⁶⁴ The PEP was a liberal research group which had first been established in the early 1930s. Klingender's association with Grierson and Huxley appears to have been instrumental in securing this position. However, John Saville's brother in law, Francois Lafitte, an original member of the Oxford October Club, also joined the PEP at the same time as Klingender. It is not known if they knew each other previously, but this does instance an inter-relationship between left-wing activists and the PEP, a government-funded research organisation in the period. Saville (2003) 33; Klingender (1954a).

⁶⁵ Elton (1972) preface ix.

⁶⁶ Klingender (1954a).

This suggests that Grierson was directly or indirectly involved in contracting or seconding Klingender to continue investigative work in this area, possibly with the longer term possibility of government sponsored documentaries. Material from the Legg archive confirms Grierson's acuity in working with government agencies, as have other studies.⁶⁷ In this context, Legg recollected that Grierson had a serious interest in 'scientific agriculture'.⁶⁸ He recalls that Grierson actually kept a farm in Kent before the war and made frequent visits to the West Malling Research Station in an attempt to keep with latest horticultural developments which he then experimented with on his farm.⁶⁹ Given the pre-existing links between Legg and Huxley in zoological film making and the likelihood of their having met through the Film Society (with which Grierson was involved), an inter-connection with Huxley through the Agricultural Research Council seems highly plausible.⁷⁰ The relevance to *Money Behind the Screen* being that Grierson may well have envisaged it, and Klingender's co-authorship with Legg, another young talent recruited to the cause, as being the start of a longer term association with the documentary film movement.

In the absence of any reference to Klingender from the Grierson archives and bibliography, such intentionality is impossible to prove, but the available evidence is suggestive. Legg's recollections also provide a useful character sketch of Grierson and further reasons why he may have perceived in Klingender an effective and sympathetic colleague. Legg described Grierson as warming to characters 'who had the divine fire in their belly'.⁷¹ Although the exact meaning is not elaborated, this could plausibly refer to either a sense of creative passion, political conviction, or both. In this regard one recollection of Klingender's character and appearance from this period is from a letter written by a contemporary, Dorothy Galton, who worked at the School of Slavonic

⁶⁷ Roberts (1998) 60.

⁶⁸ Legg Interview Transcript (1972).

⁶⁹ This research centre still exists and is very near where this author grew up. It is part-funded by DEFRA, and undertakes research, among other things, into hybridised and genetically enhanced fruiting crops. (Source: author knowledge).

⁷⁰ In another context Roberts (1998) 59, notes that Grierson was impressed by the Farm Security Administration experiment in America in the mid-1930s and that this contributed to the re-orientation of his own work towards that of a 'social reform movement'.

⁷¹ Legg Interview Transcript (1972).

Studies, London University.⁷² Recalling both Klingender and his first wife, a Hungarian musician, Sulamith Tomchinsky, she writes:

I have a clear notion of Klingender as the dominant intellectual in such a gathering [Popular Front meetings at London University].../His wife, like him, a rather typical central European intellectual.../Both were very earnest, and he rather fiery'.⁷³

Of his appearance, she writes:

He was a tall man, with dark curling hair and a very pale face somewhat resembling a clean-shaven Trotsky with steel-rimmed glasses.../(he) spoke very quickly with a foreign accent.⁷⁴

In his security file there is a brief description from this period which notes Klingender as having a frequently 'tactless' and 'aggressive manner' which may have contrasted appealingly with Grierson's reputation as an accomplished, establishment networker.⁷⁵ Legg also recalls that Grierson had taken a past interest in 'English pamphleteers of the 18th century', (the future subject of Klingender's *Hogarth and English Caricature*), and concludes of him 'There was a dash of Trotsky – that sort of vivid writing'.⁷⁶ At a personal level, it might be surmised that aspects of Klingender's temperament and intellectual interests

⁷² For the purposes of the DLB entry, Saville had placed an advertisement in the *New Socialist* requesting recollections of Klingender to assist in the compilation of the entry for the *DLB*.

⁷³ Letter from Galton (1977).

⁷⁴ Letter from Galton (1977).

⁷⁵ Memorandum entry November 14th 1939 (unpaginated). Anthony Blunt, whilst serving as an MI5 officer during the war, was asked for an opinion as to whether Klingender posed an immediate threat to national interests [Klingender was then working for the Ministry of Home Security]. Blunt knew Klingender professionally from their pre-war AIA work and from a teaching invitation to the Courtauld issued in 1933. Blunt said of Klingender that 'His manner and appearance are at first sight discouraging and I am not at all surprised that he constantly arouses suspicions' (security file entry dated November 7th 1942).

⁷⁶ Legg Interview Transcript (1972).

may have resonated with Grierson, although in the absence of external corroboration the extent or determination of such must remain speculative. However, what these inter-connections do suggest is the considerable degree of porosity between the Film Society, the documentary film movement and more appreciably Comintern-orientated organisations such as the SCR and the AIA.

I would suggest that Grierson's commissioning of *Money Behind the Screen* as an example of documentary reportage can be seen as part of wider spectrum of social intervention which, as Higson notes, ranged from 'radio, journalistic and literary writing, photojournalism, photography and social anthropology (Mass Observation)'.⁷⁷ Klingender and Legg's report was part of the documentary film movement's wider claim to the social democratisation of (British) cinema against the imposition of Hollywood's 'cinema of spectacle and escapism'.⁷⁸ As reportage, the *Money Behind the Screen*'s format of factual analysis, data tabulation and qualified conclusions variously reflect Grierson's support of factually driven reportage and his tendency to eschew overt political engagement. However, its overall premise and argument suggests that Klingender and Legg's subject did reflect the increasing importance of film as an instrument of cultural engagement.⁷⁹ Additionally, in its implicit antipathy towards the centralised patterns of American ownership, it suggests common cause with the example of the various non-commercial film outlets and exhibition societies which became a feature of the 1930s, particularly during the Comintern popular front period of 1934–36.⁸⁰ The organisational example established by these non-commercial film networks in the late 1920s had created an environment in which the premise of *Money Behind the Screen* and Grierson's claim that a 'great national opportunity' was there for the taking, could have an appreciable meaning beyond the coterie immediately

⁷⁷ Higson (1996) 73–74.

⁷⁸ Higson (1996) 74.

⁷⁹ On the basis of present evidence, it is impossible to disaggregate the authorial contributions of Stuart Legg and Francis Klingender, although some guesses might be hazarded. I have therefore accorded intention jointly.

⁸⁰ Roberts (1998) 68.

associated with contemporary film making.⁸¹ Discussing this period, and the legacy of the documentary film, Higson notes:

...the conceptualisation of the role which cinema might play in a cultural programme for political change has predominantly remained bound to the realist aesthetic as formed in and around the documentary movement in the 1930s.⁸²

Klingender, Photography and Soviet Film Policy

Although speculative, I would suggest that Klingender's engagement with the film industry (a role he was to reprise in the 1950s as a representative on the Universities Film Council), reflected a tentative realisation of the inherent limitations of painting as a truly *mass* medium in the modern age. Or, put another way, that as a cultural practice, painting could only form a part of a meaningful strategy for the kind of social change that Klingender envisaged. That he still believed that such a possibility could be realised is evident from the tenor of the reviews and journalism he authored for *Our Time* from 1943–1948.⁸³ A recurrent theme from these reviews is the post-war polity and clear sense that social and cultural life will be irrevocably changed for the better. At a broader level, and to support this contention, I would cite the example of the various workers' film clubs and the CPSU's recognition of the cultural primacy of avant-garde Soviet film as an effective propaganda tool.⁸⁴

In the aftermath of civil war, and faced with a largely non-literate population, the nascent Soviet State had already identified film as a crucial medium in its attempts to galvanise revolutionary consciousness among the Soviet people.⁸⁵ This rationale followed Lenin's frequently quoted aside that 'of

⁸¹ Grierson (1937) preface (unpaginated).

⁸² Higson (1996) 74–75.

⁸³ Klingender (1944e) 9–11.

⁸⁴ Kenez (2001) 47.

⁸⁵ Kenez (2001) 25–7. Figes (2002) 451–452.

all the arts, for us cinema is the most important'.⁸⁶ As Orlando Figes notes, the realism and literalness of the cinematic image made it the transformative art of the new socialist society.⁸⁷ Lenin's observation, which culminated in the effective nationalisation of Soviet cinema under Stalin, also had direct relevance for the cultural direction expected of the Comintern, since it conceded the medium's increasing hegemony as the most popular and accessible art form throughout much of Europe and North America.⁸⁸ The AIA's interest and sponsorship of Mass Observation and documentary techniques was consistent with this broader policy of social engagement.⁸⁹

Klingender's Reviews for *The Eye* and Support of OST Painters

As a corollary to this, I would suggest that Klingender did perceive that film and the photography medium shared a potential for galvanising revolutionary consciousness, and for encouraging innovative approaches to form and content in other media such as painting and sculpture. However, this apparent conviction needs to be carefully qualified by what is known of Klingender's conservative cinematic preferences and what can be gleaned through his limited authorship on the subject. Since this position is inferred, rather than explicit, I will attempt to outline what I believe Klingender's known preferences suggest. This in turn may also account for his involvement with Grierson and at least one of the workers' film societies for which there is direct evidence.

There are various dimensions to this assertion, but I would start by citing two articles which Klingender published during the autumn of 1935 for the Martin Lawrence periodical, *The Eye*.⁹⁰ The first piece is ostensibly a review of

⁸⁶ Lenin's aside to Lunarcharsky, quoted by Taylor (1998) 2.

⁸⁷ Figes (2002) 452.

⁸⁸ For a more detailed account of the progressive CPSU control of the Soviet film industry, see Taylor (1998) 28–49. It should be noted here that although the Comintern network had begun to see a decline in its general situation after Lenin's death in 1924, the real emasculation occurred in the 1920s and 1930s. In America, Britain, France and Germany, the Comintern sections continued to exercise a political presence disproportionate to their size. Possony (1966) 221–222.

⁸⁹ Morris and Radford (1983) 45–46.

⁹⁰ *The Eye* was an orthodox, Comintern broadsheet which ran through nine editions from Autumn 1935 to Spring 1938. Harry Pollitt and Karl Radek featured among its regular contributors. Klingender was also a frequent contributor and his work was frequently given a high profile. Its remit was to introduce and analyse newly published left-wing literature.

two recent books exploring Soviet art although Klingender's real focus is the inter-relationship between form and content arising from the practice or instigation of Socialist Realism, with illustrative examples simply taken from the two books to support the argument.⁹¹ The review's title ('Art in the USSR') was taken from a survey volume of that name.⁹² The second book, *Painting, Sculpture and Graphic Art of the USSR*, by Martin Lawrence Publishers, Klingender praised for its wider scope, continuing pointedly that 'architecture, the theatre and the cinema, [were] jointly by far the most important sphere of present artistic activity in Russia'.⁹³ Summarily complimenting *Art in the USSR* for its 'historical' contribution, Klingender considers examples of contemporary Soviet practice, noting for example that form (within Soviet Socialist Realism) had ceased to develop, remaining instead dependent upon the 'devotional impact of the icon', one of the reasons for which he dissociates it from British social realist practice.⁹⁴

Whilst Klingender does not explicitly mention or directly criticise Soviet Socialist Realist practice, the inference regarding its academic and conservative model is evident enough. However, what follows is a striking characterisation of technology which is quoted at length for what reveals about Klingender's association of technological change with innovation in artistic form:

It is sufficient to point to the discovery of light and colour, to the new spheres of photography and film (not to mention the sound and colour film, television, radio etc.), in order to realise how profoundly the very tools of art have been revolutionised by the resources of modern science, how greatly our visual and acoustic experiences have been enriched. It was

⁹¹ Klingender (1935c) 2 and 4.

⁹² The major survey of Soviet (*Art in the USSR*) was edited by C.G. Holme and published in 1935 in a special autumn edition of *The Studio*. In the essay on *Painting* by A. Bassekhes, Deineka is described as among the most promising of the 'young artists' and as being 'a propagandist of the new social life, new urban landscapes drawn as though with the rule of an architect'. Pimenov is also described as being among the 'sharp and expressive painters *par excellence*'. Bassekhes (1935) 32.

⁹³ Klingender (1935c) 2.

⁹⁴ Perhaps mindful that he was deviating from the orthodox Stalinist line on aesthetics, Klingender keeps to generality, but the entire tone of the article suggests genuine dissatisfaction with the academic direction of official Soviet Art.

this progressive, revolutionary aspect of modern art that alone enabled its advanced representatives to ally themselves to the working class. For were not their own most fervent dreams – eg., Moholy-Nagy's dream of an architecture of light – as impossible of realisation under the conditions of capitalist existence, as those of all other technicians whose discourses aim at the increased well being and not the physical destruction of man'.⁹⁵

Aside from Moholy-Nagy, the two names which Klingender cites as exemplars of the 'progressive, revolutionary aspect of modern art', are (Yuri) Pimenov and (Alexandr) Deineka, two artists associated at various times with the Soviet Society of Easel Painters (OST).⁹⁶ Both are singled out for particular note as having circumvented this apparent stasis and as jointly signifying a more progressive tendency in socially relevant picture making. Klingender does not amplify the rationale for his choice, but in attempting to account for the preference, I would suggest that among the attractions of such work was the adoption of photographic techniques such as cropping and low viewing angles to easel painting, a genre employed by several artists which Klingender had endorsed.⁹⁷

The work of Deineka and Pimenov, examples of which had been exhibited jointly a decade earlier under the auspices of the Higher State Artistic & Technical Institute (Vkhutemas), is described by Brandon Taylor as 'robust, expressive and contemporary' and that OST was one of the significant groups established under the auspices of the NEP.⁹⁸ In both cases, among the accumulated influences Taylor cites, are the artists' 'inquisitive and celebratory attitude to the urban environment and technical process in general, as well as to sport', and an engagement, shared by several OST colleagues, with 'modern

⁹⁵ Klingender (1935c) 2.

⁹⁶ Yuri Ivanovich Pimenov (1903–1977) and Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Deineka (1899–1969). Bown (1991) 240 places Deineka's OST membership between 1925–27; between 1931–2 he was a member of the Russian Association of Proletarian Artists (RAPKh).

⁹⁷ Klingender may well have had the social realist work of AIA artists such as Percy Horton in mind here.

⁹⁸ Taylor (1992) 9.

scientific phenomena such as radio, electricity and flight'.⁹⁹ Critical of 'abstract painting' and 'dilletantism', the OST manifesto statement issued in 1924 proclaims an urgent commitment to 'a revolutionary presence and clarity in the choice of themes', rather than what were perceived to be the antiquated 'anecdotal-narrative methods' of the past. The critical responses to OST exhibitions which Taylor elaborates, variously note the artists' 'graphic' manner, the expressive influence of Grosz and Dix (both artists approvingly cited by Klingender), and the adoption of 'modern photography and ancient icon painting'.¹⁰⁰ Whilst Klingender does not justify the use of photographic technique for its own formal sake, his review makes it clear that willingness to innovate form and technique and not just subject matter justifies the artists' 'vanguard' status within the socialist revolution.¹⁰¹

Referring to technological developments under the 'yokes of capitalist society', Klingender continues:

Filled with a new content, welded to the tasks of creation, the technical discoveries of the former phase now bore magnificent fruits in the great achievements of the Russian Film, the Russian theatre, the new architecture (all of which are magnificently represented in *The Studio* publication'.¹⁰²

Klingender's omission of Soviet painting as a general category is again evident. He concludes:

Only the blind can fail to discover the innumerable buds of a new life....in the work of masters such as Deineka and Pimenov and of the painters

⁹⁹ Taylor (1992) 12.

¹⁰⁰ All passages Taylor (1992) 13.

¹⁰¹ Klingender (1935c) 2.

¹⁰² Klingender (1935c) 4.

following their lead, in innumerable plans for the new city developments and many of the Moscow Underground buildings.¹⁰³

The tone, example and, more crucially, what is *not* exemplified, confirm preference Klingender's preference for a figurative but *transformative* aesthetic. in which the form (use of media, improvised or graphic outline, montage) is perceived as conveying or mediating the artist's personal and partisan *weltanschauung*, albeit one customarily viewed as expressive of the class struggle or adherence to it as a member of the progressive bourgeoisie. This seems to account for Klingender's frustration with the orchestrated and artificial nature of Soviet Socialist Realism (one evidently shared by OST members in relation to the work of the Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia (AKhRR), as it underlines his pre-disposition for the technological possibilities offered by the photographic, but essentially documentary, narrative.¹⁰⁴

Klingender wrote his review in 1935 by which time Soviet Socialist Realism had been the officially sanctioned and dominant cultural style in the USSR for three years.¹⁰⁵ As Taylor notes, notwithstanding the problematic and increasingly marginalised status and lexicon of modernism within the Soviet avant-garde, a technical means of signifying Soviet modernity of the five-year plans was still needed.¹⁰⁶ Artists such as Deineka and Pimenov were faced with negotiating such a contradiction; on the one hand an aesthetic which avoided Western formalism whilst side-stepping the dangers of the reversion to 'iconic' forms which Klingender specifically alludes to in his article.¹⁰⁷ This tension is referenced by Mikhail Guerman who situates OST artists as 'neither avant-garde Marxists nor mere recorders of everyday life'.¹⁰⁸ Klingender's reference to these artists was made a decade later by which time the Soviet State had already proscribed which cultural forms were to be permitted so resolving the

¹⁰³ Klingender (1935c) 4.

¹⁰⁴ Taylor (1992) 13.

¹⁰⁵ Taylor (1992) 193.

¹⁰⁶ Taylor (1992) 15–16.

¹⁰⁷ Taylor (1992) 16.

¹⁰⁸ Guerman (1988) 10.

debate, at least for those artists within its jurisdiction.¹⁰⁹ However, as Guerman also notes, artists like Deineka produced work which negotiated a balance between the heroic realism of the AkhRR and the use of abstraction by other members within the Soviet avant-garde.¹¹⁰ Klingender's citing of Pimenov and Deineka as creators of the kind of transformative art of which he approved, is consistent with his support of film documentary which similarly revealed the 'aesthetic value of the machine age'.¹¹¹ Specifically, Deineka's recurrent use of strong, graphic lines and camera angles which emphasis motion, suggest some of the formal reasons why Klingender perceived such practice, rooted within the urban context and political history of the proletariat, as an authentic expression of the Communist order. For example, the stark, documentary feel to Deineka's 1927 painting *Textile Workers* (fig. 31) suggests a yet to be realised technocratic and scientific future. A further example of the photographic technique which Klingender approved of can be seen in Pimenov's painting, from 1935, *New Moscow*, (fig.32), in which the spectator is given a bird's eye view from the back of the car being driven by a new Soviet citizen. Pimenov's compositional device provides a tangible sense of speed and dynamism in what would otherwise be a more conventional street scene.

Klingender's Endorsement of Work by Moholy-Nagy

In the same article, Klingender praises László Moholy-Nagy for his 'architecture of light' although there is no specific reference to example.¹¹² The article's timing is consistent with the period in which Moholy-Nagy is known to have lived in London, between May 1935 and July 1937, before travelling on to America to re-establish the Bauhaus.¹¹³ Roberts cites Klingender as among Moholy-Nagy's translators although there is no reference to Klingender in the secondary bibliography or in Senter's study of the British period. However, the Hungarian émigré was on social terms with Grierson, Elton, Huxley and Haldane,

¹⁰⁹ Soviet art practice was subject to the decree announced at the Soviet Writer's Congress in 1932. Taylor (1992) 193–194.

¹¹⁰ Guerman (1988) 10

¹¹¹ Guerman (1988) 11.

¹¹² Klingender (1935c) 2.

¹¹³ Senter (1975) unpaginated abstract.

suggesting that he moved in the same film movement milieu as Klingender in this period.¹¹⁴ Whilst in London he also maintained contact with other Hungarian émigrés and mutual friends of Klingender's, Frederick and Evelyn Antal and his former colleague Peter (or Lazlo) Péri.¹¹⁵

Klingender's second article for *The Eye*, 'Art's Turning Point' was published in the December 1935 edition and was a review of the major AIA exhibition *Artists Against Fascism and War*.¹¹⁶ In addition to major British contributions, 52 overseas artists, from France, Poland and Russia, exhibited both abstract and figurative work in the so-called 'Foreign sections'. The exhibition was among the largest launched under AIA auspices and was the first which reflected its adoption of the cultural politics of the Popular Front. The review demonstrates Klingender's apparent advocacy of *abstract* work by Moholy-Nagy and Péri whom he applauds as 'outstanding representatives of the first great movement of discovery that led to the emergence of abstract art in the immediate post-war period'.¹¹⁷ Both the exhibition and conciliatory ethos of Klingender's review were very much responses to the 'united front' policy then being sponsored by the Comintern and the CPGB. In recognition of the need to keep 'fellow travellers' on board, Klingender makes emollient comments about the 'ways of art' being 'infinite', and then references the 'vitality and deep sincerity' of the work of Henry Moore and Paul Nash.¹¹⁸ However, in this review, Klingender again singles out Moholy-Nagy's contribution. In this case, two abstract paintings are given particular endorsement. He writes:

The great work of the destruction of bourgeois content in art and of forging a new medium of artistic expression in conformity with the achievements of modern science reached its culmination point in about 1924. Moholy-Nagy's two paintings with the severe objectivity of scientific space and

¹¹⁴ Senter (1975) 47.

¹¹⁵ Senter (1975) 48.

¹¹⁶ The exhibition ran between November 13th to November 27th 1935. Morris and Radford (1983) 29–30.

¹¹⁷ Klingender (1935c) 2.

¹¹⁸ Klingender (1935c) 2.

colour representation and their conquest of new materials (aluminium in this case) represent this achievement... Moholy paints to-day only in order to preserve these discoveries and to continue the task of experimentation, only because his real aims cannot be revealed under the conditions of capitalist existence.¹¹⁹

Assuming that Klingender's retrospective dating is not arbitrary, and that it refers to the specifically Soviet context, 1924 identifies what Taylor calls the 'plural endeavour' of 'several aesthetic programmes' within the visual arts.¹²⁰ It is also significant that the date occurs towards the end of the widespread 'call to order' and the re-entrenchment of conservative figurative practice.¹²¹

Of significance to Klingender's choice of Soviet artists, it was the same year in which OST publicised its programme and in which the group began to contribute to design and theatre-based projects.¹²² With OST members like Deineka and in the work of Moholy-Nagy, (albeit in a German and British context), Klingender perceived the practitioners of a transformative aesthetic receptive to, and rooted in, contemporary technology. Nevertheless, having sponsored stylistic practice which ultimately was not that which had been endorsed by the previous year's Soviet Writers' Congress, Klingender's review concludes by qualifying the social value of total abstraction, and re-affirming the role of form as part of a revolutionary *weltanschauung*. The ideological and aesthetic accommodations of 'popular frontism' evidently had limits. He notes:

Every form known to the history of art had its revolutionary as well as a reactionary phase and the significance of any given form is entirely dependent upon the message of which it is the formulation./...even the

¹¹⁹ Klingender (1937c) 3.

¹²⁰ Taylor (1992) xiii.

¹²¹ Silver (1977) 56–63.

¹²² Taylor (1992) 13.

present phase of abstract art in England is from a social point of view progressive only in its negation of bourgeois content.¹²³

The artistic examples which are upheld in these two reviews are significant. They confirm Klingender's qualified support for the use of photographic and montage practice, believing that such technology could be instrumentally fashioned not just for documentary use, but that it could re-vivify form and subject-matter within painting. Klingender's assumption appears to be that painting without technological stimulus might lack the dynamism and flexibility required of a truly revolutionary medium. Secondly, that by the middle of the 1930s, Klingender's aesthetic preferences were by no means uncritical re-articulations of Soviet or Stalinist cultural orthodoxy which had given primacy to the academic naturalism of the AKhRR. Klingender's reluctance to make open criticisms of CPSU and Comintern cultural policy should be seen within the context of Party discipline, the expected role of intellectuals and the Leninist precept of *partiinost* which Bown describes in terms of 'submission to the decisions of the Communist party'.¹²⁴ It is evident from the choice of example, visual illustration and the timeframe invoked, that Klingender is articulating reservations about the direction of Soviet aesthetics. Similarly, in his summary review of *The Studio* issue of *Art in the USSR*, Klingender exercises self-censorship in relation to what Taylor describes as the book's 'frankly Stalinist apology' which notes:

The real historic development of soviet art proceeded on the principle of 'critical assimilation of the art of past centuries'... the process of development of Soviet art is the process of consolidation of all the creative forces of the country on the basis of socialist ideology... *the art of the Soviet Union... is adequate to the epoch of socialist construction* (my italics)¹²⁵

¹²³ Klingender (1935c) 3.

¹²⁴ Bown (1991) 25.

¹²⁵ Taylor (1992) xv.

The tenor of these words is very different from Klingender's eulogy to the aspirations of Moholy-Nagy's Bauhaus aesthetic, where he describes a situation in which 'the 'tremendous resources of new artistic communities brought to the fore by abstract experience became immediately apparent'.¹²⁶

It seems highly likely that Klingender would have known of Moholy-Nagy's previous involvement, with Péri and of their collaborative work for the Viennese and then Budapest-based pro-Communist avant-garde, the 'Ma' grouping.¹²⁷ This in turn was associated with the international journal *Ma; Aktivista Művészti és Tars adalmi Folyóirat* (*Today: Activist Art and Social Issues Magazine*).¹²⁸ Although the group was disbanded in 1920, and Moholy-Nagy's subsequent politics moderated during his Bauhaus employment (1923–28), Caton suggests that its example remained a formative one, with his subsequent aesthetic mediating the relationship of art to politics.¹²⁹ Like the cinematic techniques which characterised work by Deineka and Pimenov, cited by Klingender in the same article, Moholy-Nagy's aesthetic is described as attempting to visualise the relationship between 'the role of technology... and contemporary culture and the mass media of photography and film as a major part of his theories'.¹³⁰ The valorisation of technology as a positive, social force, is particularly appreciable in the writings of Moholy-Nagy, but is a thematic in the OST painters referenced.

I would suggest that Klingender perceived in film and photography the means by which such purposive technological change (predicated on the Socialist revolution) could be seen to communicate to a mass audience. Although at no point does Klingender endorse abstract art (either here or elsewhere), the review concedes that specific painterly traditions might lack an

¹²⁶ Klingender (1935c) 2.

¹²⁷ Péri's work, frequently of life-size human figures in concrete, was also supported by Klingender's contemporary Blunt who saw his aesthetic as a paradigm of what the Communist inspired artist should emulate. Carter (2002) 149.

¹²⁸ Caton (1984) 3 Caton quotes one manifesto statement dating from 1922 which refers to Prolekult, the Soviet movement which espoused specifically proletarian forms of art and culture.

¹²⁹ Caton (1984) 15.

¹³⁰ Caton (1984) xv.

inherent flexibility in responding to the revolutionary *weltanschauung*. But what is really striking about this review is the enthusiasm that Klingender evinces for Soviet cinema and visual media outside of painting which he eulogises as 'the magnificent fruits of the great achievements of the Russian film, the Russian theatre, the new architecture'. He continues:

It is sufficient to point to the devising of light and colour, to the new sphere of photography and the film (not to mention the sound and colour film, television, radio etc.), ...to realise how profoundly the very tools of art have been revolutionised by the resources of modern science...how greatly our visual and acoustic experiences have been enriched.¹³¹

Klingender and Alexander Macheret's *Men and Jobs*

Klingender does not reference the avant-garde Soviet films of Dziga Vertov and Sergei Eisenstein, showcased by the workers' film clubs in the first of *The Eye* review just mentioned, but he does applaud as 'one of the very great Russian films', the agitational propaganda production *Men and Jobs* by Alexander Macheret (1934). Macheret's celebration of stakhanovite conviction details the changing outlook of workers in two shock brigades employed in the construction of the Dnieper Dam.¹³² One team is lead by an American engineer who predictably uses the latest building machines and cranes and the other by a Soviet boilermaker who is reliant upon rusting and outdated hydraulic machinery. The film follows the intense competition which ensues, resulting in the all-Soviet team making gargantuan efforts which not only exceed quota, but turns the relatively unskilled industrial workers into 'engineers' since they have dedicated themselves to fully restoring the antiquated machinery to out-perform

¹³¹ All passages from Klingender (1935c) 4.

¹³² Klingender (1935c) 4. The term *stakhanovite* was one of commendation given to Soviet workers in recognition of high industrial output in pursuit of Soviet economic reconstruction. Landau (1990) 1430. It is possibly coincidental, but Elton's first use of direct film interviews on location was titled '*Workers and Jobs*' (1935), possibly as a reference to Macheret's production? See: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004/5 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/31074> (August 2005).

the American-led competitors. In so doing they have transformed themselves into living metaphors for the aspirations of the Soviet State. Macheret's film narrative and its orthodox production values directly accord with the genre of heroic realism being promoted by the Soviet State.

As a film it lacked the technical and formal innovation of other avant-garde Soviet film makers, but for Klingender it demonstrated the marriage of a socially tendentious art with the use of photographic documentary. It is evident here that he is not endorsing the techniques or greater stylistic autonomy associated with avant-garde film production *per se*, since technical means (the form) remains subordinate to content. What Klingender's preference appears to suggest is that he saw in documentary based photography a dynamic component which could more meaningfully support artistic claims to social transformation. It is relevant to note here that Grierson certainly knew of Macheret from having edited the English titles and version for Victor Turin's *Turksib* (1929), a film which records the construction of the Turkestan to Siberia railway, among the first of such projects undertaken by the new Soviet State.¹³³ Macheret had collaborated with Turin, the film's director, on the screenplay.¹³⁴ *Turksib* was acclaimed by Soviet film critics as a 'clear, direct and realistic statement' with the production values 'clarity, economy and unity' similarly supported.¹³⁵

The film was given its premiere on March 6th 1930 by the London Workers' Film Society (LWFS).¹³⁶ Whilst Klingender's review does not reference the association, the connection is suggestive of the kind of documentary-orientated cinema production which found favour with both Klingender and Grierson.¹³⁷ Macheret's own film work was consistent with the more conservative cinematic practice which the Soviet state was explicitly sponsoring

¹³³ Pendergast and Pendergast (2000) 1244. Hogenkamp (1986) 44 notes that Turin came to London and he worked directly with Grierson whilst the latter was head of the EMB.

¹³⁴ Pendergast and Pendergast (2000) 1244.

¹³⁵ Pendergast and Pendergast (2000) 1244.

¹³⁶ Hogenkamp (1986) 44.

¹³⁷ *Turksib* was the last film that Turin produced before being promoted to an executive position. He was not to return to film making until 1938 when he directed another film about the 1905 Revolution, titled *Bakintsy*. Pendergast and Pendergast (2000) 1244.

and for which it justified the systematic nationalisation of all film making and distribution within its borders.¹³⁸ This suggests the possibility that it was Grierson's association with Turin that may have introduced Klingender to Macheret's cinema practice, but there is no way of verifying this.¹³⁹

Klingender and the Workers' Film and Photo League

What is on record is a reference to a debate which Klingender participated in under the auspices of the WFPL. Hogenkamp records that on November 27th 1935, Klingender debated the proposition 'The Film: Propaganda or Art?' with Ernest Lindgren newly appointed curator of the recently established National Film Archives.¹⁴⁰ Klingender's involvement with the WFPL is consistent with what has been established on his political profile and confirms a *theoretical* and *active* engagement with the film medium before the formal association with Grierson. As Hogenkamp notes, the WFPL was formed in November 1934 by the part merger of Kino and the Workers' Camera Club with the aim of co-ordinating the photographic activities of 'all workers artists and technicians in films and photography and all those who appreciate the possibilities of the camera as a weapon in the class struggle'.¹⁴¹ Although Kino continued to exist as a commercial distribution base, part of the rationale behind merging its production base with the Workers' Film Club had been to professionalise operations and to extend film-making volumes.¹⁴² The manifesto statement quoted by Hogenkamp confirms the newly created WFPL's programme (which subsequently dropped the 'Worker' from its title), was a response to the united front agenda being mandated by the CPGB and the Comintern.

¹³⁸ This followed the codification of art practice in 1932. For an account of the progressive hegemony of the Soviet State over film production see: Taylor (1998) 28–49.

¹³⁹ There were, however, close links between Grierson and the various workers' film societies which may have explained the association. Jones (1987) 170 notes that Grierson was among those who contributed papers to the LWFS 1931 Summer School. Grierson's subject was Soviet Cinema.

¹⁴⁰ Hogenkamp (1986) 125 and Betts (1973) 69–70.

¹⁴¹ Initially set-up by a core of CPGB members in 1933 in order to distribute and screen Soviet films using 16mm film stock which circumvented the provisions of the Cinematograph Act of 1909 (Jones 1987) 177. Also see: Hogenkamp (1986) 82. The Workers' Camera Club was established in 1932. Jones (1987) 177. Manifesto extract quoted by Hogenkamp (1986) 116.

¹⁴² Hogenkamp (1986) 116–117.

The increasing interest in the potentiality of film can be gauged by the establishment in 1929 of the London Workers' Film Society (LWFS) the interim council for which consisted of Communist film-makers Ralph Bond, and Ivor Montagu and CPGB member (and later chair of the Party's Cultural Committee) Emile Burns, and Harry Pollitt, then CPGB Secretary.¹⁴³ This was followed by the establishment of a distribution network, Atlas Films, the idea being to emulate the Soviet practice of having a systematised route through which Party branches and supportive organisations could be supplied with film stock with some degree of reliability.¹⁴⁴ The involvement of such a senior Party cadre underlines the initial seriousness with which the CPGB had viewed the political potential of the film and cinema, particularly at a time when the New Line mandate had effectively isolated it from any prospect of affiliation to the Labour Party or wider platform with the Trades Unions through the MM.¹⁴⁵

It is not known if Klingender was directly involved in the LWFS enterprise, but his speaking platform with the WFPL again suggests that he certainly shared the same milieu of CPGB colleagues involved with the former organisation, all of whom he would have known either through the various workers' film societies or through direct CPGB affiliation. Whilst the CPGB or the associated workers' film societies did not have the resources or scale of operation of their Soviet or even German counterparts (before 1933), Jones argues that they shared an aspiration to create a genuinely proletarian and oppositional film culture during a period of political marginalisation.

Tentative steps to establish just such a discourse were symbolised by a summer school, held in 1931 at which Grierson was among the listed speakers with a paper on Soviet Cinema. This was followed up by a workers' cinema pamphlet, envisaged as an 'experimental forum' for all aspects of film media.¹⁴⁶ Ralph Bond had been its prime mover, although the publication lost impetus and folded after two issues.¹⁴⁷ This was partly a consequence of insufficient

¹⁴³ Jones (1987) 167.

¹⁴⁴ Jones (1987) 167 and 160.

¹⁴⁵ Branson (1985) 5.

¹⁴⁶ Jones (1987) 170.

¹⁴⁷ Jones (1987) 170.

resourcing (both internally and from the CPGB which had seen its membership plummet after the adoption of the New Line in 1928), but also due to the changing political situation. In March 1933, the Comintern adopted the united front slogan calling upon the national Communist Parties to form cross-party affiliations with all progressive social forces in order to fight the menace of fascism.¹⁴⁸ The specifically proletarian model of oppositional film making which had initially motivated the various Workers Film Societies and which had presumably galvanised Klingender's involvement with WFPL, no longer represented CPGB policy.

There is no indication that Klingender supported the techniques of montage adopted by avant-garde film makers.¹⁴⁹ It is certainly not a feature of Macheret's film. However, Klingender was enthusiastic about the work of John Heartfield whose work he had reviewed for *Our Time* magazine in 1944.¹⁵⁰ Supporters of montage in art making variously claimed for it several advantages. Firstly, it conveyed the dynamic virtues of the workers' state, discouraged the continuous narratives associated with bourgeois theatre or literature which might dangerously lapse into escapism (what Arthur Koestler refers to in *Darkness at Noon* as the 'oceanic sense'), whilst retaining culturally accessible, figurative iconography.¹⁵¹ Montage could illustrate narratives and tell stories in a single film frame; it offered the possibility of immediate comprehension. As Bordwell and Thompson note, the technique was seen by the Russian Constructivists as consistent with the rational and scientific approximation of art making to the social production of the engineer.¹⁵² Whilst Klingender appears to have harboured some reservations about the use of montage as a formalist distraction, the reservations expressed in the previous

¹⁴⁸ Jones (1987) 177.

¹⁴⁹ Used by film-makers to refer to the editing and combination of shots and camera angles to create dynamic and often discontinuous narrative. Thompson and Bordwell (2003), 125 and 129.

¹⁵⁰ *Our Time* (1941–49) Communist orientated publication, set up by Randall Swingler and subsequently edited by Edgell Rickword, Vernon Beste. Klingender was Associate Editor (Arts) between 1943 and 1947. (Klingender is last mentioned as Arts Editor in the March 1947 edition). He was succeeded in the post by his friend, Richard Carline.

¹⁵¹ Koestler (1982) 238.

¹⁵² Thompson and Bordwell (2003) 26.

articles clearly imply an awareness of the limitations of conventional narrative painting.

That Klingender saw in documentary photography a relevant medium which could circumvent or supplement painterly realism is supported by his association with *Picture Post*.¹⁵³ A weekly, illustrated national, the significant innovation of *Picture Post* was that it presented news, current affairs and features pictorially. In one review article, former *Picture Post* editor Tom Hopkinson (1940–1950) claimed that the paper's legacy was to have realised the effectiveness of photo-journalism and the 35mm Leica camera as a powerful documentary 'weapon' at a time when international events and stories demanded visual coverage and speed that text-based broadsheets could not match.¹⁵⁴

Two features which Klingender wrote for *Picture Post* coincide subject-wise with two pivotal junctures which Hopkins characterised as having confirmed the publication's contemporary relevance. One was coverage of the fall of France and the other was a campaign-lead agenda during the summer of 1940 to establish a national home guard in the face of initial establishment inertia (in the event, the *Picture Post* set up its own training school under veterans of the Spanish Civil War).¹⁵⁵ Regarding the former, Klingender's illustrated article 'France 1870 and 1940' disparages the role of the Vichy government in France's capitulation, comparing it to the forces of reaction which overthrew the Paris Commune and 'the popular front of workers and middle class' heroically depicted by Honoré Daumier.¹⁵⁶ His second piece comments on Gilbert Spencer's drawings of the home guard at work, the subject of the subsequent AIA exhibition *John Bull's Home Guard* (**fig. 33**) for which Klingender wrote the text and Gilbert Spencer provided the watercolour

¹⁵³ *Picture Post* was published by Hulton's Press Ltd E4, between October 1938 and June 1957 (vol 1.–vol.75). In America, *Life Magazine*, launched in 1936, had a similar format. However, Hopkins attributes its origin to the illustrated magazines popular in Germany such as the *Berliner Illustrierte* which were widely read. Hopkinson (1989) 70.

¹⁵⁴ Hopkinson (1989) 70.

¹⁵⁵ Hopkinson (1989) 70.

¹⁵⁶ Klingender (1940) 20–2.

illustrations.¹⁵⁷ In both examples Klingender derives his choice of theme from contemporary photographic reportage which he attempts to link with historical antecedents supplemented by paintings, etchings or period drawings. In doing so, Klingender seems to acknowledge the (ideologically) practical value of photography for educative and illustration purposes, a perspective consistent with his earlier support of Macheret's technically conservative film, *Men and Jobs*.

Klingender, Arcos and the BBFC

A note from Klingender's security file confirms that he was involved in efforts to secure the screening of at least one avant-garde Soviet film in Great Britain, Vsevolod Pudovkin's *The Deserter*. The note, dated November 23rd 1933, records a meeting between Klingender, 'who represented Arcos' and a Brooke Wilkins of the British Board of Film Censors (BBFC) in relation to Pudovkin's film. Joseph Brooke Wilkinson was the secretary of the BBFC between 1913–1948.¹⁵⁸ As Robertson has noted, the BBFC was established by the film industry in 1913 in order to classify, cut or reject films submitted to it, although it had no legal status.¹⁵⁹ In this period, it was the BBFC secretary, a full-time official, rather than the president, who held 'de facto, if not the public responsibility upon the society for particular decisions'.¹⁶⁰ There is no further information on the file other than the note of the actual meeting. However, from further research, it is possible to offer a plausible reading for the involvement of Arcos, Klingender's intervention and the outcome as regards the BBFC and Pudovkin's film.

Firstly, to account for the Arcos involvement, it is necessary to briefly explain the rationale behind the overseas screening of Soviet films in this period. Aside from the obvious ideological motivations, such screenings had a commercial imperative. As with other areas of cultural life, the Bolsheviks

¹⁵⁷ Klingender (1943).

¹⁵⁸ Robertson (1989) 2.

¹⁵⁹ Robertson (1989) 1. The system was designed to take over from the licensing of cinemas by local councils and resulting inconsistencies in awarding classifications.

¹⁶⁰ Robertson (1989) 2.

assumed control of the cinema industry in 1917. With the exception of a limited portfolio of educational and propaganda films, there was little money for investment with the expectation that film-making should be self financing. The Soviet montage movement was no exception and initial overseas screenings, such as Eisenstein's *Potemkin*, had proved lucrative, generating much needed western currency for re-investment in the Soviet film industry, and the purchase of foreign production and exhibition equipment.¹⁶¹ The Soviet film company, Sovkino, was established in 1925 with a specific mandate to optimise such revenue streams especially where overseas commercial screenings could be achieved.¹⁶² Pudovkin's earlier film *Mother* appears to have been a highly successful contribution to this policy and was given the 'highest approval' from the government for its orthodoxy. This in turn had allowed its maker continuing autonomy until 1933 and the completion of *The Deserter*, when Pudovkin was criticised for 'formalism' arising from the use of montage.¹⁶³ *The Deserter* (1933) contrasts the happy and prosperous lives of Soviet workers with that of the oppressed and starving German proletarians, typified by Hamburg docker, Karl Renn.¹⁶⁴ During a strike, Renn seizes the opportunity of going to the Soviet Union for the prospect of a better life. Tempted to 'desert' to the workers' paradise, Renn comes to realise from his Soviet compatriots that it was his duty to return home and to agitate for a Socialist Germany by continuing the strike, which he does.¹⁶⁵

As Kenez notes, Hitler's rise to power had delayed the film's completion since Pudovkin had been working in Germany and was forced to leave after the elections.¹⁶⁶ According to Kenez, *The Deserter's* subtext was that the Social Democrats were the chief evil of German capitalist society rather than the

¹⁶¹ Thompson and Bordwell (2003) 123.

¹⁶² Thompson and Bordwell (2003) 125.

¹⁶³ Thompson and Bordwell (2003) 136.

¹⁶⁴ Zorkaya (1989) 116.

¹⁶⁵ Kenez (2001) 102–3.

¹⁶⁶ Kenez (2001) 102.

Nazis. Given the actual reasons for the film's delay, this was somewhat ironic.¹⁶⁷

The BBFC had already refused a release for Pudovkin's film, *Mother*, judging it to be overtly propagandistic in tone.¹⁶⁸ There is no record in the *Kinematograph Year Book for 1934* for any such BBFC classification for *The Deserter* which suggests that no such agreement was given.¹⁶⁹ This did not prevent the private screening of such films through the auspices of the Film Society or the various Workers Film Associations.¹⁷⁰ As Hogenkamp notes, *The Deserter* was finally screened with a number of Soviet 'talkies' in the Autumn of 1937.¹⁷¹ However, from the commercial point of view, such a situation was less desirable to the Soviet authorities which might account for the involvement of the Soviet Trade Legation. Four years earlier a precedent had been set for the involvement of Soviet diplomats over a commercial screening. In 1929 Ivor Montagu is recorded as having approached the Soviet Trade delegation in Berlin for a print of Eisenstein's *Potemkin* after local authorities upheld a BBFC ban on issuing a screening license, the political tempo on this occasion having been raised by a Scotland Yard raid on the distributors who then refused to issue Montagu with the film print unless authorised to do so by the Home Office.¹⁷² The Soviet legation subsequently provided a print to Montagu's film company, which was duly screened by the Film Society at the Tivoli Palace, Strand, on November 10th 1929.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ This omission is attributed to the intervention of the Comintern and the Soviet Government, although no corroboration is given for the assertion. However, Kenez describes the film as 'one of the most dishonest and distasteful products of the Stalin era'. Kenez (2001) 102

¹⁶⁸ The political dimension to BBFC decision-making in this period is discussed by Robertson (1989) 158–164.

¹⁶⁹ *Kina Yearbook* (1934). The BFI archivist confirmed to the author that such classifications were recorded for publication purposes for the year following and judged the yearbook source to be authoritative (conversation BFI July 1st 2005).

¹⁷⁰ Robertson (1989) 34–36 for an account of how Montagu circumvented BBFC restrictions in sponsoring films by Pudovkin and Eisenstein.

¹⁷¹ Hogenkamp (1986) 166.

¹⁷² In the 1920s Berlin was the trade centre for Soviet Films through distributors like Prometheus Film and Weltfilm. The former went bankrupt in 1931 and with the coming to power of the Nazis in 1933, business shifted to Paris. Some Soviet studios begun to deal directly with film buyers or worked through diplomatic channels as was the case with Klingender. Hogenkamp (1986) 139. Robertson (1989) 30.

¹⁷³ Robertson (1989) 30.

It seems highly plausible that a similar situation had arisen over Pudovkin's *The Deserter*. Robertson notes that after the *Potemkin* episode, British screenings of Soviet avant-garde films were undertaken principally by 'private working class societies seeking to emulate the Film Society'.¹⁷⁴ Although employed as an economist and statistician, Klingender's use by Arcos to front a discussion with the BBFC throws light of the possibility of his wider engagement with avant-garde cinema, on behalf of Comintern interests, than has so far been recognised. Additionally, it would underline a degree of trust in Klingender on the part of the Soviet authorities, arising both from his CPGB affiliation, but also from his professional, sociological interest in visual culture.¹⁷⁵ *The Deserter* is not regarded as being among Pudovkin's most avant-garde productions. Kenez notes that although Soviet critics could not fault its ideological content, the film was criticised for its 'experimental use of sound' and for the 'abstractness of its presentation'.¹⁷⁶ It is not known what Klingender's personal view of the film was, although if Macheret's rather more conservative film-making was indicative of his taste, then it is possible that he may have privately shared such reservations. Klingender's involvement with the documentary film industry and the wider association with contemporaries such as Bond and Montagu who were in turn associated with the various Film Societies and Workers' Film Groups, was in parallel with his ongoing AIA activities, SCR and CP affiliations.

By design or contracting accident, such wide-ranging affiliations were consistent with the expected role of the Communist intellectual in contributing to the united front action mandated by the Comintern. If the suggestion made at the outset of this chapter is accepted, such involvement was envisaged by Klingender (and Grierson and Huxley) as the first stage of a potentially far longer association in furthering the goals of the documentary film movement through film production, written reportage, and general consciousness-raising.

¹⁷⁴ Robertson (1989) 30.

¹⁷⁵ Coincidentally, Pudovkin had produced earlier film work (*Mechanics of the Brain*) which, following Pavlovian experimentation, had explored the physical bases of psychological stimulus response. Given the organicist influences of Guyau on Klingender's own writing, the connection is striking. Thompson and Bordwell (2003) 127.

¹⁷⁶ Kenez (2001) 116. Kenez quotes observations made by A. Matskin's review in *Izvestiia*, September 21st 1933.

As a publishing enterprise *Money Behind the Screen* was financed (and first published in summary account) as the introduction states, by the trade paper *World Film News* (1936–8). This publication, Aitken notes, was considered one of the ‘in house journals’ of the documentary film movement along with *Cinema Quarterly* (1932–6) and *Documentary Newsletter* (1940–7). He writes:

The central aim of these journals was to propagate Grierson’s ideas, and the ideas behind the documentary movement, through influencing cultural trends, and through commissioning articles from a range of distinguished intellectuals.¹⁷⁷

In the twelve months between 1936–7 those who made contributions, Klingender aside, included figures as diffuse as Graham Green, T.S. Eliot, Somerset Maugham, Aldous Huxley, Ivor Montagu, George Bernard Shaw and Charles Laughton, in addition to work by Grierson himself.¹⁷⁸ In this context, *Money Behind the Screen*, and Klingender’s original precis which appeared in the January 1936 edition of *World Film News*, can be seen as part of Grierson’s concerted agenda to differentiate and contrast the documentary film movement from its overtly commercial and US funded cinema counterparts. Aside from the professional credentials considered earlier, there are further parallels between Klingender and Grierson which warrant consideration. Among the main premises of Aitken’s study is that Grierson’s formative years and education (Clyde, Glasgow University and the recipient of one of the first Rockefeller Foundation social science research fellowships to America), gave him a particular philosophical and sociological background which framed the convictions which in turn characterised the documentary film movement.¹⁷⁹ In considering Klingender’s intellectual profile and origins, there are points of similarity which, it might be conjectured, influenced Grierson’s invitation.

¹⁷⁷ Aitken (1990) 177.

¹⁷⁸ Aitken (1990) 177.

¹⁷⁹ Aitken (1990) 177.

Aitken suggests that, like many of his generation, Grierson was influenced by the vogue for neo-Kantian and Hegelian idealism which characterised aspects of social and philosophical debate in the years immediately after the First World War. However, in Grierson's case, this was inflected by the distinct tradition of scientific American empiricism which can be seen in the format of *Money Behind the Screen*.¹⁸⁰ According to Safraski, the former discourse had its origins in Germany and was part of the aftermath of social and economic reckoning which followed the defeat of Bismarkian ideas of statehood, cultural and racial identity after 1918.¹⁸¹ For Aitken, Grierson's world view was predicated on a synthesis of both traditions which characterised the ethos of the documentary film movement.¹⁸² Other commentators have noted the similarities between Grierson's vocabulary and that of the Fabian, Sidney Webb, both conceding the limits of laissez-faire economics and asserting a collectivist, centrally managed vision for a responsible and involved state.¹⁸³ Whilst this is clearly short of Klingender's Communist convictions, it was not a view uncharacteristic of many within the liberal and labour left. Similarly, there were many fellow travellers like Laski, who, for a time, were clearly attracted by the apparent logic of a centrally managed Communist state, even if the actual precepts of Marxism-Leninism were less compelling. Seen in this respect, Grierson's interventionist idea of constructing a 'national culture' identified a broader left, reformist consensus which whilst certainly not Communist, conceded the limitations of unfettered capitalism.¹⁸⁴

As noted in chapter one, Klingender was born in Goslar, near the Harz Mountains, in Germany, returning to his father's native country, England, in 1925.¹⁸⁵ The first eighteen years of his life were spent in cultural and philosophical conditions not wholly dissimilar to those of Grierson. By a strange

¹⁸⁰ Aitken (1990) 184–195.

¹⁸¹ Safraski (1998) 26.

¹⁸² Aitken (1990) 193–4.

¹⁸³ Dodd & Dodd (1996) 38–39.

¹⁸⁴ Dodd & Dodd (1996) 39. Aitken (1990) 171 places Grierson's politics as 'centre left' of the Labour Party, citing his thinking in relation to the reformist and interventionist ideas of Douglas Jay and Herbert Morrison.

¹⁸⁵ Elton (1972) preface viii.

turn of Reformation and post-Enlightenment history, Calvinist central Scotland and northern Germany preserved some parallel traits of social and intellectual thought. According to Safranski, the traditional epistemological questions posed by metaphysics ('what something is') had given way to the 'triumphalism of the sciences...based on an exact knowledge of nature and on the technical command of nature'.¹⁸⁶ The author continues:

To those modern scientists who began to see themselves as agents of a research process, the question of how something functions was much more promising. This might lead to something definite, along with the prospect that objects, and perhaps also people, might be made to work in accordance with these concepts.¹⁸⁷

Similarly, the 'how' of effective communication was seen by Grierson as integral to the proper working of the democratic state. According to Aitken, Grierson believed in the ultimate viability of such democratic structures (rather than radical politics), if 'adequate public information systems could be constructed' in order to inform and direct public sensibility.¹⁸⁸ Recognising this conviction, Legg characterised the documentary film movement's underlying ethos as humanist, since its recurrent thematic was the human condition itself.¹⁸⁹ Grierson eschewed radical politics, and although the movement's ethos differs from that of Communism, both the individual (Grierson) and the system (Marxism-Leninism) placed ultimate faith in the potentiality of human agency as the subject and object of history. It is plausible that Klingender saw in Grierson's aesthetic and enterprise a positive engagement with modernity; documentary as a form of intervention in social life.

The documentary film movement also upheld a commitment to realist paradigms in photography consonant with Klingender's belief in their wider

¹⁸⁶ Safranski (1998) 26.

¹⁸⁷ Safranski (1998) 26.

¹⁸⁸ Aitken (1998) 2.

¹⁸⁹ Legg Interview Transcript (1972).

applicability to painting and sculpture. Grierson's conviction that documentary reportage provided impartial and objective perspectives paralleled Marxist claims to scientific inviolability. Both discourses variously mobilised cinematic technology in order to legitimate a priori beliefs about the nature and (future) of the social polity. Additionally, the movement's commitment to the 'practical and authentic' underscored a continuing skepticism towards forms of avant-garde abstraction, whether mediated through cinematic practice or painting.¹⁹⁰ From what can be inferred of his preference for Macheret, Klingender maintained similar reservations. As Aitken suggests, one way of interpreting the documentary film movement's legacy is to see it as responsible for marginalising 'a critical British film culture' and the wider purchase of avant-garde consciousness on popular culture.¹⁹¹ The choice of Soviet film which Klingender chose to valorise in *The Eye* demonstrates, I would suggest, someone who shared some of these aesthetic and cultural pre-dispositions.

Conclusions

This chapter has confirmed that Klingender's involvement with the film and documentary cause did not begin with Grierson, but rather with the Communist aligned WFPL. This earlier association with at least one organisation directly involved in non-commercial film production is consistent with what is known of Klingender's political affiliations in the early to middle part of the 1930s. I would also suggest that the trajectory of his overall involvement with the wider British film movement tracked the Comintern's ideological and cultural policy shifts. Roberts identifies the period between 1933–35 as one in which the WFPL was subject to particular Comintern interest, a timescale consistent with the dating of Klingender's speaking engagement. Its establishment was a consequence of 'New Line' political sectarianism mandated by the Comintern, the corollary being the focus on specifically 'proletarian' and 'oppositional' modes of cultural production.

¹⁹⁰ A characterisation arising from a typed and unpaginated lecture in the BFI Stuart Legg archive, entitled 'Documentary'.

¹⁹¹ Aitken (1998) 1.

Following the formal endorsement of the united front against fascism, the WFPL became simply the 'FPL' although by 1939 it had ceased to operate. Klingender's association with Grierson's Film Centre from which he and Legg undertook their research for *Money Behind the Screen* can be dated to 1936, the year after the policy change and a period when the new cultural and political alliances were becoming increasingly apparent. In view of these ideological shifts, the timing of the contracted work for *MBS* seems at the very least fortuitous, even if it was not an orchestrated or deliberate response to such events on either Klingender's part or Grierson's.

In a more general sense, one might speculate as to the motives behind Klingender's apparent receptivity to film and cinema, convictions not appreciably shared by his Marxist contemporary Anthony Blunt or indeed Frederick Antal. Certainly, CPSU and Comintern interests were necessarily pragmatic, determined by the prime consideration of ensuring the Soviet Union's survival as the bastion of 'actually existing socialism'. In consequence, there was an increasing preparedness within Soviet cultural policy to recognise the nascent film industry's social and political potential and to match such an awareness with appropriate financing. Lenin's recognition of the medium's primacy underpinned Soviet efforts to secure screenings of avant-garde films in western countries, not just for the purposes of hard currency exchange, but equally for the propaganda value which such screenings inevitably signified. This in turn helped to generate the plethora of workers' film groups and societies which distributed and screened these productions, with some moving to produce and edit their own work as was the case with the WFPL. Whilst the publication of *Money Behind the Screen* outlining as it did, the hegemonic consequences of the commercial and private cinema and film ownership was certainly a proxy voice for Grierson's antipathy to the 'Hollywood' system, it was also a conduit for Klingender's own political agenda.

As noted, Klingender's involvement with the documentary film movement was consistent with the policy of united front rapprochement with Party members and intellectuals expected to keep discipline and to make such affiliations or undertake professional duties in support of what had been mandated. In this context, and from a purely ideological perspective, what Roberts describes as Grierson's 'social democratic paternalism' and his desire

to typify the 'culture of the everyday' may have been seen by Klingender as a sufficient basis for a politically useful association, as indeed it proved.¹⁹² More prosaically, this is not to deny that, having recently graduated from the LSE, and with a dependent father, paid or contracted work would have been a necessity for Klingender. However, it is to suggest that both ideological and practical imperatives were accommodated by the association with Grierson. Klingender's assignment brought him into direct contact with CPGB members Ralph Bond and Ivor Montagu at the Film Centre between 1936 and 1938. If he did not already know them through extant CPGB, SCR and AIA associations or through Film Society or related screenings (which I would suggest is highly plausible), this formal film industry nexus would have reinforced Klingender's position within a highly active film-making Communist coterie. In this context, Klingender's subsequent involvement with the BBFC and his use by the Soviet Trade Legation, Arcos, in the attempt to secure a screening for Pudovkin's film is entirely explicable.

From the available evidence, there is little to suggest that Klingender had developed anything beyond a perception of the film media in terms of basic ideology critique and an awareness of photography and cinema's social and political potentiality. Roberts describes the British left's contribution to photography discourse from this period as 'under theorised', characterising it as 'Stalinist positivism... applied to painting and literature'.¹⁹³ Whilst such a viewpoint suggests the benefits of New Left hindsight and heterodoxy, it is not an unfair characterisation of the conceptual deficits appreciable within the British intellectual milieu of the time, disabled at it was by the absence of a classical sociological tradition.¹⁹⁴ Klingender's approach to film and photography is principally descriptive and factual. This is clearly exemplified by his review of Heartfield's work in which there is little concern with analysing the cognitive and aesthetic ruptures of the latter's use of photomontage or in considering the applicability of the Brechtian category of the 'alienation effect'. Klingender's text

¹⁹² Roberts (1998) 58–59.

¹⁹³ Roberts (1998) 58 & 70.

¹⁹⁴ Anderson (1969) 218–220.

is an unexceptional contribution to a positivist, Marxist tradition, touched upon at the outset of this thesis.¹⁹⁵

However, what Klingender does convey is the visceral polemic which Heartfield did intend with these images and neither is such passion limited to other German émigrés. Put simply, Klingender visualises these and other works as weapons in the class struggle not simply for their tendentious subject matter, but because their form, albeit subordinate to content, developmentally reflects what he sees as the revolutionary *weltanschauung*. Intentionality and context are relevant here: as a CPGB activist, Klingender was not concerned to theorise an intellectual position for photography, even if one had occurred to him.

It is here that I wish to make a major caveat in relation to Klingender's aesthetic preferences. As noted, he enthusiastically endorsed work by the Soviet artists Deineka and Pimenov and, improbably given some of his earlier strictures, abstract-orientated painting and photographic work by the Hungarian émigré Moholy-Nagy. These aesthetic preferences are not re-articulations of Soviet cultural orthodoxy since they diverge from the academic and naturalistic paradigm set by the AKhRR and eventually codified into the tenets of Soviet Socialist Realism. Whilst all three artists demonstrate an engagement with technology and social change, their forms utilise photographic and essentially documentary techniques. In Moholy-Nagy's case, and what is evident from the descriptions of his work cited earlier, is that Klingender was enthused by their aspirational quality. It might be surmised that at some level they appealed to Klingender as a Marxist idealist who was to subsequently quote William Morris for similar reasons.¹⁹⁶ I would suggest that Klingender perceived such artists as offering a genuine and oppositional aesthetic, consistent with the ethos of the activities of the WFPL.

¹⁹⁵ Klingender's review of Heartfield's photomontage (1944e) is symptomatic of this tendency. Works are cited to underline a polemic on the abuses of the Third Reich. Whilst understandable in the context of the wartime exigency, there is no formal analysis of montage or exploration of the cognitive 'dissonance' which such a technical or formal innovations makes manifest.

¹⁹⁶ Klingender concludes *Marxism and Modern Art* (1943) 49, with words from the *Art of the People* by William Morris: '...if these hours be dark...do not let us sit deedless, like fools and fine gentlemen, but rather let us work like good fellows...to set our workshop ready against tomorrow's daylight'.

As a CPGB member Klingender perceived his practical contribution as galvanising consciousness about film's potential as a socially consequential weapon. His proxy involvement for Arcos in attempting to secure a screening of Pudovkin's film confirms that he acted accordingly. Equally, this was the agenda of the various workers' film groups which, as Hogenkamp and Roberts both note, were particular British responses to the call for a specifically 'proletarian culture' arising from the 'New Line' sectarianism noted earlier. However, as Jones observes, the WPFL had in fact started the process of developing a theoretical framework for the film media, but ultimately lack of resources, more urgent political priorities and the repercussions of 'popular frontism' for cultural practice militated against further progress.¹⁹⁷ That such groups did not generally survive the changed ethos of the later 1930s demonstrates the extent to which they were ideologically wedded to such a narrowly defined (class) cultural paradigm. However, the various workers' film societies and the embryonic Marxist culture they attempted to develop did share Grierson's belief in the desirability of a 'counter-hegemony' to that of the commercial film studios.¹⁹⁸ It is plausible to argue that Klingender saw in the Soviet, German and Hungarian artists he valorised a vestigial class idealism which had been effectively proscribed in the Soviet State by the time he was authoring the reviews. This would account for the self-censorship evident in Klingender's treatment of *Art in the USSR*.

From a historiographic perspective, Klingender and Legg's contribution with *Money Behind the Screen* was to make a new factually based film genre: that of industry reportage which also proved, unintentionally given Klingender's class-based affiliations, prescient in other ways. The original profile for *Money Behind the Screen* which appeared in the January 1936 edition of Grierson's *World Trade News*, was published in the same year as Walter Benjamin's essay, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction'.¹⁹⁹ Benjamin's work has since become associated with the Frankfurt School heterodoxy and is

¹⁹⁷ Jones (1987) 184.

¹⁹⁸ Jones (1987) 184.

¹⁹⁹ Benjamin's essay appeared in the *Frankfurt Institute Journal* which was then operating in the United States. Harrison and Wood (2003) 520–527 (extract).

regarded as among the New Left's canonical texts.

It is not known if Klingender was actually familiar with any of Benjamin's published work in German, before his oeuvre became more widely translated and available in this country, although, given the attempts made to secure the institute's library holdings at the LSE, he may well have been aware of its politics if not some of its personalities. However, *Money Behind the Screen's* emphasis on the structural dynamics of the commercial film industry was prescient if only because it anticipated the critical attention that was to be given to the 'culture industry' of which film production and cultural 'consumption' were to become integral parts. Gillian Rose notes that from the 1920s the Frankfurt School similarly sought to re-position itself in relation to what Rose terms the 'flourishing non-dialectical philosophies... sociologies' and 'empirical research techniques' analogous to Karl Marx's own assimilation of philosophy and political economy.²⁰⁰ Whilst Klingender did not accept the premise that the working class had ceased to signify for the Frankfurt School as what Rose describes as the 'privileged carrier of meaning', he did share a more pragmatic preparedness to adapt the techniques of the social sciences and of financial audit, signs of the world 'becoming calculable' to Communist ends. If *Money Behind the Screen* is now remembered as part of cinema's early historiography, it was for at least one of its authors and its patron, a salvo in the contested cultural arena of the 1930s.

²⁰⁰ Rose (1978) 3.

Chapter Five: Klingender and the Artists International Association c.1933–1947

Introduction

This chapter will open by considering the context and formation of the Artists International, subsequently the Artists International Association (AIA).¹ It will profile Klingender's organisational contribution to the AIA; speculate as to how he may have become involved with the organisation and the nature of work which he authored under its auspices, until active involvement ceased in 1947/8. In addition to considering his two major essays on art and aesthetics, 'Content and Form in Art' (1935) and *Marxism and Modern Art* (1943), this chapter will discuss three related articles which Klingender published in *Left Review* between 1935–1936.² Collectively, these texts provide the core to Klingender's writing on art and aesthetics in the 1930s and 1940s, offering an exposition, not just of his approach to art and his convictions about the role of the Marxist critic, but also an indication of the theoretical influences, direction and deficits of Klingender's thinking. This chapter will close by considering the insights as well as some of the methodological short-comings both these texts demonstrate, and whether Klingender's writing of this period suggests an unqualified endorsement of Soviet Socialist Realism.

The AIA: Early History and Ethos

Since the AIA's history and formation has been comprehensively documented by Lynda Morris and Robert Radford it is not proposed to repeat their account here, other than to briefly mention some introductory history and relevant context.³ The Artists International was established in the autumn of 1933, initially as an informal

¹ James Boswell is quoted as saying that the AIA's original name was to have been 'The International Organisation of Artists for Revolutionary Proletarian Art.' Morris and Radford (1983) 10.

² Klingender referenced the connection in a footnote to his second short text (1935e) 124.

³ Morris and Radford (1983).

forum of artists and designers committed to galvanising international opposition to 'Imperialist War on the Soviet Union, Fascism and colonial oppression'.⁴ In 1935 its name formally changed to the Artists International Association (AIA) reflecting the 'Popular Front' mandate supported by the Comintern, the CPGB and other left-wing organisations.⁵ In 1953 the AIA's political clause was abolished, although it continued as an exhibiting society with a gallery in Soho, until 1971.⁶ As its nomenclature suggests, the AIA reflected the successive aspirations of the Comintern and the Popular Front's strategic objective of internationalising opposition to fascism.⁷ Radford describes a 'cascade of agitprop activity' which characterised its commitment to galvanising support for the Soviet Union.⁸ Such activity, following the confirmation of Nazi hegemony in Germany and a rapidly polarising international situation, was part of a wider cultural dynamic, which witnessed an expansion of educational and Party activity supported by the newly inaugurated Marx House and the foundation of the Writers' International (subsequently the *Left Review*).⁹ Aside from the AIA's Comintern priorities, its organisational structure closely reflected that of the CPGB with a Central Committee and ad hoc specialist committees convened to address specific subjects and issues as they arose.¹⁰ Organisationally, the transient nature of the latter minimised, by chance or intention, the prospect of any challenge to the

⁴ Morris and Radford (1983) 2. The AI was shortly after re-named as the Artists International Association, reflecting the idea that it should be part of the 'Popular Front' against fascism and war. The AIA continued in this form until 1953 when its political clause was abolished and it became purely an artists' exhibiting organisation. It closed in 1971.

⁵ Branson (1985) 125. This policy change was finally endorsed in July 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, although it ratified operational and tactical collaborations which were already at play. Although associated with Georgi Dimitrov, the French government had adopted a 'Popular Front' of Communists and Socialists in order to defeat the threat of a fascist takeover. The terms 'united front' and 'people's front' are also used to describe such collaborations from this period.

⁶ Morris and Radford (1983) 2.

⁷ For purposes of clarity, this chapter will use this term in preference to the Third Communist International. Hallas (1985) 8.

⁸ Radford (1998) 33.

⁹ Radford (1998) 33.

¹⁰ Callaghan (2003) 7–49.

overall control of the Central Committee, many of whom were CPGB members.¹¹ However, notwithstanding the organisation's Communist spine, the AIA's archival records suggest that the same degree of internal or ideological 'discipline' was never achieved as in the CPGB. The other striking similarity between both organisations, aside from the ideological belief in internationalism, was a genuine (if pragmatic) commitment to establishing regional identities and in taking effective steps to support and resource such objectives.

As Morris and Radford suggest, 'the AIA was a social rather than a stylistic group of artists which 'managed to accommodate most of the styles of the period, although realist tendencies predominated overall'.¹² Clive Branson and Margot Heinemann note for example, the leading part played by the political satirists, commercial illustrators (and CPGB members), Pearl Binder, James Boswell, James Fitton, James Holland and Betty Rea and the early prominence of 'straight' realists of the Euston Road group such as William Coldstream and Victor Passmore.¹³ However, by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, the English Surrealist Group had joined, with affiliate status given to Henry Moore, John Piper and Ben Nicholson. Abstract artists such as Léger, Miró, Tazlitzky and Picasso also sent work to exhibitions held under AIA auspices.¹⁴ Such a pluralistic approach to membership gave the organisation considerable durability throughout the 1930s and 1940s, despite the various policy reversals and accommodations foisted on the Comintern by Moscow. However, as a testament to its attractiveness and broad front inclusivity, by 1936 the AIA had reached over six hundred members.¹⁵ However, the accelerating Communist crisis in the post-war years, and the increasing primacy of Modernism from the late 1940s onwards, re-awakened

¹¹ Radford (1998) 34, estimates that CPGB members comprised 20 per cent overall of the AIA's membership, although he notes that 'Communist Party members maintained an influential presence at the heart of the organisation.'

¹² Morris and Radford (1983) 3.

¹³ Pearl Binder (1904–1990), author, broadcaster, illustrator and painter. James Boswell (1906–1971), illustrator, cartoonist and writer. James Fitton (1899–1982) RA FSIA. Betty Rea (1904–1965). Branson and Heinemann (1971) 263.

¹⁴ Morris and Radford (1983) 41 and 43.

¹⁵ Radford (1998) 2.

inherent tensions between those artists and designers wedded to forms of abstraction and those orientated towards figuration which had existed since the AIA's inception.¹⁶

Among the AIA's defining and consistent features was the prominence and parity of esteem accorded to commercial illustration and graphic design.¹⁷ In part this was a refusal to concede the primacy of a 'fine art' tradition which had been associated with the Bloomsbury coterie and the wider academic canon.¹⁸ The graphic tradition of satire and caricature within British art was also felt to be especially representative of a neglected heritage.¹⁹ Misha Black, one of the AIA's founder members, characterised it as a 'pragmatic', 'grass-roots organisation' which, unlike other left-wing groups associated with Oxford, Cambridge and the LSE, was not influenced by the universities.²⁰ Black also noted that 'It [the AIA] had at the time it started no intellectual base at all. It was purely socially and politically motivated'.²¹ A sense of its early ethos is given by James Boswell who stated that:

It was all rather leftish stuff and you can imagine how romantic it was from the original suggestion that the association should be called 'The International Organisation of Artists for Revolutionary Art'.²²

¹⁶ Morris and Radford (1983) 78–92.

¹⁷ Morris and Radford (1983) 9.

¹⁸ It also reflected Soviet practice in recently formed organisations such as the October group which united practitioners of the 'spatial arts' such as architecture, painting, sculpture, graphics and industrial design in the support of the proletariat. However, the AIA retained a commitment to figurative practice, which remained widespread. Bown (1991) 65.

¹⁹ In addition, Klingender was an admirer of the work of L. S. Lowry, who, co-incidentally, had been a friend and contemporary of James Fitton at the Manchester School of Art. Radford (1998) 31.

²⁰ Misha Black (1910–1977) subsequently Professor of Industrial Design Royal College of Art 1959–1975 and Exhibitions Consultant to Unesco 1947–1953. Black was also the co-ordinating architect to the South Bank Exhibition, Festival of Britain, 1951. Misha Black quoted by Morris and Radford (1983) 8.

²¹ Morris and Radford (1983) 8.

²² Saville and Bellamy (1993) 16.

Boswell corroborates Misha Black's recollection, recalling:

We only had the crudest ideas about Art and Marxism and we nearly all felt the need to do something practical so we painted banners, posters and drew cartoons and gradually drawing in support and interest widened the base of the association.²³

Christopher Cornford, the brother of John Cornford, with whom Klingender had worked on *The Student Vanguard*, recalled:

I was a member of the AI even before it became the AIA. In my day it was, I believe, almost exclusively an artists' wing of the CPGB, of which I was a member...it altered its image around the time of the 7th World Congress and Popular Front Period...²⁴

The ideology of committed CPGB members, fellow travellers and leftists sympathetic to the AIA's wider cultural agenda galvanised debate and policy, but also drove the organisational tensions which became apparent in the late 1940s and 1950s.²⁵ Describing this early period, Misha Black recalled:

It is important to distinguish the inner core [of the AIA] – which was a relatively small number of people who had the strongest possible political motives, and of whom a lot were Communists, either in spirit or actually Party members – and the large circle round it...who probably had a very

²³ Saville and Bellamy (1993) 16.

²⁴ Morris and Radford (1983) 23.

²⁵ This eventually resulted in the abandonment of the political clause in 1953. Morris and Radford (1983) 91.

different political and probably sociological and certainly aesthetic attitude to their work and to society as a whole.²⁶

Promoting the social and pedagogic purpose of art and design was intrinsic to the AIA mission which in turn reflected a broader polarisation of art and politics; the increased prominence of Popular Front activity in other countries and a sense of gathering political and economic crisis.²⁷ Central to its ethos was the exhibition of art through accessible and inclusive venues. Following the Soviet Union's example of agitational propaganda ('agitprop'), typical venues included canteens, theatre spaces, shops, bombed out buildings and even the underground.²⁸ Although Michel Remy characterises the AIA as moving from a staunchly Marxist position at the time of its inception to a more widely based 'fight for peace against fascism' in the months before the outbreak of war, it nevertheless retained strong affiliations with the British Communist Party throughout its history.²⁹ The AIA's eventual political emasculation twenty years later can be seen as just such a consequence of prevailing Communist influence at a time of Cold War crisis and changing avant-garde priorities.³⁰

The AIA, Francis Klingender and Frederick Antal

This brief characterisation of the AIA suggests that in the years just subsequent to its founding, the association had developed an ethos independent of any university or radicalised student group, but that it nevertheless had a strong Communist spine. As Edith Simon, present at the inaugural AIA meeting, stated in retrospect 'Everyone was to the left then. What else was there?'³¹ The AIA's founding in 1933

²⁶ Morris and Radford (1983) 23.

²⁷ Branson and Heineman (1971) 281–296.

²⁸ Morris and Radford (1983) 3.

²⁹ Michael Remy (1999), 158. Cliff Rowe, one of the AIA's founder members noted the organisation's Communist nucleus from its inception. Morris and Radford (1983) 23.

³⁰ Morris and Radford (1983) 81–85.

³¹ Simon Transcript (1982).

coincided with Klingender's penultimate postgraduate year at the LSE. As noted in chapter two, Klingender already had a track record of external Communist membership and involvement with Comintern-orientated organisations such as the LAI and (in all probability), the SCR, in addition to involvement with *The Internationalists* and the student Marxist study circle. As discussed in chapter three, Klingender's external employment with the Soviet Trade Delegation also dates from 1931–1932. These antecedents alone make Klingender's early involvement with the then Artists International an intelligible stage in both his political and professional development as a Marxist art historian.

At the time of writing, there is no extant record of Klingender having undertaken any art-orientated journalism before 1935, outside Goslar. Whatever nascent cultural interests Klingender may have had during his early adulthood in Germany would necessarily have undergone some form of hiatus in the economically, socially and linguistically challenging transition to a new life in London. It seems plausible therefore to suggest that Klingender's AIA involvement was probably among *the* formative experiences which alerted him to the potentiality of art as a 'weapon in the political struggle', or at least provided a social framework through which such ideas could be expressed.³² As Simon noted of the AIA's foundation, 'artists formed the natural vanguard in the fight for peace, freedom and full employment'.³³ The organisation's associated 'agit-prop' activities would have provided Klingender with a continuation of the internationalist, pacifist and pro-Soviet campaign agenda which had characterised his latter student years at the LSE. However, the immediate intellectual catalyst for Klingender's re-engagement with art may have been the arrival of the Hungarian émigré art historian Frederick Antal in 1933.³⁴ Morris and Radford note Antal's general influence on the artists associated with the AIA, asserting that:

³² Croft (1998) 1. Given the cultural and visual awareness which Klingender had demonstrated in the pages of the GZ, it might be concluded that at some level, these interests were already nascent.

³³ Simon Transcript (1982).

³⁴ Frederick Antal 1887–1954.

Antal's approach to art history provided the perfect model for the theoretical basis of the New Realism which sought to encourage artists to deal with the major social and political realities of their own time.³⁵

A letter to Saville from Ezra Levin (the Levins knew Francis Klingender and the Antals), states that 'She (Evelyn Antal) and her late husband knew Francis from the day of his arrival in the UK'.³⁶ If, as suggested in chapter two, Klingender had already established through his LSE tutors a broad, theoretical perception of culture in the abstract as needs-driven and instrumental, he may well have felt an immediate affinity with Antal's particular brand of art sociology or 'kunstsociologie', concerned as it was to situate specific examples of artistic change and example in relation to economic and class-based interests.³⁷ Although there is no indication that Antal was an actual AIA member himself, it could be argued that Klingender identified the organisation as the relevant cultural forum for his political convictions and one that could provide a supportive audience for his and Antal's reading of art sociology.³⁸ Moreover, aside from the continuation of ideological camaraderie which characterised membership of the CPGB, the AIA offered a commitment both to theoretical analysis *and* organisational activity, or in Marxian terms, *praxis*.

³⁵ Morris and Radford (1983) 16.

³⁶ Letter from Levin (1980).

³⁷ Letter from (Evelyn Antal) 1981 recalls that in 1936, Francis and her husband had worked together on an abortive first translation into English of his *Florentine Painting and its Social Background* (eventually published in 1948). Evelyn Antal claimed in the letter that Klingender's 'English was so indifferent that the text was gone over again by various art historians who undertook to revise a chapter or so each.'

³⁸ The professional association between Klingender and Antal was evidently a close one. It should also be noted that Antal came to London with considerable professional credentials which added to his status. Born in Budapest, Antal had studied under Max Dvořák, completing his doctoral research in Paris before working alongside Johannes Wilde at Budapest's Museum of Fine Art 1914–18. Both colleagues joined what Morris and Radford (1983) 23, describe as a 'Sunday School', a salon of cultural historians lead by Georg Lukács and including Arnold Hauser, Karl Mannheim and Charles de Tolnay. Following the overthrow of the Communist government in Hungary, Antal had then fled to Vienna, before living in Berlin until 1933. After the Nazi seizure of power in Germany, he left for England in 1933. See: <http://www.lib.duke.edu/lilly/artlibry/dah/antalf.htm> (July 2005).

Radford notes that among the AIA's early activities, were 'posters done for the Marxist Club of London University'.³⁹ The text suggests that this undertaking dated from 1934, Klingender's final year at the LSE, the period of his involvement with *The Student Vanguard* and with Marxist student politics. Although Radford does not indicate who initiated the contact, this does confirm a connection from which Klingender's immediate association with the AIA could have arisen. Certainly, he is recorded as being among the 32 members recorded as being present when the organisation formalised its aims in 1934.⁴⁰ Klingender is subsequently described as the 'most influential of the Marxist intellectuals in the AIA'.⁴¹ Although there is little doubting Klingender's intellectual abilities, and the strength of his political beliefs in these years, given the theoretical deficit alluded to earlier by Misha Black, such early recognition may in part also have reflected the AIA's disparate composition and intellectual profile in the years immediately following its formation. James Boswell is quoted as recalling that Klingender had not been present at the second group meeting in the autumn of 1933, but since his absence, and that of Betty Rea (the AIA secretary) was commented upon, it seems reasonable to assume that he had been present very near its inception and had been practically or organisationally involved in the very early AIA campaigns.⁴² However, what can be said is that the years of Klingender's association with the AIA were his most productive in terms of publication and in the frequency of his contributions to journals such as the *Architectural Review*, *The Burlington Magazine*, *Communist Review*, *Contact*, *The Eye*, *Modern Quarterly*, *Our Time*, *Picture Post* and *Left Review*. Klingender also developed associate editorial roles which included working as the arts editor for the editorial panel of *Our Time*

³⁹ Radford (1998) 33.

⁴⁰ Morris and Radford (1983) 11.

⁴¹ Morris and Radford (1983) 24.

⁴² Morris and Radford (1983) 10. Boswell (1906–1971) came to London from New Zealand around the same period as the Klingenders arrived in London (1925/6). He studied at the Royal College of Art and was closely involved in the AIA's early years. See: Saville and Bellamy (1993) 13–19. Much of the AIA committee material and records of minutes and meetings before 1939 has not survived.

between 1941 and 1944.⁴³ Earlier, in 1937, Klingender became a contributing editor for the American publication, *Art Front*, the periodical of the Artists' Union.⁴⁴ As Hemingway notes, *Art Front* was among those organisations which reprinted Klingender's first major essay, 'Content and Form in Art'.⁴⁵

The AIA provided Klingender with a cultural and organisational base, in addition to which its internationalist aspirations were directly consonant with his probably concurrent LAI and SCR affiliations. Klingender became a member of the AIA's Executive Committee in the early 1940s and was by 1943 running the Charlotte Street Centre as the organisation's London exhibition base with AIA colleague and art historian Millicent Rose.⁴⁶ Morris and Radford assert that he set a precedent for a new kind of exhibition in which subject matter was chosen for its contemporary social and political relevance rather than as a response to 'connoisseurship and art market endorsement'.⁴⁷ Concentrating on 'areas of popular art', it was argued that Klingender established a 'high standard of research and presentation'.⁴⁸

One of the exhibitions where such skills came into play was *Russia – Britain's Ally 1812–1942* (1942), which explored the historic Anglo-Russian alliance against Napoleon (topical in the context of the war against fascism), through examples of eighteenth century British caricatures by Cruikshank, with examples of modern Soviet cartoons by Efimov, Evrana, Keretzky and the Kukryniksy (collectively referencing the work of Mikhail Kupriyanov, Porfiry Krylov and Nikolai Sokolov – see for example **figs. 34–36**).⁴⁹ Klingender's book *Marxism and Modern*

⁴³ Croft (1998) 151. This period, under the editorship of Edgell Rickword was particularly successful with *Our Time* achieving a record circulation averaging 18,000 copies per month by 1945.

⁴⁴ Saville and Bellamy (1993) 162.

⁴⁵ Hemingway (2002) 114.

⁴⁶ Morris and Radford (1983) 3.

⁴⁷ Morris and Radford (1983) 71.

⁴⁸ Morris and Radford (1983) 71.

⁴⁹ Klingender (1944a). Morris and Radford (1983) 71. This section was also published as a booklet, Klingender (1942a). See also <http://www.nzedge.com/media/archives/net-articles/2001-July/latimes-cartoons.htm> (April 2006).

Art: An Approach to Social Realism, based on lectures which Klingender had delivered for the AIA and the Courtauld Institute, was published by Lawrence & Wishart in 1943 (and reprinted in 1977). Additionally, the text for Klingender's *Art and the Industrial Revolution* was originally conceived to support the Amalgamated Engineering Union's Silver Jubilee, the exhibition for which was supported by the AIA.⁵⁰ *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, although published in 1948, was actually written and essentially completed in 1940.⁵¹ Klingender is also noted as a member of the organising committee (with Misha Black, Anthony Blunt, Richard Carline) for a planned exhibition of American New Deal art, although the onset of war and the ensuing Atlantic blockade prevented this from happening.⁵²

At the time of writing it remains a point of conjecture exactly how Klingender became involved with the AIA. As noted, the production of posters for London University may have provided an initial point of contact, but there are various other possibilities. Another AIA contemporary, Nan Youngman, recalled that J.D. Bernal had introduced Betty Rea, a future AIA secretary, to the group.⁵³ It is therefore possible that Bernal may well have extended a similar introduction to the young Klingender, although there is no evidence to corroborate this. As suggested in chapter three, given the highly porous and fluid membership of many of the Comintern orientated organisations at this time, there are other, collegiate possibilities such as Julian Huxley who at this time was prominently involved with the SCR. Equally, of course, Klingender may well have simply been canvassed by active AIA recruitment within the left wing clubs and coteries of London University with which he was directly associated as a postgraduate in these years.

⁵⁰ Saville and Bellamy (1993) 163.

⁵¹ See the preface to Klingender (1968). No explanation is given for the delay in publication. It is possible that war-time exigencies and pressures simply precluded the opportunity to get the monograph to press earlier. Its conception appears to have followed the political impetus of the Spanish Civil War. Goya as a 'social realist' artist of his time is the thematic behind two earlier essays by Klingender: (1938b) and (1940a).

⁵² Morris and Radford (1983) 55.

⁵³ Morris and Radford (1983) 11.

Klingender and *5 on Revolutionary Art*

Klingender's first essay under the AIA aegis, 'Content and Form in Art', appeared in the 1935 anthology, *5 on Revolutionary Art*. The basis for Klingender's text had arisen from a series of lecture-seminars on French and English art of the nineteenth and twentieth century which Klingender had delivered to AIA, Courtauld and LSE audiences over the previous two years.⁵⁴ Authored collectively, the anthology was the first formal statement by AIA intellectuals and members specifically concerned with debates on artistic autonomy and social engagement.⁵⁵ Its timing can be seen as a response to the 1934 Soviet Writers' Congress, the deliberations of which had been widely and sympathetically reported in the first editions of the *Left Review*.⁵⁶

As Morris and Radford suggest, the anthology initiated discussion on what Socialist Realism might mean for British art practice and what its repercussions might be for artists and other cultural producers.⁵⁷ Notwithstanding the aesthetic pronouncements of the Soviet Congress, *5 on Revolutionary Art*, presents a more eclectic and, in part, idiosyncratic range of interventions on art and aesthetics. Recognising the anthology's relative pluralism, Betty Rea's brief foreword introduced the 'five considered opinions on the nature of revolutionary art', as part of an ongoing debate on the nature and responsibilities of the aesthetic in any future socialist society.⁵⁸ To situate Klingender's contribution to these debates on

⁵⁴ It is probable that aspects of this material had been presented at the Courtauld, where Anthony Blunt had invited Klingender to lecture in the mid 1930s. Carter (2002) 26.

⁵⁵ The anthology was published by the leading Communist publishing house of the time, Lawrence and Wishart which arose in 1936 from the merger of Martin Lawrence, the CP Press, and Wishart Ltd., a family owned, liberal and anti-fascist publisher. The publisher had close ties with the Left Book Club founded by Victor Gollancz and provided the latter with cheap editions of their books. Branson (1985) 277. It remains one of the few remaining independent publishing houses in Britain. See: www.lwbooks.co.uk (July 2005).

⁵⁶ For example, the November 1934 edition of *Left Review* (18–26) featured extensive and enthusiastic coverage of the Congress by one of the journal's editors, Amabel Williams-Ellis. As Morris and Radford note, given the subject's topicality, the debates had been translated and published by Lawrence & Wishart as *Problems of Soviet Literature* in 1935.

⁵⁷ Morris and Radford (1983) 14.

⁵⁸ Rea (1935) unpaginated foreword.

the intellectual left, and to offer a comparative sense of where Klingender's intervention stood in relation to the other essays within the anthology, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the other contributions.

Herbert Read's essay 'What is Revolutionary Art?' was a cogent defence of abstract art which asserted that avant-garde art could (and should) retain its autonomy whilst supporting revolutionary change.⁵⁹ Starting with the tautology that 'Revolutionary art should be revolutionary', Read dismisses the 'feeble interpretation' of the injunction which results in 'pictures of red flags, hammers and sickles, factories and machines, or revolutionary subjects in general'.⁶⁰ Using an architectural analogy, Read poses the rhetorical question of what a communist architectural aesthetic might in fact look like. Discounting the various historical pastiches and re-interpretations on offer, he suggests that it is to the radically new architectural forms and techniques of a figure like Walter Gropius that an epoch with revolutionary aspirations should look.

Applying the parallel to extant practice in the visual arts, Read concludes that the endorsement of 'anecdotal' and 'literary' art betrays the contradiction behind a reductive and unimaginative interpretation and application of Marxist doctrine.⁶¹ Read argues that such intellectual freedom is among the pre-conditions for the 'dialectical development in culture' and that it is in fact consistent with Marxist orthodoxy.⁶² From this, he identifies two strands within the contemporary international avant-garde: Brancusi, Gabo, Hepworth, Mondrian, Nicholson and Moholy-Nagy are seen as typifying a movement which is 'plastic, objective and ostensibly non-political'. The second group which Read terms 'Surréalisme or Superrealism' is identified with artists such as Ernst, Dalí, Miró and Tanguy. These

⁵⁹ Herbert Read (1893–1968). In addition to supporting the Surrealist cause, Read was variously a Marxist fellow traveller, Anarchist, libertarian, poet, author, civil servant, curator, cultural theorist and educationalist. See: George Woodcock's *Herbert Read: The Stream and the Source*, (1972) for one evaluation of his contribution and legacy.

⁶⁰ Read (1935) 12.

⁶¹ Read (1935) 13.

⁶² Read (1935) 18, in fact quotes from Stalin (although it is unreferenced): 'Marxism starts out with the assumption that people's tastes and requirements are not, and cannot be, equal in quality or in quantity, either in the period of Socialism or in the period of Communism.'

are defended by virtue of what he describes as the revolutionary nature of their aesthetic which draws attention to, and problematises, the cultural heritage of the past, the resolution of which Read affirms as crucial to the 'creation of this new social reality'.⁶³ Consequentially, he argues that the Surrealist avant-garde should be accorded a central place in the revolutionary struggle because:

Their whole tendency is negative and destructive. The particular method they adopt...consists in breaking down the barriers between the conscious reality of life and the unconscious reality of the dream-world-to so mingle fact and fancy that the normal concept of reality no longer has existence...We can see, therefore, the place of *surréalisme* in the revolutionary movement.⁶⁴

Considering the radically abstract art which had earlier been identified as having retreated to its ivory tower, Read argues that its purpose, the most important of all, is to keep 'inviolable...the universal qualities of art – those elements which survive all changes and revolutions'.⁶⁵ In perfecting the 'formal sensibility' such artists are preparing to play a full part in the great work of reconstruction required of a classless society. His defence of abstract art is unique within the anthology, but not without Marxist precedent. Although not invoked by Read, Leon Trotsky's essay, 'Literature and Revolution' (1924), was supportive of abstraction, but the relative autonomy that it upheld was not part of cultural template which was endorsed by the 1934 Soviet Writers' Congress.⁶⁶ However, Read's more pluralistic approach was consistent with André Breton's Tenerife statement made in the same

⁶³ All passages Read (1935) 19. For an account of the origins and distinctions of nomenclature see: Remy (1999) 35–36.

⁶⁴ Read (1935) 20.

⁶⁵ Read (1935) 21. The supporting analogy is made to the interaction between modern abstract art and the advanced modern architectural aesthetic of Gropius and Le Corbusier.

⁶⁶ Taylor (1992) 80–82 and 83–101.

year.⁶⁷ Closely identified with the Surrealist avant-garde in his refusal to impose an ideological straitjacket upon artistic practice, the argument of Read's essay placed him very much on the libertarian left of the anthology's contributors.

The second contributor whose inclusion underlined the AIA's broad-church approach to aesthetics was Eric Gill. His essay, 'All Art is Propaganda', is the shortest of the five essays and politically the most heterodox. Its premise is that capitalism and its commodity culture is as inimical to Catholicism as it is to Soviet Marxism.⁶⁸ Gill then suggests that the belief system and powerful iconography of Catholicism could provide the paradigm for a socially purposive and relevant art form. He continues:

All art is propaganda, for it is impossible to do anything, to make anything which is not expressive of value... There is no escape from this. Am I saying that painters must only paint pictures of starved Welsh miners? Of course I am not. But I am saying that no painter can paint a picture without being a propagandist for something, and that, therefore, no decent Catholic painter could paint a picture whose effect was to add another buttress to the bourgeois.⁶⁹

The area in which Gill does make common cause with the other contributors (Klingender, Lloyd and West) is the assertion that art for art's sake formalism is used to justify and rationalise more concealed ideological values. He continues:

⁶⁷ R  my (1999) 19. Breton stated that it was 'indispensable, however, that art regain its independence if the artist wishes to escape serious contradictions objectively harmful even to the idea which he wishes to serve.'

⁶⁸ Gill's messianic conception of the subversive potentiality of religion owes much here to William Blake's polemics. MacCarthy (1990) 47.

⁶⁹ Gill (1935) 48.

Of course the painter doesn't say to himself: now I'm going to do a spot of propaganda for the idle rich. He'd be ashamed to. So he has to wrap himself in art jargon instead, and talk about another kind of values – tone values, formal relations, the relation of masses, and so his work becomes propaganda for studio values.⁷⁰

Conceptually, Gill's essay is the most unsophisticated and idiosyncratic within the anthology.⁷¹ At times, its prose style and earnest tone verges towards that of a catechism, but its inclusion within what is otherwise a largely hard-line statement of Communist cultural orthodoxy, appears to demonstrate the AIA's aesthetic inclusivity. That said, interpreted more pragmatically, Gill's inclusion might equally be seen as a calculated and pragmatic gesture towards consensus at the time of the Popular Front mandate.⁷² Gill's biographer, Fiona MacCarthy, notes that his concept of art and design as socially purposive stemmed from the earlier traditions of the arts and crafts movement of which he remained a lifelong advocate.⁷³ She writes:

Art and production; workers' responsibility for what they manufactured; democracy of labour and workshop profit-sharing: all these were very much the topics of the day in the more advanced craft circles in which Gill was by then moving. The logical conclusion—workers' control of the factories themselves – arrived for Gill only in the 1930s, in his most thoroughgoing communistic phase'.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Gill (1935) 47.

⁷¹ Morris and Radford (1983) 14, note that Gill was a visitor to the first AIA exhibition, *The Social Scene*, and appears to have been impressed, subsequently writing a supportive review for *The Catholic Herald*. This may well have occasioned the introductions which resulted in his subsequent anthology contribution.

⁷² Morris and Radford (1983) 2.

⁷³ MacCarthy (1990) 71.

⁷⁴ MacCarthy (1990) 71.

MacCarthy suggests that Gill's political interventions, as a polemicist and romantic, reflected his central conviction that modern capitalism was fundamentally 'inauthentic to the needs of man'.⁷⁵ Whilst there is no record of Gill's actual membership of the AIA, his belief in the integration of art and life was sufficiently communistic (with a small c) to have justified inclusion, even if in fact it reflected a conservative and pre-industrial sensibility.⁷⁶

Alick L. Lloyd's essay, 'Modern Art & Modern Society' explores the sociology of modern art and begins by exploring Plekhanov's statement of the materialist base versus superstructure formula.⁷⁷ Lloyd's essay starts by cautioning against a reductive application of Marxist judgements which fail to take account of more complex aesthetic determinations and mediations.⁷⁸ However, despite the opening caveat, Lloyd's essay asserts the commodified and complicit nature of modern art under capitalism. The rest of the text continues this determinist position:

The modes of material production and consumption determine the modes of spiritual production. So art is forced away from the affairs of man to float—not in the air, that would be too romantic, too emotive, too *vieux jeux*, but in some exquisite vacuum.⁷⁹

The essay then excoriates several of the canonical figures associated with European modernism (including Braque, De Chirico, Gris, Kandinsky, Mondrian,

⁷⁵ MacCarthy (1990) 134.

⁷⁶ MacCarthy also makes the point that Gill had a lifelong commitment to the values of the Dominican order (the order especially charged with the teaching and preaching of Christ's mission). In this regard, the instructional motive behind organisations like the AIA would have been attractive, even if its ideology was less so.

⁷⁷ Alick Lloyd (1935) 53–71. Although unreferenced, the extracts appears to have been taken from Plekhanov's *Art and Social Life*, translated and published by Lawrence & Wishart (1935).

⁷⁸ Lloyd (1935) 54.

⁷⁹ Lloyd (1935) 55.

Picasso), for colluding in, or mediating through their work, a reactionary false consciousness.⁸⁰ Lloyd closes with a call for a specifically class-based aesthetic which should pragmatically learn from and, where possible, expropriate usable modernist practice:

The existence of a proletariat conscious of its class and fighting for it, is indicative of the rising of a new social order which will require a new order of art adapted to its needs. And just as this new social order will take over and benefit by the machinery of production developed under capitalism, so it is urgent that the new artist should be careful to comprehend and take over all that is valid for him and his class...⁸¹

In summary, Lloyd's text offers a generalised and reductive application of Communist aesthetics to art practice. No indication is given as to the precise style of content of the art of the expected proletarian order, but the text strongly suggests that Soviet Socialist Realism is the paradigm in mind. Reading through the text, one catches the cadences of the routine denunciations of avant-garde art by Soviet cultural authorities throughout the 1930s.⁸² Lloyd also references Plekhanov, who with Engels, is regarded as having played a major role in systematising Marxist cultural theory.⁸³

The anthology's concluding essay is Alick West's 'On Abstract Criticism'. West explores Coleridge's literary work, suggesting that in its conception of imaginative truth, it provides as instructive paradigm of 'literature as a social

⁸⁰ Lloyd (1935) 62–63.

⁸¹ Lloyd (1935) 71.

⁸² Bown (1989) 128–129 and 137.

⁸³ Williams (1977) 3.

activity'.⁸⁴ West's essay was prompted by Professor Ivor Richard's study, *Coleridge on Imagination*, which had made the case for a formalist reading of the author's oeuvre.⁸⁵ Although the only essay in the anthology which is concerned with literature as such, West's approach to form and content mirrors the contribution of his co-Marxists, Lloyd and Klingender. West describes the 'abstract critical' treatment of texts as indicative of another form of false consciousness, that of 'isolated mental states... the commonest form of present day criticism'.⁸⁶ West offers no detailed evaluation or reference to specific visual or written example beyond his chosen author, but his qualified support for a socially based criticism suggests a more tolerant and pluralistic approach to form and content than some of his colleagues. Discussing abstraction he notes:

Abstract art in its extreme forms seems to me to be of a higher quality than abstract criticism. It is more radical, expresses a stronger consciousness of the disintegration of capitalist forms and of the conflicting tensions within society.⁸⁷

Of interest in relation to the approach taken by Klingender is an awareness of a more nuanced inter-determination of form and content. West writes:

The realistic content, which so far from being absent is actually present in negation, is as much the inseparable life of the form as in any work of art. It is just this relation between the apparent absence of content and its felt

⁸⁴ West (1935) 78. As noted in his autobiography (1969) 26, West was interned for a time at Ruhleben camp, outside Berlin, 1914–1918, just prior to the family's emigration, although there is no reference to Louis Klingender (also interned at Ruhleben at the same time) or to Francis Klingender, his contemporary. West spent much of his life in Germany and Switzerland as an academic.

⁸⁵ *Coleridge on Imagination* by I. A. Richards was published by Kegan Paul in 1934.

⁸⁶ West (1935) 81.

⁸⁷ West (1935) 85.

presence in negation, and the infinite possibilities in this relation, that make an abstract picture expressive and give it so much more depth than mere ornament.⁸⁸

Having appeared to concede the potential resonance of abstraction West concludes:

Abstract art dematerialises external reality in the same way, showing it in such a form as to rebuff by the sense of complete strangeness all the associations of social activity...it is a principle of the corresponding aesthetics that no impulse of action should be evoked. And in abstract art also among these dematerialised forms the movement of mystic forms is hinted at.⁸⁹

West seems to be suggesting here that abstract art insinuates a form of false consciousness in its refusal to engage with the actuality of social relations, which West characterises as indicative of indecisive social practice. He concludes:

...abstract artists have been forced into the position of declaring that reality as the subject or object of definite social activity is an irrelevancy. The class which has to change social reality in the theory and practice of its fight is concrete in criticism and creation.⁹⁰

Klingender's essay 'Content & Form in Art', opens by making the case for art as a form of 'social consciousness', in opposition to what he sees as the misplaced

⁸⁸ West (1935) 87.

⁸⁹ West (1935) 86.

⁹⁰ West (1935) 87.

and anachronistic sensibility of 'art for art's sake'.⁹¹ For Klingender, the essence of 'artistic experience' can only be understood by 'relating its historical manifestations to the basic processes of social development'.⁹² Quoting from Marx and Engels' work *German Ideology*, he cites the materialist statement that 'It is not consciousness that determines life, but life that determines consciousness'. Klingender then asserts that art has a social and teleological role which is not merely passive or reflectionist, but that it can be seen as a form of praxis:

Art, however, is more than a reflection of social reality. It is at the same time, and even primarily, a revolutionary agent for the transformation of that reality.⁹³

Klingender approaches the issue of form and content by situating form as expressive of social content and hence, ultimately, of the material base. For Klingender, form cannot have meaning unless it is linked with this social and material causation:

The content of art is an expression of the peculiar emotional and intellectual response of a given social group to the material conditions of its existence, a response that is given an immediately convincing, because emotionally heightened, form in art...Form without content, form torn from its vital source of social existence must necessarily be sterile. The negation of content leaves art a lifeless abstraction doomed to decay. Form is the language by which content is communicated, to remain convincing it must change with every change of the content it is destined to express.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Klingender (1935) 26. Klingender has in mind, among other targets, the art and aesthetics of the Bloomsbury circle here since the initial frame of reference is 'English Art.' Klingender (1935) 25.

⁹² Passages from Klingender (1935a) 26.

⁹³ Passages from Klingender (1935a) 27.

⁹⁴ Klingender (1935a) 28.

Klingender accounts for stylistic variation by locating variations of form as symptomatic of competing and conflicting class interests, concluding the section with the assertion:

Content and form are thus the inseparable poles of a greater unity, the unity of style that has its roots in the mother soil of social reality.⁹⁵

The sections which follow apply this determinist rubric to various pictorial examples and historic periods. Klingender opens by referencing images including David's *The Oath of the Horatii* (1785) as an example of Republican rationalism and the will to power of the new bourgeois order. For Klingender the iconography of such a painting encoded a 'programmatic crystallisation' of the revolutionary slogans of patriotism, reason and justice, conceived as an explicit call to arms of Republican 'gladiators'. For Klingender, the subsequent period of the Directoire signified reaction, Empire and 'Divorce between political action and art and consequent divergence between a more and more academic classicism (history painting) and realism (the bourgeois portrait)'.⁹⁶ French painting of the mid and later nineteenth century is variously read off as a stylistic reflex of the new society with Ingres' work described as a retreat into the 'pure form of romanticised classicism'. Delacroix's aesthetic is characterised as reflecting a 'romantic glorification of the past', and Géricault's work as emblematic of 'opposition of the progressive industrial bourgeois to the Restoration'.⁹⁷

The final pages of 'Content and Form in Art' run through the avant-garde groupings of the nineteenth century, noting Meissonier's *juste milieu* historicism; the Barbizon painters (including Manet and Courbet) as exemplars of 'objective

⁹⁵ Passages from Klingender (1935a) 28.

⁹⁶ Passages from Klingender (1935a) 32.

⁹⁷ Passages from Klingender (1935a) 33.

realism' typified by the social reportage of *Burial at Ornans* (1850) and the *Stonebreakers* (1850). For Klingender, the social relevance of these paintings as examples of objective realism is through the 'political identification of the most advanced bourgeois artists with the Commune'. The essay then moves onto the last thirty years between 1870 and the new century, which is identified with the decisive emergence of 'imperialism, colonisation and capital export'.⁹⁸

The rise of the various shades of Expressionist, Futurist and Cubist avant-gardes is seen as symptomatic of a formalist disengagement from objective reality with no discrimination made between either specific instances or artists. These developments are summarised as retreats into 'absolute subjectivism' in which 'inner meaning' was derived from the 'mysterious realm of the subconscious'. This scenario (sub-titled 'the general crisis of capitalism') is followed by an interim period to 1923 which, according to Klingender, witnesses a 'violent radicalisation' of the avant-garde and its division into divergent lines of 'psychological introspection' and 'activist realism'.⁹⁹ Grosz and Heartfield are represented as linking the two with Otto Dix, Max Beckmann, Wyndham Lewis and Paul Nash included within the latter; the artists Malevich, Kandinsky and Chagall are collapsed into the former.¹⁰⁰ In the closing pages of Klingender's text there is a breathlessness about the prose which accelerates into a peremptory listing of artists' names.¹⁰¹

The concluding pages of Klingender's essay divide into two sections; 'The Temporary Stabilisation Period c.1924–1930' and 'The World Crisis and its Aftermath'. The first briefly describes the consolidation of capitalism; the relative failure of socialist revolution outside Russia and the hegemony of the now 're-established ruling class'. The corollary is seen in the 'reactionary, semi-mystical mannerism of neo-realism and the neo-classicists' typified by the artists associated

⁹⁸ Passages from Klingender (1935a) 34.

⁹⁹ Passages from Klingender (1935a) 37.

¹⁰⁰ Passages from Klingender (1935a) 38.

¹⁰¹ For example, between 37–39 Klingender references no less than twenty one artists and eight movements.

with the Neue Sachlichkeit or 'new realism'.¹⁰² The section concludes with the contention that:

...artists, writers, musicians allied to the working class now began to realise...the new tasks facing the proletarian mass movement...commenced to develop a more convincing approach based on objective reportage and concrete demonstration (Brecht, Péri, Heartfield etc.)¹⁰³

The final section of Klingender's essay, 'The World Crisis and Its Aftermath', starts by stating the 'successful accomplishment of economic and social reconstruction in the USSR' which is compared to the 'collapse of the illusion of capitalist stability'. The emergence of fascism and the re-appearance of national (imperialist) sentiment in Germany are cited as two of the consequences of this slide into economic and social crisis. In visual art, Klingender notes the resurgence of:

Heroic neo-classicism able to reproduce the racial and chauvinist idealism of the fascist appeal in a visual form intelligible to the petty bourgeois masses...¹⁰⁴

Klingender identifies (although does not name) progressive 'English artists (including theatrical and film producers) who today are consciously allying themselves to the working class...to create a new style – utilising all technical achievements of modern art'.¹⁰⁵ However, overall he characterises modern British art's 'frantic flight from content' and social reality as indicative of 'the retrogressive

¹⁰² Passages from Klingender (1935a) 38.

¹⁰³ Klingender (1935a) 39.

¹⁰⁴ Passages from Klingender (1935a) 39.

¹⁰⁵ Klingender (1935a) 40. Certainly one artist who had worked on theatre designs and for whom Klingender appears to have had some respect was Leslie Hurry (1909–1978).

capitalist class' and the perceived crisis of monopoly capitalism as a system.¹⁰⁶ This provides the background to the discussion of content and form which is the essay's central concern. Klingender concludes that irrespective of the innovative formal ambition and progressive intent of much contemporary British art (and its positive effect on human perception), it remains, in his estimation, radically compromised because of its persistent negation of 'content'.¹⁰⁷ He asserts:

...modern art inevitably sinks to the level of pure experimentation for the psycho-physical response of the human organism at the present time to different types of shape and colour patterns: to the level, in fact, of the kaleidoscope and of the Montessori bricks.¹⁰⁸

Klingender concludes:

Far from achieving the emancipation of art, the destruction of content necessarily leads to the destruction also of form – a climax epically symbolised in the white square painted on a white canvass of square shape by the suprematist Malevitch (sic). In its final decay the capitalist class destroys its art, as it destroys its science.¹⁰⁹

'Content and Form in Art' concludes with the aspiration that 'Transfused with the vital energy of the new social content the technical achievements of modern art will at last lead to an undreamed of enrichment of human experience'.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Klingender (1935a) 41.

¹⁰⁷ Klingender (1935a) 43, concedes that 'It is only necessary to look at any ordinary news reel in order to realise how greatly our most elementary responsiveness to shape and sound has been enlarged by the technical discoveries of modern art.'

¹⁰⁸ Klingender (1935a) 43.

¹⁰⁹ Klingender (1935a) 43.

¹¹⁰ Klingender (1935a) 44.

How is Klingender's essay, his first substantive text on art, to be characterised in relation to the cultural orthodoxy of Socialist Realism imposed at the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers' in 1934? Vaughan James provides a useful definition of the genre. He writes:

'Realism' in this sense means art that sets out to present a comprehensive reflection and interpretation of life from the point of view of social relations; 'Socialist' means in accordance with the policy of the Communist Party. Socialist Realism is therefore based on a direct relationship between the artist and the process of building a new society; it is art coloured by the experience of the working class in its struggle to achieve socialism'.¹¹¹

The above definition suggests that socialist realism is a dynamic genre, both in its mediation of a transforming (and transformative situation), and because the given social and economic situation will vary from one country to another.

Klingender's essay clearly asserts the subordination of form to content and his polemic on avant-garde abstraction is certainly consistent with the direction and codification of Soviet aesthetics.¹¹² Additionally, in asserting the primacy of class, Klingender is recognising the central principle of '*klassovost*' the class characteristics of art making and meaning.¹¹³ Similarly, the Marxist-Leninist principle of '*narodnost*' or 'people-ness' is implicit in Klingender's delineation of art in terms of its social-consciousness and engagement.¹¹⁴ References to the third principle of Soviet aesthetics, '*partiinosť*' or party-ness are present insofar as Klingender's reading of capitalist crisis and its outcome are consistent with the political line of the CPSU and the CPGB.

¹¹¹ James (1973) 88.

¹¹² Taylor (1993) 169–182.

¹¹³ James (1973) 1.

¹¹⁴ Klingender (1935a) 28.

However, although Klingender's analysis implies these Marxist-Leninist precepts, nowhere in his text is there explicit reference to (or endorsement of) Soviet Socialist Realism. Given the highly supportive coverage of the 1934 Soviet Writers' Congress within the pages of the *Left Review* in the previous year, and the contributions of Lloyd and West within the same anthology, if Klingender agreed with such a codification, a publication such as *5 on Revolutionary Art* would have been the opportunity to have stated such explicitly. In consideration of which, I would suggest that Klingender's contribution to the anthology was probably expressive of various intentions. Firstly, to introduce a Marxist prospectus, authored for a British audience of fellow travellers and the AIA's largely sympathetic left-wing readership. Secondly, not only to situate contemporary and recent avant-garde practice, but also to rationalise a range of principally French work from the 1780s onwards in relation to a system of class-based Marxist analysis, which formed a different mode of art criticism to the formalist and object-based discourse of Roger Fry.¹¹⁵ Lastly, to contribute to a discussion on what the form and content of a socially relevant and politically committed British art might actually look like.

As suggested in the last chapter, Klingender's interest in photography, cinema and those Soviet artists, like Deineka, who utilised techniques taken from these art forms, was by no means the unthinking re-articulation of Soviet cultural orthodoxy. Although 'Content and Form in Art' is doctrinaire in its highly deterministic statement of Marxist precepts applied to art and aesthetic values, those artists which Klingender actually cites as 'creditworthy' suggest slightly more heterodox tastes. The list is one of German and Hungarian émigrés and worker-intellectuals such as Brecht, Péri and Heartfield. Without exception, each one was *formally innovative* within their given discourse or genre; Brecht for his dramatic formulation of the alienation effect; Péri for his innovative use of concrete as a sculptural medium (**fig. 37**); Heartfield for his use of political photomontage (**fig. 38**).

¹¹⁵ Klingender's essay was authored within a year of Fry's death (1869–1934). Its timing underlining what its author perceived as the outmoded nature of Bloomsbury aesthetics.

Although Klingender does not elaborate the thematic which so clearly informs the choice, it is, I believe, indicative not just of a resonance of Klingender's German background, but it eschews the conservative academic tastes of Soviet Socialist Realism which Klingender hints at in his dismissal of 'heroic neo-classicism'.¹¹⁶ Whilst all were politically partisan and Communist, this is not a list of easel painters, but rather those with an innovative and disruptive approach to modes of realism. If Klingender was looking for a more technically orthodox line-up of politically inspired talent, the AIA's 'three Jameses' – Boswell, Holland and Fitton would have provided just such examples (see for example **figs. 39–41**).¹¹⁷

If Klingender's endorsement of realism is qualified by a commitment to a politically transformative and inflected *form*, his overall premise demonstrates the most obvious intellectual debt to Antal's series of essays which appeared in *The Burlington Magazine* between 1935 and 1941.¹¹⁸ Methodologically the debt to Antal is evident in the former's indexing of artistic styles as reflexes of the ideological outlooks of conflicting social classes and groups. Although, as Carter notes, Antal had yet to publish when he reached London in 1933, he gained a respected reputation among the art historians of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes.¹¹⁹ Klingender explicitly acknowledged his debt and that of contemporaries such as Blunt, to Antal's example, following his mentor's death in 1954. This took the form of a commemorative acknowledgement or extended note of his mentor's influence for the Italian journal *Società*.

A draft of Klingender's text is lodged in the *DLB* archive. As a formal testimonial to intellectual influences and antecedents, Klingender's text starts by noting Antal's own debt to his teachers Riegl and Wölfflin outlined in his *Remarks on the Method of Art History*. Klingender writes:

¹¹⁶ Klingender (1935a) 39.

¹¹⁷ Radford (1998) 28–47.

¹¹⁸ For the most well known of these see Antal (1935) 159–168.

¹¹⁹ Carter (2002) 127, quotes Gombrich's recollection 'Of all the Marxist art historians around, he was by far the most learned and sophisticated. He was very doctrinaire in his political views, but he had a good eye. I remember going with him to an exhibition and was struck by the freshness of his response. He was not a negligible person.'

His purpose was to show how the approach of his teachers, Riegl and Dvořák, differed from the formalist standpoint of Wölfflin, and why all the more progressive scholars in this field are now, in fact, increasingly tending to adopt the former point of view. What he could not sufficiently explain in this context was his own contribution to the theory of art history, a contribution that went beyond that of his teachers in important respects, or why his influence on the work of the younger English scholars was so profound, as soon as he arrived among us in 1933... In rejecting the isolation of art from other spheres of life, Riegl and Dvořák did not reject the study of artistic form. On the contrary, they developed an exceedingly refined technique for its study, while insisting that the form of any given work could only be interpreted historically and even appreciated, if it was related to the aesthetic values and general *weltanschauung* of its own time and place... Riegl and Dvořák were not relativists. For they believed firmly in an underlying process of evolution, embracing both art and general thought, which they interpreted in a profound sense as a broadening and deepening of men's total awareness of nature.

But to many of us Antal's work was also profoundly inspiring because he taught us how to use the methods of Marx, not as a substitute for concrete study (a tailor's dummy of imaginary history, as Engels said), but as a technique for discovering the significant pattern in the facts themselves.¹²⁰

From Klingender's words it is clear that Antal provided both him and other contemporaries with a 'system' which could account for stylistic development as part of the dialectical framework provided by Marxism. From the publication of 'Content and Form in Art' onwards, Klingender's close indexing of artistic style to the relative class and socio-economic position of its patrons and audience

¹²⁰ Klingender typescript, *A Note on Frederick Antal (1884–1954)* 1954 1–3.

becomes more specific. Whilst it could be argued that both Antal and Klingender were correct in identifying the materiality of art-making as a practice which encoded various ideologies, both that of artist and patron, what should have been an interpretative and flexible tool to assist in historical analysis, had frequently tended to become a set of pre-suppositions which masked the specificities of individual cases, or homogenised the motivations of artists and patrons.

The first example of art criticism which followed 'Content and Form in Art' was Klingender's article for *Left Review*, titled 'Revolutionary Art Criticism'.¹²¹ Its subject was a recent exhibition of sculpture by the Soviet artist Dmitri Tsapline (1890–1967) which he used as an opportunity to map out what he perceived to be the basis of art criticism.¹²² Taking issue with an earlier review article by Montague Slater, Klingender queried whether Tsapline's stylised shapes actually derived from organic shapes and forms (**fig. 42**). Klingender asserts:

All art, even the most abstract is socially relevant, it has meaning in terms of the social reality in which it arose. But this relevance can be of a positive or a negative kind, or it can hide them and provide escape from them. A third possibility is the open support of reaction at any given historical phrase (feudal, imperialist, fascist, etc.). For the working class today only the first type has positive relevance, but it is clear that for the fascists, e.g., this is true of the third type, especially as it is accompanied by an apparent struggle against 'reaction' as represented by the second 'art for art's sake' type of art.¹²³

Klingender seems to be suggesting here that the test of whether art has 'positive'

¹²¹ Klingender (1935d) 38–40.

¹²² Dmitri Tsapline returned to Soviet Russia in 1935, having left his adopted home in Spain after the outbreak of civil war. The exhibition referred to here was a presumably a retrospective show of work completed in the twelve years since he had left the Soviet Union. Bown (1991) 135.

¹²³ Klingender (1935d) 39.

relevance is determined by its political 'tendency' or rather its willingness to suffuse its *form and content* with what the workers' struggle is perceived (by the Marxist critic) to be about. Whilst Klingender's categorisation of styles as an index to competing and conflictual class relations affirms Antal's approach to the history of style, it also indicates that the artistic paradigm he has in mind is not necessarily the conservative academic one of the socially engaged easel painting. For example, in a riposte to Slater's praise of a naturalistic example of Tsapline's sculpture (*Red Soldier*), Klingender makes a revealing counter:

His lions and other beasts of prey were unmistakably inspired by museum exhibits, not by life....he has lost all solid ground from beneath his feet and is left with the empty husk of mystical, idealized abstractions. Remove the Soviet Star from the helmet of the *Red Soldier* and you are left with a head that might have been taken straight from any one of a whole series of Bismark towers and similar monuments of Wilhelmine Germany.¹²⁴

It is evident from this statement that Klingender is not endorsing or calling for the heroic-kitsch of Soviet Socialist Realism, but is arguing for an authentic form and content rooted 'in the mother soil of vital experience'.¹²⁵ Klingender subsequently argues that the immediate task of art criticism is to identify a 'truly revolutionary style' which cannot be found in the 'dreamland of abstraction', but has to be derived from the observation and engagement with class experience.¹²⁶ He continues:

...the artist *must* find a new content if he is to continue to work at all – for there is no such thing as form without content – the Marxian critic must

¹²⁴ Klingender (1935d) 39.

¹²⁵ Klingender (1935d) 39.

¹²⁶ Klingender (1935d) 40.

convince him that only the class struggle pervading every sphere of our existence, only the aim of the working class to establish a new social order can enable him to find vital content for art today. Any return to the content of the past must lead to sterile reaction both socially and artistically'.¹²⁷

Klingender concludes:

More concretely speaking a revolutionary critic can only judge the *content* of art by the profundity of its social experience and its *form* by the degree to which it succeeds in transmitting the inspiring message of that experience to the working class and its allies.¹²⁸

Klingender returned to what he perceived as the bankruptcy of bourgeois art criticism in a subsequent *Left Review* article, titled 'On Generalizations'.¹²⁹ However, the article is important because it communicates and elaborates Klingender's belief in art as a mediator and expression of class consciousness and the inherent limits of conventional iconography which is perceived as isolating art from its social causation. Considering the nature of avant-garde 'isms', Klingender writes:

Their ephemeral character and narrowness alone would suffice to convince us that these theories cannot penetrate to the core of art to-day, that they are "vulgar" generalizations of the surface forms of the various art movements that give rise to them. It is patent for all to see that the bourgeois of to-day is incapable of forming any consistent scale of

¹²⁷ Klingender (1935d) 40.

¹²⁸ Klingender (1935d) 40.

¹²⁹ Klingender (1935e) 122–126.

aesthetics, just as it is incapable of creating any unified style in its artistic practice.¹³⁰

Klingender discusses the work of George Grosz which, for its 'merciless exposure' of German bourgeois norms, is given qualified endorsement, but he continues:

On the other hand it is an undeniable fact that just because his form was so advanced, because it emerged from the break-up of bourgeois form rather than from his own concrete experience of the working class itself, Grosz never succeeded in being more than an ally of the workers; despite its content, his art was never really felt by the great mass of the workers themselves to be fully their own.¹³¹

What Klingender means by Grosz's 'advanced' form is unclear here as is the validity or otherwise of the claim concerning the artist's status for the generality of the working class. However, of relevance is Klingender's evident belief that a truly authentic socialist art form was still in formation and would only be achieved once a classless society had been realised. Speaking of this, Klingender continues:

But at the same time the vital experience, which for the first time since man emerged from the primitive stage will be the experience of all, will be totally different from any experience of the past. That is why the art of the classless society will also be an entirely new art.¹³²

¹³⁰ Klingender (1935e) 123.

¹³¹ Klingender (1935e) 124–125.

¹³² Klingender (1935e) 125.

The text concludes by identifying a small tranche of (un-named) artists who Klingender believes, having passed through abstraction, 'are finding in the vital experience of the struggle for emancipation the new content'.¹³³

In both the articles considered here, Klingender concedes the generality of the discussion and, implicitly the paucity of specific visual example. As the above quote indicates, this is rationalised by the conviction that the art form of the classless society is yet to be visualised. For this reason, the third essay which Klingender signals in a closing footnote to this text attempts to demonstrate the 'dialectical' method applied to a specific iconographical form through time.

'The Crucifix: A Symbol of Medieval Class Struggle' was duly published in the January 1936 edition of *Left Review*.¹³⁴ As its title suggests, Klingender's essay explores the changing iconography of the crucifix in the context of the evolving religious, feudal and mercantile cultures from the twelfth century onwards. Klingender argues that the early and highly stylised depictions of Christ on the Cross (he makes reference to limewood crucifixes from his native Germany – see **figs. 43–45**), are demonstrations of the remote and unimpeachable authority of the church and of the feudal structure which supported it. As the Reformation and Counter-Reformation unfolds, the religious and political struggles and the conflicting world views are expressed in competing perceptions of how the iconography of the cross should be expressed. So, for example, the extreme realism of Matthias Grünewald's depiction of Christ in the Isenheim altarpiece (1509–11), the radical transposition of the spiritual and the transcendental into terms of 'physical torture', is seen as directly analogous to the retributions being made to those who challenged feudal and religious authority. Klingender writes:

The death of Christ was no longer the sacrifice of the son of God: it was the torture there, and at that moment of the peasant masses, the fiendish terror

¹³³ Klingender (1935e) 125.

¹³⁴ Klingender (1936a) 167–173.

meted out in those years to the heroic leaders of the peasant revolt.... Thus the problem of salvation was stripped of its mystic, transcendental cloak – it was now solely the problem of earthly emancipation from class suppression, its achievement was the task of the suppressed masses themselves.¹³⁵

Similarly, later depictions of Christ on the cross such as those by a follower of Peter Paul Rubens (**fig. 46**) are seen as expressive of the emerging bourgeois 'rationalism' and the development of the new social relations and different forms of class struggle.

Klingender's essay is an insightful Marxist account into the perceived social origins of style and examples how insights developed by Antal could be applied to specific iconographical forms through time.¹³⁶ However, Klingender, aware of the wider context of worsening international tension, concedes the apparent remoteness of religious iconography at the outset. With the benefit of historical hindsight, 'The Crucifix: A Symbol of Medieval Class Struggle' might be read as a carefully timed intervention which encodes the wider re-orientation of the period's cultural politics. On the one hand, the primacy of class conflict was the organising metaphor for the New Line mandate which remained the Comintern's 'official policy' (despite many earlier infractions) until 1935. The adoption of Popular Front politics necessitated the engagement with other political persuasions in the common fight against fascism. Politically, the CPGB had opened up official collaboration with the 'reformist' Labour Party although this had been Pollitt's pragmatic policy agenda for sometime. In terms of cultural politics, the Artists International had similarly changed its nomenclature a year earlier to the Artists International Association in order to (successfully) embrace as many artists, designers and illustrators and fellow travelling cadres as possible.

¹³⁵ Klingender (1936a) 173.

¹³⁶ As noted in chapter one, the subject matter was familiar to its author. Klingender had explored the iconography of medieval crucifix groupings in his native Germany in articles Klingender (1924–25).

In this changing context, Klingender's 'The Crucifix: A Symbol of Medieval Class Struggle' offers an intriguing perspective. On the one hand, its underlying thematic respected the old mandate or Comintern orthodoxy of class against class. However, Klingender's explicit characterisation of early Christianity as Communitarian and revolutionary suggests an historic common cause between Marxist politics and the moral framework of the early church.¹³⁷ This could be read as being calculated to appeal to the middle ground of the reformist Labour Party and the broader context in which the Anglican church was the official religious expression of the establishment.

Whilst this may seem to be an oblique reading and contextualisation of this essay, I would suggest that Klingender, ever sensitive to the obligations of art history to mediate and reflect contemporary, as well as illustrative historical struggles, would have been well aware of the symbolic and actual resonances of his writing for a politicised audience pre-disposed to such mediations. In support of this reading, I would cite, for example, his monograph, *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, which, although published in 1948, was actually completed in 1940.¹³⁸ Symbolically, Klingender had first begun to research and publish on Goya during the Spanish Civil War.¹³⁹ Throughout the conflict, the Republican cause had galvanised the British left, the CPGB and the AIA.¹⁴⁰ As a non-combatant, the Goya monograph can be seen as a Klingender's proxy intervention for the Republican cause. It is tempting to read some of its chosen paintings and illustrations as emblematic of Klingender's own political beliefs (**figs. 47–49**).

¹³⁷ Such rhetoric was not limited to Klingender. For example, Lunarcharski is quoted as claiming that 'if Christ were alive today, he would be a Bolshevik.' Bruce Lockhart (2003) 186–187.

¹³⁸ This book was first published by Sidgwick & Jackson in 1948 and reprinted in 1968. Williams (1976) acknowledged the personal influence of Klingender's book and the impulse behind it when he wrote 'It was in 1948 a vigorous, pioneering essay in the Marxist mode. Its handling of the problem is too simplistic, but it remains a powerful, rich and generous book by a remarkable and attractive man.' 185.

¹³⁹ Klingender (1938b) and (1940a).

¹⁴⁰ Morris and Radford (1983) 31–33.

Klingender's *Marxism and Modern Art*

Klingender's book, *Marxism and Modern Art: An Approach to Social Realism*, published in 1943, was the third in a series of cheaply produced pamphlets published by Lawrence & Wishart which explored aspects of Marxism for the general public.¹⁴¹ Other contributors included the Cambridge Marxist historian Maurice Dobb and the classics scholar George Thompson.¹⁴² The context of Klingender's essay was very different to that of the later 1930s insofar as the Soviet Union was now in active alliance with the imperial European powers and America in a world war against Germany. It was a period in which the membership of the CPGB reached its height, buoyed by the successful defence of Stalingrad and the encirclement and surrender of the German Sixth Army to Soviet forces in January of that year.¹⁴³

The longest of Klingender's essays, *Marxism and Modern Art*, provides the most detailed source of Klingender's approach to aesthetics and those thinkers whose work and view he admired. Its sub-title ('An Approach to Social Realism') is important because it underlines Klingender's qualified support of realist modes of art practice. The essay opens with a lengthy attack on the art for art's sake formalism associated with Roger Fry which Klingender claims as having defined 'English art since 1910', and which is seen as having displaced the art of authentic chroniclers of 'contemporary social life' such as Hogarth, Gillray and Rowlandson.¹⁴⁴ The attack on idealistic aesthetics is broadened by reference to the 'uncompromising realism' which Klingender associates with the literature of nineteenth century France and Russia and with the work of the Russian critic and

¹⁴¹ Saville and Bellamy (1993) 163. In what may have been an unintentional similarity, Klingender's title recalls the phrasing of Bukharin's *Marxism and Modern Thought* (1935).

¹⁴² Maurice Dobb (1900–1976) An active CP member since the 1920s, Dobb was a research student at the LSE between 1922–24, just prior to Klingender's arrival from Germany. He subsequently returned to Cambridge where he worked as an academic economist. See: Kaye (1984) 6. George Thompson was a member of the Communist Party Historians' Group and was among the co-authors, with John Saville, of the book, *Democracy and the Labour Movement*. Kaye (1992) 13.

¹⁴³ For an account of the CPGB's change in policy from pacifist to pro-war see King and Matthews (1990) 13–44. Also for the German Surrender see: Beevor (1999) 396–405.

early sociologist Nikolai Chernyshevski.¹⁴⁵ Klingender cites the latter's *The Aesthetic Relation of Art to Reality* (1855) as having radicalised Russian approaches to the nature of the artist's social and moral obligations. Klingender claimed Chernyshevski as a 'great forerunner of Russian revolutionary socialism' claiming that he judged:

the significance of a work of art..[as] proportional to the comprehensiveness and truthfulness with which it faces and attempts to resolve the problems set by life.¹⁴⁶

Klingender claims that in order to achieve an 'inspiring and significant image' the artist should:

Endeavour to create an authentic documentary image of the living reality before him. To achieve this he should study the actual reality before him. To achieve this he should study the actual soldiers of the 8th Army at their daily work...he should observe...living characters with all their idiosyncracies – say the London busman who is now driving a tank or the Australian gunner– the more real and therefore also the more typical and universally significant his image will be felt to be.¹⁴⁷

Klingender asserts that art should capture both the specificity of detail (the particular) and also a broader theme or historical issue (the general). He concludes

¹⁴⁴ Klingender (1977) 7–11.

¹⁴⁵ Nikolai Chernyshevski, Russian critic and early sociologist (1828–1889).

¹⁴⁶ Klingender (1977) 25.

¹⁴⁷ Klingender (1977) 23.

this characterisation by noting:

Art is thus a striking and at the same time a peculiarly revealing illustration of the key conception of dialectics, the unity of opposites. For in art the particular becomes the general, the general reveals itself in the particular, and it is the unity of the particular and the general, expressed in the unity of content and form, which makes art an inexhaustible source of significant experience.¹⁴⁸

For Klingender, the style of art that most directly reflects these injunctions is variously expressed through realist painting, folk-art or satire. What justifies this aesthetic in Klingender's mind is that in seeking to transform observable reality, such art is not accepting its subject as given and independent of human consciousness, but rather its recognises reality as dependent on human agency and 'practical activity'.¹⁴⁹

The essay continues with a statement of what Klingender regards as the operative basis for Marxist judgements of aesthetic value. The first, it is claimed, is made on the 'relative' basis of the origins of the work and the social class that its outlook reflects.¹⁵⁰ The second or 'absolute' test is whether the relative value identified 'contains a kernel of objective truth'.¹⁵¹ Klingender holds Hogarth to be an exemplar of both a relative standard ('Hogarth's images reflect the outlook of the great mass of the English people during the Walpole era') and confirmatory of the absolute one since the satiric intention was assumed to be towards the collective and progressive social good. Klingender therefore accords Hogarth the status of the 'outstanding figure in British art'.¹⁵² Klingender cites a second illustration of this

¹⁴⁸ Klingender (1977) 23.

¹⁴⁹ Klingender (1977) 26.

¹⁵⁰ Klingender (1977) 42.

¹⁵¹ Klingender (1977) 42.

¹⁵² Klingender (1977) 44–45.

approach by citing Lenin's recognition of Tolstoi as a great writer despite his political views because his writing allegedly recognised the 'essential aspects' of the epoch.¹⁵³ In recognising this distinction, Klingender is asserting the principle of 'typicality' which, as Williams notes, was associated with the 'new doctrines of realism' asserted by the Russian aestheticians Belinski, Chernishevski and Dobrolyubov.¹⁵⁴ According to this definition, the 'typical' is that which is 'fully characteristic' or fully 'representative' of a given situation; that 'which concentrates and intensifies a much more general reality'.¹⁵⁵ In the context of Socialist Realism, this theory was used to support the idea of the 'future man' and to emphasise the dynamic and historically constituted nature of social change.¹⁵⁶

The final section of Klingender's essay opens by claiming a 'continuous tradition of realism' within art history which reflected the 'productive intercourse between man and nature which is the basis of life'.¹⁵⁷ Klingender identifies a 'secondary tradition' which covers 'spiritualistic, religious or idealistic art', and the category of abstraction.¹⁵⁸ He claims that these traditions, associated with the divisions of labour generated by the capitalist system, will 'vanish' with the coming of the 'Communist world'.¹⁵⁹ In the closing section of the essay, Klingender unambiguously identifies realism as 'the only standard which can bring art back to the people today'. Quoting Lenin, he continues:

Art belongs to the people. Its roots should penetrate deeply into the very thick of the masses of the people. It should be comprehended by the

¹⁵³ Klingender (1977) 45.

¹⁵⁴ Williams (1977) 101. Williams notes the more general definition first given to this idea by Taine who situated it in terms of an 'ideal' type or hero in literature. This in turn was seen as having derived from Aristotle's idea of universals, or those recurrent aspects of the human condition.

¹⁵⁵ Williams (1977) 101.

¹⁵⁶ Williams (1977) 102.

¹⁵⁷ Klingender (1977) 47.

¹⁵⁸ Klingender (1977) 47.

¹⁵⁹ Klingender (1977) 48.

masses and loved by them. It should unite the emotions, the thoughts and the will of these masses and raise them to a higher level. It should awaken artists in these masses and foster their development.¹⁶⁰

The final quote is from William Morris's book *The Art of the People*:

But I will say at least, Courage! For things wonderful, un hoped for, glorious have happened even in this short while I have been alive. Meanwhile...if the hours be dark...do not sit deedless...but set our workshop ready against tomorrow...when the world...shall have a new art, a glorious art, made by the people and for the people, as a happiness to the maker and the user.¹⁶¹

Despite the essay's title, 'Modern Art' understood as contemporary (1940s) practice makes no appearance in Klingender's text. It could be argued that in disparaging and homogenising formalist theory which is associated with Roger Fry, Klingender perhaps perceived that he was in fact tackling the presuppositions of all modern abstract British art. However, notwithstanding the prevalence of British and émigré inspired abstraction in these years, it remains questionable whether Fry or the Bloomsbury ethos of the 1920s did in fact continue to exercise the influence Klingender implicitly attributes to it by the early 1940s.¹⁶² Secondly, whilst Klingender's citing of Soviet antecedents and authorities looks unimpeachable (Lenin, Plekhanov and Stalin are all mentioned), there is no explicit or clear endorsement of the Soviet model of Socialist Realism by name, although narrative

¹⁶⁰ Klingender (1977) 49.

¹⁶¹ Klingender (1977) 49.

¹⁶² Harrison (1981) explores the Euston Road School in a postscript to his study of English art (333–343). However, he does note (334) that in 1931, members of the Bloomsbury coterie such as Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant together with Augustus John and John Nash, had offered 'moral support' to the movement by sponsoring an early prospectus. Perhaps Klingender had some of these loose associations in mind?

realism remains Klingender's preferred artistic model.¹⁶³ Given the caveats and qualifications from the earlier texts already discussed this is unsurprising. However, what is appreciable from this essay is a clear preference for national forms of popular or folk art and satire. Given the subject of Klingender's next monograph *Hogarth and English Caricature* (1944), he may have had in mind eighteenth century British satire as a parallel for a lost age of national unity and popular revival.¹⁶⁴ This had certainly been the explicit rationale behind Klingender's exhibition catalogue of Soviet and British caricatures, *Russia: Britain's Ally 1812–1942*, published in 1942.¹⁶⁵ In the accompanying text to the exhibition Klingender had written:

The valour of the guerillas immortalised by Goya...and the Russian peasants of 1812 lives anew in the Russian guerillas of to-day and in the unbeaten people of Yugoslavia. And in France and Belgium, Holland and Norway, in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Greece, and in Germany too, legions of brave men are only waiting for the hour when they will emulate the heroism of the men of St. Nazaire.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Klingender (1977) 32–49.

¹⁶⁴ Klingender (1944a). The volume was dedicated to Millicent Rose whose extensive collection of original eighteenth century prints Klingender had used to illustrate the book. In a postscript to this, during the 1977 interview with Saville, Millicent Rose stated that Klingender had taken her collection of prints with him when the relationship ended in 1944, claiming that he had a greater 'moral' right to them because of the research he had undertaken. Klingender subsequently sold the collection to the British Museum in 1948 for £60 See: Bindman (2006) 10.

¹⁶⁵ Klingender (1942a).

¹⁶⁶ Klingender (1942a) 15.

The point of international unity was underlined by the book's preface which had been provided by the Soviet Ambassador to London, Ivan Maisky.¹⁶⁷ Whilst Klingender's engagement with native art traditions should be seen in the wider context of allied and Soviet struggle, the similarities require qualification. As Figes notes, during the Soviet Union's embattled status and as part of Stalin's call for a 'national patriotic war' various concessions were made to the pre-revolutionary Czarist regime and the invoking of nationalist traditions and identities which had been previously subordinated to a more collective Communist identity.¹⁶⁸ This is not to suggest that the celebration of national schools and genres of art, whether the English folk song revival of the 1930s and 1940s or Klingender's advocacy of English satire was subject to the same pragmatic calculations, but there was within the CPGB, militantly pro-war since Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, an awareness of the need to galvanise and maintain a political consciousness if the bastion of Communism was to be successfully held against fascism.¹⁶⁹

It might be suggested that such a priority, that of establishing a politicised canon of national artists partly accounts for Klingender's elision of more contemporary art practice so evident within *Marxism and Modern Art*. However, such a strategy of reclaiming national iconic artistic figures was not one limited to Klingender's adopted country. As mentioned earlier, Klingender's advocacy of Goya stretched back to the Popular Front era of 1938. Similarly, his article on Daumier and his polemic against duplicitous Vichy politicians ('France 1870 and

¹⁶⁷ Maisky had probably known Klingender from the latter's time at Arcos or possibly earlier – from membership of the SCR. The theme of national reconstruction was to be indeed present in ways which Klingender could not have been aware. Maisky, following a meeting with Stalin in July 1943, was dispatched back to London in order to initiate discussions on what Germany's future frontiers should be, and to publicise the Soviet decision to concede East Prussia and Danzig to Poland. Deutscher (1990) 488.

¹⁶⁸ Figes (2002) 489.

¹⁶⁹ It remains an open question whether Klingender's martial enthusiasm was ultimately for a Soviet victory and then a Soviet-imposed peace than for a successfully defended (and ultimately victorious) Capitalist Great Britain. Given the simple imperatives of defeating fascism as the enabling condition for all other eventualities, it seems reasonable to assume that these were theoretical considerations which could be deferred.

1940') appeared in *Picture Post*, in November 1940, during Britain's so-called 'phoney war'.

In a letter from Lynda Morris to Saville, it was noted that Klingender was also a 'very active member' of the 'Hogarth Group', described as a pre-war (1936–39) Communist Party Artists' Group.¹⁷⁰ Its secretary (and subsequent chairman 1946–56) was Reg Turner who recalled:

We chose the name Hogarth because we thought he was a good representative of an English political artist. It was not an attempt to cover up: it was well known that it was a Communist Party artists' group'.¹⁷¹

Its number included high profile members within the AIA such as Quentin Bell, James Boswell, Christopher Cornford, James Lucas, Cliff Rowe, Betty Rea and Nan Youngman. Although there are no surviving records to corroborate this, it seems highly likely given his acknowledged intellectual status within the AIA, and his authorship of a monograph on the artist, Klingender was instrumental in either deciding or influencing the choice of name. As Morris and Radford note, Klingender believed that the AIA had been instrumental in re-introducing a tradition of caricature and satire through the work of members such as Boswell, (Pat) Carpenter, Fitton, Holland, (Gilbert) Spencer and (Carel) Weight. Morris and Radford describe *Hogarth and English Caricature* (1944), organised and planned under AIA auspices by Klingender, as having inaugurated a new kind of exhibition. They note:

There were few precedents for this kind of exhibition. Prior to the founding of the Arts Council, most historical exhibitions had followed a conventional

¹⁷⁰ Morris letter (1982).

¹⁷¹ Morris and Radford (1983) 23.

pattern of connoisseurship and art market endorsement.¹⁷²

Klingender's introduction to the exhibition, the first to be held at the AIA's new venue at 83 Charlotte Street, stated:

It is the purpose of this small exhibition of prints and photographs to serve as a reminder that the present aim of bringing art to the people is in the best tradition of British culture. It illustrates the virile movement of English popular art which began with Hogarth and lasted until the beginning of the Victorian era, i.e. throughout the whole period when British painting was acknowledged as one of the leading schools in Europe.¹⁷³

Notwithstanding wartime exigencies, the scope and range of the exhibition appears to have been wide-ranging. The first section explored the influence of medieval satire and the work of Bosch and Breughel on Hogarth's aesthetic. The second, (sub-titled 'The Aesthetic Range of the Hogarth Tradition') considered Hogarth's use of pictorial space and his influence on the aesthetic of Gillray and Richardson.¹⁷⁴ The exhibition's third part, 'The Moral Basis of Hogarth's Art', makes the case for Hogarth's work as representative of the 'most progressive elements in society' with its subject matter likened to the social comment of contemporaries such as Fielding and Defoe.¹⁷⁵ The fourth section, 'Social and Political Caricature after Hogarth', considered the artist's legacy for the genre, including lesser-known figures such as William Austin, John Kay, Richard Newton and Thomas Spence (**figs. 50a–50d**).¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Morris and Radford (1983) 71.

¹⁷³ Morris and Radford (1983) 71.

¹⁷⁴ Klingender (1944a) preface v.

¹⁷⁵ Klingender (1944a) preface vii–viii.

¹⁷⁶ Klingender (1944a) preface (unpaginated).

The book concludes by characterising the authenticity, conviction and relevance of Hogarth's art as symptomatic of a pre-Victorian sensibility:

The essential basis for popular art, a common civilization expressing the moods and aspirations and the way of life of the broad masses of the people, had clearly vanished in Victorian England. It is only now beginning to re-emerge.¹⁷⁷

As Bindman has noted, the brevity and scope Klingender's essay, 'Hogarth and English Caricature', has meant that it now looks 'somewhat oversimplified'.¹⁷⁸

Whilst Klingender cited Hogarth as having been among the most socially 'progressive' artists of his time, Hogarth was, as Bindman has noted, 'in most respects politically conservative, working to uphold the social hierarchies of the day'.¹⁷⁹ Bindman continues:

In his last years (Hogarth)...was himself the butt of satire by more authentic radicals like John Wilkes for his support of the government and his desire for courtly favour. On the other hand Klingender might have answered, as he did with Tolstoy, that Hogarth reveals facets of his own society against the grain of the public attitudes in his prints'.¹⁸⁰

The final book which Klingender authored under the auspices of the AIA, and the publication for which he is probably more well known by, was *Art and the Industrial Revolution*.¹⁸¹ The book arose from the 1945 AIA sponsored exhibition

¹⁷⁷ Klingender (1944) preface xiii.

¹⁷⁸ Bindman (2006) 12.

¹⁷⁹ Bindman (2006) 13.

¹⁸⁰ Bindman (2006) 13.

¹⁸¹ First published in 1947 by Noel Carrington (London).

The Engineer in British Life, a subject suggested by the Amalgamated Engineering Union. In the context of the approaching peace-time re-construction, both in Great Britain and overseas, the subject of the exhibition and the subsequent publication seems particularly relevant. Bindman's essay on Klingender's contribution to British art provides an incisive characterisation of this book, from which this brief summary will draw.¹⁸² Bindman attributes to this publication the rehabilitation of the artist John Martin and that of the illustrator J.C. Bourne, in addition to Joseph Wright of Derby. The book's premise is that the industrial revolution and Victorian capitalism engendered 'a new artistic canon, based not on London but on the original industrial areas of England, the Midlands and the North'.¹⁸³ Similarly, the subject matter became the construction of canals, railways and industrial innovations which assisted in transforming both nature and capital (**figs. 51–53**).

As suggested in the first chapter of this thesis, the highly industrialised and heavily populated 'working' landscapes which Klingender characterises in *Art and the Industrial Revolution* were surely reminiscent of Goslar and the Harz mountain hinterland which Klingender would have recalled from his youth (**figs. 54–55**). But principally it seems reasonable to assume that Klingender saw in these industrialised subjects and themes analogous to those of Soviet art during the imposition of the five year economic plans.¹⁸⁴ As suggested in chapter four, Klingender's interest in Soviet artists like Deineka and Pimenov stemmed from the belief that the subject-matter of their work was in part expressive of new technological developments.¹⁸⁵ Bindman qualifies this reading in relation to Wright of Derby noting, for example, that inventions depicted in his paintings such as the air pump, the orrery and the trip hammers were not 'new or even recent...science

¹⁸² Bindman (2006) 15–25.

¹⁸³ Bindman (2006) 16.

¹⁸⁴ Elton's preface to the revised edition of 1968 makes this connection explicit.

¹⁸⁵ By this I mean the inclusion of, or reference to, subject matter which suggests progressive change. An example would be Pimenov's 1935 painting, titled *New Moscow*, which shows a view of central Moscow from the passenger seat of a two seater sports car. Irrespective of the actuality or otherwise of such private car ownership in this period, the ethos is optimistic and forward looking.

or technologies'.¹⁸⁶ In his wish to claim Wright as a 'progressive artist' in the mould of Hogarth and Rowlandson, Klingender either overlooked or was not aware of some of these distinctions. It should also be noted that *Art and the Industrial Revolution* was written and published within two years of the original exhibition. Whilst this is not to exonerate such oversights, it does suggest that Klingender was working on the text during wartime constraints and during the same period as he was researching the texts and images for *Marxism and Modern Art*, *Hogarth and English Caricature* and *Russia – Britain's Ally 1812–1942*, in addition to ongoing organisational, employment and peripatetic teaching commitments for the Ministry of Home Security, the AIA, the Army Education Corps and various Worker Educational Associations.¹⁸⁷ Whilst these omissions may well have served to support Klingender's particular reading of British art, and his own ideological pre-conceptions, it should nevertheless be noted that such publications were achieved in difficult and highly pressured circumstances.¹⁸⁸

There are, however, broader methodological weaknesses apparent within *Art and the Industrial Revolution* which arise from the simplified grafting of social and economic categories onto more dynamic and complex phenomena. This is particularly evident, as Bindman notes, with Klingender's reading of the industrial revolution as a 'self-contained historical entity'. Bindman continues:

Whatever the inventiveness of the men of the Midlands and their own sense of a disparate identity, their 'industrial revolution' did not happen in isolation from the financial wealth that had been generated in London earlier in the

¹⁸⁶ Bindman (2006) 17.

¹⁸⁷ This excludes Klingender's other articles and contributions to publications such as *Left Review*, and *Our Time*.

¹⁸⁸ Saville and Bellamy make the point (1993) 168 that Klingender did not achieve any degree of financial security until he gained the sociology lectureship at Hull in 1948. As noted previously in this thesis, he was also responsible for his elderly and financially dependent father until the latter's death in 1950.

century from overseas trade. Nor were they culturally separate from London, despite their occasional contacts with France.¹⁸⁹

Bindman's essay closes with a discussion of Klingender's overly-simplified concept of a 'popular culture' as an entity created by 'the people' which is seen as:

'a kind of stream running through the history of mankind from the earliest time to the present, an autonomous creation by the people as opposed to those of power and wealth'.¹⁹⁰

Klingender's belief in an authentic and class-owned aesthetic practice which is inherently oppositional can be seen as an expression of Marxist idealism, asserting as it does a belief in the progressive primacy of a particular, homogenised class as the subject and object of the historic process. As Bindman suggests, noting Stuart Hall's objection to the interpretation of popular culture as an 'independent formation', there is no such thing as an 'autonomous working class culture as such', but rather one which 'exists in a state of tension in relation to the dominant culture'.¹⁹¹

As noted in other contexts, Klingender's tendency to read and situate art within polarised and inherently antithetical social and political histories was a consequence of a tendency to apply overly reductive Marxist categories to more complex and dynamic historical periods. Bindman concludes by acknowledging the 're-orientation of British art' which *Art and the Industrial Revolution* offers, noting the book's 'sweep and boldness, and the passion with which it is written'.¹⁹² However, I would suggest, that part of the book's resonance stems from its

¹⁸⁹ Bindman (2006) 22.

¹⁹⁰ Bindman (2006) 24.

¹⁹¹ Bindman (2006) 24.

¹⁹² Bindman (2006) 22.

author's conviction that the abstract categories of the labouring mass, the unnamed navvies, weavers and miners, should be accorded their own history. To paraphrase Benjamin, whilst he could not resurrect the shades of the dead or redeem history with eloquent words, Klingender essays a memorial to their having been.

Conclusions

Francis Klingender's involvement with the AIA was among the formative influences of his personal and professional life. Firstly, the AIA provided a continuation of the pacifist, internationalist and pro-Soviet campaign agenda which had previously characterised Klingender's various affiliations at the LSE, the LAI and the SCR. Given the organisations 'inner spine' of CPGB members, Klingender joined an association which sought to bridge the gap between purposive action and art practice. More specifically, and as acknowledged by Misha Black at the outset of this chapter, the AIA started as a grass-roots organisation in which there was evidently a theoretical deficit as regards the finer details of Communist ideology. Within such a context, active CPGB members, like Klingender, may well have exercised an influence disproportionate to their number.

Secondly, the AIA provided Klingender with a supportive, social and organisational framework in which commercial illustration, graphic design and socially engaged illustrations were given primacy over a fine art tradition, although this too was represented in the stages after the inauguration of the Popular Front. The profile of Klingender's writing on art in these years similarly confirms an engagement with, and receptivity to, examples of functional design and illustration beyond the simply political. For example, Klingender wrote two highly sympathetic reviews for *Left Review*; one on a pavement artist called David Burton and the other a profile of the theatre designer, Leslie Hurry. Whilst there is no reason to suggest that Klingender might not have come across and advocated such work in any event, it seems plausible to suggest that his association with the AIA and the organisation's 'broad church' approach to art practice further developed his independence of taste and judgement already appreciable in relation to film and photography (see chapter four).

Thirdly, the AIA provided opportunities for Klingender, not an art historian by formal training, to develop a profile in this academic area by mounting exhibitions; authoring texts and in securing politically sympathetic audiences for lectures and seminars delivered under the organisation's auspices. I would suggest that Klingender's identification of a strand of realism which he associated with a 'popular tradition' of satire and illustration had at least two immediate origins.¹⁹³ Firstly, it can be seen as a mediated response to the Soviet endorsement of social realism in aesthetic practice. This Klingender traced back to the work of eighteenth century British artists like Hogarth and Cruikshank, finding the equivalents for Soviet cartoonists such as Efimov and the Kukryniksi. Secondly, the prominence of AIA satirists and illustrators, many of whom were fellow CPGB members such as Binder, Boswell, Fitton, Holland and Rea, provided a contemporary impetus to see in the genre of politically motivated satire a possible paradigm for a transformative, revolutionary art form. I would speculate that this may account, if only in part, for the absence of any wider referencing of contemporary art practice within the examples considered here. I would hazard a further conjecture which might account for this apparent de-emphasis.

All of Klingender's work referenced within this chapter (and that within chapter four) falls around and beyond the Popular Front period and its associated political alliances and cultural accommodations. Whilst 'Content and Form in Art' (1935) is clearly a Marxist endorsement of a politicised aesthetic, as noted earlier, those artists that Klingender does reference (Brecht, Péri, Heartfield for example), variously combine forms of realism and Communist affiliation with some degree of technical or formal innovation. Whilst none might reasonably be located within the avant-garde of abstract painters and sculptors, neither are they demonstrative of the Stalinised preference for nineteenth century academic naturalism which was the effective outcome of the 1934 Soviet Writers' Congress.

¹⁹³ As noted in chapter one, the example of Klingender's own father who had pursued a meticulous, naturalistic painting style, may have exercised, albeit at a subliminal level, his own preference for narrative and non-abstract modes of art.

I would suggest that one plausible interpretation of Klingender's listing of émigré artists would be to see it as a diplomatic but pragmatic gesture towards fellow travellers and to the cause of Popular Front détente. Given that Klingender's text is explicit in asserting that the future art of any Socialist society is, by definition, yet to be fully realised, such a listing has the (political) virtue of provisionality. To support this reading, Klingender's next essay, 'The Crucifix as a Symbol of the Class Struggle' can be seen as a deft and unsettling combination of Communist dogma (the primacy of class conflict) applied to an ecumenical icon central to Protestant and Roman Catholic belief. Similarly, the caveats that Klingender makes about heroic generalisations in art practice suggest an awareness of the limitations of arbitrarily grafting the academic naturalism of Soviet Socialist Realism into a British context. In this regard, Klingender's advocacy of eighteenth century British caricature and satire can be seen as an attempt to develop an authentic, national tradition for progressive forms of social realist art. Given the dynamic and transformative nature of the Socialist vision, the form and content of such art could be asserted as a testament to possibility.

Chapter Six: A Marxist Iconographer Out of Time c.1947–1955

Introduction

This final chapter will consider Klingender's academic appointment at the University of Hull and the wider Cold War climate. It will evaluate Klingender's probable motivation for leaving the CPGB after 1948 and whether the tenor of his known contributions to some of the AIA debates of the later 1940s provide any indication of the direction of his political thinking in these years. The chapter will consider the case for suggesting a re-orientation in the themes and motivation of Klingender's late work, particularly his essay 'St Francis and the Birds of the Apocalypse' and the unfinished project *Animals in Art and Thought*. The chapter will conclude with a note of the obituaries which marked Klingender's death.

From October 1st 1948 until his death on July 7th 1955, Francis Klingender was employed as a full-time sociology lecturer in the Department of Economics and Commerce, subsequently the Department of Social Studies, at the University College, Hull.¹ It was to be his first and only full time academic appointment.² Located within the heavily industrialised Humber estuary, Klingender had joined an institution which, in the late 1940s, as Saville recalled, held 'some broadly liberal and radical views,' but which, in Marxist terms, did not

¹ Date recorded on Klingender's death certificate issued by Hull Registrar's Office, copied 29th July 2002 (Certificate No. FC283358). On file there is an exchange of letters over the starting grading of the appointment with Klingender requesting a higher rate to reflect his seniority and experience. In one letter to the Registrar (September 2nd 1948), Klingender cites the responsibility of caring for his aged father as part of the rationale. Although no change appears to have been made in response to the request, he was subsequently granted two increments on the new salary scale from October 1st 1949. Source: Extract from Council Minutes, Supplementation of Salaries, 5.1, 2nd December 1949, Personnel File. A letter to Klingender from the University Registrar (June 8th 1954), states that sociology provision was to be transferred from the Department of Economics and Commerce to the Department of Social Studies. Letter from Klingender's Personnel File, University of Hull. The University College of Hull was incorporated on October 7th 1927, and was founded by the Right Honourable Thomas R Ferens (1847–1930). Source: Unattributed (1955a) 6.

² Klingender's academic employment had always been peripatetic, variously spanning lecture sessions at the Courtauld Institute; adult education courses for London University, weekend and summer schools for Oxford's Extra-Mural Department; courses for the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) and wartime lecturing for the Army Education Corps. Saville and Bellamy (1993) 163.

really begin to radicalise until the mid and later 1960s.³ Recognised as a grant-aided University College in 1946, Klingender joined during a period of rapid expansion for the Economics and Commerce department which was among the academic subjects which attracted a post-war increase in student registrations.⁴ Although the staff post was to provide Klingender with the only financial security he ever knew, it was also an appointment which took him away from the political cadres and cultural life of London which had been his intellectual milieu since arriving in the country in 1926–7.

Aside from Saville who had known of Klingender from his own undergraduate time at the LSE, there were at least two other staff members who would have shared some of Klingender's history. Herbert Read, among the co-contributors to the AIA sponsored *5 on Revolutionary Art*, is listed as having held the Ferens Lectureship in Fine Art during Klingender's tenure.⁵ The existing literature on Read makes no reference to the appointment, suggesting that it may have been a nominal position which was combined with his full-time staff appointment at Edinburgh. Hull had also provided tenure to another CPGB member, Richard Hoggart, who is listed as an extra mural staff tutor between 1946–1959.⁶

Klingender's appointment at Hull

John Saville recalled that Klingender had to be persuaded to accept the post, necessitating a trip to London in order to make the case for applying. Recalling Klingender's appointment, he noted:

³ Saville interview (2002).

⁴ Saville (2003) 79–83. As Saville notes, many such registrations were wartime service deferments, with the intake climbing to an estimated one thousand students by 1949. Klingender's duties are listed on the job description for the sociology lectureship which he gained as 'preparing students for the external degree of the University of London, for the External Diploma in Social Studies and for its own Diplomas in Industrial Administration and Public Administration'. Still awaiting its full charter, which was finally bestowed in 1955, Hull was then reliant on the University College London for the academic validation of its degree programmes. Source: Klingender Personnel File, Hull University Registry.

⁵ Unattributed (1952–1953) 45.

⁶ Hoggart (1990) makes passing reference to his discussions with Klingender in his memoirs; also see conclusion.

This was my doing; at least I had persuaded a reluctant Klingender to apply for the job when it was being advertised. He had three distinguished references and as I had explained to him it was unlikely that anyone on the selection committee would have known about his Marxist reputation.⁷

Saville stated that Klingender had believed that his political affiliations as a longstanding Communist would effectively preclude his appointment.⁸ In the event, his encouragement prevailed and Klingender duly applied for the job, submitting a curriculum vitae and citing three referees. These were Professor Julian Huxley, then Director-General of UNESCO; Professor J.D. Bernal of Birkbeck College and Professor A.C. Hardy of the University of Oxford.⁹ Klingender was appointed as lecturer in the Department of Economics and Commerce. There is a recorded correspondence over the grading of Klingender's appointment which is relevant insofar as it confirms that Klingender was mindful of, or was required to make provision for, his elderly and dependent father.¹⁰

⁷ Saville (2003) 81.

⁸ This conviction may have been prompted by a previous visit which Klingender is now known to have made with Lady Hetta Crouse (subsequently Empson) to Hull in November 1940 where he gave a lecture on Goya and the relationship of his work to the social struggles of the Spanish people (Letter from Lady Hetta Crouse to René Graetz, November 22nd 1940), DEN/3/73, Special Archive Collections, University of Hull.

⁹ Bernal had worked with Klingender at the Ministry of Home Security where the latter had served as a scientific officer at the Princes Risborough unit, although his reference suggests that he had at least met Klingender by 1933, possibly through the AIA's early activities. These are recorded in the *DLB* (1993) 164, which states 'Huxley gave no reference; Bernal was away, and his secretary provided an extract from a previous reference in which Bernal had written 'I have known Dr Klingender for the past fifteen years and have great respect for his intellectual abilities'. Hardy, who liked Klingender and who had met him on a number of occasions, also wrote a supportive recommendation'.

¹⁰ Klingender's personnel records at Hull University offer additional material on the terms and payment of his appointment. Klingender was appointed at the general lecturer grade on October 1st 1948. A copy of a letter to the registrar following confirmation of his job offer, queries the starting salary of six hundred pounds, citing previous publishing experience and academic seniority. Mention is also made of ongoing family commitments, including care of his elderly father Louis Klingender, in support of the case for a revised offer. In the event, for administrative reasons, it proved difficult for a revised offer to be made upon appointment, although an undertaking by the principal is on file agreeing to a review of the situation a year later. Francis Klingender's performance presumably impressed since his personnel file later records the granting of two further increments on the anniversary of his probation (October 1949) supported by his head of department Professor Ian Bowen.

During his time at Hull, Klingender primarily lectured in sociology as a special subject for students taking the BSc Economics degree, validated by the University of London. Other undergraduates would have studied for the External Diploma in Social Studies and for the University College's own Diplomas in Industrial Administration and Public Administration. In a letter dated April 3rd 1949 to his friend Lady Hetta Empson (née Crouse) Klingender writes:

But the best thing which has happened to me is, of course, this teaching job at Hull. ...As you can imagine, I am fully occupied getting my courses worked out as I give them, but after the first two sessions (mine is a two-year course) things will be easier and, above all, I am fascinated by the job of teaching.¹¹

Initially Klingender's teaching responsibilities came under the auspices of the Economics and Commerce Department, but in October 1954, the University Senate transferred these duties to the Department of Social Studies, following a reciprocal trade in Government Studies to Economics and Commerce.¹² Saville recalled his colleague as a diligent and hard working lecturer, noting:

He was very conscientious in his university teaching – the long summaries of ideas and movements he handed out to his students were very carefully prepared and clearly Marxist in their intellectual inspiration.¹³

¹¹ Lady Hetta Henrietta Crouse (later Empson) was involved in the Trades Union movement and in left-wing circles in her native South Africa, where she worked for the BBC. During the timeframe of this letter, she was living in China with her husband, the poet and academic William Empson. My thanks to Steven Spencer, assistant archivist at the Brynmor Jones Archive, University of Hull, for calling my attention to this correspondence, copies of which have just been deposited by Jacob and Mogador Empson (October 2005). Klingender subsequently supported William Empson, then Professor English at Beijing University, for a position at Hull, but his name did not make the Senate shortlist Saville (2003) 81.

¹² Letter from Hull University Registrar (1954).

¹³ Saville and Bellamy (1993) 164.

The *DLB* archive contains the early minutes from meetings of the junior teaching staff. The only references to Klingender from these documents relate to the sociological study of Hull students, later published as *Students in a Changing World*, and the apparent gift of a catalogue listing educational films for use in the teaching of arts and humanities.¹⁴ Klingender is also recorded as the University of Hull's representative on the British Film Council, reprising an interest which had characterised his much earlier work with John Grierson for the British Film Institute.

Klingender and 'Red Spectre Jitters'

There is certainly evidence to suggest that Klingender had achieved a profile as a Communist intellectual at a time when the CPGB remained, as Peter Hennessy notes, among MI5's principal Cold War targets.¹⁵ Evidence to be considered in this chapter confirms that MI5 had noted his appointment at Hull and that a watching brief had been kept on Klingender's activities both throughout the war period (**fig. 56**) and in relation to his final years in Hull. In this context, it is interesting to note that a copy of his obituary which appeared in *The Hull Daily Mail* was forwarded by the Chief Constable to the Home Office within a week of his death.¹⁶ Ironically, Klingender had ceased to be a member of the CPGB seven years previously and his only recorded civil misdemeanour appears to have been a fine for riding a bicycle on a public footpath.¹⁷

In order to understand such attention, it is necessary to consider the context and history to the escalating Cold War tensions. Among the contributory causes were a series of wartime incidents which had generated national security concerns regarding alleged and actual espionage by CPGB members.¹⁸ Subsequently, this had led to interest within the security services and from some within government in the public posts secured by left-leaning intellectuals. It should also be noted that such attention did not just arise from

¹⁴ Klingender (1954b) 1–33 and 91–127.

¹⁵ Hennessy (2002) 98–100.

¹⁶ Telegram from Chief Constable, Hull Constabulary to Parliament Square 11th July 1955. Source: Klingender Security File (unreferenced).

¹⁷ Unpaginated reference in Klingender's security file c.1952/3.

¹⁸ Hennessy (2002) 19–21.

members of the internal security services. Dennis Dworkin in *Cultural Marxism in Post-War Britain*, notes:

The Cold War in Britain never reached the hysterical frenzy of its American counterpart, but it was stamped by the same red-baiting and blacklisting. Within the Left itself, the Labour Party and the trades unions launched campaigns directed at impeding Communist influence. While Communist academics rarely lost their jobs, they were unlikely to find new ones or receive promotions after 1948.¹⁹

The interest taken in Klingender's activities has to be understood as part of what the British security services perceived to be an ongoing battle against internal espionage and subversion, the outcome of which was seen as integral to the future defence of the British State. The ongoing justification for security service interest in members of the CPGB partly stemmed from a high profile case dating from 1943 which had involved a senior CP member. Given the Soviet Union's then allied status, the incident had been of added sensitivity. David Springhall, a national organiser for the CPGB, had been arrested and subsequently convicted under the Official Secrets Act for obtaining sensitive information from a woman in the Air Ministry and from a serving member of the Special Operations Executive (SOE) for 'onward transmission to Moscow'.²⁰ Following this disclosure, MI5 circulated a listing of CPGB members 'known to be engaged in the services or in Government Departments or in the aircraft or munitions industries of some secrecy'.²¹ This inevitably heightened State interest in what was perceived by the various intelligence agencies as the capability of the CPGB for internal subversion.

¹⁹ Dworkin (1997) 16.

²⁰ David Springhall (aka 'Springy') had been a founder member of the CPGB and had attended the Lenin School in Moscow. He had held senior administrative positions within the CPGB before his election as National Organiser in 1940. See: website catalogue entry KV 2/1597 for Springhall. Hennessy (2002) 80.

²¹ Hennessy (2002) 80.

About eighteen months prior to the Springhall case, Klingender, in lieu of active service, for which he appears to have been medically unfit, was employed as a scientific officer at the Princes Risborough research unit under the auspices of the Ministry of Home Security.²² His section head, former CPGB and SCR member and future referee, was J.D. Bernal. Towards the end of 1941, Klingender was seconded to politically and militarily sensitive work on surveys of bomb damage and the effectiveness of the anti-aircraft defences of Birmingham and Hull.²³ The Home Office Record Service have confirmed that Klingender's personnel file (and that of Bernal, his section manager), have not survived.²⁴ However, the Home Office was able to confirm that Klingender was listed as a 'Senior Technical Assistant' at the Ministry of Home Security Staff list for May 1941, although his name had been subsequently struck out, presumably indicating his replacement or departure.²⁵ Precisely when or why Klingender left Ministry service is unclear, but on the basis of the extent of his organisational activities for the AIA from 1942 onwards, he does not appear to have been engaged on full-time government work.

If one looks at contemporary entries in his MI5 file from this period, it is apparent that enquiries were being made as to Klingender's political reliability and whether his correspondence should be placed on a censorship list. A handwritten testimonial from this period, signed by Anthony Blunt (then an MI5 employee), but who appears to have been approached for an assessment of Klingender's character and affiliations, reads:

²² Klingender is known to have suffered from asthma throughout his life. In a letter to Fred Uhlman (August 14th 1940) *DLB* Archive, he notes having just had a 'particularly nasty asthma attack.' He continues by stating that he was awaiting an army medical examination having registered earlier in the summer. A subsequent letter from Hetta Crouse to a friend, Mabel Sharpe (February 12th 1941) Special Collections Archive, Hull (DEN/3/84) records Francis as having had further asthmatic problems.

²³ These results were published in 1942 as *Hull and Birmingham Survey: Quantitative Study of Total Effects of Air Raids* under the auspices of the Ministry of Home Security Research and Experiments Department (2770, April 8th 1942). Much of this information was subsequently incorporated for more public consumption in *Roof Over Britain: The Official Story of Britain's Anti-Aircraft Defences 1939–1942*, Ministry of Information, 1946.

²⁴ Letter from J.M.Lloyd (2005).

²⁵ Letter from J.M.Lloyd (2005).

My contact with him is based on the fact that in addition to being an economist he is an art historian, and we occasionally collaborate in the field. He is a Marxist of great ability, but is somewhat rigid in the application of the doctrine. His manner and appearance are at first sight discouraging and I am not at all surprised to find that he constantly arouses suspicion. However, I would correct the impression that Klingender's activities are clandestine... I am in any case quite confident that he would not do anything disloyal to this country.... The general policy of allowing people like Klingender or Bernal to be in government offices is not my affair.²⁶

Blunt's closing disclaimer suggests that the enquiries were indeed employment related. In turn, this suggests that Klingender's longstanding and openly Communist affiliations (he had been a CPGB member since at least 1931 and probably earlier), may have become an issue given the sensitive nature of the work in which he and Bernal were employed.²⁷

Of more general concern to the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) in the late 1940s was that despite the earlier dissolution of the Comintern, there remained considerable ideological and operational cohesion between the diktats of Soviet foreign policy and the various Communist parties in Western countries.²⁸ Although this was to be tested over subsequent Soviet policy towards 'satellite' countries like Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary, in addition to

²⁶ Carter (2002) 250–252 dates Blunt's recruitment to MI5 as 1940. MI5 security file, entry dated June 7th 1942.

²⁷ Bernal had in fact given up his CPGB membership in 1933, enabling him to operate as an 'independent' although highly sympathetic and supportive scientist to the Communist cause. Werskey (1978) 166. Given the Cold War race to develop increasingly powerful explosive technology, those with a wartime scientific or research background in shelter technology or bomb damage assessment, and who were known to have had left-wing or Communist affiliations, may have been perceived as potential or future security risks. It is in this context that one might read the caveat about Klingender having 'scientist' friends which is made in Maxwell Knight's report on page 251.

²⁸ The Comintern was dissolved in 1943 and was eventually replaced by the 'Cominform,' the Communist Information Bureau. See: Monty Johnstone (1990) 13. Hennessy (2002) 21. The Comintern had been dissolved since the formal alliance between Soviet Russia and its Capitalist allies against fascism rendered its position anomalous. In 1947 it was succeeded by the 'Cominform' or Communist Information Bureau. This comprised the CP's of Eastern and Western Europe the representatives of which met regularly to decide in political activity. See: Eaden and Renton (2002) 104.

the suppression of the 1956 Hungarian uprising, Hennessy locates the 'anatomy of a Cold War state' as emerging in Britain from 1947 onwards partly in response to this perceived connection.²⁹ Additionally, within this period the British security services had also uncovered aspects of Soviet-sponsored wartime espionage which had undermined the ethos of the common cause so much in evidence between 1941 and 1945.

Klingender's appointment at Hull for the start of the Michaelmas 1948 academic term coincided with the Berlin Blockade and an escalation of political rhetoric between the Soviet Union, America and its Western Allies.³⁰ In this regard, and given the context just noted, it is unsurprising that Klingender's move to Hull and confirmation of his address was subsequently noted by MI5, on behalf of which enquiries were then made among students as to his, and Saville's, political sympathies.³¹ From the chronology of the MI5 file, it appears that Klingender's name was flagged up again in 1951 the year in which the double agents Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean escaped to Moscow.³² In the aftermath, there seems to have been a re-investigation of the past reports made by Burgess, presumably in an effort to establish the extent of his espionage activities.

A memo dated July 13th 1951 records that in August of 1941 Burgess had investigated a Hungarian émigré resident in London, by the name of Josef Revai. It appears that this had been a routine check designed to establish whether the émigré in question had pro-German sympathies. In the event, Revai was cleared of suspicion and Burgess made a positive report. However, among his observations, Burgess had noted that Revai had been working in

²⁹ Saville cited this as his reason for finally leaving the CP in 1956. Dworkin also notes here: 'In 1956–57 most of the leading participants in the Historians' Group left the British CP in protest over the Soviet invasion of Hungary and their own Party's unwillingness to reform itself'. There were, of course, far wider repercussions for the British Left: See: Dworkin (1997) 44; Hennessy (2002) preface xiii.

³⁰ Sebag-Montefiore (2004) 590–593. Stalin imposed the Berlin Blockade on June 24th 1948.

³¹ A typed Special Branch memo (undated but referenced cc205/872) records both Klingender's addresses while at Hull. The first was 49 Albany Street and the second, 19 Desmond Avenue, is noted as one recently vacated by (presumably) another person of interest, one Peter William Coysh Maxwell. A typed memo dated July 16th 1952, evidently taken from student testimony, states 'A Dr Klingender, another lecturer on the economic side is also regarded by the students as a Communist sympathiser and the same applies to Mr (sic) Saville'.

³² Carter (2002) 342–345.

Moscow on a pamphlet exploring the economic context of Soviet developments in painting and architecture, an undertaking in which he had received the official assistance of Soviet scholars.³³ In the event the booklet was never published, but the report made by Burgess concluded:

Dr Klingender, a left-wing aesthetician whom Capt. [Anthony] Blunt and I know, was to collaborate in the translation and the publication of the work before the scheme fell through. Further details could doubtless be obtained, if it was thought necessary, by Capt. Blunt from Dr Antal and Dr Klingender.³⁴

Of interest, not least because of what it reveals about the Cold War paranoia following the Burgess and Maclean defections, and the apparent ambiguity of Klingender's status as a Communist *and* art historian, is a hand-written query which concludes 'in describing Klingender as a left-wing aesthetician, Burgess was being deliberately dishonest'. A second signature dated July 26th 1951 is accompanied by a note to the effect that no 'special investigation' would be made in respect of Francis Klingender.

Further file entries confirm that subsequent enquiries were made through the British Embassy in Washington in order to establish information on Klingender's earlier political affiliations from one of his LSE contemporaries, and CPGB organisers, an American national by the name of Frank Meyer. The trawl appears to have risen from an earlier reference to Klingender, (John) Cornford and (Donald) Maclean all being 'mixed up in the federation of student societies'.³⁵ As noted in chapter two, Meyer had long since recanted his Communist views and appears to have been enthusiastically assisting the

³³ Revai is mentioned by Carter as a Hungarian journalist friend of Anthony Blunt and as someone later recruited for the NKVD by Guy Burgess. Carter (2002) 265 and 282.

³⁴ Klingender Security File Ref B2a.

³⁵ Maclean had been a history and language student at Trinity College, Cambridge and was among the early recruits to the Communist Group there. (Carter) 2002 159. It was probably through this association that his involvement with Cornford and Klingender through the Federation of Student Societies arose. The security file note is referenced PF.40,482 and is connected with documentation with dates from July 16th 1952.

security services on both sides of the Atlantic with their investigations. Among the information from this period is a typed entry in Klingender's security file dated January 10th 1951 and signed (Major) Maxwell Knight.³⁶ Given what its tenor reveals about the character of the time and the ways in which intelligence could be garnered, the entry is reproduced here in full and with its language, grammar and capitalisation unchanged. The entry reads:

The following information comes from a casual but reliable source who knows Klingender personally, and who has had many opportunities during the last 15 years of mixing with, and assessing, various personalities on the Extreme Left.

Source states that KLINGENDER is now a lecturer in History at the University of Kingston-Upon Hull. Source describes KLINGENDER as one of the most fanatical, bitter and unpleasant Communists ever encountered. He is typical of the so-called intellectual Communist, in that far from being motivated by an intellectual analysis of Communism, the appeal is purely emotional. The opinion is expressed that naturally KLINGENDER would lose no opportunity of influencing any students who came his way. It is also stressed that in addition to this, KLINGENDER has many contacts, outside his own field of work, some of these being scientists. If KLINGENDER were to come into possession, even second-hand, of any information which would be of use to the Russians, he would certainly not scruple to find some means of passing it on.³⁷

The 'reliable source' referred to may have been one Olga Gray who, according to Andrew and Mitrokhin was instrumental in exposing an earlier Soviet spy ring in 1938 which had been organised by Percy Glading.³⁸ It appears that Gray had been one of Knight's most successful operatives at

³⁶ Maxwell Knight (aka 'Uncle Max') was a M15 operative with experience of having run agents inside the CPGB. He subsequently became a writer and natural history broadcaster. Andrew (1999) 7.

³⁷ Klingender MI5 Security File Ref 147a.

³⁸ Andrew (1999) 7.

penetrating the CPGB. Either way, the fifteen year association that Knight mentions places the informant's connection with Klingender to around the mid 1930s. In view of Klingender's wide-ranging political and social activities at the time, the CPGB is just one of several contexts within which such judgements or observations may have been formed. However, the timeframe of Maxwell Knight's report confirms that Klingender had been subject to ongoing investigation or surveillance prior to the Burgess and Maclean debacle.

In view of the tenor of the conversation with Klingender which Saville reports, it is plausible that Klingender had in mind both the Cold War climate and more specifically the recent experience of other left-leaning academics like Eric Hobsbawm and Christopher Hill, both of whom had experienced difficulties in gaining academic tenure. Saville recalled:

He (Klingender) was such a well known Communist. But this was the time (1948) when the Cold War was starting and it got worse from the 1950s. Academics would be aware of the general background of their candidates. There were all kinds of incidents... There was a fair amount of discrimination, nothing like America though.³⁹

Egbert claimed in his book, *Social Radicalism and the Arts*, that Klingender was appointed at Hull only after 'giving a solemn promise to keep politics out of his teaching' although this assertion is neither corroborated nor referenced.⁴⁰ At interview Saville was emphatic that no such undertaking had ever been given, adding that "I'm quite sure it's untrue. He didn't conceal his politics".⁴¹ The *DLB* entry concludes:

³⁹ Saville interview (2002).

⁴⁰ Egbert (1970) 563.

⁴¹ Saville interview (2002). It is possible that Egbert, perhaps with the legacy of American MacCarthyism in mind, had simply mis-read the slightly differing determinations at work within a British context.

What can be said is that Klingender himself never referred to the matter, and as far as his friends can recollect he made no concessions in public in his political statements'.⁴²

Saville's claim can be corroborated by a letter, intercepted by the intelligence services, from a Mr P. Sizer of the student Socialist Society at Hull to a Mr J. Prime, secretary of the SLF (Socialist League of Friends). Commenting upon Klingender's suitability as a speaker who specialised on 'Marxism and Art,' the letter notes 'His Marxism is of an odd, non CP kind, but he had plenty to say that is worth hearing'.⁴³ Clearly, and notwithstanding the wider political situation, Klingender felt no compunctions about voicing Communist opinions, heterodox or otherwise.

In a letter to Hetta Empson dated April 3rd 1949, Klingender conveys something of the tenor of the times. Speaking of newspaper bias (Hetta had been attempting to place some articles on political developments in China), Klingender refers to the industry's 'red-spectre jitters,' he continues:

As a general rule you must always remember that we are being more and more gleichgeschaltet [in accord] in everything to our transatlantic allies (the extent to which this has happened must be impossible to realise from a distance, after an absence of two years!).⁴⁴

Although expressed in a circumspect way, it is evident here that Klingender was fully aware of the dramatically changed nature of diplomatic and political alliances from the preceding period of 1941–1945.

⁴² Saville and Bellamy (1993) 164.

⁴³ MI5 Security File entry dated February 4th 1954.

⁴⁴ Hetta and William Empson lived in China between 1947 and 1952 (Source: Steven Spencer, Archivist, Brynmor Jones Library, Hull, email to the author, October 18th 2005).

Leaving the Communist Party

The *DLB* entry records that Klingender 'left the party after the Soviet break with the Yugoslav leader Josif Tito, but it was a slow drifting away rather than a sudden resignation'.⁴⁵ At interview and in conversation Saville repeated that Klingender had left the CPGB discreetly "and without fuss", speculating that it may have been due to his reticent character or an awareness of how such an action might have been received by his CPGB friends and colleagues in London.⁴⁶ In conversation, Saville recalled that Klingender had openly voiced criticisms of Stalin and Khrushchev throughout his time at Hull which rather suggests that Klingender may well have arrived with reservations about the direction of Soviet policy and may already have made or intellectually rationalised the decision to leave the Party. Recalling the incident in his memoirs, Saville wrote:

When the original break came in 1948 [with Yugoslavia] I remained more or less neutral, although my friend and colleague Francis Klingender was taking a very firm line and over the succeeding months eased himself out of the CP with little fuss and no publicity.⁴⁷

In order to consider what may have been Klingender's specific motivations for leaving, we can consider the break with Tito and how the rupture has been interpreted as having affected CPGB membership.

In June 1948, Stalin had pronounced Tito a fascist spy and henceforth, Yugoslavia, once a showcase for popular Communism, was added to the list of Soviet adversaries.⁴⁸ This denunciation was despite the fact that throughout the war Yugoslav partisans had waged a highly successful guerrilla war against the

⁴⁵ Saville and Bellamy (1993) 164.

⁴⁶ Saville interview (2002).

⁴⁷ Saville (2003) 91.

⁴⁸ Callaghan (2003) 51.

country's German occupiers.⁴⁹ Although Callaghan characterises it as one of the greatest shocks of the decade, outwardly the CPGB maintained 'ideological' discipline. However, as one commentator put it, after this even 'The most docile followers of the Party line had to strain hard to swallow the accusation'.⁵⁰ The prolonged and systematic purge of alleged 'Titoites' throughout Eastern Europe 1949–52 was followed by publicised show trials and the inevitable executions.⁵¹ Callaghan notes that:

2.5 million people were expelled from the Communist Parties of eastern Europe... and that between 125,000 to 250,000 were imprisoned. In addition, the leadership of every party was hit.⁵²

The CPGB leadership and the editorials of the Party's newspaper, *The Daily Worker*, uncritically accepted the Stalinist line.⁵³ If Klingender had harboured any lingering doubts over the Stalinist line towards Tito and Yugoslavia, this aftermath may have resolved them. However, there may well have been a more personal reason for Klingender's decision to leave the CPGB which can be traced to the activities of the AIA.

Klingender, the AIA and Yugoslavia

Since the end of the war, the AIA had sought to re-establish international links which had been lost through the conflict itself and following the Comintern's formal dissolution in 1943. The organisation's *Bulletins* were part of this policy of *rapprochement* which from the early post-war years carried reports on cultural

⁴⁹ As an indication of the political pressures at play, one of the CPGB's leading theorists and historians, James Klugmann, endorsed the Soviet line. This was despite the fact that (Major) Klugmann had a distinguished wartime service record with the Special Operations Executive (SOE) supporting the Yugoslav partisans in their fight to liberate their country. See: Callaghan (2003) 53. Also see Klugmann's polemic, *From Trotsky to Tito* (1951).

⁵⁰ Jones (1987) 114–115; Callaghan (2003) 51–52.

⁵¹ Callaghan (2003) 53–54.

⁵² Callaghan (2003) 53.

⁵³ Morgan (1993) 153.

reconstruction in France, Germany, Sweden, Norway and Eastern Europe.⁵⁴ Relations with Tito's Yugoslavia had been, it would appear, particularly cordial since the AIA had sent a congratulatory telegram to the Society of Yugoslav Artists after Belgrade's liberation in 1944.⁵⁵ Three years later this ongoing association resulted in an invitation being extended to the AIA for a deputation to visit the country in order to see at first hand the Republic of Yugoslavia's cultural and physical reconstruction. In the aftermath of war, various Communist regimes were keen to impress upon their erstwhile allies the speed and pace of Socialist reconstruction. In all probability this, and a genuine fraternalism, was the likely rationale behind the visit.

As Paul Hogarth records in *Cold War Reports*, in the August of 1947, he joined an AIA deputation to the country with the aim of recording the progress of the Youth Railway in Bosnia. The group comprised AIA artists, designers and illustrators Percy Horton, Lawrence Scarfe, Ronald Searle and Francis Klingender. Hogarth notes that E.P. Thompson and Dorothy Thompson had helped to raise a British 'brigade' to assist with the railway's construction and that it had been through their involvement that the idea had arisen for an AIA delegation to make contact with other artistic groups in Yugoslavia.⁵⁶

The deputation spent a week visiting the Slovenian capital and sketching in the 'souks of Sarajevo and Zenica'.⁵⁷ Hogarth recalled Klingender's encouragement as 'stimulating,' and, given his own artistic interest in 'reportorial drawing,' Klingender's suggestion that he look at the work of the Victorian painter and illustrator, Arthur Boyd Houghton (1836 -1875), whose portfolio of images ('Graphic America'), had chronicled the battlefield realities of the American Civil War.⁵⁸ The example of Houghton's graphic images of war was among the visual influences for Hogarth's subsequent sketches.⁵⁹ The deputation was followed by an exhibition of the visitors' drawings which was

⁵⁴ Morris and Radford (1983) 77.

⁵⁵ Morris and Radford (1983) 77.

⁵⁶ Hogarth (1968) 11.

⁵⁷ Hogarth (1997) 20–21.

⁵⁸ Hogarth (1997) 20–21.

⁵⁹ Paul Hogarth was subsequently a Senior Tutor at the Royal College of Art (1964–71).

shown in the Leicester Galleries in February 1948.⁶⁰ In the AIA's December 1947 *Newsletter*, Klingender enthusiastically reported:

The Youth Railway was much more than a symbol: it was a splendid engineering feat—to build a railroad of 150 miles through difficult mountain country without any modern equipment required the most careful planning and the hard toil of 180,000 young people who gave up their summer holiday for their country's rapid recovery.⁶¹

Aside from the ideological interest, Klingender's description evokes his interest in the transformation of landscape by labour, a fascination evident within *Art and the Industrial Revolution* which had been published earlier that year. The book detailed, among other achievements, the Victorian railway and canal projects which had galvanised popular imagination and which, for Klingender, were directly proportionate to the engineering achievements of the Soviet Five Year Plans. It seems plausible to suggest that Klingender perceived in Yugoslavia's Youth Railway project a similar expression of collective optimism and Communist reconstruction.⁶² The subsequent Soviet denunciation of Tito four months after the Leicester Galleries exhibition, must have seemed a particularly cruel betrayal of such aspirations. Klingender's personal involvement with Yugoslavia which arose from this visit would seem to have accounted for his subsequent decision to leave the CPGB after the reversal of Soviet policy towards Tito and Yugoslavia. Given the limited surviving correspondence from Klingender in these years, it is necessary to look at what Callaghan calls in another context the 'ecology' of the CPGB and secondly, the influence of the Comintern, subsequently the Cominform. In considering the Party's particular culture and expectation of ideological discipline, it is possible

⁶⁰ Letter from Morris (1982).

⁶¹ Morris and Radford (1983) 78.

⁶² These impressions should not be under-estimated. Klingender had a considerable sensitivity towards landscape and how it delineated industrial, social and economic history. In the letter quoted earlier to Hetta Empson of April 3rd 1949 (written just under two years after the visit to Yugoslavia), Klingender describes the attractions of the Hull landscape.

to understand the pressures and expectations placed upon its cadres and the probable reasons for Klingender's discreet withdrawal from membership.

The 'Ecology' of the CPGB and the Cold War

From its inception in 1920, the CPGB was, and remained, a highly centralised organisation. Paradoxically, and notwithstanding its internationalist aspirations, it also proved an ideologically conservative one.⁶³ Despite the 'federal' appearance of various, national Communist parties existing throughout Europe, the Comintern was adapted in the same image. In order to understand the particular predicament of party intellectuals and committed internationalists like Klingender, this inter-relationship, and how it developed, has to be understood. For example, the fact that there was no public suggestion or formal admission from the British CPGB that there was anything amiss in the Soviet Union until 1956, illustrates the strength and extent of party discipline resulting from such articulation as well as the insulation of its leadership. It also demonstrates what Callaghan refers to as the CPGB's 'dependency on the Soviet myth'.⁶⁴

The corollary of this was that even when members withdrew from the British CPGB, they were frequently reticent about making public pronouncements or disclosures for the reasons behind their decision, other than to close friends and colleagues. This, according to Saville, was the case with Klingender. At interview he stressed that many of Klingender's former CPGB colleagues in London had not even been aware that he had left the Party.⁶⁵ Looking through the subsequent editions of the *AIA Newsletter* from 1948 there is no reference to Klingender or even his move to Hull.⁶⁶ Callaghan writes:

The Party's doctrine and ethos were the products of over twenty years of formal and willing subordination to the Soviet Union and the Communist

⁶³ By conservative, one refers to its diffidence in asserting ideological or doctrinal differences from those set and espoused by the CPSU.

⁶⁴ Callaghan (2003) 5.

⁶⁵ Saville interview (2002).

⁶⁶ This may, or may not be significant, but neither is there any mention of Klingender's death within the *AIA Newsletters* in the months which followed his obituary notice in *The Times*.

International. When the Communist International was dissolved in 1943 the habits, attitudes and beliefs nurtured since 1920 survived intact. Chief among these was confidence in the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.⁶⁷

Throughout much of its existence the CPGB saw itself as a 'fighting' cadre organisation in which strict hierarchy was observed; decision-making was a top-down process driven by the imperatives set by Moscow and enshrined in Marxist-Leninist principles.⁶⁸ Although such pressure applied particularly to the political agenda, there was also a Party line which applied to the direction of cultural policy.⁶⁹ The CPGB's interest in co-ordinating cultural matters was slow to develop, compared to that of the CPSU, and it was not until the early 1940s that more concerted attempts were made through the Party's Cultural Group's Committee to impose a distinct 'line'.⁷⁰ As Croft has noted, the CPGB headquarters ('King Street') exerted direct pressure on publications like *Our Time*, with the expectation that editors respected (and sympathetically covered), orthodox Soviet cultural policy.⁷¹ As an additional lever, King Street controlled the Party distribution network of bookshops and vendors on which such publications were heavily dependent in order to access sympathetic readerships. The example of *Our Time* is instructive since Klingender's tenure as Associate Art Editor (September 1944–March 1947) coincided with ongoing CPGB pressure on the magazine's editors.⁷²

⁶⁷ Callaghan (2003) 7.

⁶⁸ Callaghan (2003) 7–8.

⁶⁹ As Callaghan (2003) 8, notes this coherence was underpinned by a high degree of continuity in terms of both longevity of ordinary membership and leadership. One statistic quoted is that in 1960, the fortieth anniversary of the Party, 188 foundation members were still active within the organisation. Of more direct relevance was the generational continuity signified by membership of the Political Committee (effectively the Executive arm of the Party), which saw marginal changes of personnel from 1951 until the new radicalism of the late 1960s. By which time, average age and an evolving ideological agenda forced change.

⁷⁰ This was not just a matter of resources, but also of priority; the CPGB was slower than the CPSU to realise the potential value of culture as an ideological weapon.

⁷¹ Croft (1998) 143–159 notes that this resulted on one occasion with the CPGB's Cultural Group's Committee taking over the running of *Our Time*, with disastrous results (149).

⁷² Klingender is last listed as Associate Editor for Arts in the March 1947 edition of *Our Time*. He was succeeded by his friend and AIA contemporary Richard Carline (1896–1980).

In Klingender's MI5 file there is a handwritten transcript of a recorded conversation between Emile Burns, chair of the CPGB's Cultural Group's Committee, and R. Vernon Beste, Secretary of Unity Theatre, and one of three swiftly successive CPGB appointees for the editorship of *Our Time*).⁷³ The extract is fragmentary and in parts unclear, suggesting that it was made from an intercepted telephone conversation. However, in one part of the conversation clear mention is made of Klingender who is described as 'embittered' and who Beste suggests was angling for some sort of permanent position.⁷⁴ To which Burns replies (speaking of Klingender) 'I have never been able to get a permanent value out of him' (sic).⁷⁵ The more immediate context to this conversation is that its dating, almost to the month, can be placed to the attempts just noted to bring *Our Time* under direct Party control.⁷⁶ However, beyond the journalistic politics, the exchange suggests that Klingender was perceived to have views which were not in all respects compliant with those of King Street. Although these are not elaborated, the reservations which Klingender appears to have had towards Soviet Socialist Realism (see chapters four and five), and the independence of mind which he demonstrated over subsequent Soviet policy towards Yugoslavia, would have been sufficient to justify the tone and content of the Beste/Burns exchange.

Irrespective of differences in cultural outlook which doubtless affected many more left-wing intellectuals than Klingender, CPGB members were drawn together by a common ideology, shared membership history, conflicts, hardships, and what Callaghan also notes as frequent antipathy towards the Labour Party's reformist agenda.⁷⁷ The cohesion arising from such a common bond is evident throughout the organisation and extant records of the AIA, with

⁷³ Croft (1998) 149.

⁷⁴ This appears to have been in relation to either *Our Time*, or some form of paid sinecure within the CPGB. In which case, either Beste or Burns respectively would have been able to assist.

⁷⁵ According to Croft (1998) 151, Beste and Burns worked closely together with Beste reporting to Burns on a weekly basis about the ideological content (and taking instruction for the steer of the magazine). When Beste was removed as Editor, the CPGB 'lost its weekly meeting'.

⁷⁶ The MI5 intercept is dated December 18th 1942 (unpaginated file entry). Two years later the editorial board of which Klingender was a member, replaced Beste as editor with Edgell Rickword. Croft (1998) 151.

⁷⁷ Callaghan (2003) 8.

several of its founder members, Klingender included, CPGB members (see chapter five). In describing the Party ethos of these years, Callaghan concludes:

The militaristic organisation and ethos of the Communist Party was also kept alive by the conditions of its existence; and though these varied from country to country, the experience of sectarian militancy in the Depression years, the fight against fascism and, finally, the Cold War were common to them all.⁷⁸

In addition, throughout its history, the CPGB remained financially dependent upon considerable Soviet subsidy which continued into the 1970s.⁷⁹ At an organisational and leadership level, such practical subvention would have done little to encourage a unilateral approach to policy even if there had been scope for such. Viewed psychologically, it could be conjectured that such 'donor' status would have supported the prestige and 'success' of the Soviet State in the eyes of British members, thereby underlining the viability of the internationalist cause.⁸⁰

Beyond this, among the major reasons for the continuing adherence and suspension of disbelief by so many rank and file CPGB members was the conviction that the Soviet Union was, if not the embodiment, the closest to actually achieving the Communist ideal. As Callaghan notes, it was the Soviet Union which had provided the ideological compass and point of orientation throughout the social and economic hardships of the 1920s and 1930s as well as having been a stalwart ally in the war against fascism. It was perceived as the embodiment of the supreme social experiment which had 'succeeded'. In the concluding chapter of his history of the CPGB from these years, Callaghan notes:

⁷⁸ Callaghan (2003) 10.

⁷⁹ Callaghan (2003) 12.

⁸⁰ There is no material in the AIA archives which would support a judgement either way in relation to Klingender's position on this. But on the basis of the tenor of his cultural pronouncements prior to 1948, it might be surmised that he may have viewed matters pragmatically.

The deepest foundations of the Communist identity – its history, purpose, and myths – were centred on the Bolshevik Revolution and Soviet Socialism. It could not easily criticise or discard this complex legacy.⁸¹

The published testimony from high profile Party members who left in these years such as Hobsbawm, Saville and MacEwen, underscores the nature of the ties which had kept their silence and self-censorship through the twists and turns of Soviet policy and CPGB compliance.⁸² A sense of the reasoning at play among those who did leave the Party can be gained from a typescript of an interview given at Edinburgh's Fruitmarket Gallery to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the AIA's founding. A contemporary of Klingender whom she recalled, Edith Simon was among those present at the organisation's inaugural meeting and was elected official record keeper by virtue of her ability to use a typewriter. Recollecting the events of the late 1940s, she stated:

Once again, Soviet Russia was the key. From being a land of radiant promise, Russia had changed into a repressive menace in the eyes of her former disciples. The fear of being tainted by association was as strong as the fear of Russian aggressiveness itself. Dissociation was the answer.⁸³

Although the absence of complete organisational and membership records from the AIA in these years necessarily qualifies this statement, I would suggest that Klingender's move to Hull drew a line under his involvement with the AIA and confirmed his 'disassociation' from the CPGB.⁸⁴ A trawl through the extant membership resignation files for the AIA suggests that a considerable

⁸¹ Callaghan (2003) 289.

⁸² Hobsbawm (1999) 7–11; Saville interview (2002); MacEwen (1991) 179–193.

⁸³ Simon AIA Transcript (1982) 9.

⁸⁴ A note from his MI5 file dated December 5th 1950 notes that Klingender was 'no longer in close touch with the group of CP Journalists'. Again this supports a picture of a gradual and unpublicised withdrawal from Communist affiliations.

number of resignations were received 1947–50.⁸⁵ The wider international situation and the anti-Soviet controversies arising from Stalin's policy towards Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, had provoked internal argument and debate within the CPGB, but also more public disagreement and splits within the AIA's membership of 'fellow travellers' as can be witnessed in the pages of the *AIA Bulletin* from these years.⁸⁶

The second crucial influence on the outlook of British Communists and the marked tendency towards ideological discipline of its membership was the Comintern. On a personal level this was directly relevant to Klingender since it is appreciable from the nature of his affiliations from the LSE onwards – to organisations such as the SCR, LAI and the AIA (initially the 'Artists International') – that he conceived of Communism as only meaningful if it could be *internationalised*. Klingender belonged to a generation which had witnessed the Comintern's use or subordination as an instrument of Stalin's domestic policy objectives. The extent to which this was a deviation or otherwise from the Comintern's original purpose is arguable. However, what is relevant here is that Klingender's belief in the broad principles of internationalism is evident throughout the range and nature of his affiliations, friendships, known correspondence and within the themes and range of subject matter within his oeuvre as an art historian.⁸⁷ I would suggest that a genuine respect for what the aspirations of the Comintern actually signified, may have been among the reasons why Klingender stayed within the CPGB for as long as he did and that when he did leave, he did so in the manner described earlier.

⁸⁵ AIA Members Resignations File (TGA 7043.12). Many of these letters do not state the reasons for leaving, and those that do frequently state employment or economic reasons. In the absence of full membership details and figures there are limited judgements which can be made other than to suggest that an appreciable number must have been responses to the wider political situation and the AIA's continuing support of official Soviet policy.

⁸⁶ The majority of AIA material held relates to the mid 1940s and the years thereafter. It would appear that much of the earlier documentation was lost during the Blitz or has simply not survived. The Tate's present holding arises from material donated by Adrian Heath and Diana Uhlman in the 1970s.

⁸⁷ As noted in chapters four and five, throughout the 1930s and 1940s, and in addition to exploration of British figures, Klingender's published work had variously covered Dutch, French, Soviet and Spanish artists and movements, customarily in relation to their engagement with, or reportage on, historic and national struggles. See for example Klingender (1944c) 18–19.

As Callaghan puts it, the Comintern 'acted as the medium through which the leaders of the Communist movement could constitutionally interfere in the life of a national party'.⁸⁸ Established in March 1919, the Comintern, the Third or Communist International, was conceived at a time when the idea of social revolution beyond Russia seemed an immediate prospect. Its principal aim was therefore to internationalise the Bolshevik revolution.⁸⁹ Unlike the Second International which had been a 'loose federation of national parties,' the Comintern was to be a centralised world party, but one subject to the ultimate direction and ideological sanction of the CPSU.⁹⁰ If this had not been apparent in the early years, the various reversals of revolutionary fortune, already alluded to, only served to give greater prestige and power to Moscow. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Comintern policy was increasingly and systematically subordinated to CPSU direction which, from the late 1920s became synonymous with the wishes of Stalin who had achieved primacy as the Party's General Secretary after marginalising its left and right factions, respectively represented by Zinoviev and Bukharin.⁹¹ After Bukharin's removal in 1929, Stalin took a closer hand in Comintern affairs, controlling its direction through the appointments of proxies such as Molotov.⁹²

However, as Milorad Drachkovitch and Branko Lazitch have argued, the effective subordination of the Comintern, and through its channels, the compliance of western parties, intellectuals and fellow travellers, was not just a consequence of Stalin's dominance and the centralisation of power. It was made possible by perceptions of the socio-economic transformation of the Soviet Union, actual or imagined, which had begun with the first Five-Year Plan and the increasing personality cult attaching to Stalin.⁹³ In contrast to the economic depression being experienced throughout Europe and Britain, the

⁸⁸ Callaghan (2003) 9.

⁸⁹ Hallas (1985) 11.

⁹⁰ Hallas (1985) 29.

⁹¹ Zinoviev formally lost executive control of the Comintern in December 1925. In 1926, Stalin removed him from his Leningrad powerbase, a move which presaged his eventual expulsion from the party and subsequent liquidation. Sebag-Montefiore (2004) 115 and 189–198.

⁹² Hitherto, Molotov had only played a very marginal role in this area. Hallas (1985) 129.

⁹³ Drachkovitch and Lazitch (1966) 191.

centrally management of an entire system was seen by many on the left as 'rational and engaging'.⁹⁴ Drachkovitch and Lazitch note:

Capitalist weaknesses and Stalinist promises combined to generate a quasi-religious, fanatical devotion to the cause that the USSR and Stalin symbolised. Many intellectuals and non-intellectuals alike espoused the New Faith, ignoring anything that might shake their commitment and tolerating humiliations that under other circumstances they would have found intolerable.⁹⁵

The corollary of this mindset and one not necessarily limited to CPGB membership, but prevalent throughout the intellectual left, was a predisposition to doubt or deny the accumulating evidence from the 1930s onwards of purges, show trials, political assassinations, famine and genocide.⁹⁶ Simon's testimony suggests there was a gradual awareness among the AIA from the middle stages of that decade. She recalled:

The contrary implications of the Stalinist policy had not begun to filter through. Indeed it wasn't until the Kirov assassination in 1934 that the Terror was systematically developed.⁹⁷

If Klingender's stance on these matters is inferred from his extant, published work from the 1930s through until 1947, such silences can either be due to careful self-censorship or genuine credulity towards events. Given Klingender's

⁹⁴ Drachkovitch and Lazitch (1966) 191.

⁹⁵ Drachkovitch and Lazitch (1966) 191.

⁹⁶ Drachkovitch and Lazitch (1966) 191–192. Two case-studies, one of which is provided by the experience of Bertolt Brecht, suggests a need for submission to 'total authority' which was infallible. Callaghan (2003) 50–84.

⁹⁷ Simon Transcript (1982) 4. Sergei Kirov the popular Leningrad CP Boss was assassinated on December 1st 1934. It is widely believed to have been orchestrated by those acting on the Party Secretary's orders. Evidence does suggest that Stalin was increasingly conscious of Kirov's growing influence within Party but there is no direct evidence which links him to the murder. For an account of Kirov's death and its aftermath see: Sebag-Montefiore (2004) 146–160.

friendships with émigrés and refugees in London, he cannot have been blind to the testimony and experiences of those escaping from totalitarian regimes on the ideological right, not to have been able to make, at least on an intellectual basis, connections with what was happening in Soviet Russia.⁹⁸ Assuming that Klingender, like other rank-and-file Party members had been aware at some level of the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its indivisibility with the CPSU, between the years 1934/5 –1945, it might be argued that such support had been rationalised. The precedent for this had been established before and during the second world war by various national governments and their respective security agencies.⁹⁹ If the defeat of fascism was the greatest imperative, there could be no viable military and diplomatic option other than a united front of non-axis European countries with the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and ultimately, America, at its core.

Klingender and the Last Years in the AIA

Aside from involvement with the delegation to Yugoslavia, Klingender receives further mention in the *AIA Newsletter* in these years in relation to the debate which arose from Soviet criticism of the modernist composers Khachaturyan, Muradeli, Prokofiev and Shostakovich.¹⁰⁰ In the final years of Stalin's life, the CPSU moved to control and direct all artistic practice, including music, insisting that it conform to the Leninist principle of '*partiinosť*' – adherence to the principles of the party and those of Soviet Communism. Between 1946–8 several decrees were passed by Andrei Zhdanov, then in charge of the Leningrad party. According to Matthew Cullerne Bown the 'campaign against dissidence from official norms in art reached a new level of ferocity'.¹⁰¹ Although

⁹⁸ Callaghan (2003) 79 cites the fate of one individual who was known by many members of the CPGB as evidence that there was widespread, if unacknowledged awareness, of the true situation within Russia. Rose Cohen, described by Callaghan, as having been an 'intimate friend of Harry Pollit,' disappeared in the Russian purges of the 1930s. The British Party leaders raised the matter with the CPSU, but did not persist with their enquiries. Similarly, Rosa Rust, daughter of Party leader, Bill Rust, survived a year in one of Stalin's labour camps and survived to tell the story in 1944.

⁹⁹ This certainly appears to have been the case among the British and American Governments whose respective security services had informed their political masters of the nature of Stalin's rule.

¹⁰⁰ Morris and Radford (1983) 79.

¹⁰¹ Bown (1991) 204.

Zhdanov died in 1948, the legacy of the decrees directed at all the arts continued.¹⁰²

Characterised as part of the virulent re-assertion of the anti-formalist crusades of the 1930s, the fourth decree on culture was published by the Central Committee in February 1948.¹⁰³ In addition to specific criticisms of operatic work, several modernist Soviet composers including Prokofiev and Shostakovich were singled out for attack. In future all the Soviet arts were to emphasise indigenous Soviet themes and subject matter.¹⁰⁴ These developments were widely reported by the British press and in the *AIA Newsletter* debates which followed. Within the *AIA* the overall consensus was one of qualified support for the decrees. Noting the press and film monopolies and the control of the BBC as a point of comparison, Paul Hogarth, then editor of the *AIA Newsletter*, stated in the April edition:

The guidance of the Communist Party is sought in every part of Russian life. We cannot simply translate Soviet conditions into our own terms, expecting that a protesting minority representing truth and justice would have the same role as it has in England.¹⁰⁵

Similarly, Klingender's response was couched in criticism of the British 'warmongers' who he characterised as keen to exploit such issues for their ideological purposes.¹⁰⁶ As a formal statement of his continuing belief in the transformative principles of Socialist Realism on the cusp of the Cold War, it merits full quotation. He writes:

¹⁰² This period, between 1946 and Khrushchev's anti-Stalin speech in 1956 is referred to as that of the 'zhdanovshchina'. Bown (1991) 205.

¹⁰³ Bown (1991) 205-206.

¹⁰⁴ Bown (1991) 206.

¹⁰⁵ Klingender (1948) 7.

¹⁰⁶ Morris and Radford (1983) 79.

The artist should be a moral leader...giving a profound and truthful portrayal of the forces which are changing human character. This is not the aim of many artists in the West, who prefer to stand aloof, in the name of freedom, in the battle of ideas. Yet, by their doubts and their mood of nostalgia or despair they do, in fact, influence the battle, and they often serve reaction in less subtle ways. The Soviet artist's view is endorsed by the Russian people. The critical discussion of their work by all sections of the public is the best proof of this. To call this discussion a purge is a travesty of the facts...¹⁰⁷

This statement is a re-affirmation of Klingender's belief in the essential grounding of Soviet art in the lives of its people ('*narodnost'*) a Leninist conviction which he had consistently expressed since the 1930s. Present also, is his objection to Modernism as a symptomatic of bad faith and reaction, if only by default. However, I would argue that Klingender's statement should not simply be read as an unqualified endorsement of Soviet cultural policy. It should be noted that it is the Russian people who are seen as providing the cultural legitimacy for Soviet art forms rather than Zhdanov's fourth decree on culture. Whilst the distinction may seem semantic, such a qualification is intelligible within the context and mindset just outlined. Facing an increasingly polarised Cold War situation, the CPGB and the wider Cominform were embattled organisations which the defensive and hostile tone of its defenders in these years makes abundantly clear. Although probably the least of concerns among the CPGB's leadership, Zhdanov's hard-line on cultural policy fed dissension within those fellow travelling organisations such as the AIA in which such ideological control could not be so exerted. In this, the last of Klingender's public exchanges within the AIA, one senses the same self-censorship within a situation which Klingender must have known was by then beginning to unravel. Culturally the CPGB was by the later 1940s, faced with the first signs of a resurgent post-war Modernism, and politically, subject to defending the CPSU's coercive and contested attempts to maintain Soviet hegemony among its

¹⁰⁷ Morris and Radford (1983) 79.

Eastern European satellites.

It is not known precisely how long Klingender continued his formal membership of the AIA. The surviving membership records lodged with the Hyman Kreitman archive are incomplete, although an undated (and partially complete ledger) suggests that the membership fee had been collected against Klingender's name for 1948 although there are no extant records thereafter.¹⁰⁸ In any event, Klingender's move to Hull in September of 1948 would have precluded active involvement in the AIA's London-based activities and there is no record of a branch group in or near Hull to which he might have transferred his membership or involvement. Similarly, there is no record of Klingender's death or obituary notice in any of the extant *AIA Bulletins*. Given his formative role as AIA aesthetician and organiser such an absence of record is surprising. However, if Klingender had indeed voiced some of his political concerns to more hard-line AIA members, the subsequent omission of his name would seem more explicable.

The Orientation and Subject Matter of Klingender's Late Work

Between 1948 and his death in 1955, Klingender completed two minor pieces of sociological research. The first was a largely statistical survey of Hull students, titled *Students in a Changing World*.¹⁰⁹ In format and approach it recalls his first piece of applied social research, *Money Behind the Screen*, (1937). It was quite probably the first in-depth post-war sociological analysis of class and economic background of its kind undertaken. The second, co-authored with economics and commerce department colleague, Dr Molly Rotheray, was titled *The Little Shop*, and explored the economics and role of the small shopkeeper in post-war Britain.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ AIA Membership Ledgers 7043 12.1–7043.12.2.

¹⁰⁹ The full title of the University commissioned paper was *Students in a Changing World: A Report on the Social Origins and Home Conditions of the Students registered at the University College of Hull in 1951–52*. A copy of this document was consulted in the DLB archive.

¹¹⁰ At the time of writing this thesis, Dr Rotheray was too ill to be interviewed and so it has not been possible to explore their collaboration further.

The principal academic focus of the last seven years of Klingender's life however, was a study in what he terms in one letter animal 'totemism'.¹¹¹ Initially conceived as a major, twin volume survey from the Middle Ages through to the end of the nineteenth century, it was eventually, and posthumously published in truncated form, as the study of animal iconography, *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages*.¹¹² The book is a scholarly and enthusiastic synthesis of disparate research into animal symbolism and representation, spanning archaeology, anthropology, natural history, manuscript illumination and art history. In the earlier chapters which Klingender did complete, it is clear that he combined Marxist and Freudian methodology to explain what he asserted was the bifurcation of attitude between 'men and animals' through time, reflecting both the Darwinian struggle for survival (the 'reality principle') and a wider aesthetic engagement with their representation ('the pleasure principle').¹¹³ Klingender's use of Marxist analysis is not as explicit as in his earlier work, although it is apparent in the closing (and incomplete) twelfth chapter, *Continental Animal Art of the Later Middle Ages*, in which some of the broader characterisations of the Renaissance derive from the Marxist analysis of Frederick Antal's *Florentine Painting and its Social Background*, a book which Klingender had previously assisted in translating.¹¹⁴

Recognising the circumstances of the book's completion and revision, the reviews which accompanied its publication were generally very positive. Wilma George described it as a 'scholarly and interesting work'.¹¹⁵ Richard Brilliant praised it as a 'definitive work' by a 'distinguished cultural historian'.¹¹⁶ A

¹¹¹ Letter to Hetta Empson dated April 3rd 1949, Special Collections Archive, Ref. DENC3/41.

¹¹² After Klingender's death, his widow, Winifred had approached Evelyn Antal to ask if the manuscript might be salvaged for publication (Letter from Evelyn Antal to Saville, 1981). The unpublished and unfinished typescript, which incorporated material from draft articles and periodicals was published posthumously by Evelyn Antal and John Hartham, Librarian at the V&A, under the full title *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages* (Routledge and Kegan Paul) 1971. Copyright was shared between Winifred Klingender and Evelyn Antal. Due to the paucity of notes and bibliography on the typescript from the Renaissance onwards, the decision was made to concentrate coverage up until 1500. Antal and Hartham (1971) preface xxix.

¹¹³ Antal and Hartham (1971) preface xxv.

¹¹⁴ Antal's book is cited in the bibliography to *Animals in Art and Thought* (1971) 541.

¹¹⁵ Wilma George (May 1974) 278.

¹¹⁶ Brilliant (1975) 610.

more detailed evaluation of its methodological premises was made by Gerhart Ladner who noted that since the manuscript's completion and publication, scholarship in relation to the interpretation and signification of Paleolithic art and theories of totemism had undergone important revision.¹¹⁷ However, Ladner conceded the publication's scope and imagination, adding that its 'richness' corresponded to the 'inexhaustible wealth of animal symbolism itself'.¹¹⁸ Other critics noted the book's uneven methodology and coverage. Morton Smith, writing for the *American Journal of Archaeology*, queried the apparently arbitrary allocation of coverage to various cultures, noting also the cursory and passing reference to Marxist and Freudian ideas at the book's outset.¹¹⁹ Notwithstanding the manuscript's incomplete state at the time of Klingender's death, the final, published book amounts to an exhaustive study in iconology, as described by Hemingway in another context as bringing 'together a range of historical evidence to explicate the larger symbolic resonance of particular images'.¹²⁰ Whilst his ultimate intention can now only be guessed, Klingender's tentative use of Marxist analysis in those sections he did complete strongly suggests, methodologically at least, that a more conventional iconology was indeed what he had in mind from the outset.

However, one essay which Klingender did complete in his lifetime, and which reflects his combined interest in animal and religious iconography, was 'St Francis and the Birds of the Apocalypse'.¹²¹ The essay's theme is the various ways in which British artists have interpreted and represented the apocryphal sermon of Klingender's namesake to the wild animals and birds (**figs. 57 and 58**). Klingender's interest in the mendicant orders can be seen in his earlier essay of 1936, 'The Crucifix: A Symbol of Class Struggle'. In this

¹¹⁷ Ladner (1975) 733 notes the more complicated readings of palaeolithic art following research Alexander Marshack's study, *The Roots of Civilization: The Cognitive Beginnings of Man's First Art, Symbol and Notation* (New York 1972). Rather than images simply projecting successful hunting and fertility rites, Ladner connects such images to more complex lunar calendars and cognition of time sequences. Similarly, Klingender's use of Freud's general theory of totemism as an expression of sexual instincts, is compared to a more anthropological and nuanced reading offered by Claude Lévi-Strauss in the study *Le totemisme aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1962).

¹¹⁸ Ladner (1975) 738.

¹¹⁹ Smith (1973) 115–116.

¹²⁰ Hemingway (1993) 147–150.

¹²¹ Klingender (1953) 13–23.

essay, Klingender attributes the sermon's wider narrative interest to three reasons. He writes:

...the apocalyptic appeal which arose from the great religious and political conflicts of the time; the chivalrous, which explains why the sermon to the birds was so attractive to the nobility, especially in the north; and the personal, which is timeless and arises, more especially, from the association of the bird's symbol with that of the stigmata.¹²²

Accounting for the last reason, what he terms the 'message of love,' Klingender observes:

In a society accustomed to sacrifice personal feelings with callous brutality to the interests of feudal states the troubadours had been the first to awaken the emotions of romantic love. St. Francis satisfied all the longings of his time for a personal faith which the hieratic church could not provide, when he transferred the same love from its earthly objects to Christ and, especially to the Mother of Christ.¹²³

Although I am not suggesting that this essay signifies some form of religious epiphany, it is nevertheless written with tangible empathy and respect. The choice of subject for an erstwhile Marxist is, I would suggest, striking to say the least.¹²⁴

In considering the project's various motivations, the preface to *Animals in Art and Thought* notes that Klingender's long time friend Sir Julian Huxley, then Professor of Zoology at King's College, London, had provided initial

¹²² Klingender (1953) 30.

¹²³ Klingender (1953) 22.

¹²⁴ Perhaps Saville had this in mind when he wrote (1993) 164 'In 1951 he [Francis] married Winifred Margaret Kaye...and the relationship appeared to be an emotionally satisfying one. Until his marriage in Hull, his private life had always been rather difficult and tumultuous, and he could be capricious in personal matters'.

encouragement.¹²⁵ In one sense, Klingender's apparent orientation towards animal iconography might be interpreted as a deliberately apolitical response to the Communist malaise cited earlier, and as a deliberate re-articulation of his intellectual interests following his departure from the CPGB and disassociation from the AIA. Psychologically, Elton interpreted Klingender's project as a 'kind of atonement for feelings towards his father, whom he had not apparently altogether liked'.¹²⁶ Given the paternal influence, which Klingender's 1954 curriculum vitae acknowledges, the reading should be given some credence. Additionally, the course of psychoanalysis which Klingender appears to have undergone in this period following the break up of his second marriage to Sonia Miller, at least suggests a receptivity towards Freudian theory, previously absent in his work.¹²⁷ However, whatever the personal motivation, the tenor and orientation of Klingender's late iconographical work, particularly his striking essay 'St Francis and the Birds of the Apocalypse,' unmistakably marks a re-engagement with the themes of his earlier contributions to the GZ of 1924–25. Religious iconography and the sense of continuity it gave with Goslar's architectural and Imperial past, concerns evidently shared by his late father at that time, characterised this period.¹²⁸

The same acute eye for iconographical detail and meticulous research inform his last, unfinished *magnus opus*. Although 'St Francis and the Birds of the Apocalypse' references a Marxist framework, it is lightly worn. In suggesting a re-engagement with earlier, iconographical themes, I would simply note that

¹²⁵ Sir Julian Huxley's interests spanned several disciplines, but as a noted humanist and Darwinist, Klingender's project would have been consonant with his own interests and research. Huxley (1966) 9–10.

¹²⁶ Elton interview with McNay (1972).

¹²⁷ Klingender's marriage to Sulamith Tomchinsky was formally dissolved in 1943, although MI5 records (Klingender file entry dated 11th November 1939 from the Passport Office) notes that she was already separated from him and was seeking single passage to South Africa (where she had relatives by marriage). The war presumably prevented her from making passage and she is recorded as a petitioner in annulment proceedings, dated 1943 (PRO records). Klingender's second marriage was to another AIA member and ex-Slade School of Art student, Sonia Miller on the 23rd February 1947 (PRO vol.5d, page 723). The union only lasted a matter of weeks and was annulled by special license. After his relationship with Millicent Rose ended in 1944, Klingender's third marriage in 1951 was to Winifred Margaret Kaye, a student in the Department of Social Administration who survived him. Source: Saville and Bellamy (1993) 164.

¹²⁸ Among Louis Klingender's submissions to the GZ was the shared article with Francis (1925c).

even in present day Goslar, one is struck by the recurrence and sheer pervasiveness of heraldic themes, ornaments and carvings which feature animal and organic iconography. They are evident from the Hommage Hall (**fig. 59**) the façade of the Church of St Jacob, and the Imperial eagle on top of the bronze Romanesque fountain in the market square (**fig. 60**), to the eighteenth century door furniture and plasterwork which remains such a marked feature of the town almost eighty years after Klingender's departure (recall **fig.10**).¹²⁹ Perhaps in some inchoate, half-repressed way, and in search of a 'system', Klingender was mediating the consciousness and concerns of an earlier and in some sense, less estranged time.

Death and Obituaries

The Hull Daily Mail recorded that Francis Klingender collapsed and died suddenly whilst at home on Desmond Avenue on Saturday July 9th 1955 (**fig. 61**). A memorial service was held two days later. Klingender's ashes were scattered by his widow Winifred, at Hedon Road Cemetery, Hull, on July 12th.¹³⁰ The obituary notice reads as follows:

Colleagues on the staff of Hull University were among those present at Hull Crematorium today to pay tribute to Mr Francis Donald Klingender (48) who has been lecturer in sociology in the Department of Social Studies at Hull since 1948. He lived in Desmond Avenue, Hull.

After studying at the London School of Economics he graduated BSc Econ. in 1930 and took his Ph.D (London) degree in 1934. Mr Klingender took part in various in research projects, being awarded a Leverhulme Research Fellowship in 1939. During the last war he undertook research work in Prof. Bernal's unit at the Ministry of Home Security. Keenly

¹²⁹ The Hommage Hall or Huldigungssaal is a room decorated with wooden panels, dated from between 1505–1520, depicting mythological scenes and biblical figures. The identity of the artist is unknown and is referred to simply as the 'Master of the Goslar Sybils'. Source: Huldigungssaal Information Sheet, consulted by the author, October 2005. See: Griep (undated) 11.

¹³⁰ Information provided by Hull Crematorium Office, August 28th 2002.

interested in art and in its relation to political and economic development, he was the author of various publications on the subject.¹³¹

Klingender's obituary appeared in *The Times* on Tuesday July 12th which gave a summary which appears to have been based upon the copy of *The Hull Daily Mail*. It added that he had been a 'stimulating and popular teacher'.¹³² On Monday July 18th *The Times* published a second obituary from his former colleague and referee, Julian Huxley. It read:

Dr Klingender possessed the rare combination of great erudition with broad and varied interests. At the time of his death he was engaged on an important book dealing with the subject of animals in art, in all its various relations – to anthropology, psychoanalysis, religion, history, economics, and general ideology. It is much to be hoped that this interesting study is sufficiently advanced to make its publication possible.¹³³

Due to the suddenness of his death, from a serious asthma attack, the local coroner held a post mortem without inquest. The death certificate records 'Myocardial degeneration, chronic bronchitis with emphysema'.¹³⁴ It seems reasonable to assume that general respiratory weakness, smoking, diet, the pressures of long periods of intense and sustained activity which characterised

¹³¹ Unattributed (1955c).

¹³² *The Times* July 12th (1955) 12.

¹³³ Huxley (1955) 11.

¹³⁴ Details taken from Death Certificate, copy re-issued by Kingston Upon Hull City Council's Registrar's Dept., July 29th, 2002.

Klingender's approach to his intellectual vocation, all contributed to the attack. Klingender was 48 when he died.¹³⁵

Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to re-construct aspects of Klingender's milieu during the last seven years of his life, including the wider ethos of the British Communist Party. It identifies the Comintern's rift with Yugoslavia as probably the decisive reason for his break with the CPGB, although, as suggested in chapter four, it seems plausible to date some of Klingender's intellectual and aesthetic reservations to the earlier period of the mid and later 1930s. This chapter also suggests that Klingender probably exercised some degree of self-censorship in his later interventions in AIA debates on Soviet cultural policy and that this was probably related to an increasing sense of disaffection with the direction of Soviet foreign policy. Extracts from his MI5 file confirm that throughout the 1940s and the succeeding Cold War period, Klingender's activities were monitored and his activities were subject to some level of surveillance. This chapter has also argued that the apparent re-orientation and de-politicisation of Klingender's late work can be understood on one level as a response to the CPGB's political malaise, but, perhaps more speculatively, might also be read as an attempt to work through memories and associations from his early years in Goslar.

¹³⁵ A recollection of Klingender as a pipe smoker and possibly asthmatic also was made by Galton (Letter 1977). The period referred was 1933–35. The meteorological reports in *The Times* in three days leading up to Klingender's asthma attack confirm warm, sunny weather with temperatures averaging between 64–70 degrees inland. Source: (*The Times Weather Reports*, pages 11 and 9 for Tuesday 5th, Wednesday 6th and Thursday 7th July respectively, Colindale). It seems a reasonable conjecture that a combination of the weather and the high levels of unchecked industrial pollution from Hull and around the Humber estuary would have made conditions difficult for a serious asthmatic and (smoker) like Klingender.

Conclusion

Those who come after,
Who are riding the wave when it breaks at last and the foam
Dazzles with rainbow colours of the days of hope,
They will not remember who you were, far back
In the broil of ocean and out of sight of the shore
Who kept your course though the tide ran out against you.

In Praise of the Anonymous (Randall Swingler)

In this closing section, I will offer some observations arising from undertaking an intellectual biography of this kind. I will profile Klingender's various political affiliations; his contribution as a Marxist art historian and the nature of his art historical legacy. The section will close by identifying some areas for possible future research.

Some Preliminary Observations

Researching a biography inevitably becomes an exercise in exhumation. The customary written sources, period analyses, social, economic and political histories, memoirs, autobiographies and archives variously delineate, yet make abstract, the contexts in which an individual life was lived. They cannot truly re-animate a personal history, capture the cadences of speech or modalities of thought, other than when recorded in text or recollected by contemporaries. Inevitably, in seeking to fill the gaps and silences, conjecture has sometimes had to be relied upon, but where used, effort has been made to offer evidential support, even if circumstantial. This thesis has attempted to contextualise Klingender's life and work as a Marxist art historian. It has considered the development of his thinking on art and the extent to which its character reflected some of the wider

cultural debates and priorities of the CPGB and other left-front networks within the period.

To adapt the Marxist axiom, whilst lives might be understood in relation to the socio-economic, they are not reducible to expressions thereof. The sharp contradictions which defined the working lives for the majority throughout this period and the tangible privations which continued in the aftermath of war, operated at all levels and across all the ideologies as a systematic denial and refutation of the private, in favour of the public and the collective. If Klingender was, as Elton claimed, a man of 'odd blindnesses,' such attributes were not merely accidents of personal character, but also reflected the period's particular *weltanschauung*.¹

Paradoxically, the state organisation MI5, which came to know so much about Klingender was antithetical to everything he believed in or stood for. However, what I think these records do convey, and perhaps unintentionally, is a tangible sense of a life that was driven by authentic and grounded convictions, frequently, one suspects, at the expense of personal relationships and emotional happiness outside the political or professional realm. However, such exteriority was not just an index to Klingender's life, but was part of the context of the times. At one level, nowhere was the 'necessary' denial of the personal more apparent than within the CPGB and the Comintern and the 'disciplined vanguard' status imposed upon their respective membership cadres. CPGB membership such as Klingender's was not a passive affair.² As Hymie Fagan (one time Assistant National Organiser to the Party recalled), 'We...maintained a firm discipline on the comrades' private lives'.³ Members were expected to take their share in selling and distributing *The Daily Worker*, attend local and regional branch meetings, organise

¹ Elton recounted a story which followed the publication of Klingender's Goya monograph. Upset and perplexed at the bad reviews in the Catholic Press, Elton remonstrated with Klingender 'What do you suppose the Catholics are going to do with a Marxist account of Goya? You can't sit here as a Marxist and be surprised'. McNay (1972) 8.

² Malcolm MacEwen's characterisation (1991) 23.

³ Fagan Typescript (1987) 74.

campaigns and attend demonstrations.⁴ The weekly cell meeting provided a 'circle of shame and pride' in which individual members accounted for their activity, making evident the commitment to the cause.⁵ This sense of shared community and embattled status contributed to the CPGB's exceptional cohesion, durability and political identity.

In researching this period, I have nevertheless been moved by the extent to which Communist ideology galvanised the intellectual and professional and in some sense the emotional trajectory of so many of Francis Klingender's contemporaries, colleagues and fellow Party members. In consequence the desire to impose some kind of retrospective symmetry or life pattern has all of the seductive possibilities of an act of bad faith. That said, in looking at the specifics of Klingender's biography as an orthodox Marxist, it is impossible to disregard the recurrent priorities which animated the man: as an art historian, cinéaste, sociologist and CPGB member, convictions which ultimately imposed an order of a kind to his life. All the available evidence supports the reading that between 1930/31 and at least until the early 1948, Klingender's known activities (political, cultural, organisational and professional), were geared to the service of the Communist cause. Even in the seven year interregnum between leaving the CPGB and his death, he remained engaged with Communism, but on his own terms. Klingender's approach to, and exposition of, art and art history, was indivisible from his Marxist identity.

As suggested in chapter one, Klingender appears to have spent a precocious adolescence in Goslar, although one probably marred by some degree of social ostracism, a consequence both his father's internment, and in all probability, his nascent Communist convictions. The latter within a community, sections of which, as Peter Schyga's profile suggests, appear to have begun radicalising in a different direction. That said, from the LSE onwards, Klingender

⁴ MacEwen (1991) 22–23.

⁵ This phrase was used by the writer Amos Oz for the very different context of the kibbutz, but it conveys something of the localised and intense identity which various CPGB memoirs evoke. (Interview for *In Our Time* with Melvyn Bragg, 1999).

demonstrated an unerring ability, not only to acculturate to a different environment, but to network beyond his immediate peers and to dispute ideological differences with the likes of Laski and Hobhouse and with visiting speakers like Bertrand Russell. As suggested in chapter two, the LSE was a cosmopolitan, hothouse environment in which Klingender played an active organisational and journalistic part in propagating the Communist cause during the CPGB's sectarian and embattled isolation which followed its adoption of the Comintern's New Line. In part, this may account for his frequently tendentious writing style, a characteristic which does not appreciably lessen until the publication of *Art and the Industrial Revolution* in 1947. The attractions of Communism might be variously rationalised, although for Klingender it seems reasonable to conjecture that it promised a more equitable system, at a time of vicious inequality, as well as offering critiques which perhaps could be used to articulate more personal grievances. This is not to infantilise Klingender or his motivations, but simply to suggest that much of his life before 1948 was lived in difficult material conditions, with dependents, but without secure institutional affiliation, consistent employment or stability within personal or marital relationships.

However, I would suggest that Klingender strongly identified with Communism's internationalist agenda, a conviction variously demonstrated by his membership of the LAI, the AIA and his associations with the SCR. Of all the political parties, the CPGB was the most active in galvanising debates on colonialism, in no small part because of the imperative of internationalising the Bolshevik struggle and the influence of theoreticians like Rajani Palme Dutt and his brother, Clemens.

Another dimension to this orientation can be seen from the contribution of one of the three LSE tutors which Klingender acknowledges as having played a formative role in his own thinking. Bronislaw Malinowski's anthropological fieldwork provided an 'international' perspective of another kind. Klingender's adaptive view of culture and his functionalist approach to art as 'one of the great value-forming agencies in the social structure and in social change' owes as much to

anthropology as it does to what Roberts describes as a 'Stalinised positivism'.⁶ Plausibly, as a consequence of such political internationalism, and academic example, Klingender's work is punctuated with an awareness of non-western art and art making, albeit under-theorised. Wider perspectives are evident in Klingender's last work, the posthumously published *Animals in Art and Thought*, in which the scope and definition of art-making and the aesthetic is resolutely anthropological, rather than automatically accepting of the fine art and academy-derived definitions customarily associated with more conventionally defined iconographical surveys.⁷ This is not to claim Klingender as a precursor to the politics and sensitivities of the New Left, but simply to note that his internationalism was part of a genuine belief in cultural rapprochement and the wider polity.

Klingender's involvement with a range of Soviet-supported and Popular Front organisations from the 1930s through to the onset of the Cold War acted as surrogates for the networks and connections which many of his more acculturated, British-born contemporaries may have taken for granted. However, in the formal fact of such associations he was unremarkable of Communists among his generation. As Wood notes in *Communism and the British Intellectuals*, front organisations such as the SCR and the AIA were principally conceived by the Comintern propagandist Willie Münzenberg as 'auxillary of the communist party designed to further communist penetration in all spheres of endeavour'.⁸ The professional cadres they attracted were similarly heterogeneous with only a small percentage typically being card-carrying CPGB members like Klingender at any one time. Although invariably in the minority, Party members frequently gravitated towards organisations and executive roles, therefore exercising influence disproportionate to their number and largely in conformity with Comintern

⁶ Klingender's (1954a); Roberts (1998) 70.

⁷ Although some caveats should be noted since the final published text reflected considerable editorial work by Evelyn Antal and Elton. However, the editors appear to have respected Klingender's original timeline the material for which was virtually complete until the end of the Middle Ages with the sketchier sections to the end of the nineteenth century compressed into an epilogue. Antal and Harthan (1971) preface xxiv.

⁸ Wood (1959) 161.

directives.

As noted in chapter four, the AIA was paradigmatic: its executive and ad hoc committee structure replicated the typology of the CPGB itself with Communists active throughout both structures.⁹ Klingender's organisational involvement in the AIA outlined in chapter five was consistent with the active role envisaged of, and expected from, Party members within front organisations. Similarly, Klingender's employment with Arcos, the commercial trading and procurement arm of the Soviet Trade Delegation, continued this pattern of affiliation with pro-Soviet organisations. Although ostensibly employed as an economist and statistician, Klingender's linkage through Arcos with probable Soviet attempts to secure the screening of Pudovkin's *The Deserter* suggests both a recognition of his intellectual value by British based Soviet diplomats, as well as a commitment on his part to work directly for, and in support of, the ideological objectives of Soviet cultural policy.

Callaghan suggests that the influence of intellectuals within the CPGB became increasingly circumscribed as Stalinist bureaucracy became entrenched within the CPSU and the Moscow Comintern in the 1930s and its ethos passed down to the national party structures.¹⁰ Whilst accepting the limitations and partiality of information from such sources, the general tenor of Klingender's security file seems to suggest that overt and direct involvement in CPGB activities appreciably lessened from the later 1930s onwards. On a practical level, this reading would be consistent with the approximate ending of Klingender's LSE fellowship funding, his postgraduate involvement in student politics, the practical necessity of gaining some form of employment, and the onset of war. Professionally it coincides with an increasingly active engagement with the AIA from 1934; his journalism for Grierson and the documentary film movement (from 1936 onwards); as well as a necessary range of peripatetic teaching roles and ad hoc lecturing assignments for organisations such as the Workers Educational

⁹ Cornford recalled the AIA as 'almost exclusively an artists' wing of the CPGB'. Morris and Radford (1983) 23.

¹⁰ Callaghan (2003); Hobsbawm (1999) 31 and Anderson (1989) 19–21.

Association, the Army Education Corps, the Courtauld Institute, the University of London and Oxford Extra-Mural Departments.¹¹

Although British-born contemporaries such as Blunt and Caudwell are recorded as being involved in Popular Front organisations of the 1930s, Klingender was exemplary not just for the scope and consistency of such affiliation but, as noted, for the extent to which his professional work and choice of subject matter mediates a Communist mandate. In this, Klingender followed evolving CPGB and Comintern directives concerning students and intellectuals and the nature of the contribution they could make to the movement. In 1934, the year Klingender left the LSE, Branson recalled advice given by Willie Gallacher, on behalf of the Communist Central Committee, to student members at Cambridge University:

We want people who are capable, who are good scientists, historians and teachers...We need you as you are; if you have a vocation, it's pointless to run away to factories...We want you to study and become good students.¹²

Despite the bureaucratic and centralising tendencies of Stalinism, there was a pragmatic recognition of the value of harnessing the commitment and engagement of intellectuals in support of the CPGB. Wood notes that intellectuals were expected to 'maintain and increase' their 'professional standing, setting an example for non-communist intellectuals'.¹³ Whilst Blunt is on record as claiming that he was 'only a paper Marxist',¹⁴ there are no such recorded vagaries or recantations with

¹¹ Saville and Bellamy (1993) 163.

¹² Gallagher was a Central Committee Member and was elected a year later as MP for Fife. See: Campbell (1995) 59. Branson (1985) 209.

¹³ Wood (1959) 174.

¹⁴ Carter (2001) 145.

Klingender.¹⁵ Whilst the former clearly saw (and seized) the opportunities of an establishment career and gradual disassociation from Comintern involvement, the trajectory of Klingender's professional associations and published works, at least until 1948, closely follows the role for intellectuals prescribed by the Comintern and endorsed by the CPGB.¹⁶ In art and science, this meant demonstrating that Soviet ideas were superior to those of the 'bourgeois formalists' and in revealing 'wherever possible, the professional errors of reactionary intellectuals which should be ruthlessly exposed'.¹⁷

Klingender's Contribution as a Marxist Art Historian

With the possible exception of Arnold Hauser, of the Marxist Art Historians writing in Britain in the 1930s and 1940s, Klingender recognised the eventual primacy and potentiality of film as the mass media, which could galvanise revolutionary change.¹⁸ As Dave Laing has observed, Marxism has traditionally been at its most hamstrung when faced with the 'newer mass cultural forms of the twentieth century'.¹⁹ Although Klingender died before much of the debate on popular culture

¹⁵ It was evident from a pre-interview conversation with Saville that Klingender took the eventual decision to leave the CPGB with extreme reluctance. Doing so without public comment may have been less out of a concern for his personal regard or standing in the eyes of Party colleagues 'still in,' but more probably a sense of what was being relinquished in terms of a life time's belief and commitment.

¹⁶ This is evident from the selective papers within the Blunt Archives lodged with the Courtauld Institute. For example, aside from some press cuttings from the period (files 489 and 490), there is no documentation concerning Blunt's pre-war AIA involvement with Carline and Klingender on the Exhibitions Committee or any personal correspondence of a political nature from this period. The archive is a monument to Blunt's utter exteriority.

¹⁷ Wood (1959) 174–175.

¹⁸ Like Klingender, Hauser studied sociology and economics with his art history, Egbert (1970) 567. Hauser is on record as having worked as a promotions manager for a Viennese film Company (1925–1938). He was also a member of the Austrian Film Censorship Advisory Board (1933–36), and a docent of Film Theory and Technology at the Vienna *Volkshochschule*. In this period, Hauser was working on material for a book (*Dramaturgie und Soziologie des Films*) although the manuscript was never completed. See: <http://www.lib.duke.edu/lilly/artlibry/dah/hausera.htm> (July 2005). I can find no commentary on, or engagement with, film and cinema, in the published work of Antal or Blunt. On the latter's visit to the Soviet Union in 1935, for example, all the recorded references are to examples of architecture and painting as are the extant press notices and cuttings. AFB Archive, Courtauld Institute, Russia File 507, and cuttings files 489 and 490. As Carter notes acidly (2001) 131–137, the nearest that Blunt got to 'neo-Baroque movie palaces' arose from travelling on the newly built Soviet metro.

¹⁹ Laing (1978) 105.

and its contended Cold War status got underway, research at the British Film Institute (BFI) has identified previously un-recorded features and reviews on contemporary cinema, dating from the 1930s which Klingender wrote for Grierson's trade paper *World Film News*. Like the financial profile *Money behind the Screen*, they demonstrate an informed knowledge of contemporary cinema and film fashions.²⁰

From the journalistic examples cited in chapter four, however, Klingender remained hesitant towards aspects of avant-garde cinematic technique. In this, he was reflecting the views of the CPSU and the proscriptive policies which increasingly characterised Soviet thinking after 1928.²¹ Chapter three noted Klingender's involvement, through Arcos, with the BBFC over Pudovkin's film, *The Deserter*. This suggests, notwithstanding Soviet reservations over aspects of avant-garde film production, the need for foreign currency and the *realpolitik* required to secure it, over-rode such considerations. We do not know what Klingender actually thought of Pudovkin's work, but if his film comments in *October Eye* are indicative, he clearly understood the transformative and educative potential of the film genre even if concerned that the subordination of content to form could mystify its message.

The documentary film movement with which Klingender was associated through his film industry reportage, was no less committed to a re-definition of social and civic values, albeit paternalistic or neo-liberal in character. Given the truncation of Klingender's activities by the onset of war, it is impossible to say what future collaborations may have been ventured, but the indications are that Grierson and Huxley envisaged further social and scientific investigations, consistent with the contemporary vogue for centralised planning and managed intervention. Although the documentary film movement cannot justifiably be claimed as a Soviet-backed or pro-Comintern organisation, its sponsoring of media production with a social message and Grierson's clear preference for naturalistic film-making

²⁰ Klingender (1937c).

²¹ Taylor (1992) 7–17.

rendered it consonant with Klingender's thinking, if not his politics.²² One further point of affinity was the shared and clearly articulated sense of antipathy to the cultural climate of the 1920s. As Aitken notes, Grierson made this explicit by characterising the documentary movement as:

... a reaction from the art world of the early and middle twenties – Bloomsbury, Left Bank, T.S. Eliot, Clive Bell and all...it was a return to 'reality'...not unconnected with Clydeside movements, ILP's, the Great Depression, not to mention Lord Keynes, *the LSE, PEP and such* (my italics).²³

The last two underline the affinity of viewpoint with Klingender, who was demonstrably involved in both contexts. Klingender's first essay on art history, 'Content and Form in Art', attacked the abstraction of Fry, Bell and the Bloomsbury coterie as emblematic of false consciousness. This was published a year before Klingender was contracted by Grierson to work with Legg on *The Money Behind the Screen*. Aside from the other similarities in background and mindset outlined in chapter four, Grierson's observation underlines the similarities in outlook which would have cemented his association with Klingender.

The text of *Art and the Industrial Revolution* hints at Klingender's progressive disengagement from the CPGB's ideological priorities and the wider debates on a post-war settlement. As Bindman notes, there is no mention of Lenin or any other Soviet authority, with the essay firmly 'British' in scope and treatment.²⁴ On one level this may indeed have been a consequence of external

²² Similarly, it was not listed as having been among those organisations which the security services associated with clandestine CP activity. Curry (1999) 103. As Aitken has noted, there was a strong link between the movement and the type of naturalistic painting Klingender was known to have favoured. Four of the film producers who worked with Grierson were painters (Lye, Jennings, McLaren and Coldstream). Aitken (1998) 44.

²³ Aitken (1998) 116.

²⁴ Bindman (2006) 22.

Cold War pressures, but I would suggest it was part of a wider disaffection with the disclosures of Stalin's pre-war rule and his increasing post-war paranoia, typified by erratic foreign policy decisions towards satellites such as Yugoslavia.

Klingender, along with Paul Hogarth had visited the country only months earlier, enthusing to AIA colleagues that the Youth Railway project was a testament to the optimism of a younger generation and praising the 'true cultural revival' evident in Belgrade, Sarajevo and Zagreb.²⁵ That said, the analogies within *Art and the Industrial Revolution* are resolutely those which evoke the spectacular Soviet engineering projects of the 1930s and the hubris of labour brigades and shock workers. If Klingender was disaffected with Stalin's Soviet system, he nevertheless retained a Marxist nostalgia for the heroic post-Revolutionary period, memorably signified in what Elton described as his friend's 'associative leaps of the imagination'.²⁶ In this regard, Klingender's reproductions of John Martin's subterranean panoramas are as much emblems of human imagination as they are evocations of something altogether less desirable.

As Bindman notes, and as discussed in chapter five, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* was instrumental in bringing to light the names of several artists, and their industrial subject-matter not just marginalised by a connoisseurial tradition, but whose identities had simply never been transmitted into wider art historical consciousness by an academic tradition largely concerned with the fine art canon. Their artistic resurrection might be interpreted as reflecting Klingender's belief that such individuals mediated a historically authentic experience, directly analogous to that of the un-named workers who drove Soviet industrialisation and re-construction from the plough to the space age within the memory of a single generation.

However, as Anderson has observed, the Western Marxist tradition was the product of the failure to internationalise the Bolshevik struggle.²⁷ Ideologically,

²⁵ Klingender (1947) 2.

²⁶ Elton (1972) preface vii.

²⁷ Anderson (1989) 11–21.

Klingender was a Marxist-Leninist and an internationalist, but his generation was compelled to witness the entrenchment of Stalin's 'Socialism in One Country' and the rolling back of any viable hope of Communist society outside the Soviet Union. But the Marxist-Leninist dialectic of class struggle did provide Klingender with a binary model of class difference and with the closely associated principle of *narodnost*. Both concepts explain the 'see-saw' of realist and idealist art which informs Klingender's art sociology as well as situating his life-long ambivalence towards abstract painting.

As I have suggested, whilst Antal's art sociology provided Klingender with a template through which to apply this to the specifics of stylistic evolution, Malinowski's anthropological definition of cultural forms had already provided him with a cultural approach which was functionalist, adaptive and co-incidentally consonant with the utilitarian reading offered by contemporary Marxist-Leninism. But as noted in chapters four and five, despite his relatively conservative artistic tastes, Klingender did not give unqualified support for the academic naturalism which eventually became the paradigm for Soviet Socialist Realism. Although his endorsement of Soviet artists such as Deineka, Moholy-Nagy, Pimenov and of others such as Heartfield and Grosz was frequently qualified by the belief that any society in Socialist transformation could, by definition, only be given provisional pictorial and documentary form, Klingender's aesthetic tastes were not unthinking re-articulations of Stalinist orthodoxy. In the absence of a classical sociological tradition, Klingender part-appropriated, part-fashioned and applied what he believed to be a fit-for-purpose, positivist model for art practice and evaluation at a time of accelerating international conflict and perceived capitalist crisis.

Klingender's art historical legacy

To a considerable extent the reception of Klingender's work has shared the same fate as that of his older Communist peers, Antal and Hauser. Klingender's early death during the Cold War, with a major book unfinished, inevitably delayed a broader consideration and dissemination of his work, publishing interest in which

has since been fragmentary.²⁸ As Harris has commented in relation to Hauser's work and the context of the resurgence of the New Left, the re-publishing of Marxist classics at a time when the left's priorities had moved on from class as the subject and object of history, to a wider range of concerns linked to gender, ethnicity, difference and the environment, was at best likely to be seen as a 'crude antecedent' to more contemporary Marxist analysis.²⁹ Compared to the more specialised and reflexive academic discourse which characterised Marxist cultural critique from the late 1970s onwards, much of Klingender's 'epochal' analysis looks distinctly one-dimensional and over-determined.

It could be argued, as Harris has suggested in relation to work by T.J. Clark from the 1970s, that the vogue for 'conjunctural analysis' or investigating specific sections of cultural history, was a reaction and further professionalising of the generalised accounts undertaken by Klingender and others.³⁰ That said, their radical legacy informed Clark's own work, an influence he formally acknowledged in 1974.³¹

The messianic (and moralising) belief in class agency was among the fault lines which informed New Left debates before and after 1968, in much the same way as the unquestioning compliance to the CPSU had been such a marked feature of Comintern and Cominform history before 1956. That said, the academic discipline of art history that Klingender and his Marxist contemporaries would have known is now largely unrecognisable.³² If the tendentiousness is absent, Marxist

²⁸ For example, *Money Behind the Screen* (1937) was re-printed by Arnos Books (New York) in 1978, probably as a consequence of the developing interest in film history and historiography, but is presently out of print. Similarly, a revised edition of *Goya in the Democratic Tradition* was published by Sidgwick & Jackson in 1968 and the revised edition of *Art and the Industrial Revolution* was re-printed by Paladin Press (Granada Books) in 1972. All are now out of print.

²⁹ Harris (1999) xiv.

³⁰ Harris (2001) 65–66.

³¹ Clark (1974) 561–2.

³² Harris (1999) xiii, not unfairly, characterises British art history in 1951 (the year in which Hauser's *The Social History of Art* was first published), as 'an elite and narrow concern limited to a handful of university departments'. In the context of Klingender's first forays into the subject in 1934, art history, insofar as it signified at all as a recognisable academic discourse, was an esoteric and elitest activity essentially defined by the activities of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes.

analysis, or rather much of its terminology remains, having migrated to 'social history' approaches to the subject.³³ As Eagleton has noted, the point at which Marxism has lost political agency, has, paradoxically witnessed its relative ascendancy at the level of aesthetic intervention.³⁴ However, how should one attempt to disaggregate Klingender's legacy and contribution after one Cold War and the various intellectual and academic filters of the New Left?

Richard Hoggart was Klingender's contemporary at the University of Hull. In his memoirs, *A Sort of Clowning*, he recalled his former colleague. Describing Klingender, Hoggart wrote:

In private relations he was a very gentle man, but like many such Marxists, uncompromisingly hard if he felt his ideology was challenged.³⁵

Hoggart asked Klingender, and another colleague, to read the final typescript for what became *The Uses of Literacy*.³⁶ Hoggart recalled:

It was plain that the book had upset him, but it took me time to discover why. His image of the English working class did not square with mine; in my picture the radical working class figured hardly at all; nor did the trade unions or the industrial life of labourers. But my own experience had been overwhelmingly domestic, internal, home and woman centred, and I did not want to appear to be claiming a larger proof of knowledge....Klingender came to see this,

³³ Harris (2001) 7–8.

³⁴ This is one of the tacit points behind the elaboration of Marxist aesthetics in Eagleton (1990) 196–230.

³⁵ Hoggart (1990) 142.

³⁶ Hoggart (1957).

though not to relish the implications of my approach, my part of the whole, but we remained friendly acquaintances until his very early death.³⁷

With the benefit of hindsight, this exchange can be read as a symbolic trading of perceptions. Hoggart and his very personal work of class ethnography has since achieved canonical recognition within what Tom Steele has described as the 'prehistory of British cultural studies'.³⁸ For Klingender, and from Hoggart's comments, it seems clear that the fault line rested along very different characterisations of class and the extent to which the collective could and should subsume the agency of the individual. Although such differences were to be played out again in the birth and disputes of the New Left, Steele reminds us that a social history, critical of Marxist over-determination, was among the main concerns of the Communist Party Historians' Group.³⁹

Notwithstanding his differences with Hoggart, Klingender's *Art and the Industrial Revolution* did choose as its subject what Steele notes as the 'newest' of the new categories of interdisciplinary knowledge that represented different class experiences and subjectivities.⁴⁰ However, Klingender's early death has obscured the extent to which he shared academic interests and aspirations with those of Hoggart, even if the emphasis given to social and class ethnography was different.⁴¹ In this regard, Klingender's 'pioneering' study of the aesthetics of the Industrial Revolution and his interests in animal iconography sketch out and suggest interdisciplinary and expansive approaches to new subject areas, among the future characteristics of what was then a nascent cultural studies tradition.⁴² As Steele notes, among the antecedents for the re-orientation suggested by such a

³⁷ Hoggart (1990) 142.

³⁸ Steele (1997) 1.

³⁹ Steele (1997) 3.

⁴⁰ Steele (1997) 94.

⁴¹ Steele (1998) 118–198.

⁴² Hemingway (1993) 148.

tradition was the formative example of the Popular Front against fascism which had pointed to 'a new kind of political struggle not so much at the point of production as at the point of representation'.⁴³ That *Art and the Industrial Revolution* encoded aspects of this generational experience underlines the extent to which his late work anticipated some of these cultural and ethnographic shifts, even if politically Klingender had been defined by an earlier *weltanschauung*.

It would be premature and inauthentic to claim Klingender's last publication as a precursor to the intellectual interests of the New Left. That said, his engagement with a fine art canon and his effort to give scholarly and historical recognition to neglected and marginalised figures and subject areas does at least suggest an awareness of the limits and assumptions of art historical discourse, even if the text is more orthodox in the primacy it gives to class agency. As Harris notes, Klingender's contribution (and that of Hauser and Schapiro), was among those cited by T.J. Clark in asserting that the 'social history of art' then being promulgated in the 1970s by art historians such as Fred Orton, Griselda Pollock, Albert Boime, Carol Duncan and others, had an earlier precedent.⁴⁴ For example, as Bindman notes in context of social history, part of Klingender's legacy had been to open up English satirical prints for serious art historical study.⁴⁵

Klingender's teaching affiliations with the Workers' Educational Association can be seen as prescient in other respects. As Steele notes, Karl Mannheim's book *Ideology and Utopia* (1936) identified the voluntaristic, worker-ethos of adult education as a 'potential vanguard of the new sociology'.⁴⁶ Although these debates were truncated by the outbreak of war, the WEA did witness post-war disputes between those who saw its mission in terms of a more narrowly defined culture derived from class struggle and class emancipation (the 'workerists') and those who looked to a pedagogic mission based on the humanities and closer affiliation

⁴³ Steele (1997) 9.

⁴⁴ Harris (2001) 6–7.

⁴⁵ Bindman (2006) 1.

⁴⁶ Steele (1997) 99.

with universities (the 'culturalists').⁴⁷ Although Klingender's actual views on these particular debates are not known, from the profile established in these chapters, and from the exchange with Hoggart, a reasonable guess can be made as to where he would have stood.

Whilst these debates anticipated some of the subsequent differences and dichotomies later rehearsed between the old and the New Left, they underscore the extent to which Klingender's last work was published at a time when the political and cultural narratives which had anchored his life and that of many other CPGB members were beginning to unravel. Politically, as suggested in the last chapter, from the late 1940s onwards the CPGB appears increasingly to have been on the defensive as it sought to justify the aberrant policy shifts of Stalin's last years. Culturally, a resurgent post-war Modernism offered the younger generation a very different aesthetic from the realist-based paradigms of the 1930s and 1940s.

As discussed in the last chapter, Paul Hogarth candidly acknowledged his personal debt to Klingender through his introduction to a graphic and reportage tradition in American art. However, as Morris and Radford note, both Hogarth and the young John Berger (1928–) were more appreciably in the intellectual debt of Antal, who in turn, had been the acknowledged mentor to both Klingender and Blunt.⁴⁸ Whilst further research remains to be done on delineating exact inter-generational connections and theoretical influences, the endorsement of social realist theory in Berger's first collection of essays, *Permanent Red* (1960), suggests an intellectual debt both to British and émigré figures such as Antal, Blunt and Klingender, who variously extrapolated or modified Soviet cultural orthodoxy. As Morris and Radford note, Berger was a member of the AIA in the years running up to the abolition of the political clause. He was active in the peace campaigns organised under that organisation's auspices and was a contributor to the debates which accompanied the AIA exhibition *The Mirror and the Square* – associations

⁴⁷ Steele (1997) 72–77.

⁴⁸ Morris and Radford (1983) 90. The authors note 'John Berger and Paul Hogarth frequently visited Antal in the last years of his life. In this they were following a line taken by Blunt and Klingender in the thirties and early forties'.

which launched his career as a Marxist art critic.⁴⁹ However, although Morris and Radford confirm Berger's intellectual debt to Antal's *kunstsociologie*, they note:

Where Klingender chose to place current events within the context of an earlier historical period, Berger's exhibitions represented his own choice'.⁵⁰

Although a valid distinction, the difference appears one of emphasis rather than one of core ideology. However it also underscores, as noted earlier, the rapidity with which the political and cultural parameters were changing, as much as for Berger as they had for Klingender's generation. Of Klingender's contemporaries, Blunt discussed the origin of his own flirtation with Marxist art history in an article he authored for *Studio International* in November 1973. Blunt acknowledged Antal and Klingender, the latter as his peer who was working on 'the more immediate applications of the doctrine,' but stated that it had been the radicalised Cambridge coteries that had been instrumental in influencing his own move towards Communism.⁵¹

Klingender's early death, as well as forestalling broader consideration of his life and work, at least saved him from witnessing the tawdry and unworthy spectacle of Communism's final unravelling which many of his contemporaries were compelled to see played out. Perhaps it was with such prescience that Klingender wrote out his own curriculum vitae a year before he died. The words of Swingler's poem are an apt and resonant epitaph for the man – and the life.

Areas for Further Research

This thesis has confined itself to Klingender's work published in Britain. Research remains to be undertaken on Klingender's association with, and contribution to, the

⁴⁹ Morris and Radford (1983) 86, 87, 89 & 90.

⁵⁰ Morris and Radford (1983) 90.

⁵¹ Blunt (1973) 167.

American *Art Front*, the periodical of the Artists' Union for which he became a contributing editor. For example, Hemingway notes Charles Humboldt's visit to London in 1934 through which he appears to have secured permission to reprint essays from *5 on Revolutionary Art*.⁵² Further research is needed in order to tease out the associations and inter-connections from this period.

Similarly a history of the SCR and its wider role, reach and contribution to the left's cultural milieu of the period also remains to be written.⁵³ In this context Klingender's connection with Ivan Maisky, the Soviet Ambassador in London 1934–1943, and the latter's involvement with CPGB personalities of the time requires further investigation. It is probable that Maisky's detailed diaries, translated by Gabriel Gorodetsky and due for release in 2007, will throw more light on some of these associations.⁵⁴ Although chapter five suggested a CPGB spine to AIA membership, and has noted similarities in organisational typology between the two organisations, the exact nature and extent of that influence, outside the remit of this thesis, awaits fuller consideration.

The James Klugmann archive, although consulted in a preliminary way for the purposes of this thesis, is at the time of writing yet to be fully catalogued and indexed by the Marx Memorial Library.⁵⁵ Andy Croft has eloquently described the context and nature of 'King Street' intervention in relation to the journal *Our Time* and with regard to the journalism and writing of a handful of British Communist intellectuals involved with that and similar publications during the 1939–45 period and in the initial post-war years.⁵⁶ However, a fuller history of the CPGB's engagement with the cultural life and direction of its members, specifically in

⁵² Hemingway (2002) 113–114.

⁵³ Jean Turner, administrator at the SCRSS Archive, Brixton, confirmed that a full history has yet to be authored or indeed the holdings of the organisation fully indexed and referenced (Conversation with the author, November 2005).

⁵⁴ Maisky's diaries for the period 1933–1943 are to be published by Yale in 2007. Email enquiries have been made to Professor Gorodetsky (November 2005) to see if Klingender's name features in the diaries, but no reply has yet been received. See: <http://www.tau.ac.il/~russia/projects/maiskeyprij.html> (June 2005)

⁵⁵ Correct as of December 2005.

⁵⁶ Croft (1998) 142–162.

relation to the visual arts, from its inception to its demise, and the activities of its Central Committee members such as Klugmann and Emile Burns, awaits further investigation.

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Appendix 1

Francis Klingender 1954 Curriculum Vitae

1st February, 1954.

1. Personal Details. Francis Donald Klingender
Age 46
Married, no children.
Born of British parents abroad.
- ELTON ARCHIVES
CLEVEDON COURT
SOMERSET

2. Academic Qualifications.

First class honours B.Sc.(Econ) degree of the University of London, with the special subject of Sociology, 1930;
Research Studentship, London School of Economics, 1930/31 and 1931/32;
Ph.D., Faculty of Economics, University of London, 1934;
Leverhulme Research Fellow, 1939-40;
Lecturer in Sociology, University College, Hull, since 1948.

3. Experience.

(I) Teaching

At Hull I have been responsible for teaching students taking Sociology as a special, subsidiary or alternative subject in the London B.Sc.(Econ), B.A. Psychology or B.A. General degrees, or else in preparation for the Diploma in Social Studies. I have also had much experience in adult education, chiefly in connection with the London Extension Department and with the WEA.

(II) Research.

4. I have had experience of research in the following fields of study :

(a) theoretical and historical studies designed to elucidate the role of art as one of the great value-forming agencies in the social structure and in social change;

(b) applied work in market research, on the social relations of science, and war-time operational research;

(c) sociological field surveys, chiefly of sections of the middle classes.

5. (a) Theoretical Works. My interest in art was due to the influence of my father, who had settled in the Harz Mountains to pursue his profession as a painter and who also arranged the museum at Goslar (where I received a classical education). To that interest my training in sociology at the London School of Economics under Hobhouse, Malinowski and Ginsberg added a new dimension, so that most of my theoretical work since the early 1930s has been concerned with the sociology of art. Contributions of mine to that subject have appeared since that time in various journals, notably the Architectural Review and the Burlington Magazine, and I have also published monographs on

Hogarth and English Caricature (1944)
Art and the Industrial Revolution (1947)
Goya in the Democratic Tradition (1948)

/6.

6. I have also lectured at the Courtauld Institute and was responsible, as a member of the Executive Committee of the Artists International Association, for the running of the Charlotte Street Centre (the forerunner of the present AIA Gallery) as a centre for discussions and exhibitions, several of which were distributed nationally by the Arts Council and sent abroad by the British Council. More recently I have read papers by invitation on Social Aspects of Art to the Northern Branch of the British Psychological Society and a London meeting of the British Sociological Association, on The Social Basis of Architectural Design to the 1953 conference of that Association, and on Palaeolithic Religion and the Principle of Social Evolution to the 1953 Conference of the Prehistoric Society. My most recent study in this field is in the current issue of the Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.

7. (b) Applied Work. Having enrolled at the LSE as an evening student, I gained my first experience in applied research while still an undergraduate, when I was entrusted by my employers, the advertising agency Rudolph Mosse Ltd. with the organisation of a small market research unit. In the early 1930s a brief engagement for similar work with Arcos Ltd. provided an illuminating insight into the conditions under which the more elementary levels of planning research were then conducted in a Soviet enterprise. But my first independent venture in the applied field was a study of the financial structure of the British film industry which Mr. John Grierson asked me to undertake in 1936 and which I published jointly with Mr. Stuart Legg under the title

Money Behind the Screen (1937)

8. Continuing my association with Grierson and the documentary film movement, I was then engaged to conduct a nation-wide series of interviews with agricultural experts on behalf of the Agricultural Research Council, in order to report on the reasons for the time-lag between the discovery of new knowledge at the research stations and its practical application on British farms. The substance of my report was embodied also in the PEP Report on Agricultural Research, and this led, in turn, to my appointment as research secretary to a joint committee of PEP and the British Association, under the chairmanship of Dr. Julian S. Huxley, F.R.S., with the task of conducting a broader enquiry (supported also by a Leverhulme Fellowship) into the Social Relations of Scientific Research in this country. My preliminary report was read by Dr. Huxley to the Dundee meeting of the British Association in 1939, but the war prevented the completion of this enquiry.

9. My last experience in the applied field was gained during my war-time as a scientific officer at the Princes Risborough research unit of the Ministry of Home Security.

10.(c) Field Work. I was privileged to obtain my training in sociological field work in the course of the New Survey of London Life and Labour under the guidance of Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith. After graduating in 1930 I was for a time engaged in collecting material for the borough summaries in the survey

/volumes

volumes and then granted a two-year research studentship which I used for writing my thesis on The Black-Coated Worker in London (1934). Chapter XI in volume VIII, Section III, in the New London Survey is largely drawn from the material I collected for that thesis, and so is my own more extended monograph

The Condition of Clerical Labour in Britain (1935)

11. Since coming to Hull I have conducted two further field studies. One was undertaken on behalf of the Department of Economics with the help of a research assistant and based on interviews with a sample of 100 small shopkeepers in Hull. A popular summary of it entitled The Little Shop was published by the Bureau of Current Affairs in 1951. The second study, undertaken on behalf of the Departments of Economics and Education, was based on a questionnaire answered by 562 of the 776 British students registered at the University College of Hull in the session 1951-52 and designed to elucidate some of the problems arising at English universities from the Education Act of 1944. The first part of my report, Student in a Changing World, is now in proof and will appear in the forthcoming issue of the Yorkshire Bulletin.

12. To sum up, my chief interest as a sociologist is in the theory of changing social structure, with special emphasis on the roles played by art and science in social life. But I have also always felt the need to supplement theoretical work with field studies of current social problems, convinced that both kinds of work are necessary for a balanced outlook in sociology.

Appendix 2

Klingender Family genealogy

~~RE-370-708~~
LB, 31. a. 1977

THE Record, more or less imperfect, which is imprinted upon the following pages, has been compiled under circumstances of much difficulty, and great hindrance, from evidence to be found in the State Archives, Church Registers, Memoranda in possession of the Family, and Notices in the Works of Foreign Writers. It remains to be seen whether the researches which are in progress, and which, on the death of the present compiler, will be continued by his successor, (to whom funds are bequeathed for the purpose) will, or will not, result in the discovery of that which is lacking for a thorough establishment of the case.

A MEMBER OF THE FAMILY.

February, 1895.

MARTIN KLINGENDER.

By an autograph letter of the Landgrave Karl of Hesse-Kassel, dated Kassel, 1st December, 1682, MARTIN KLINGENDER, "the hitherto fencing-master here" was transferred as fencing-master to the University of Marburg. On 1st October, 1708, he became, at his own request, Lieutenant in the 4th Veteran (or Landwehr) Battalion of the Hessian Regiment "von Knoblauch," he having been a lieutenant before.

Born, where? when? † where? September—October, 1718.

1st Wife, SOPHIA DOROTHEA (surname as yet unknown). Born, where? when? Married, where? 1691. † where? 1691-2.

2nd Wife, MARTHA ELIZABETH (surname as yet unknown). Born, where? 1658. Married, where? 1693. † Marburg, buried there, 9th July, 1714.

CHRISTINE
ELIZABETH.
b. Marburg, 6th Dec.,
1691.
† Buried, Marburg, 17th
January, 1698.

GEORG WILHELM.
b. Marburg, 27th March,
1694. Confirmed, 27th
May, 1708.
† Previous to 4th July,
1728.

JOHANN GEORG.
b. Marburg, 21st Nov.,
1695. Confirmed, 17th
June, 1710.
† Previous to 4th July,
1728.

FRANZ MARTIN.
b. Marburg, 28th July, 1697. Confirmed, 15th May,
1712. Married, 4th July, 1728. † Hanau, 1st Sept.
1783.
Privy Councillor and Councillor of Revenue to the
Landgrave of Hessen-Hanau. He was also a
* "Citizen of Basle."
Wife,
ROSINA MARIE, daughter of GEORG ERNST BERNER,
Steward of the Electoral Palace at Kassel.
b. April, 1713. † 19th January, 1766.

His descendants, see page ii.

* Name not in Burgess Roll.

SOME OF OUR FRENCH ANCESTORS, FORBEARS OF MARIE SOPHIE ROBERT.

CÉDÉON ROBERT. Sieur de Tauvenay. Godfather, Sancerre Church registers, 1618.		JEAN ROBERT, —Wife (records incomplete). Ecuyer, Sieur de La Motte Godfather, Sancerre, 30th Sep. 1618.		PIERRE — JUDITH RAVOT. BONNET. b. Sancerre, Tradesman 25rd Nov., of Sancerre. 1618. 1657.		— RENÉE CHARLES—SUSANNE MYNARD. GUIC. MYNARD. DESPOND.		
MATIAS ROBERT. Appears as Godfather, Church at Sancerre, 8th Sept., 1652.	JEHANNE ROBERT. Appears as a Widow and Godmother in the Church at La Motte, 1652, at a Baptism cele- brated by the Pastor of Henrichemont.	— MESSIRE MARC DE BRIEMANT	ELIZABETH THOMPSON.	JEAN ROBERT. b. in France † Kassel, 14th Feb., 1720.	MARGUÉRITE RAVOT.	GABRIEL RAVOT.	ANNE MYNARD. b. Sancerre, 4th January, 1657.	ANNE MYNARD. b. Sancerre, 22nd Dec., 1657.
				JEAN ETIENNE ROBERT. b. Kassel, 19th May, 1682. † Kassel, August, 1758. Secretary of the French Chan- cery, and Chief of Police in Kassel.		MADELEINE RAVOT. b. 5th July, 1699. † Kassel, 17th August, 1747.		
				(1) MARIE SOPHIE ROBERT — b. 26th May, 1726. Married, 31st October, 1756. † 1759.		JOHANN HEINRICH TISCHBEIN. The well-known Court Painter, and Court Councillor in Kassel.		
				(2) MARIANNE PERNETTE ROBERT. Married, 1763. † 1764.				
				WILHELMINE ERNESTINE TISCHBEIN. b. 1759. Married, 1780. † Kassel, 20th March, 1820.		JOHANN FRIEDRICH KLINGENDER, the French Pas- tor in Kassel. b. 1747 † Kassel, 1829.		
<p>† The German notice of him says:</p> <p>"Jean Robert, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, "in order to remain true to his religion, quitted his native town, "Henrichemont, (his paternal property being confiscated), and "followed his wife to Kassel, where in 1689 the Landgrave Karl "appointed him Secretary to the Commission which had been "established for regulating the affairs of the French refugees."</p> <p>The French account is:</p> <p>"Lastly a citizen of Henrichemont, was deprived at the "Revocation of his paternal inheritance, and lived (1686) in "Kassel as a Notary."</p>								
<p>The family Klingender as continued by his descendants.</p>								

The German notice of him says:

"Jean Robert, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in order to remain true to his religion, quitted his native town, Henrichemont, (his paternal property being confiscated), and followed his wife to Kassel, where in 1689 the Landgrave Karl appointed him Secretary to the Commission which had been established for regulating the affairs of the French refugees."

The French account is:

"Latterly a citizen of Henrichemont, was deprived at the Revocation of his paternal inheritance, and lived (1686) in Kassel as a Notary."

II.

FRANZ MARTIN.

See page I.

(1)	(4)	(2)	(3)	(5)
ROSINA WILHELMINA b. Rommershausen, 12th April, 1730. †	GEORG WILHELM. b. Rommershausen, 15th December, 1735. Grand Ducal Meklen- burg Court Councillor and Court Advocate in Güstrow. † unmarried, 2nd June 1816.	SOPHIA CHARLOTTA. b. Rommershausen, 17th November, 1731. †	JULIANA FRIEDERIKA b. Rommershausen, 20th June 1733. †	NICLAUSS FRIEDRICH b. Rommershausen, 2nd April, 1737. Married, February, 1769. † Kas- sel, 17th Feb., 1801. Major in the Fusilier Regiment of Dittfurth. He fought in the Ameri- can War of Independ- ence. Wife, SOPHIE WILHELMINE STEIN. b. 1742. † September, 1802.
(8)	(9)	(6)	(7)	(11)
WILHELM FRANZ. b. Rommershausen, 2nd October, 1741. Married Poserin, 18th June, 1789. † Secretary to his brother Georg, and Financial Secretary to the Mar- grave von Ansbach. Wife, CHRISTIANE SOPHIE (née Neefe or Narffen), widow of Barmann, Maître d'Hôtel in the Russian Imperial service, in which she also had been House- keeper. b. 1723. † Güstrow, 1st January, 1797.	JOHANN FRIEDRICH. b. Hanau 19th May, 1747. Married, 1780. † Kassel, 30th April, 1829. In 1778 he was ap- pointed Pastor of the French Church in Kas- sel, later on Inspector of all French refugee con- gregations and colonies in Hesse, and Professor of French to the Univer- sity of Marburg. Wife, WILHELMINE ERNESTINE daughter of the well- known Electoral Court Painter and Court Coun- cillor, JOHANN HEINRICH TISCHBEIN. b. Kassel, 10th January, 1759. † 20th March, 1820.	SOPHIA DOROTHEA. b. Rommershausen, 20th July, 1738. †	JOHANN PFILIPP KARL. b. Rommershausen, 12th March, 1740. † Neuburg 8th December, 1792. unmarried. Master of the Electoral Academical College at Neuburg a. d. Donau.	GEORG WILHELM. b. March, 1770. † very young.
(10)	(12)	(14)	(13)	
HIERONYMUS. (French, Jérôme). b. Hanau, 10th Sept., 1748. † Hanau, 6th, January, 1749.	A son or daughter, name unknown.	WILHELMINE. b. † 1st Husband, HERRN ESCHERICH, Chef d'Orchestre. 2nd Husband, Major VON SCHADE. † killed, 1812, at the passage of the Beresina.	ARNOLDINE WILHELMINE. b. Hanau, 23rd Dec., 1751. † A son, name unknown, went to India, never again heard of.	
No descendants.		His descendants, p. iii.		

* "At this time," reported the late Major Von Gironcourt, of Marburg, "none but the descendants of the French refugees were appointed Pastors of the French Churches of Hesse."



JOHANN FRIEDRICH.

III.

See page II.

- (1) EMIL.
b. Kassel, 26th September, 1781.
† St. Petersburg, 1847.
unmarried. Merchant.
- (4) SOPHIA FRACISCA
PHILIPPINE THEO-
DORA ELIZABETH.
b. Kassel, 1784.
† Kassel, 1788.
- (6) WILHELM ELIAS.
b. Kassel, 7th October,
1785. Married, 22nd Oct.,
1811.
† Kassel, 24th January,
1831.
Army and Civil Veterinary
Surgeon; afterwards
Master of the Wilhelm's
Institut in Kassel.
Wife, MARIE CAROLINE,
daughter of Hermann Conrad
Kasseler, a
carpenter of Hessefeld.
b. Hessefeld, 17th Sept.,
1787.
† Grossenritte, 19th Mar.,
1834.
*the Baron
at Grossen-
ritte*
- (2) GEORGINE CAROLINE
ARNOLDINE.
b. Kassel, 16th October,
1782. Married, February
1809.
† Kassel, 22nd November,
1844.
Husband, FRITZ LUDWIG
CHRISTIAN HEINRICH VON
OSTERSHAUSEN.
b. Kassel, 16th November,
1776.
† Kassel, 7th December,
1835.
Chief Officer of Woods
and Forests at Haina.
- (3) FRIEDRICH KARL
LUDWIG.
b. Kassel, 27th December,
1783. Married, 1st—April,
1806. Married, 2nd—17th
January, 1828.
† 27th February, 1836.
Naturalised in England,
Anno IX. George IV.
School Proprietor and
Director in Essex.
1st Wife,
SARAH ANN RODWELL, b.
London, 14th June, 1786.
† Chigwell, Essex, 18th
May, 1827.
2nd Wife,
CATHERINE MARTHA
SIFKEN.
b. Hackney, 28th January,
1794. † 27th September,
1852.
His descendants, p. iv.
- (5) GEORGINE
CHARLOTTE
WILHELMINE.
b. 1785. † 1720.
- (7) WILHELMINE LUISE.
b. Kassel, 2nd February,
1787.
† Kassel, 1834.
Husband,
JOHANN CHRISTOPH
MELTZER. Merchant.
b. Kassel, 12th November,
1774. Married 22th Oct.,
1817.
† Kassel, 1846.
- (8) FRIEDRIKE
DOROTHEA AUGUSTA
b. Kassel, 17th February,
1792.
Married, 1817.
† Kassel, 19th July, 1820.
Husband,
WILHELM CHRISTOPH
HEINRICH STEUBER, re-
tired Captain, Hessian
Army, and Councillor of
Revenue.
He distinguished himself
in the campaign of 1813-
15, and received the Order
of the Iron Helmet.
† 7th July, 1845.
- His descendants, p. v.

IV.

FREDERIC CHARLES LEWIS.

See page III.

- (1) FREDERIC.
b. London, 4th August,
1808. † 18th January,
1836, at sea, on a voyage
for the recovery of his
health after an attack of
yellow fever at New
Orleans. He had been
Agent there for T. W.
Smith & Co. of London.
Merchants. Unmarried.
- (9) EDWARD RICHARD.
b. High Beech, 10th May,
1821. † Drowned, 16th
June, 1824.
- (5) CHARLES LEWIS.
b. Bethnal Green, 1st April,
1814. † Canada, 27th Jan.,
1860. * Unmarried.
In early youth he entered
the Government Pilot
Service of the Canadian
Lakes. Small landowner,
Old Mill Farm, Dunnville,
Ontario, Canada West.
- (11) EDWARD.
b. High Beech, 17th June,
1824. Married at Adelaide.
23rd June, 1853.
Solicitor, Melbourne, Aus-
tralia.
Wife, ELLEN, daughter
of WILLIAM LAWRENCE,
Solicitor, b. Swan River.
- (2) CAROLINE.
b. Bethnal Green, 22nd
November 1809. Married
1836.
† Liscard, 10th Dec., 1882.
Husband,
WILLIAM VON MELLE.
b. Lübeck, 6th March,
1796.
† Lübeck, 15th June, 1854.
Merchant of London and
Lübeck.
- (6) AUGUSTA MARY.
b. Bethnal Green, 28th
October, 1815. Married
2nd August, 1838.
† Liverpool, 31st, July,
1887.
Husband,
JOHN ADRIAN MEYER,
b. 1807.
† 19th June, 1871.
- (12) LEWIS FREDERICK.
b. Buckhurst Hill, 23rd
September, 1829.
† July, 1832.
- (13) CATHERINE
ELIZABETH.
b. Buckhurst Hill, 16th
June, 1831.
- (3) MARIA.
b. Bethnal Green, 13th
March, 1811. Married
1835.
† London, 8th Mar., 1849.
Husband,
ROBERT HARRY SPARKS.
† London, 28th March,
1869. Mampole of the
Charterhouse, London.
- (7) WILLIAM.
b. Bethnal Green, 10th
December, 1817.
Married (1st) 30th April,
1842 at Christ Church, New Orleans U.S.A.
Married (2nd) 27th July
1858.
"Klingender Brothers"
Liverpool, Cotton Mer-
chants and Ship Owners.
In 1887, settled at "Riv-
dale," Patea, Taranaki,
New Zealand.
- (4) HENRY WALLIS.
b. Bethnal Green, 1st Nov.,
1812.
† Unmarried, Hobart
Town, Tasmania, 1843.
Midshipman, Royal Navy,
H.M.S. "Jaseur." Being
without private means,
he quitted the Navy and
entered the service of
- (8) ERNESTINE ELIZABETH.
b. Bethnal Green, 9th Sep.
1819. Married, 1838.
† At sea, 2nd Aug., 1838.
Husband,
CHRISTOPHER RODWELL,
Rector of Horsted Keynes,
Sussex. b. 1812.
† 14th October, 1888.
- (10) MELCHIOR GEORGE.
b. High Beech, 26th Jan.,
1823.
Married in the Roman
Catholic Church, Bayou,
Lafourche, Louisiana, U.
S. (and again in the British
Consulate, New Orleans),
25th April, 1854.
† Waterloo, Liverpool, 6th
February, 1881. Partner
with his brother William.
Wife, FRANCIS EUGENIE,
daughter of PHILIP BARTON
Key, Senator of Louisiana,
and earlier of Washington,
Sugar-planter & Barrister.
b. At "The Retreat,"
Maryland, Prince George's
County, 11th Feb., 1834.
A Roman Catholic family.
- His descendants, p. vii.
- His descendants, p. viii.
- * So far as my researches
have elicited.
- His descendants, p. vi.
*by Margaret
his second
wife.*

WILHELM ELIAS.

See page III.

V.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<p>CAROLINE WILHELMINE. b. Grossenritte, 3rd Nov., 1812. Married, 13th Jan., 1831.</p> <p>Husband, GEORG LUDWIG WAGNER, Parson at Balhorn. b. Dillich, 4th May, 1799. † Balhorn, 18th January, 1852.</p>	<p>CAROLINE AUGUSTE. b. Gudenberg, 13th Nov. 1813. Married, 24th September, 1835. † Trendelburg, 17th April, 1839.</p> <p>Husband, CHRISTOPH ZIEGELER. b. Windhausen, 15th June, 1809. Merchant of Trendelburg.</p>	<p>JOHANN WILHELM. b. Grossenritte, 6th Nov., 1815. † Kassel, 9th February, 1817.</p>	<p>JOHANN WILHELM. b. Kassel, 15th December, 1817. Mar. (1) 25th April, 1848. Mar. (2) 16th Sept., 1852. Mar. (3) 24th Sept., 1863. † Gütersloh, 1st August, 1876. Doctor of Philosophy, and Director of the Public School at Gütersloh.</p> <p>1st Wife, CAROLINE SOPHIE AMALIE DOROTHEE, daughter of FRIEDRICH LUDWIG CHRISTIAN HEINRICH VON OSTERHAUSEN, Officer of Woods and Forests at Hersfeld. b. Hersfeld, 11th August, 1820. † Kassel, 18th June, 1849.</p> <p>2nd Wife, CHARLOTTE MARIE SOPHIE daughter of CHRISTIAN LUDWIG MUENSCHER, Dean of St. Martin's Church, and Consistorial Councillor in Kassel. b. Kassel, 16th October, 1820. † Kassel, 8th April, 1858.</p> <p>3rd Wife, ELISE MUENSCHER, sister of the above. b. Kassel, 11th May, 1821. † Paderborn, 15th Sept., 1894. Buried, Gütersloh, 18th September, 1894.</p>
<p>OTTO. b. Kassel, 15th December, 1817. Married, 4th July, 1852. † Kassel, 11th October, 1887. Judge of the Supreme Court and Prussian Court of Appeal in Kassel.</p> <p>Wife, EMILIE, daughter of LUDWIG NOLL, Electoral Treasurer in Hesse-Kassel. b. Sababurg, 10th Dec., 1829.</p> <p>His descendants, p. ix.</p>	<p>Note.—Otto and Johann Wilhelm were twins.</p>		<p>His descendants, p. xii.</p>

VI.

WILLIAM.

See page IV.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<p>WILLIAM. b. Covington, New Orleans U.S., 7th June, 1845. Married, Birkdale, Southport, 8th August, 1874. Captain (17th Oct., 1873) in 1st Bedfordshire Regiment.</p> <p>Wife, FLORENCE, only daughter of JOHN CROOK, Cotton Spinner, of Bolton-le-Moors and Manchester. b. Manchester, 28th Nov., 1852.</p>	<p>CHARLES FREDERIC. b. Liverpool, 14th July, 1859. Married, 20 September 1894. With James Parry & Co., Contractors for Engineering and Bridge Works, Salto, Uruguay.</p> <p>Wife, Elina d. of Francis Elbert, gentleman farmer, Boro Bea. 1872 at Salto.</p> <p>His descendants, p. xi.</p>	<p>LOUIS HENRY WESTON. b. Liverpool, 22nd April, 1861. Married, Düsseldorf, 30th August, 1894. Animal Painter, Cronberg in Taunus, near Frankfurt a/M., Germany.</p> <p>Wife, FLORENCE, daughter of EMIL HOETTE, retired Merchant, of Liverpool, now (1895) "beigeordneter" Mayor of Düsseldorf. b. Alexandra Drive, Liverpool, 18th October, 1871.</p> <p>His descendants, p.</p>	<p>ARTHUR THEODORE. b. Liverpool, 28th Dec., 1862. † Southport, 29th March, 1869.</p>	<p>WALTER FRANCIS. b. Southport, 29th Nov., 1864.</p>
<p>EDWARD HENRY. b. Grassendale, near Liverpool, 6th February, 1853. Married, 26th May, 1881. With J. L. Phipps & Co., 88, Wall Street, New York, U.S. Wife, JULIA, daughter of EDWARD CLARKE, Merchant, Liverpool. b. 28th March, 1856.</p>	<p>HENRIETTA MARGARET. b. Southport, 28th Jan., 1867.</p>	<p>HORACE WESTON. b. Southport, 14th Feb. 1869. m. 15th May, 1895. In Holy Orders of the Church of England in New Zealand. Deacon, 1894. Priest, 1895. Wife, RACHEL, d. THOMAS, of Martontown's Farm, Bulls.</p> <p>His descendants p. (9)</p>	<p>ERNEST ROBERT. b. Southport, 9th March, 1875.</p>	
<p>PERCY MARTIN SECKER. b. London, 6th April, 1882.</p>	<p>KATHLEEN b. Carshalton, 18th January, 1891. (baptised, 15 February).</p>	<p>AMY. b. Waterloo, 29th Nov., 1872.</p>	<p>JESSIE EMILY. b. Waterloo, 22nd Sept., 1870.</p>	

MELCHIOR GEORGE.

See p. IV.

VII.

- (1) GEORGE KEY.
b. Grassendale, near
Liverpool, 19th January,
1853.
- (2) FANNY KEY.
b. Grassendale, 6th Jan.,
1856.
† Liverpool, 2nd Dec.,
1866.
- (3) HENRY SEWALL KEY.
b. Liverpool, 7th June,
1857.
- (4) ERNESTINE JULIE
KEY.
b. Liverpool, 10th June,
1859.
† Bristol, 13th May, 1892.
A Roman Catholic.
- (5) MELCHIOR KEY.
b. Waterloo, 3rd Decem-
ber, 1860.
† Durango, Colorado, U.S.
10th March, 1888.
- (6) RODWELL KEY.
b. Waterloo, 11th May,
1862. Married, 1st Aug.,
1885.
A Roman Catholic.
Wife,
ALICE JANE, daughter of
WILLIAM BUNCOMBE,
Solicitor, of Stowford,
North Devon.
b. Stowford, 1st January,
1859.
† Bishopston, Bristol, 27th
January, 1891.
- (7) WILHELMINA KEY.
b. Rock Ferry, 22nd
October, 1863.
Married, 27th December,
1888.
Husband,
RICHARD JOHN STRANGER,
The Court House, North
Molton, North Devon.
b. North Molton, 22nd
November, 1850. Agent
for Lord Poltmore.
- (8) ALBERT KEY.
b. Rock Ferry, 31st July,
1865.
With "Key & Co.,"
Whisky Distillers, States-
ville, North Carolina, U.S.
- (9) PHILLIP KEY.
b. Liverpool, 30th June,
1867.
- RODWELL. MARION. FRANCIS
b. prematurely, b. Bristol, VINCENT.
23rd April, 11th May, b. 6th Sep. 1890.
1886. 1888. † 3rd Feb. 1891.
† 11th May,
1886.

VIII.

EDWARD.

See page IV.

- (1) EDWARD WILLIAM.
b. Adelaide, Australia, 3rd
April, 1855. Married at
Christ Church, Bolodara,
9th April, 1887.
Solicitor in Warnambool.
- (2) ERNESTINE ELLEN.
b. Melbourne, March, 1857.
† Melbourne, 20th October,
1883.
Husband,
H. O'HARA, M.D.
b.
- (3) FANNY.
b. Melbourne, May, 1859.
Married, 21st December,
1888.
Husband,
FRANK SAUNDERSON,
Solicitor.
- (4) MINNIE MAUD.
b. Melbourne.
September, 1862.
Married,
† June, 1888.
Husband,
EDMUND GOVETTE, retired
Squatter.
- (5) FREDERIC LOUIS.
b. Egoline Toorak, near
Melbourne, 13th April,
1867.
Civil Engineer.
Married 5 Oct. 1895.
... of
... Beckett
- Wife, HELENA, daughter
of THOMAS SHAYLE GEORGE,
Barrister and Solicitor of
Auckland, New Zealand.
b.
- GRACE MINNA.
b. Warnambool, 19th
February, 1888.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
WILHELM-SIEGMUND b. Kassel, 30th July, 1853. Married, 23rd May, 1889. Captain, 10th Hanoverian Field Artillery Regiment, "von Scharnhorst" in Hanover.	BERNHARD. b. Kassel, 24th Dec., 1856. † same year.	LOUISE. b. Kassel, 24th Dec., 1856. Married, 7th January, 1883.	CAROLINE OTTILIE EMILIE AUGUSTE. b. Kassel, 25th March, 1859. Married, 4th Sept., 1887.	LUDWIG. b. Kassel, 30th May, 1862. Attorney-at-Law in Nuremberg, 2nd Lieutenant of Re- serve in the Grand Duke of Hesse's Own 5th Royal Bavarian Infantry Regiment.
Wife, ELIZABETH, daughter of KARL LUDWIG CHRISTIAN HENTZ, Rentier, of Berlin, b. Berlin, 13th November, 1864.	(6) AMALIE. b. Kassel, 25th June, 1863.	Husband, ALBRECHT WENDEL, Parson at Eichenberg, Witzenhausen, Hessen-Nassau. b. Fulda, 20th Oct., 1847.	Husband, CONRAD MARTIN KLEPPER. b. 9th October, 1858. Assistant Judge at Brotterode.	
CARL OTTO. b. Hanover, 20th October, 1890.	<i>Karl Ludwig</i>	<i>Friedrich Wilhelm</i> Dorn 1895		

X.

JOHANN WILHELM.

See page V.

(1)	(4)	(2)
EMIL. b. Gütersloh, 9th April, 1849. Married, 15th Aug., 1882. Officer of Woods and Forests at Stadtlengsfeld in Saxe-Weimar.	ELIZABETH HENRIETTA CAROLINE. b. Kassel, 27th October, 1857. † Gütersloh, 4th July, 1884.	ALBERT CHRISTIAN. b. Rinteln, 29th July, 1853. Married, 20th November, 1879. Metropolitan of the Hessian State Church, and Director of Studies, Wolf- hagen, Hessen-Nassau.
Wife, MARTHE ALWINE HEDWIG, daughter of GEORG LINZ, Parson at Eschwege. b. Klein Schmalkalden, 1st July, 1856.	(3) KARL GOTTLIEB ELIAS. b. Kassel, 13th April, 1855. Married 25th August, 1892. Parson at Paderborn, Westfalen.	Wife, AMALIE MARIE ELIZABETH, daughter of ADOLF ECKHARDT, Chancery Councillor at Marburg. b. Herrenbreitungen, 25th September, 1851.
(1) CAROLINE LOUISA ELIZABETH NORA. b. Schloss Neuhausen, Livonia, Russia, 2nd Sep., 1883.	Wife, SOPHIE, daughter of His Excellency, the retired Privy Councillor ALBERT FABER. b.	(1) KARL FRIEDRICH. b. Eschwege, 30th Sept., 1880.
(2) EDGAR GEORG WILHELM KARL. b. Schloss Neuhausen, 9th February, 1886.	His descendants, p.	(2) ELIZABETH CHARLOTTE AMALIE. b. Dudenrode, 22nd May, 1883.
		(3) ALBERT EMIL. b. Dudenrode, 15th Oct., 1886.

Appendix Three

Translation of a letter from Hans Ulrich 1963

What follows is a direct and complete transcription of three typed manuscript pages of an un-attributed entry on Louis Klingender for the *Goslar Zeitung* (referenced and headed No.273, Jg.180). The original photocopy is very poor so I have copied it in full. It reads:

These days our thoughts go back to those who have left us recently or some time ago. The older we get the greater their number.

Among those people who, five decades ago, belonged to the intellectual leaders of our town, I remember one, who, although English by birth, lived at Goslar for many years. He spoke German as well and fluently as his own mother tongue. He was L.H.W.Klingender, a painter of animals and hunting scenes. He was a slim man of medium height who possessed great charm and a high degree of intelligence. In my mind's eye I can still see him hurrying towards the Breite Tor [literally the Broad Gate – the name given to one of the four medieval entrances to the town]¹ with small, quick steps, carrying a loden cape folded over his shoulder, returning friendly salutes on all sides.

Klingender had his studio in an annexe of the Municipal Museum which before the first world war, was situated on Breite Strasse 67. As a schoolboy I used to visit (sic) him there and was even allowed to watch him paint provided I promised to keep quiet. I shall never forget one huge painting that covered an entire wall, showing a stag being attacked by a pack of wolves.

While the leader of the pack had its fangs in the stag's throat, a second wolf attacked his neck, others his flank and his hind legs. The background was a wintry, misty landscape with some large granite cliffs which left the spectator to guess that the extraordinary animated group of animals was on the edge of a yawning precipice. The agony and fright of the great animal was realistically caught, in splendid contrast to the murderous lust of the attacking wolves. A highly dramatic painting which on closer inspection always yielded new, realistic details. I remember Klingender telling me that this had been a true event, some long time ago; the huge antlers – which he had so painstakingly recorded in his painting – had been found in a ravine on top of the skeletons of several wolves. Alas I have no idea what became of this immense canvas – room could only have been found for it on the wall of some large hunting lodge.

Klingender was not only an excellent draughtsman, his small statues of animals were also the work of a master and he was a skillful wood-carver as well. The special quality of his paintings was their dynamism, their

¹ Hans-Gunther Griep, *Goslar: A Short Guide* (undated) 26. Consulted by the author October 2005)

drama. He hardly ever painted game in a serene setting, it was always caught in animation, in a situation of drama, whether it was stags fighting, stags shot, a boar at bay, terriers and dachshunds tearing a fox, or a red deer in flight. Added to this, every detail was meticulously true to life – there were no sketches, no vague hints, even the moss on a tree trunk, the grass and the plants of the various seasons were clearly discernible.

As far as I remember he refused to do illustrations for hunting journals or books, although this would have made him more widely known and would have earned him good fees. However, he did demand high prices for his paintings. Klingender disliked shooting animals on principle, and apart from a few birds of prey in Russia he had never shot any animal. He did, however, attend many shoots, including boar hunts conducted in the old-fashioned manner with spears. Animal photography was in its infancy in those days. What he painted was the result of years of constant and thorough observation, so true to life that no zoologist or huntsman could ever fault it.

He was among those who built up the Goslar Museum, and he also designed a plan for the reconstruction of the Georgenberg Monastery, based on research of what it must have looked like originally.

In spite of his many talents and his great culture he remained a very modest man who never sought the limelight. He was a member of the Scientific Association, the Harz Club, the Music Club, and the Oberharzer Ski-ing Club. As a born Englishman he loved sport, and it would be true to say that he was the first among us to promote and popularise swimming, athletics, and ski-ing. He organised swimming and winter events that were designed to be competitive. At one of these swimming competitions he demonstrated life-saving. After explaining the theory of it in a short lecture he demonstrated it in practice with a non-swimmer as guinea pig whom he had persuaded to jump into the swimming pool. The man sunk and came up with flailing arms only to sink again. While we, as onlookers, were convinced that the man would drown before our eyes, Klingender explained that as a rule every drowning man came up three times. He was poised on the jumping board and when we had already given up all hope for the life of the drowning man, he jumped into the water to save him. There followed an instruction in artificial respiration.

During the first world war Klingender was interned for a time, then released to Goslar with the obligation to report to the police regularly. Hatred and fear of spies were rampant in those days and many of his former 'acquaintances' now cut him. A shameful episode, even sadder for the fact that he had done so much for the cultural life and sport of our town. After the war he tried to intercede with prominent British politicians on behalf of Germany, but he was never made fully at home at Goslar again. So he returned to England where he lived to a great age, working probably until his death at the National Library. (sic)

Illustrations



Fig. 1 Photograph of 4 Ebert Strasse, Goslar, October 2005.

Image: The Author (2005).



Fig. 3 A late nineteenth century photograph of Goslar's Market Place.
In the far right is the town's Imperial Romanesque fountain and opposite the Kaiser Worth Hotel.

Image: Goslar Stadt Archiv.



Fig. 4 Louis Henry Weston Klingender, Düsseldorf, (c.1880s).

Image: Goslar Stadt Archiv.



Fig. 5 Francis Klingender and mother, Florence Klingender (née Hoette), Goslar, (c.1907).

Image: Goslar Stadt Archiv.



Fig. 6 Louis H.W. Klingender with Florence Klingender in the artist's studio, Bad Königstein, (c.1900).

Image: Goslar Stadt Archiv.

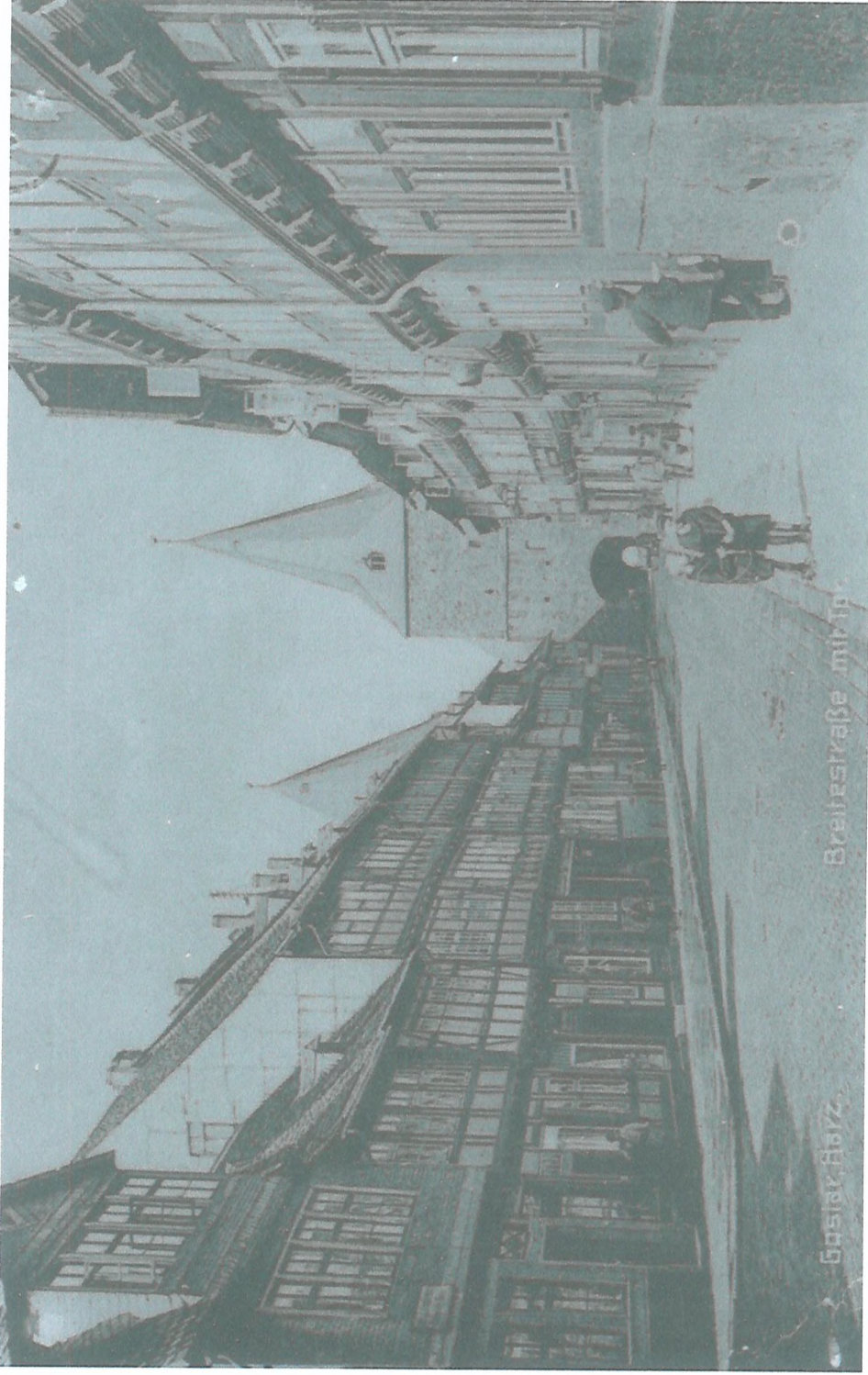


Fig. 7 A nineteenth century photograph of Breite Strasse with one of the four medieval city gates (Breite Tor) in the distance.

Image: Goslar Stadt Archiv.

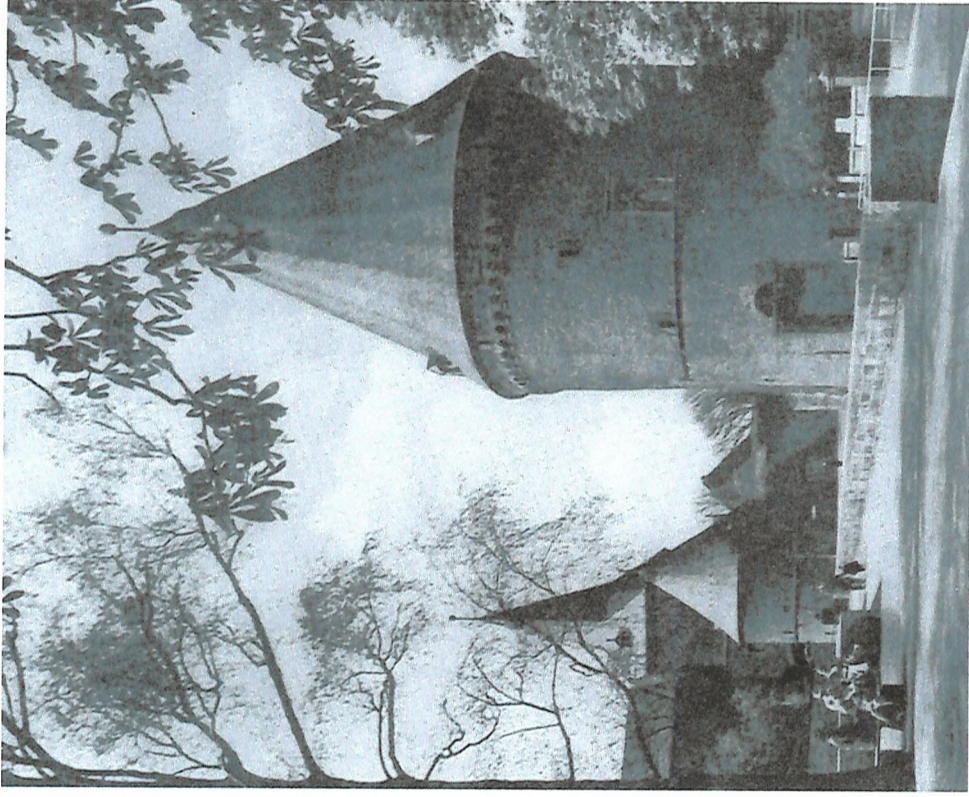


Fig. 8 Breite Tor (or Broad Gate).

In order to enter the old town, Louis Klingender would have taken this route to reach his studio on the Breite Strasse.
Image: Hans-Günther Griep's *Goslar – A Short Guide* (undated publication).



Fig. 9 A photograph of 67 Breite Strasse, taken October 2005. Built in 1732, the address (Der Lattemannsche Haus) had been Goslar's Old Post Office before the premises were loaned to the Museum Verein (Museum Association) in 1905.
Image: The Author (2005).



Fig. 10 A photograph of the original, early eighteenth century entrance to 67 Breite Strasse, October 2005.

Louis Klingender's studio was in an adjoining annexe, now given over to car parking. Perhaps it was the early sight of this ornate and elegant entrance which had encouraged Francis Klingender's initial interest in antiquarian doors and locks?

Image: The Author (2005).



Fig. 11 Louis H.W. Klingender, *Stag Being Attacked by Wolves*, 1500cmx100cm, dimensions approx (oil on canvas) (c.1902), owned by Goslar Museum.

Image: The Author (2005).



Fig. 12 A photograph of a painting of a small dog by Louis H.W. Klingender dimensions approx 50cm x75cm (oil on canvas) (undated), owned by Herr Jobst W. Rottman, artist and restorer, Breite Strasse.
Image: The Author (2005).



Fig. 13 Map showing Goslar's position in relation to Berlin and Hanover and the Harz Mountains, Braunschweig and Bad Königsberg.

Image: Christina Unwin (2006).



Fig. 14 A copy of a copperplate engraving by Daniel Lindemeyer c. 1606. The out-of-scale drawings of the tent-like shaft covers and the marking of the drainage tunnels were used to explain the mining installations at the Rammelsberg.

Image: Hans-Günther Griep's Goslar – A Short Guide (undated publication).

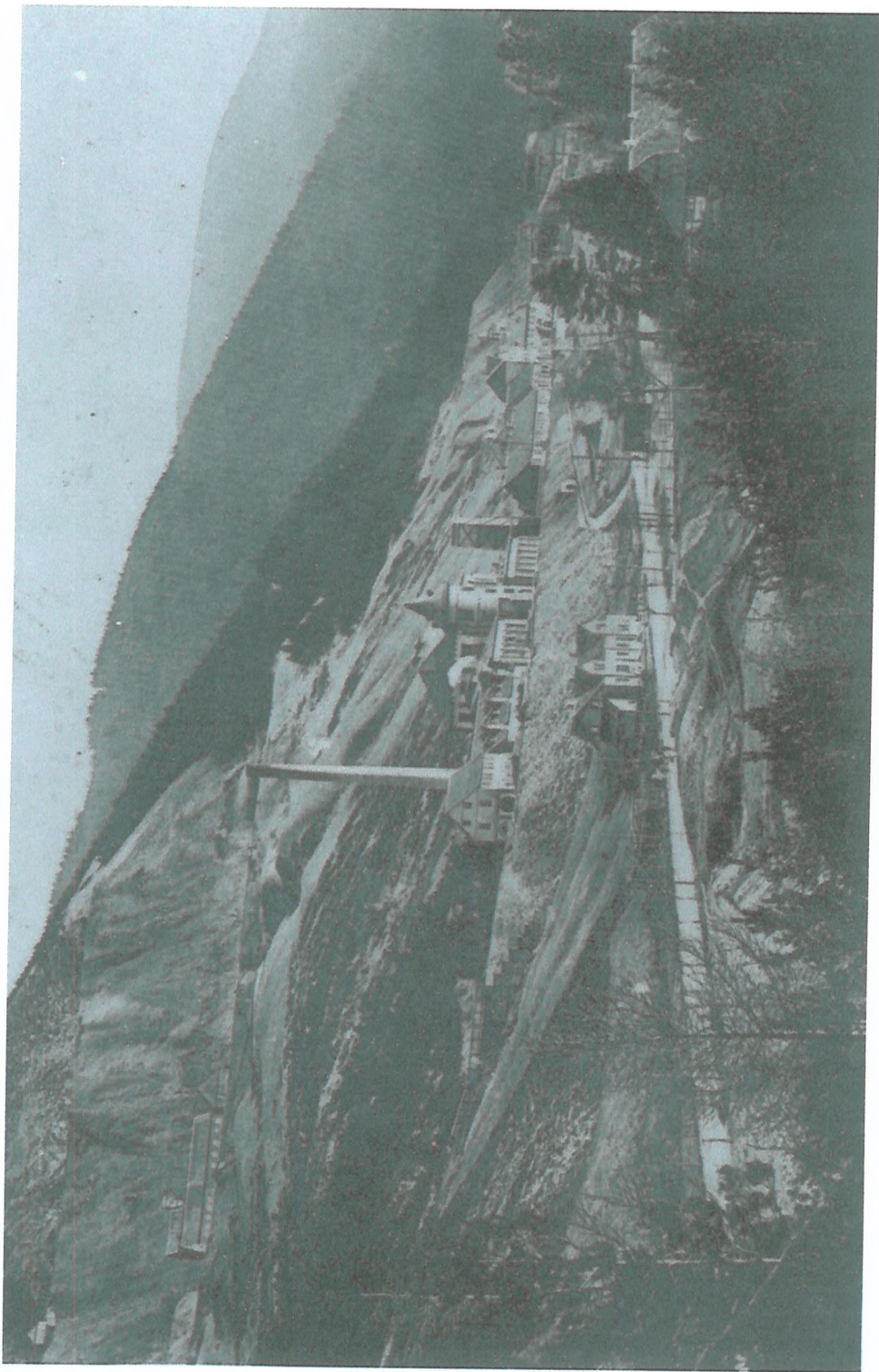


Fig. 15 A later nineteenth century photograph of the entrance to the Rammelsberg Mines at Goslar. The mine buildings were extended in the 1930s in order to cater for increased mineral and ore extraction.

Image: Goslar Stadt Archiv.

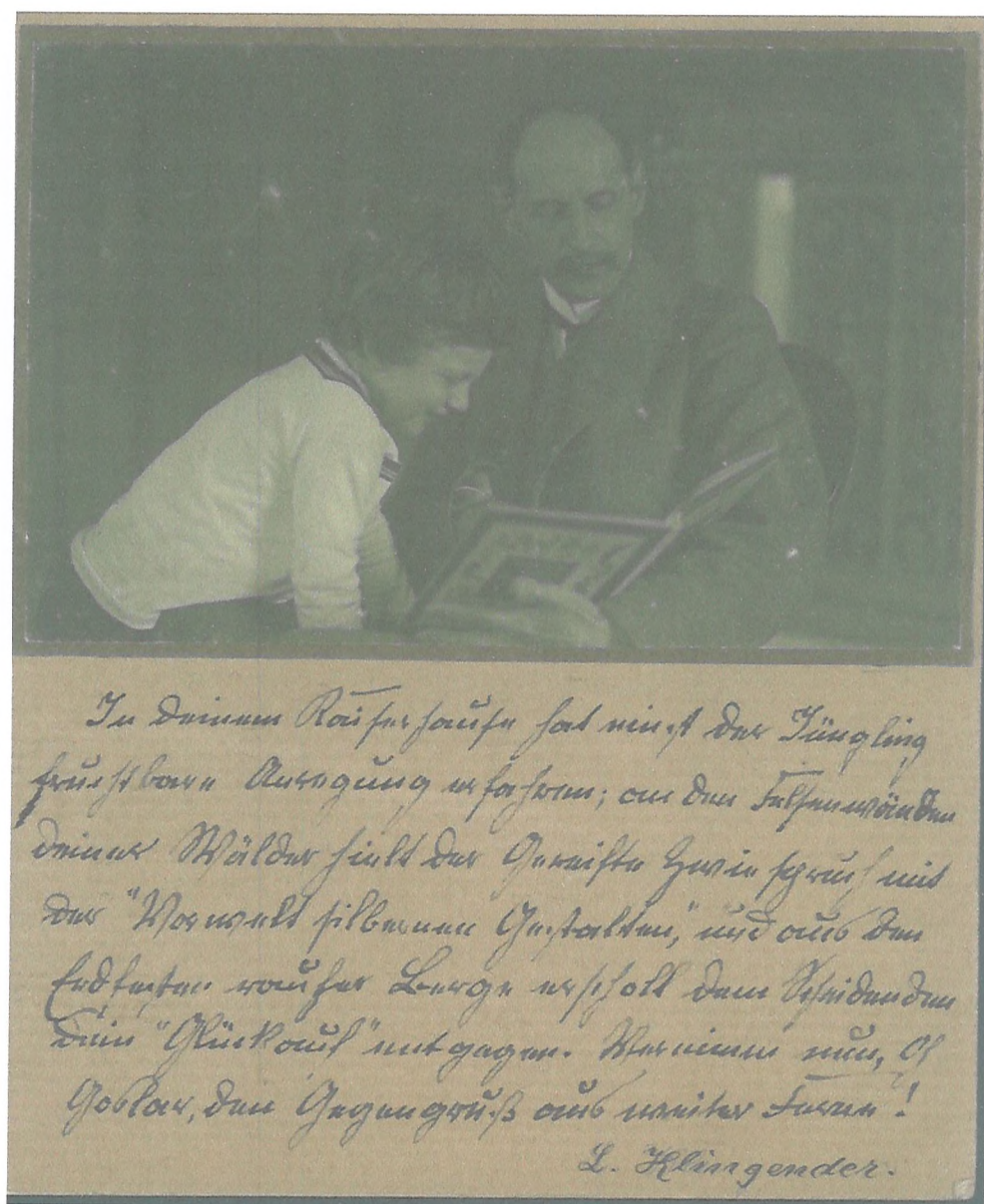


Fig. 16 Francis Klingender and his father, Louis Klingender Goslar, c.1913/14.

Image: Goslar Stadt Archiv.

Translation by Hedwig Williams (2006).

The poetic dedication which accompanies this photograph is in an ornate German style. It reads:

'In his house the young one has received fruitful stimulation;
on the rocky walls of your woods the older one converses with
'silver images of a previous world' and from the earth of rough
mountains your 'farewell' echoes to the one who has to leave.
To Goslar return greetings from far away.'

(signed Louis Klingender)

Given the sentiments and authorship, Louis Klingender may have given or sent this to his son around the time of his internment in 1914.

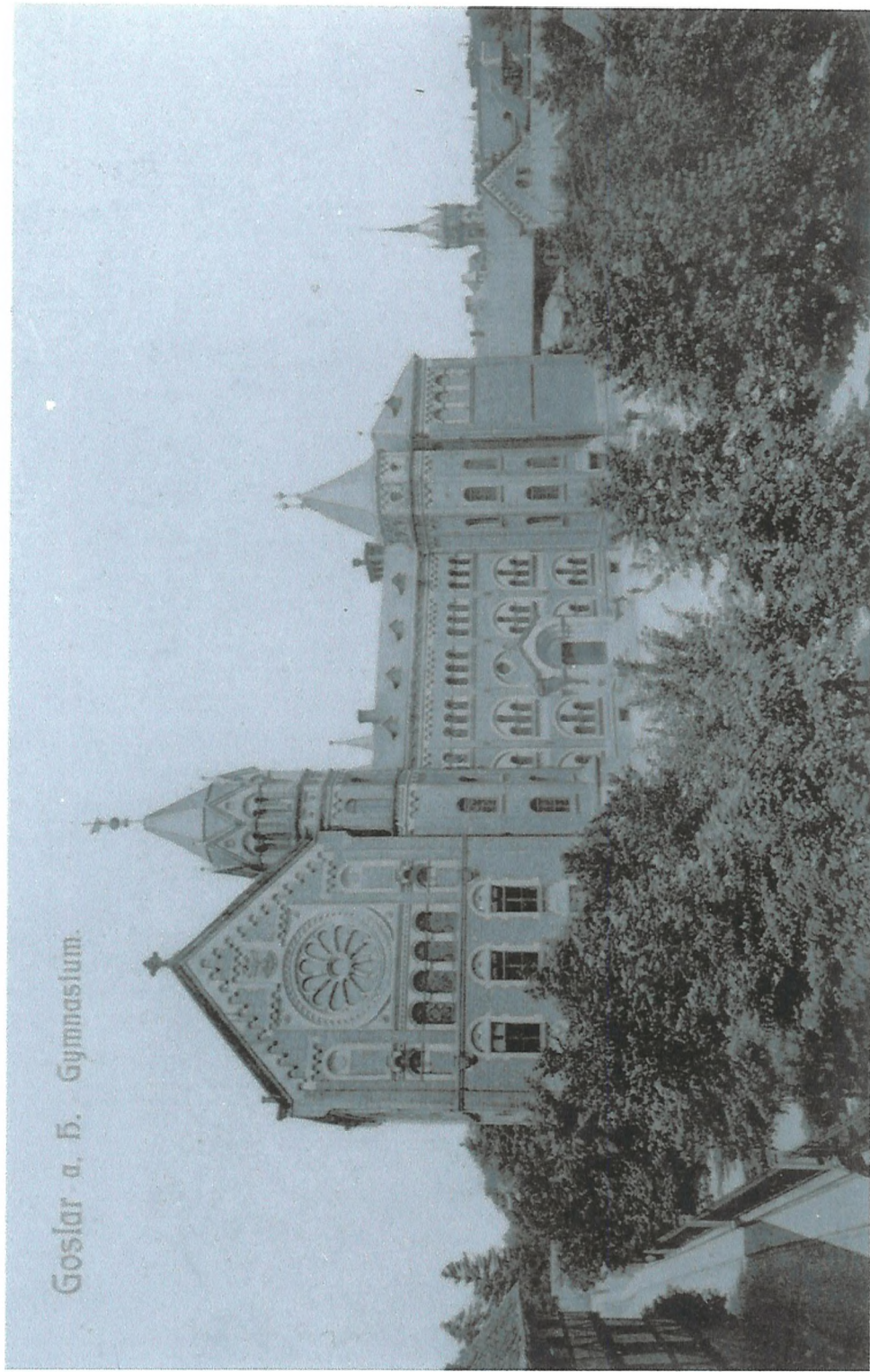


Fig. 17 Goslar Gymnasium, Goslar, (c.1900).

Image: Goslar Stadt Archiv.

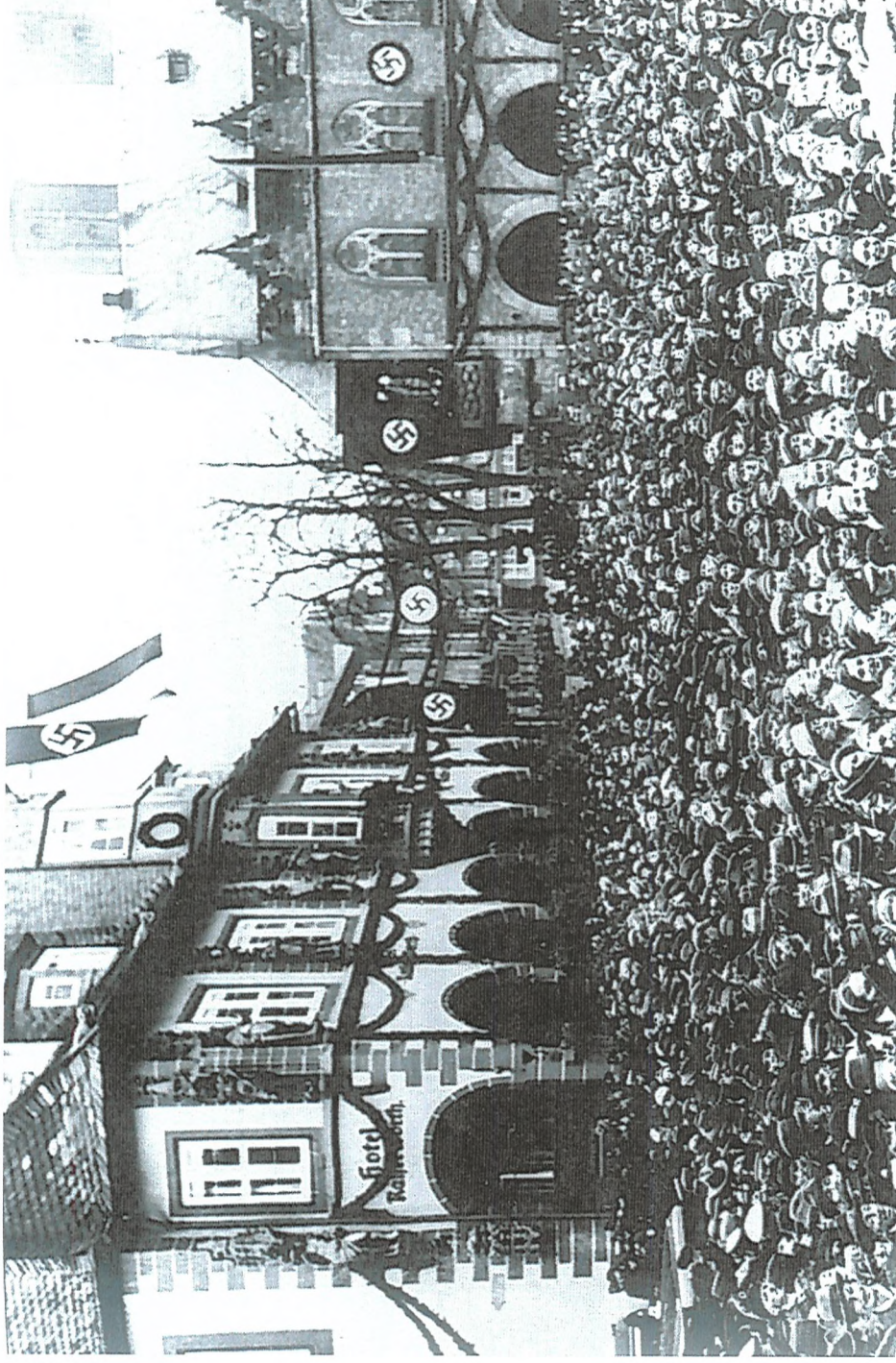


Fig. 18 Photograph of one of the National Socialist marches which underpinned Goslar's re-naming as the 'Reich Farmers' City'.

From: Peter Schyga's book, *Goslar 1918–1945* (1999).



Fig. 19 Photograph of the restored door portal of 3 and 4 Schielen Strasse, October 2005.

The motto reads:

'My hope is in God and therefore I do not take notice of the jealousy of this world.'

Image: The Author (2005).

Translation: Hedwig Williams (2006).



Fig. 20 A photograph of Francis Klingender supplied by the MI5 archives, c.1930s whilst he was a student at the LSE.

Image: MI5 Archives.



Fig. 21 The LSE refectory c. 1922 as Klingender would probably have remembered it.
Image: Ralph Dahrendorf's *A History of the LSE* (1995).



Fig. 22 Bronislaw Malinowski (c.1920s).

Image: Ralph Dahrendorf's *A History of the LSE* (1995).

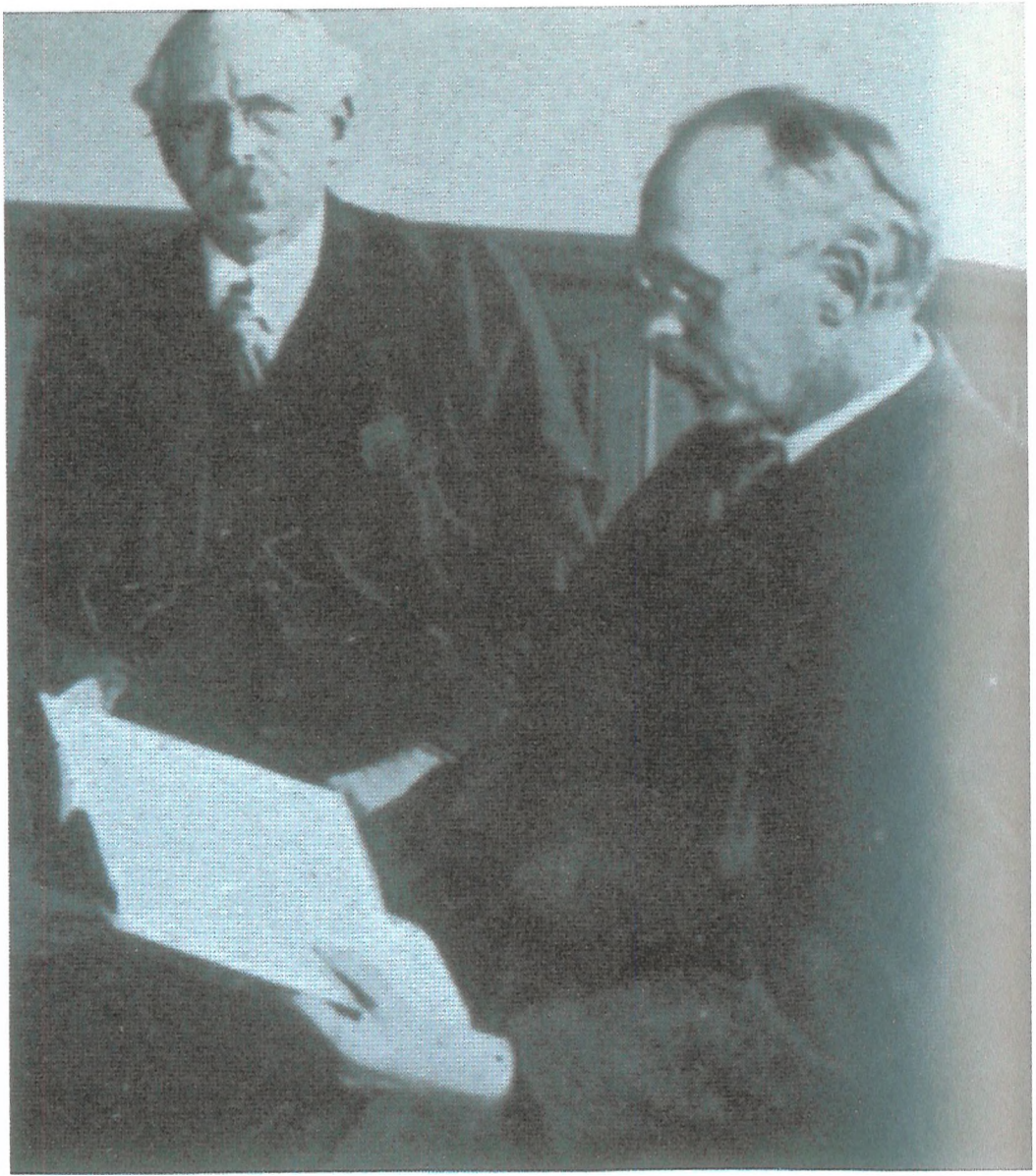


Fig. 23 Lionel T. Hobhouse (left) at the LSE (c.1925–27).

Image: Ralph Dahrendorf's *A History of the LSE* (1995).



Fig. 24 Morris Ginsberg with LSE students (c.1940).

Image: Ralph Dahrendorf's *A History of the LSE* (1995).



Fig. 25 Harold Laski with LSE students (c.1948).
Image: Ralph Dahrendorf's *A History of the LSE* (1995).



Fig. 26 Lionel Robbins at the LSE (c.1940).

Image: Ralph Dahrendorf's *A History of the LSE* (1995).



Fig. 27 Aloysha Tomchinsky (c.1930s).

Image: MI5 Archives.



Fig. 28 John Grierson (c.1935).

Image: Paul Rotha's *Documentary Diary: An Informal History of the British Documentary Film 1928-1939* (1973).



Fig. 29 Stuart Legg (c.1935).

Image: Paul Rotha's *Documentary Diary: An Informal History of the British Documentary Film 1928-1939* (1973).

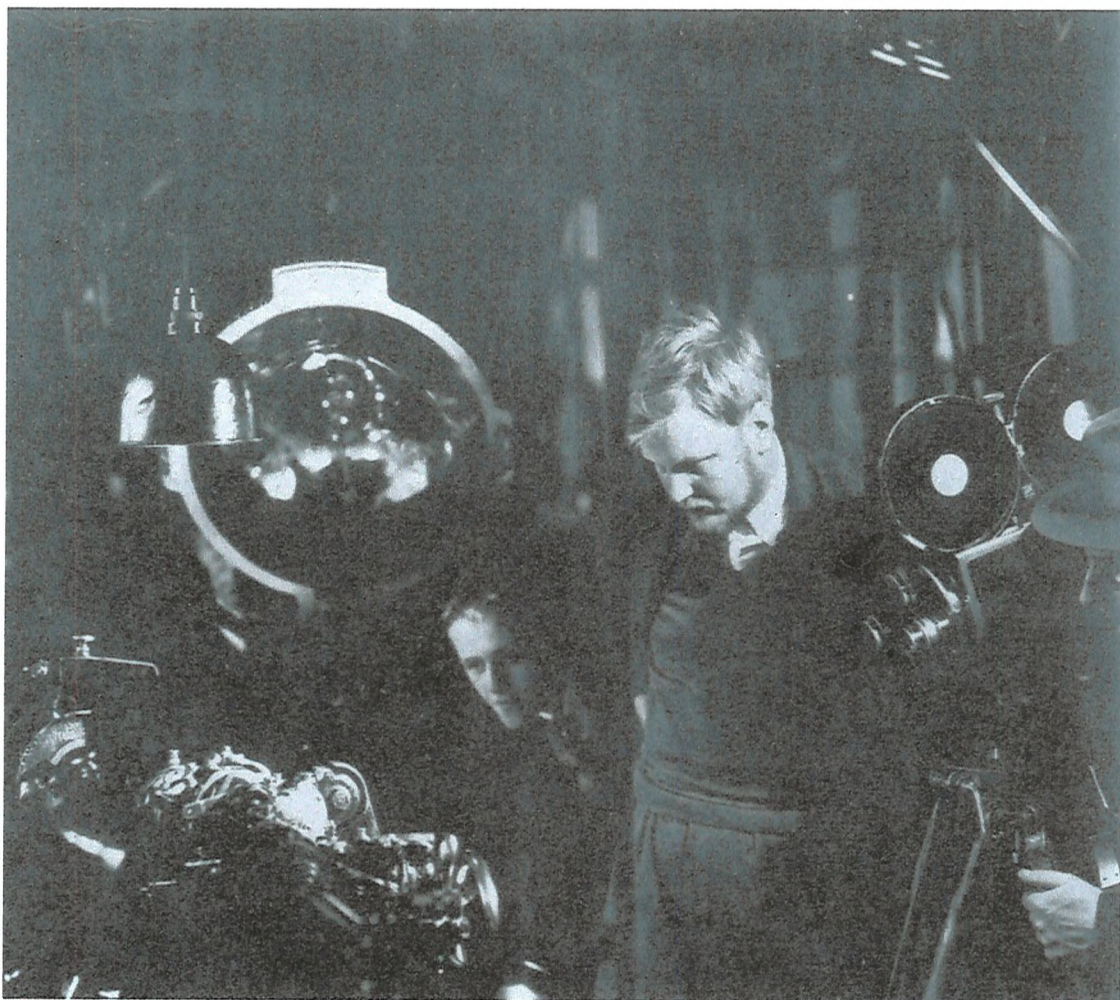


Fig. 30 Arthur Elton making *Voice of the World* (c.1932).

Image: Paul Rotha's *Documentary Diary: An Informal History of the British Documentary Film 1928-1939* (1973).

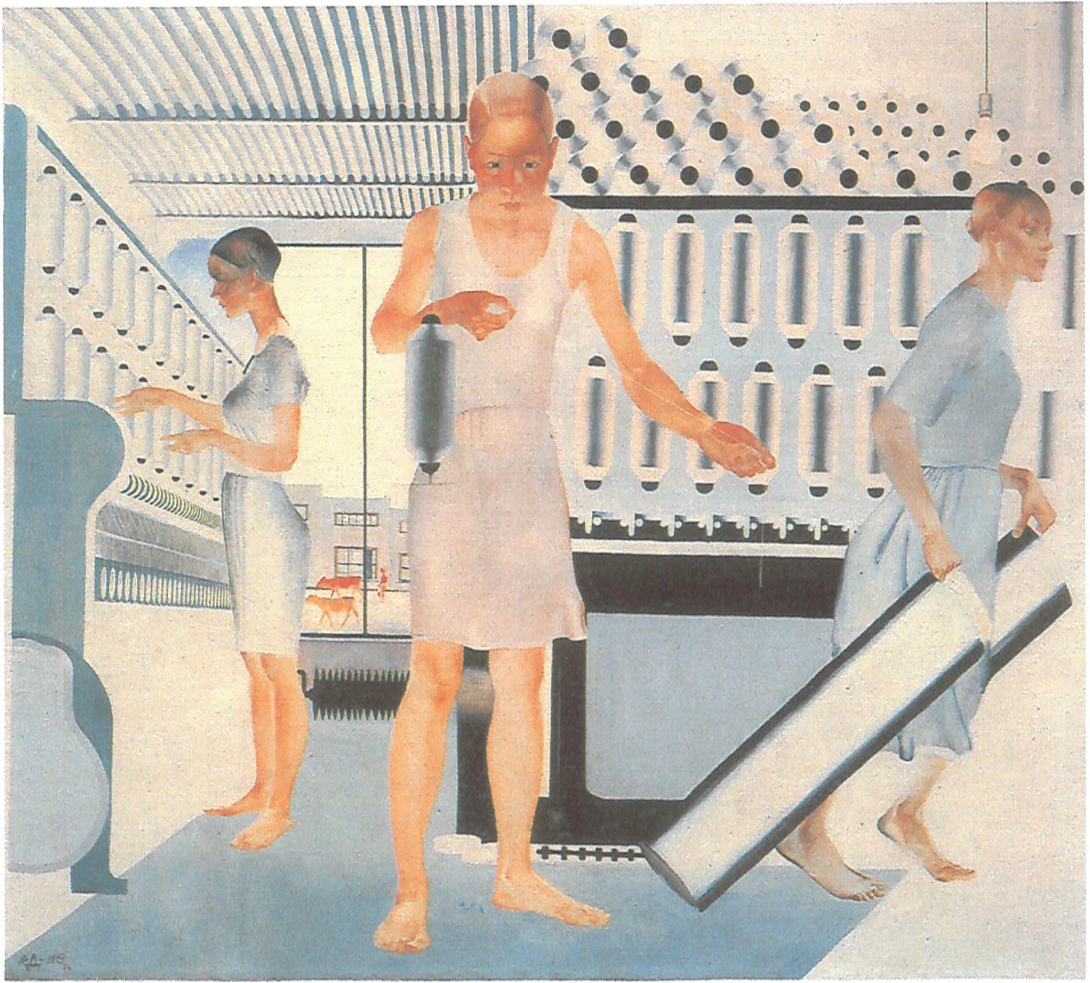


Fig. 31 Alexander Deineka, *Textile Workers*, 171cmx195cm (oil on canvas), (1927).

Image: Mikhail Guerman's *Soviet Art 1920s–1930s* (1988).

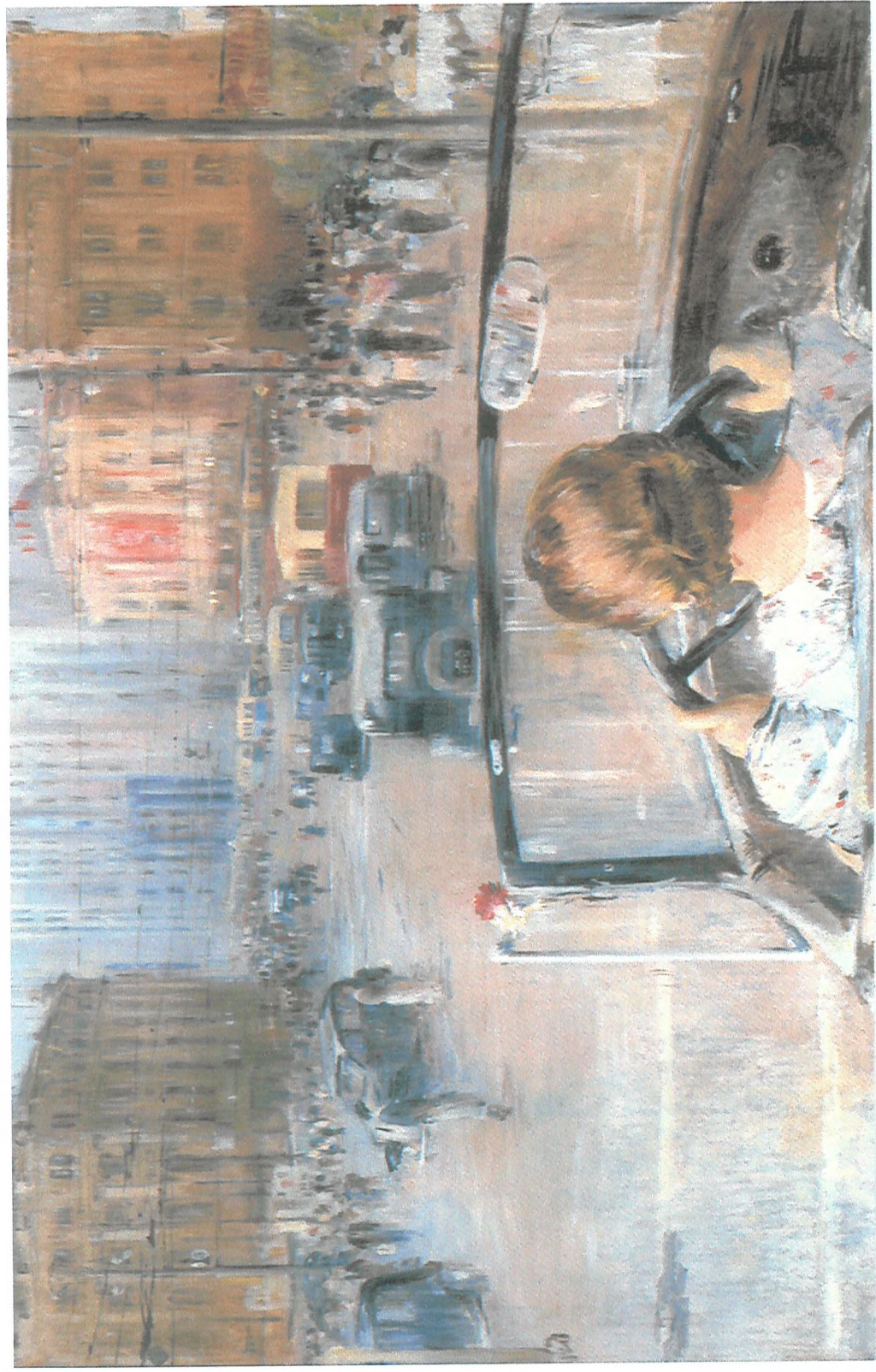


Fig. 32 *New Moscow* by Yuri Pimenov 265cmx177cm, (oil on canvas) (1930).
Image: Postcard from the Tretyakov Museum, Moscow.

JOHN BULL'S HOME GUARD



15 Water-colour Drawings by
GILBERT SPENCER
and Caricatures of the French Wars
presented by the Artists International Association
at 84, Charlotte Street, W.1.

Price ONE SHILLING

Fig. 33 The cover design to the exhibition booklet 'John Bull's Home Guard' for which Klingender provided the text to accompany Gilbert Spencer's illustrations, AIA (1944).



Fig. 34 *A Promise Kept* (1941) by Boris Efimov (1900–). The cartoonist parodies Hitler's assertion that a war against the 'slav' people would provide space and resources to the east. The attached caption reads:

'Each one of you, my faithful SS-men, will receive "Lebensraum" – living space in the east. And indeed, they received six feet of earth each.'

Image: Francis Klingender, *Russia – Britain's Ally 1812-1942*, AIA (1942).

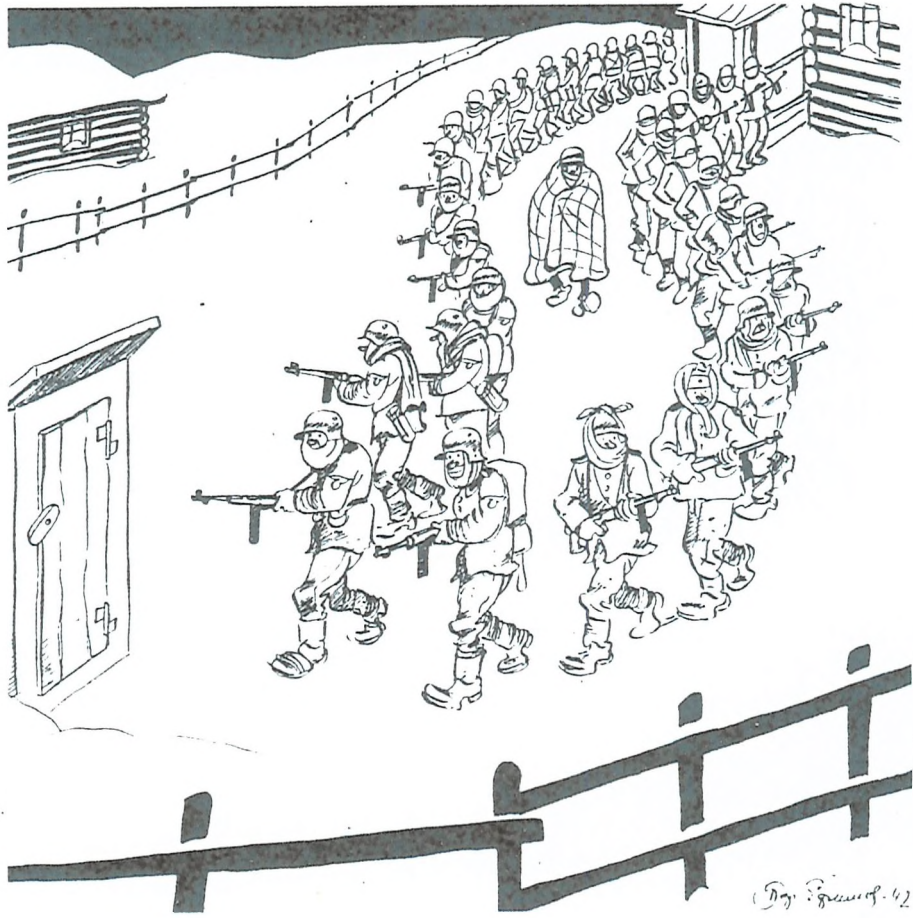


Fig. 35 *An Evening Stroll* by Efimov (1942).

Image: Francis Klingender, *Russia-Britain's Ally 1812-1942*, (1942).

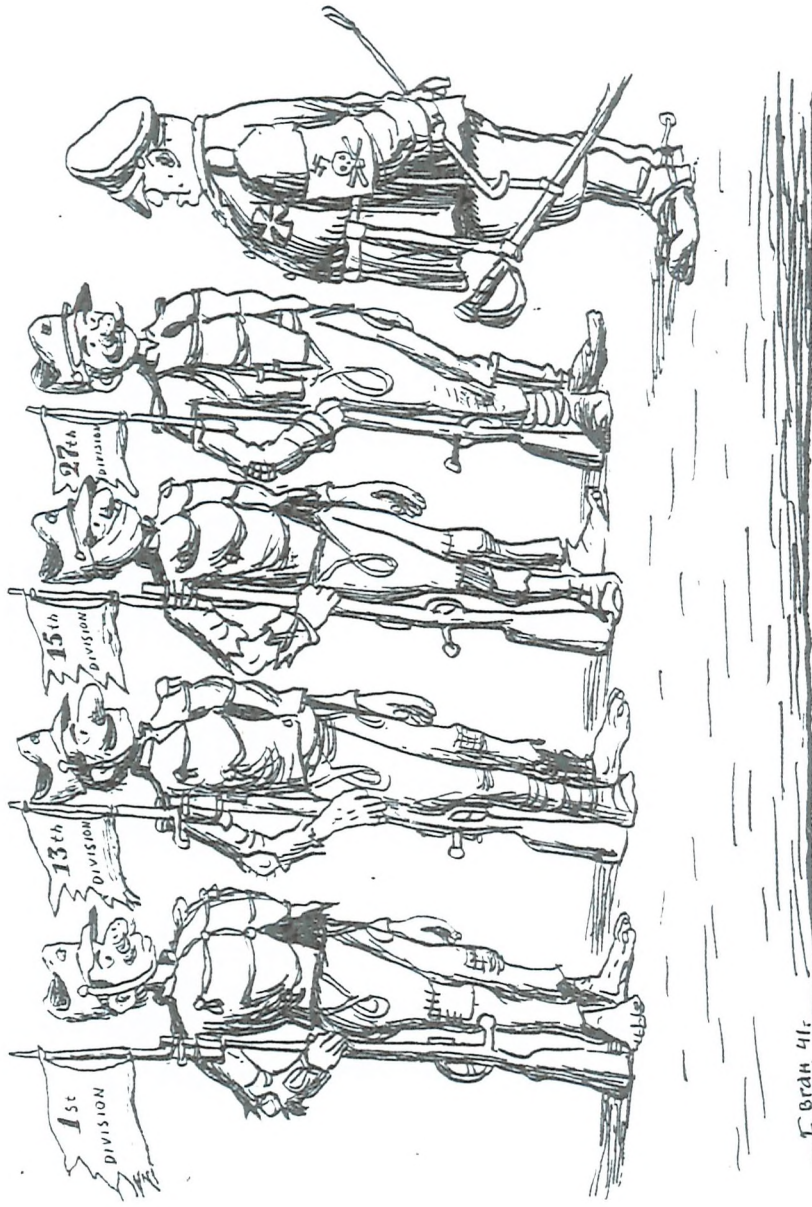


Fig. 36 Roumanian Units After a Battle by Evrana (1941). This cartoon refers to the heavy losses suffered by frequently poorly equipped Roumanian units on the Eastern front.

Image: Francis Klingender, *Russia – Britain's Ally 1812–1942*, (1942).



Fig. 37 Peter Péri, *Aid Spain*, location unknown, dimensions approximately life size, coloured concrete (1937).
Image: Lynda Morris and Robert Radford, *The Story of the AIA 1933–1953* (1983).



Fig. 38 *The Meaning of the Hitler Salute*, photomontage by John Heartfield, (1932).

Image: Steve Edwards and Paul Wood (Editors), *Art of the Avant-Gardes*, (2004).



Fig. 39 James Boswell, *Empire Builders* (pen and ink) (1935).

Image: Andy Croft (Editor), *A Weapon in the Struggle*, (1998).

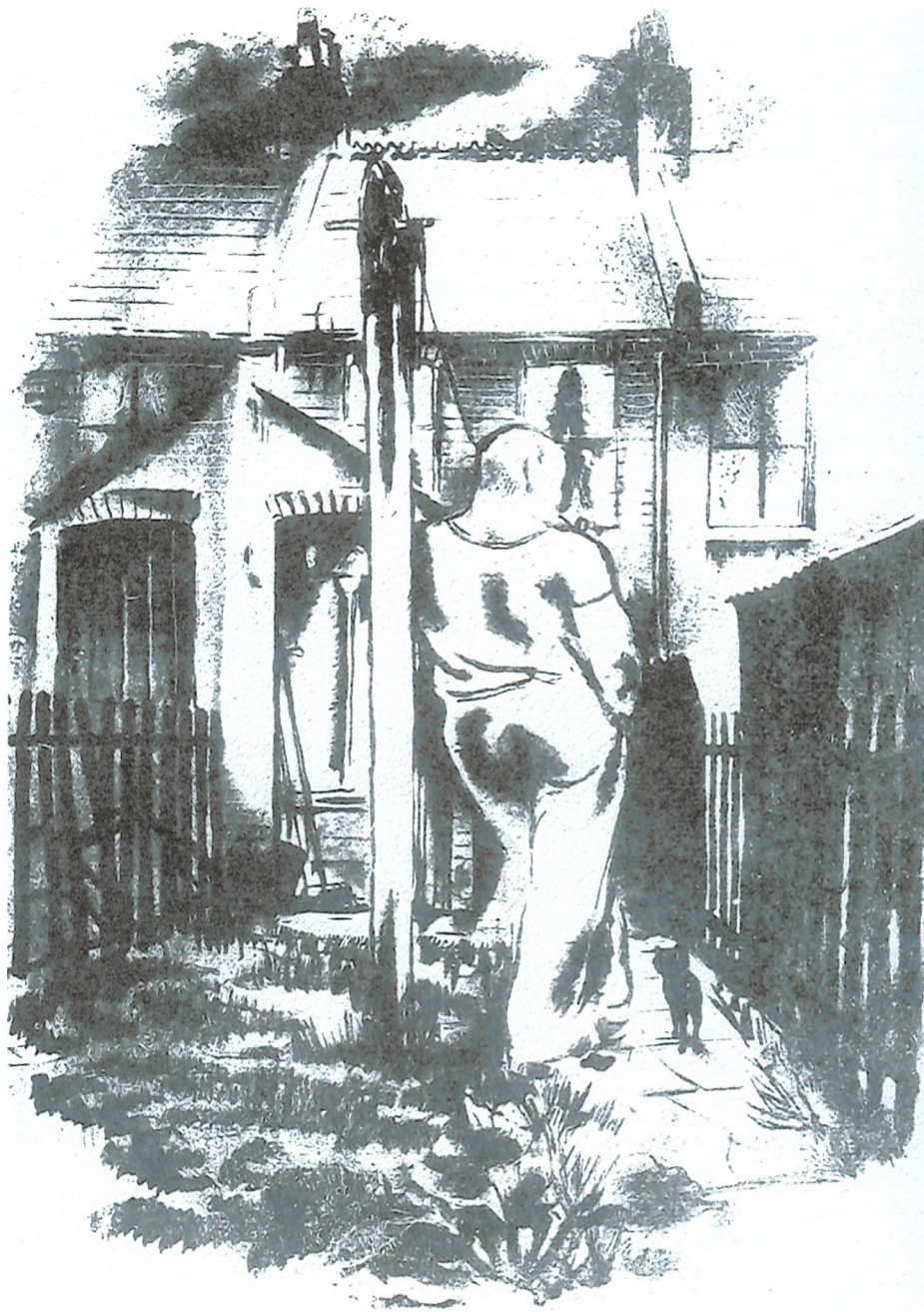


Fig. 40 James Holland, *The Sailor's Return* (pen and ink) (1935).

Image: Andy Croft (Editor), *A Weapon in the Struggle*, (1998).



Fig. 42 Dimitri Tsapline, *Red Soldier*, dimensions unknown, (marble head) (1934).

Image: as photographed in *Left Review*, (1935).

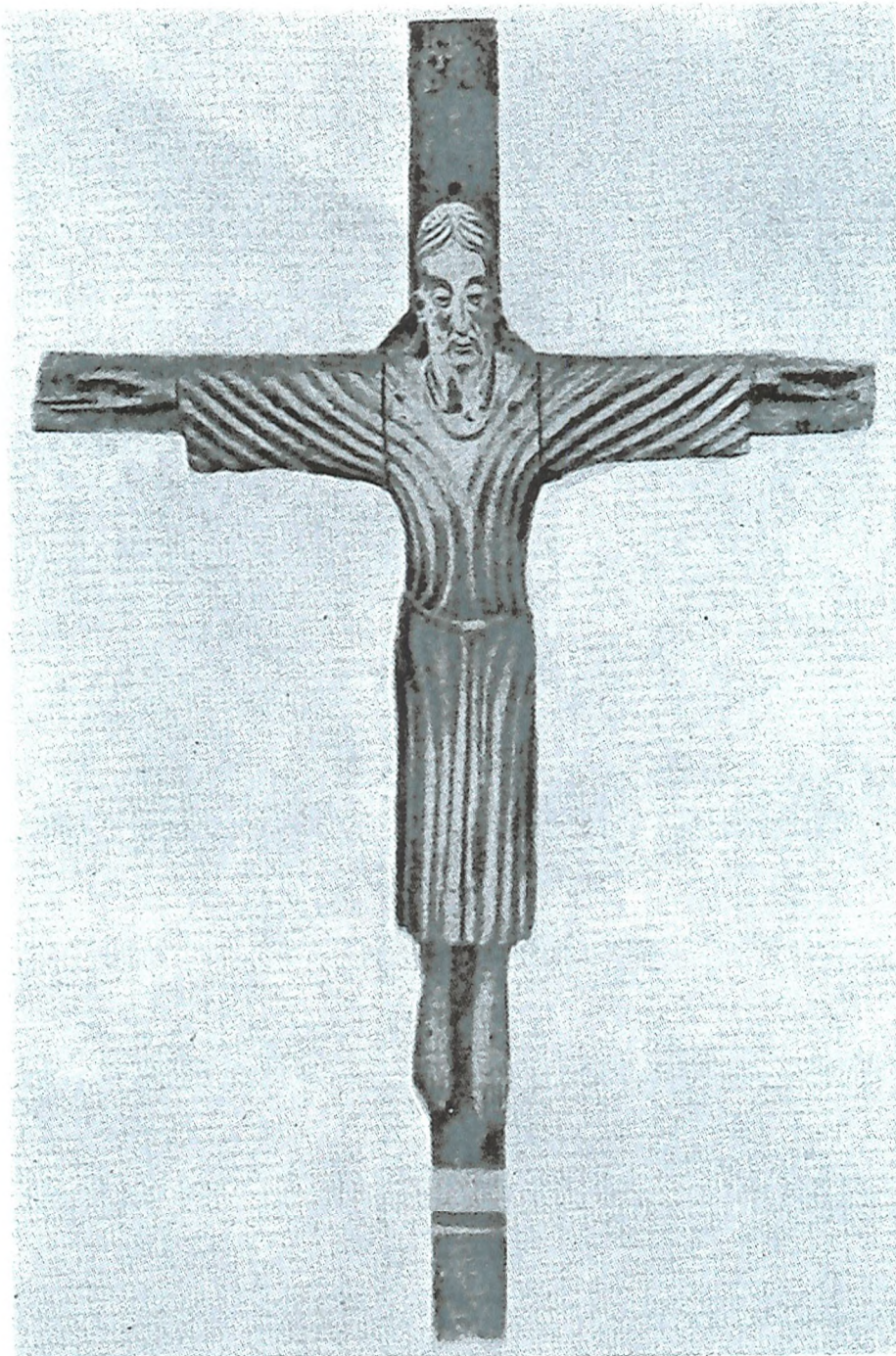


Fig. 43 *The Imervard Crucifix*, Braunschweig Cathedral, dimensions unknown (limewood), (12th century).

Image: Francis Klingender, 'The Crucifix: A Symbol of the Medieval Class Struggle', in *Left Review* (1936).

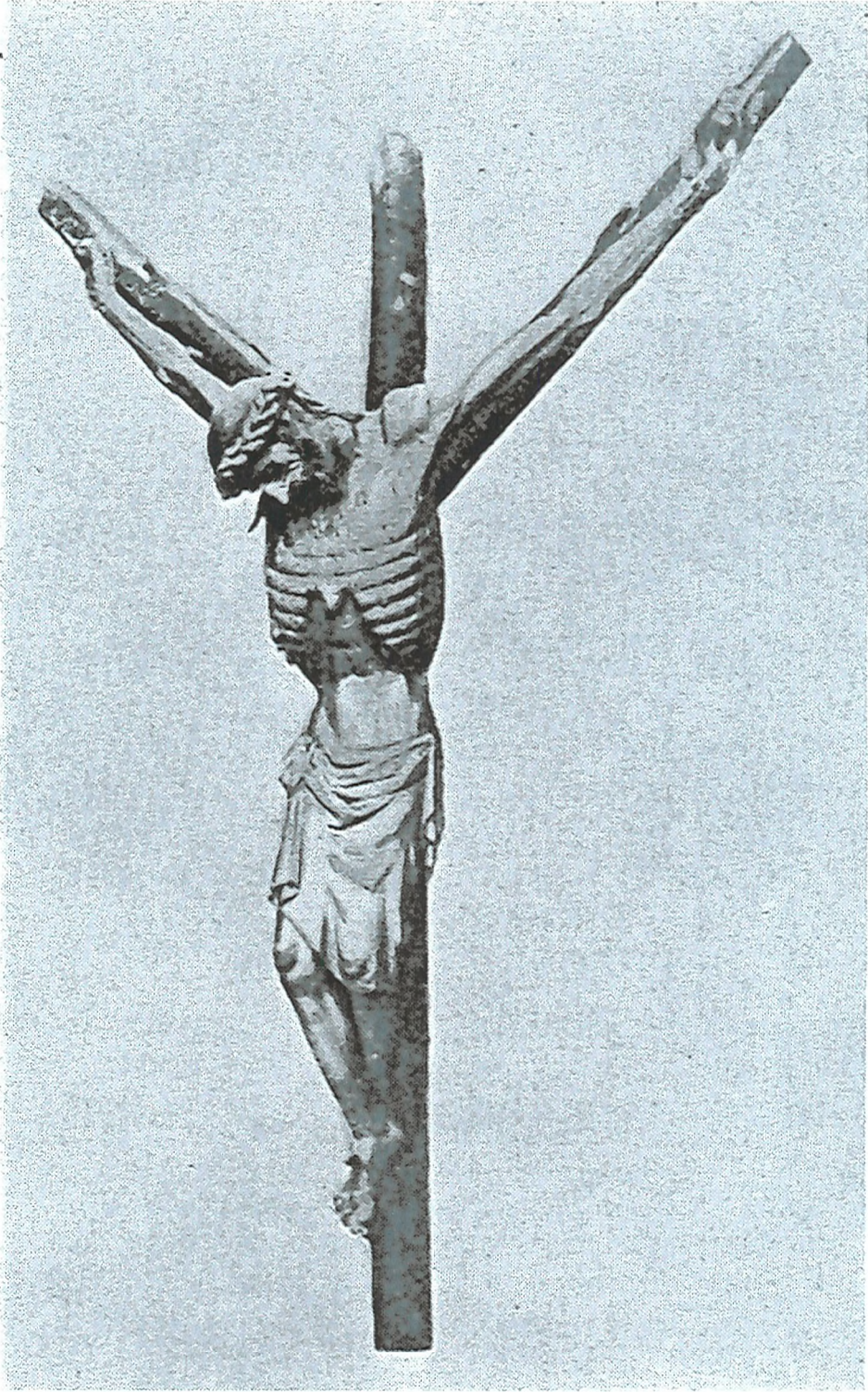


Fig. 44 Crucifix, St Severin, Cologne, dimensions unknown, (limewood) (14th century).

Image: Francis Klingender, 'The Crucifix: A Symbol of the Medieval Class Struggle', in *Left Review* (1936).

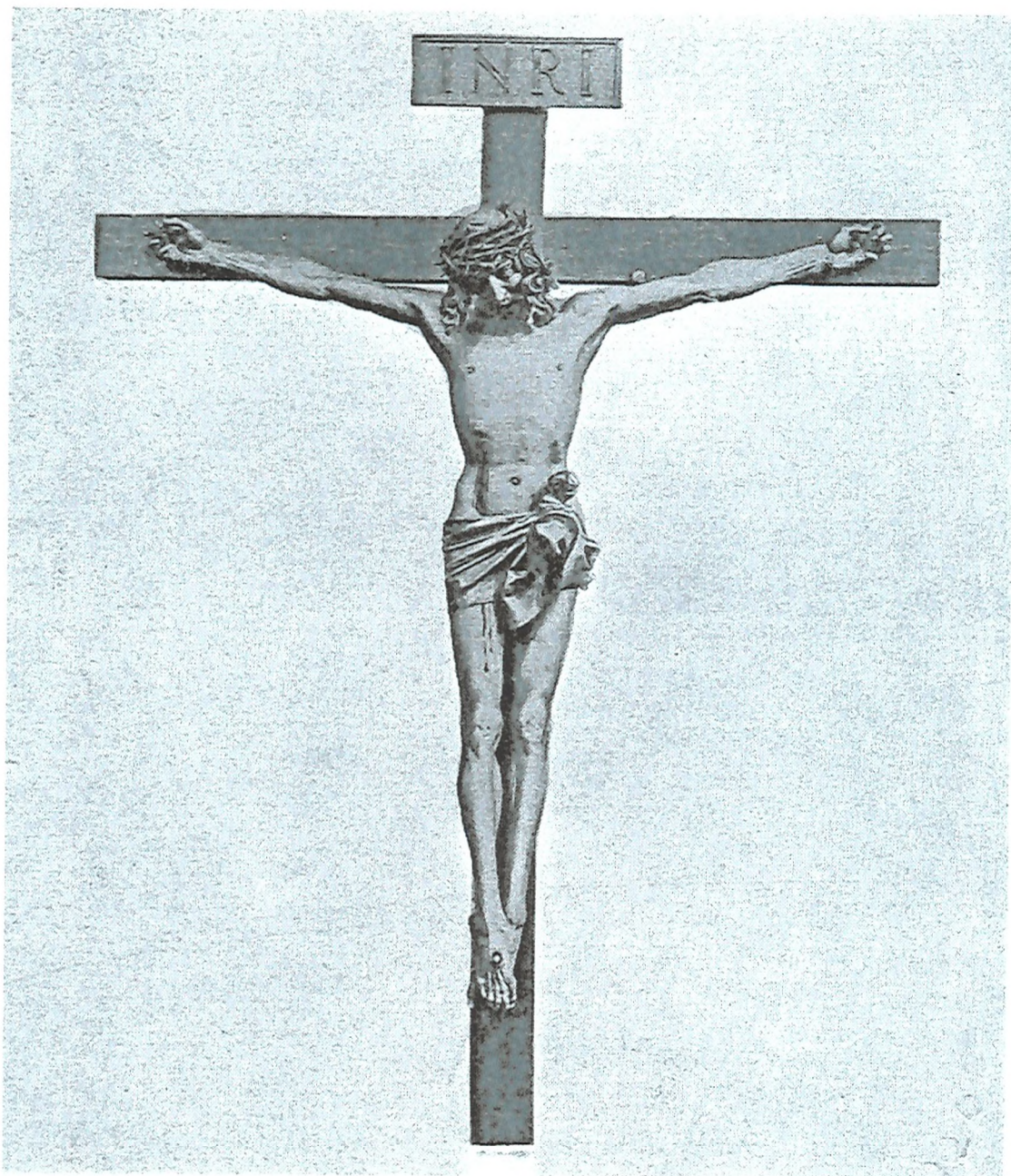


Fig. 45 *Veit Stoss Crucifix*, Nurnberg dimensions unknown (caste) (late 15th century).

Image: Francis Klingender, 'The Crucifix: A Symbol of the Medieval Class Struggle', in *Left Review* (1936).



Fig. 46 The Crucifixion by a follower of Peter Paul Rubens, The Wallace Collection, London, 105cmx69cm (canvas, relined) (date unknown).

Image: The Wallace Collection website, Inventory Number P71
http://www.wallacecollection.org/c/w_a/p_w_d/d_f/p/p071.htm.

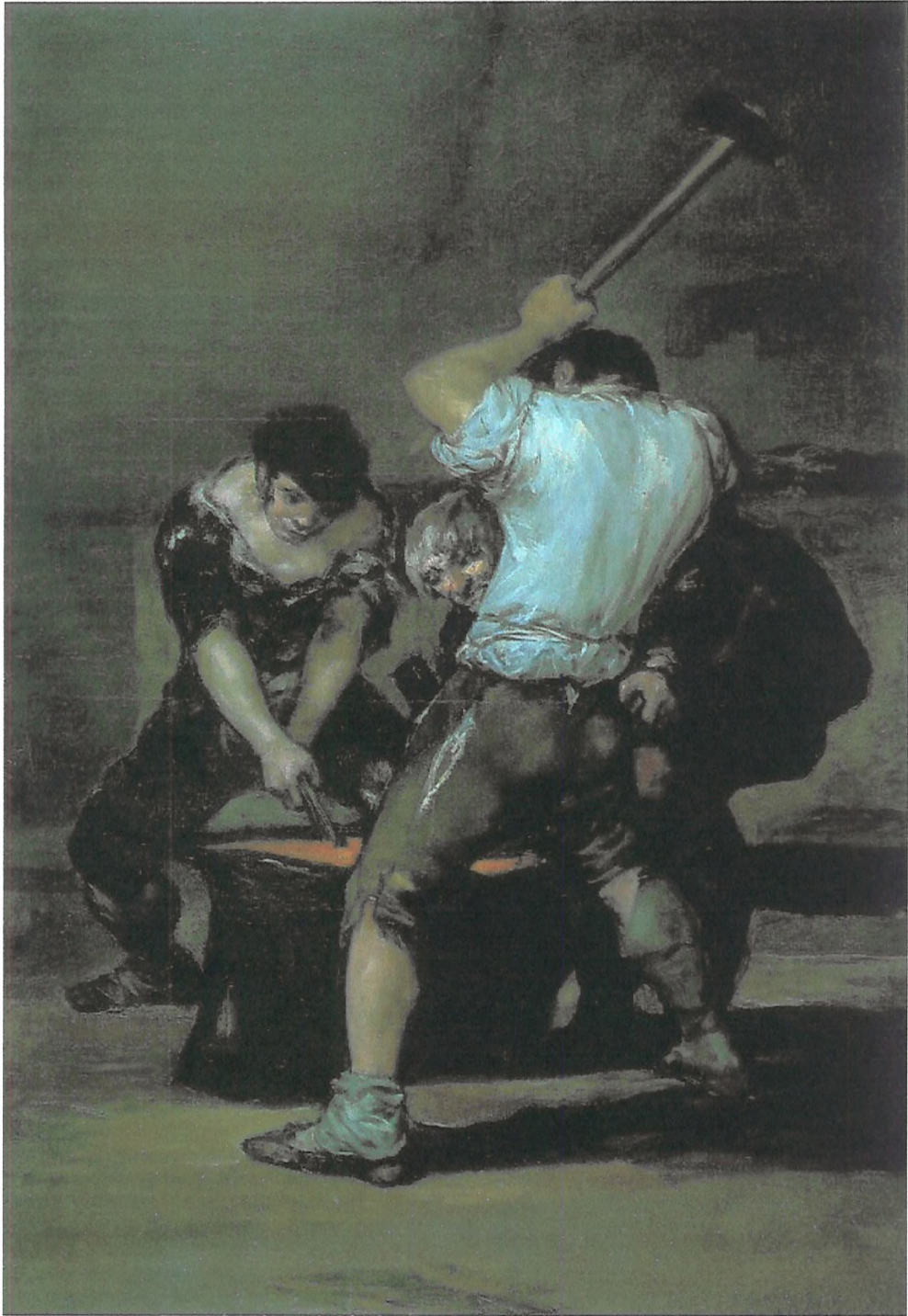


Fig. 47 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *The Forge*, Frick Collection, New York, 181cmx125cm, (oil on canvas) (c.1817).

Image: Francis Klingender, *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, (1968).



Fig. 48 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Monk and Boy*, Prado, Madrid, dimension unknown, (charcoal drawing) (c.1814–23).

Image: Francis Klingender, *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, (1968).



Fig. 49 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Man Pulling at a Rope*, dimension unknown (charcoal drawing) (c.1827).

Image: Francis Klingender, *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, (1968).

Fig. 50 a–c Halfpenny Tokens designed by the medallist C. James for Thomas Spence c.1794–96. Klingender had a particular interest in the ideas of the land reformer Thomas Spence. Token money was issued in the 1790s by private manufacturers and traders.



Fig. 50a Caption reads 'Englishmen are freeborn'.
Image: Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, (1972).



Fig. 50b Caption reads 'Tree of Liberty'.
Image: Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, (1972).



Fig. 50c Caption reads 'The Turnstile'.
Image: Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, (1972).



Fig. 50d Penny sized white metal token designed by J.G. Hancock of Birmingham (c.1800). The caption reads 'The uncharitable monopoliser will starve the poor'.
Image: Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, (1972).



Fig. 51 Early stages of the excavation towards Euston by John C. Bourne (1814–96) 13cmx21cm (pencil and wash) (c. 1830s).
Bourne's sketch shows navvies working on the London and Birmingham railway.

Image: Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, (1972).

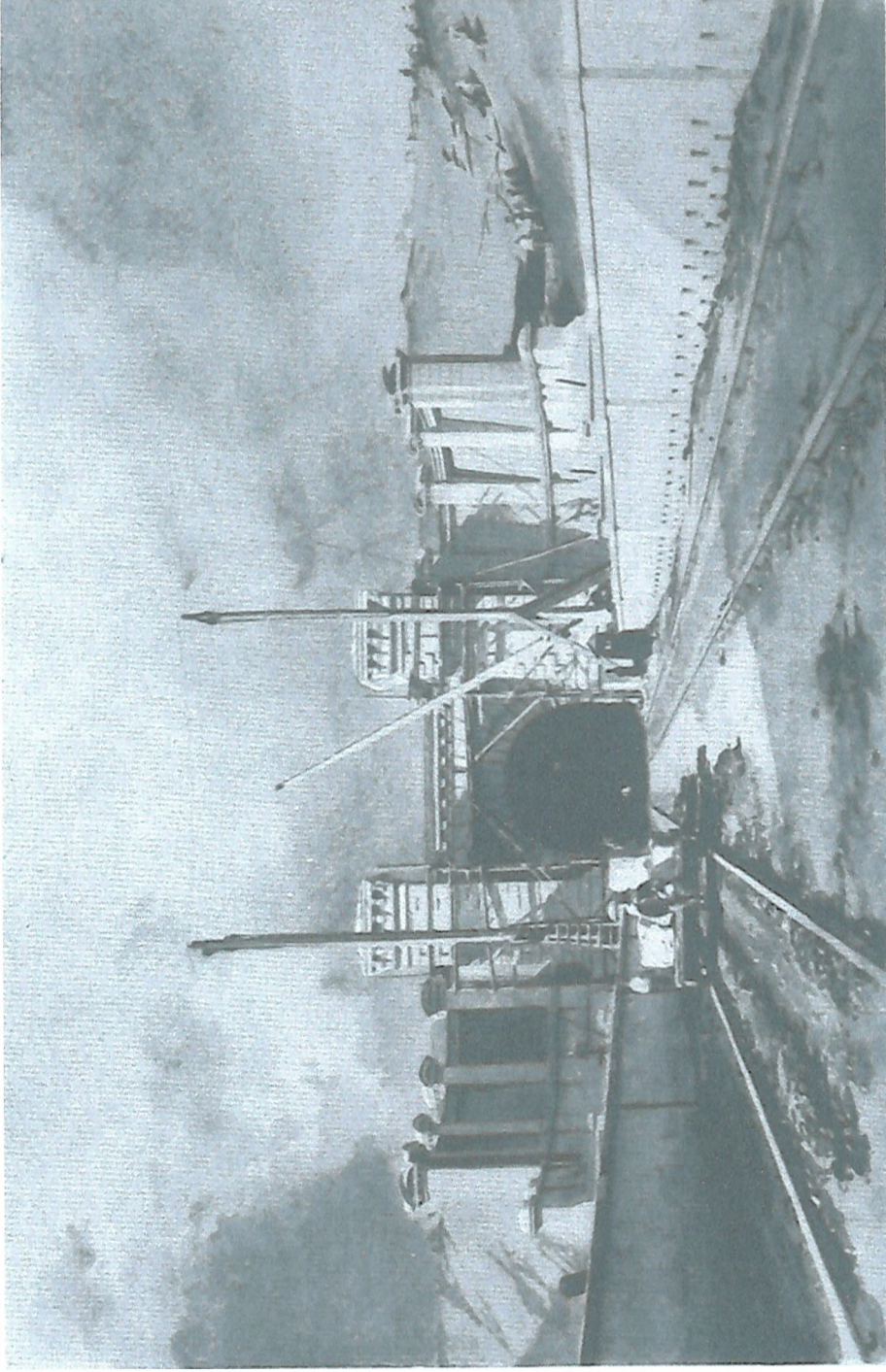


Fig. 52 *The Entrance to Primrose Hill Tunnel* by John C. Bourne 23cmx33cm (wash drawing) (c.1837). Bourne depicts the recently completed south side of the tunnel with the derricks for stone lifting still in place.

Image: Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (1972).

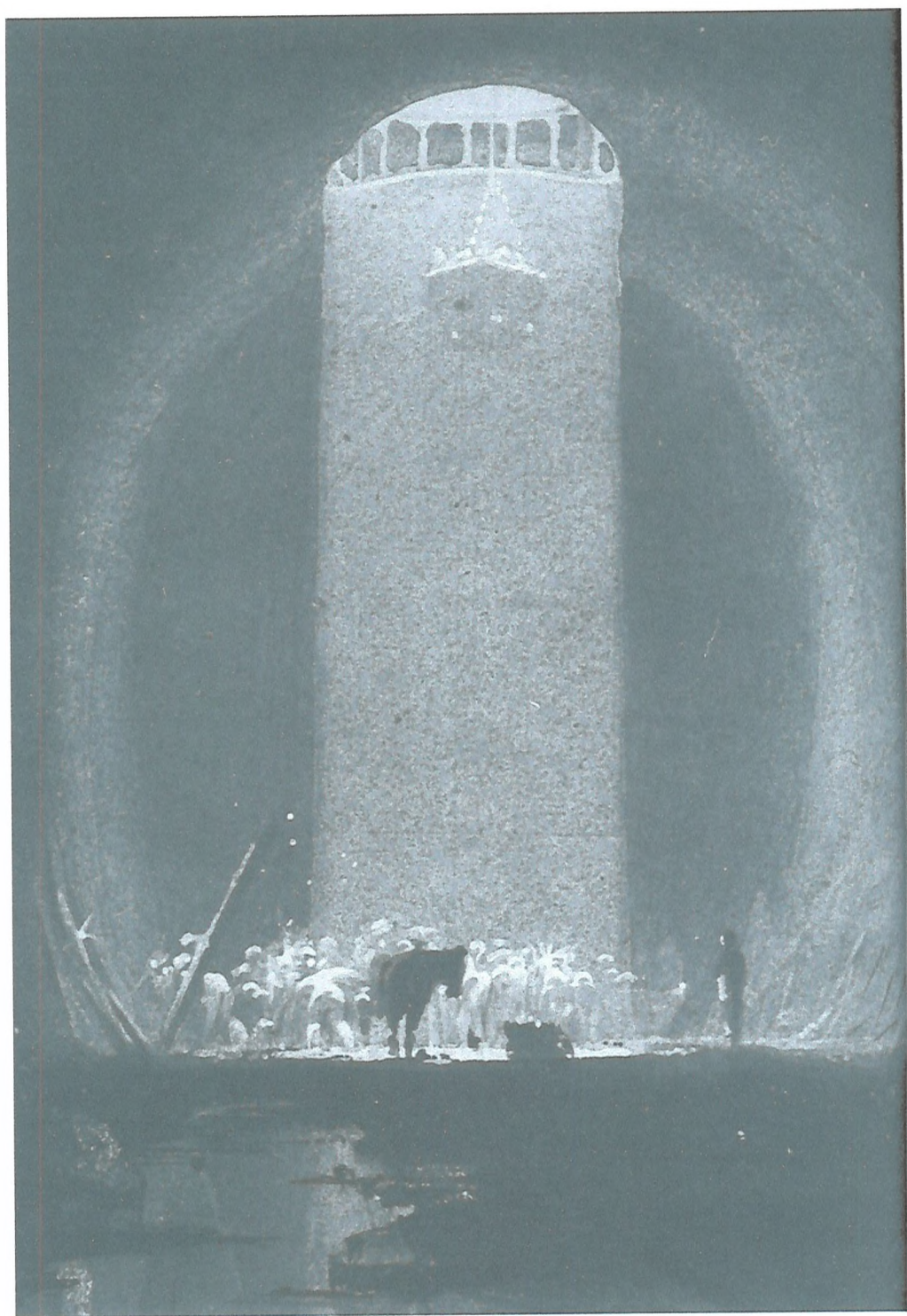


Fig. 53 *Box Tunnel* by John C Bourne 22.5cmx20cm (wash drawing) (c.1846). As Klingender notes, as if to re-assure his readers, Bourne adds a small round spot of white in the lithograph to represent daylight at the end of the tunnel.

Image: Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (1972).

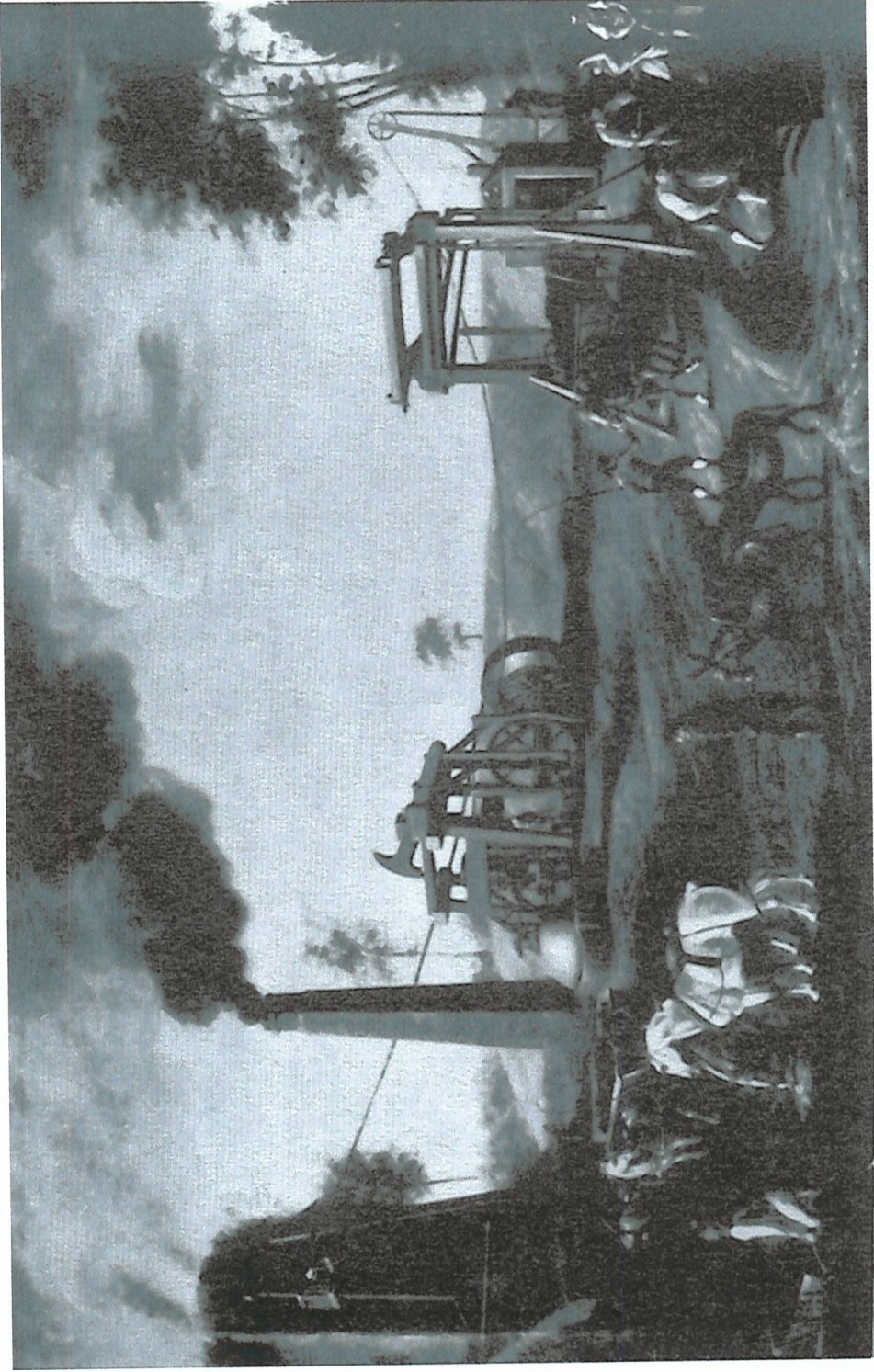


Fig. 54 *Pit-head of a coal-mine with steam winding gear*, artist unknown, 95cmx153cm (oil on canvas) (c.1820).
The artist had depicted a Newcomen engine which has been adapted to use as a winch.

Image: Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (1972).



Fig. 55 *The Parys Mine on Anglesea* by Julius C. Ibbetson (1759–1817), 21cmx28cm, (watercolour) (c.1792).

Image: Francis Klingender *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (1972).



Fig. 56 Hampstead Brain's Trust c.1943. This photograph, taken to accompany a short *Picture Post* article by Anne-Scott Jones (dated March 6th 1943, 21–23), was lodged in Klingender's MI5 file.

From left to right (as reported in the text): Local Councillor Stephen Murray (also under surveillance); Trade Unionist Tom O'Brien; Leonard Crocombe (aka 'the Question Master'); Surrealist painter and impresario Edouard Mesens; economist Francis Klingender and Lance-Corporal Clements.



Fig. 57 *The Call to the Birds, Apocalypse*, Oxford New College manuscript, (later 13th century).
Image: Francis Klingender, 'St Francis and the Birds of the Apocalypse', (1954).



Fig. 58 *The Call to the Birds, Apocalypse*, British Museum manuscript (14th century).
Image: Francis Klingender, 'St Francis and the Birds of the Apocalypse', (1954).

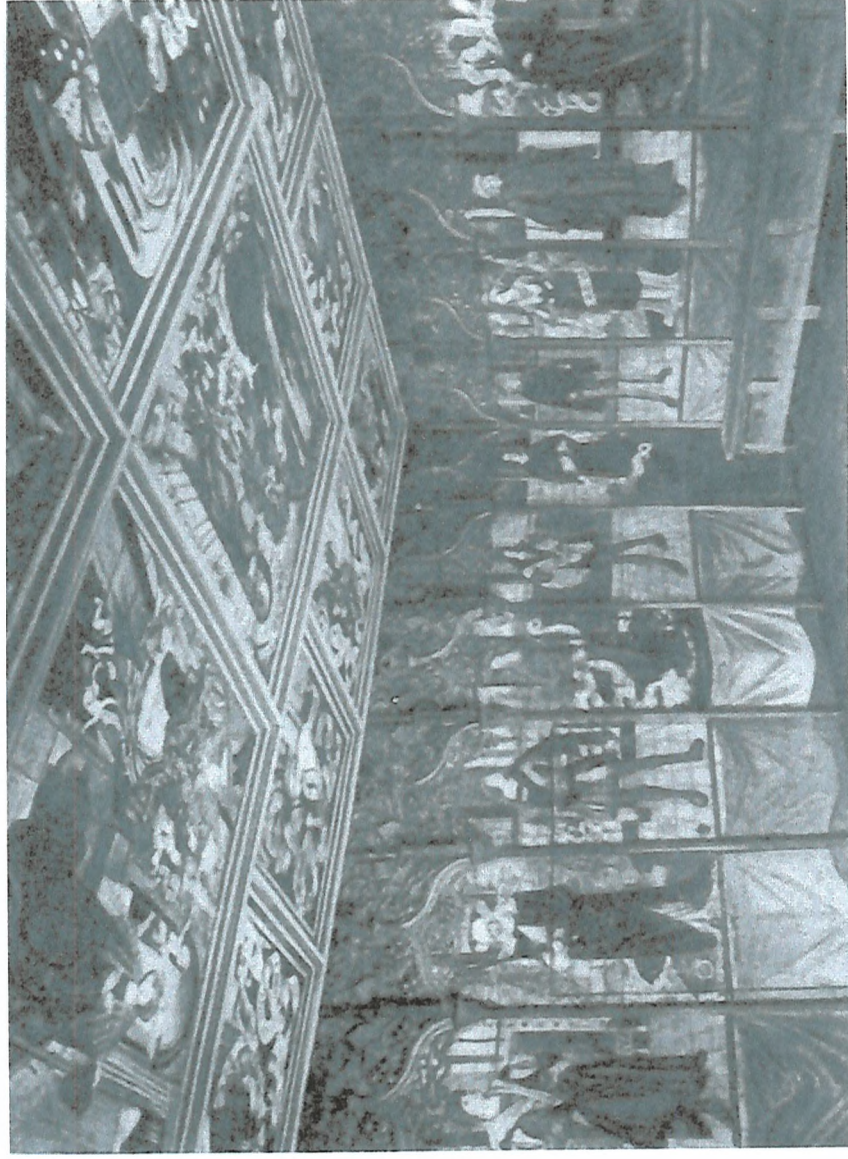


Fig. 59 A photograph of the 'Huldigungssaal' or homage hall in what is now Goslar's town hall, (c.15th century).

Image: Hans-Günther Griep's *Goslar – A Short Guide* (undated publication).

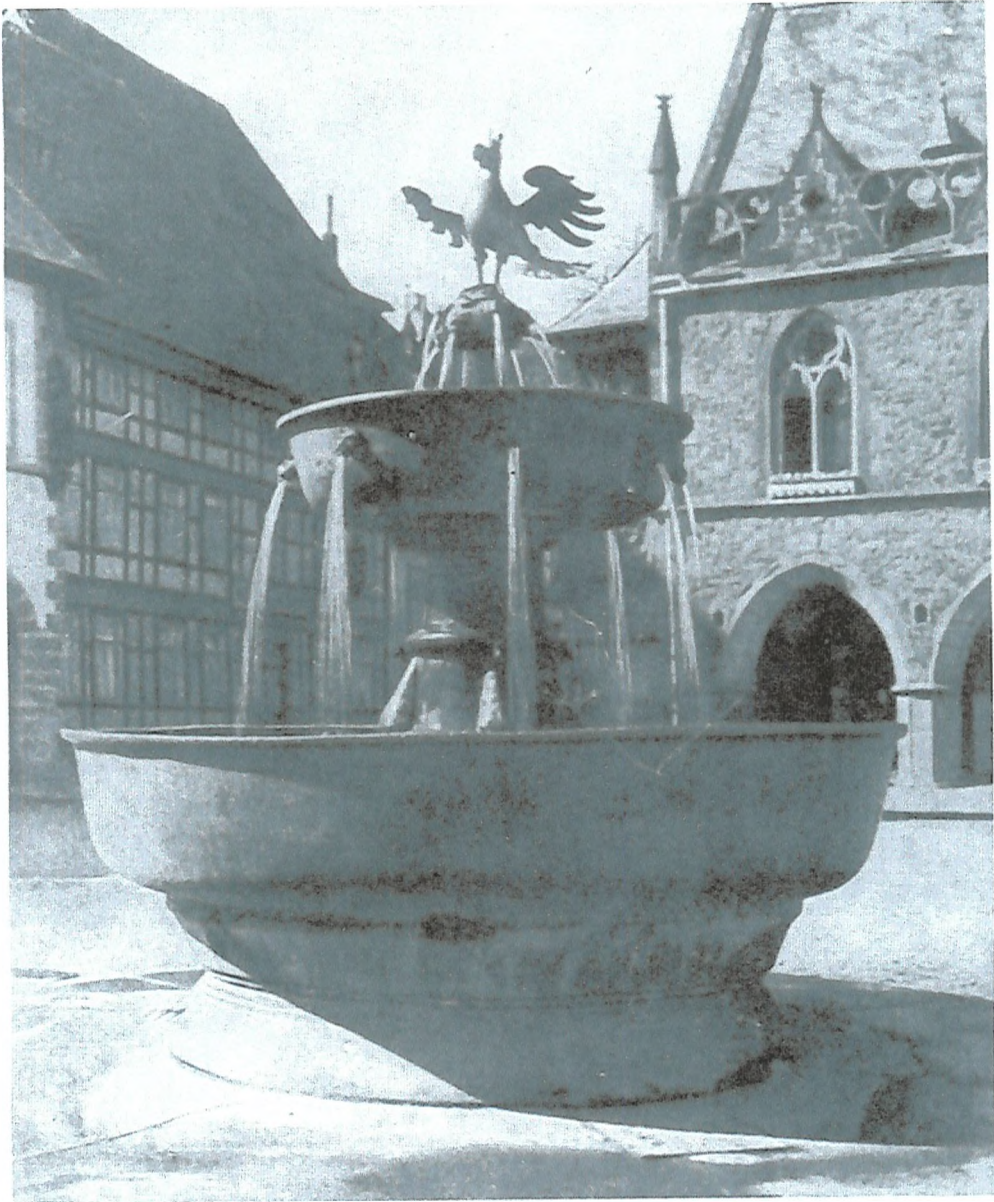


Fig. 60 A photograph of the Romanesque bronze fountain situated in Goslar's market square. The eagle was part of the coat of arms of the Hohenstaufen Emperors which was adopted by the town in 1340.

Image: Hans-Günther Griep's *Goslar – A Short Guide* (undated publication).



Fig. 61 A photograph of 19 Desmond Avenue, Hull, July 2002, where Klingender was living with his third wife, Winifred Klingender, at the time of his death.

Image: The Author (2002).