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SURVIVAL AND CHANGE IN THE PAINTINGS OF WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

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IDSVA

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Dedicated to my husband David

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ABSTRACT

Jean Wellington Nelson Bundy

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During Winston Churchill's long career he painted hundreds of landscapes which have been viewed as picturesque, a British genre popular to painters and landscape gardeners, mimicking nature. Artists sold flatwork, architectural designs, or led countryside tours; for the gentleman, painting was merely an aristocratic pastime. I will argue that analyzing Churchill's bright palette used to saturate spatiality on canvas, often resembling military field mapping, uncovers considerations beyond a pastime.

Russian Constructivism permeated Britain's art groups between the wars, acting as a backdrop to Churchill the painter, thus providing contextual contrast in the form of abstracted works to his representational landscapes. Applying a cultural Marxist methodology in the guise of Russian Constructivism to his art elucidates his unintentional responses to social and political change, along with his commitment to the survival of Britain, while allowing for aristocratic ideologies expected in Churchill's aesthetics.

Overlooked contextual underpinnings such as Britain's struggles with two World Wars while maintaining the eroding Empire, are layered into Churchill's Romantic and Modernist stylizations. Artists, primarily Cézanne with his determination to objectify Impressionistic light, appealed to Churchill who painted Britain's place even when abroad.

I will argue that the category of amateur placed on deceased artists continues to be ill-defined. Insightful content found beneath Churchill's paintings has been overlooked because

he was deemed a gentleman painter during his life. Churchill's aristocratic lineage, evident at Blenheim, his ancestral home, left him the social status of amateur artist no matter how much talent he exuded or how many works he sold. The importance of place as embodied in his love for country and found in his paintings is preserved at Blenheim and Chartwell. Post World War II commercialism produced Kitsch which Churchill readily embraced, thus eroding his amateur status which contributed to increasing the value of his artwork.

Contextual analysis of Churchill's landscapes through a Constructivist-cultural Marxist framework allows contemplation of his paintings not just as a gentleman's pastime but also as troped imagery imbibed with social and political thought complimenting his writings and orations, leading to a better understanding of the man and his times.

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Introduction: Survival and Change in Winston Churchill's Paintings

During Winston Churchill's long career he painted hundreds of landscapes which have been viewed as Picturesque, a British genre popular to painters and landscape gardeners, mimicking nature. Artists sold flatwork, architectural designs, or led countryside tours; for the gentleman, painting was merely an aristocratic pastime. I will argue that analyzing Churchill's bright palette used to saturate spatiality on canvas, often resembling military field mapping, uncovers considerations beyond a pastime.

Russian Constructivism permeated Britain's art groups between the wars, acting as a backdrop to Churchill the painter, thus providing contextual contrast in the form of abstracted works to his representational landscapes. Applying a cultural Marxist methodology in the guise of Russian Constructivism to his art elucidates his unintentional responses to social and political change, along with his commitment to the survival of Britain, while allowing for aristocratic ideologies expected in Churchill's aesthetics.

Overlooked contextual underpinnings such as Britain's struggles with two World Wars while maintaining the eroding Empire, are layered into Churchill's Romantic and Modernist stylizations. Color once considered subordinate to line, becomes an important way to represent visual objectivity. Artists, primarily Cézanne with his determination to objectify Impressionistic light, appealed to Churchill who painted Britain's place even when abroad.

The category of amateur placed on deceased artists continues to be ill-defined. Insightful content found beneath Churchill's paintings has been overlooked because he was deemed a gentleman painter during his life. Churchill's aristocratic lineage, evident at

Blenheim, his ancestral home, left him the social status of amateur artist no matter how much talent he exuded or how many works he sold. The importance of place, embodied in Churchill's love of country, continues to be present at both Blenheim and Chartwell. Post World War II commercialism was embraced by Churchill. Churchilliana (Kitsch) manufactured, contributed to the insignificance of his amateur status and increased awareness of his artwork, increasing its value.

Contextual analysis of Churchill's landscapes through a Constructivist-cultural Marxist framework allows contemplation of his paintings not just as a gentleman's pastime but also as troped imagery imbibed with social and political thought complimenting his writings and orations, leading to a better understanding of the man and his times.

Short biographical sketches below provide understanding of key players in this paper who contributed to changing British art: Winston Churchill, Ben Nicholson and Russian, Naum Gabo who influenced Nicholson. Brief chapter sketches follow.

Brief History of Winston Churchill

Churchill was born into British aristocracy, 1874; his father was the second son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough (Coombs 15). Although a prankster and a poor student, he liked to read; one of his teachers recognized his ability to write. Churchill excelled at English, history and drawing. He was raised by nanny, Mrs. Anne Everest who provided more nurturing than his parents (Severance 14). In 1893, not considered able for Oxford or Cambridge, family influence sent him to Sandhurst, Britain's military college, training upper class officers to manage the British Empire.

In 1896, he was sent to India with his cavalry regiment. Returning to England, he gave speeches for the Conservative Party, focusing on promoting ideals of British authority in underdeveloped parts of the world. In 1897, he returned to India, fighting Afghan tribes, he sent back war reportage to *The Daily Telegraph*. The success of his book, *The Story of the Malakand Field Force*, convinced him he could make a living writing (Coombs 15, 16; Severance 21).

In 1898, Churchill joined Lord Kitchener (1850-1916) in the Sudan, reporting for *The Morning Post* while taking part in the Battle of Omdurman's cavalry charge (Coombs 16). In 1899, as a war correspondent for *The Morning Post*, he covered the Boer War in South Africa, and was captured by the Boers (Afrikaner farmers). He escaped imprisonment and became a national hero, winning a seat in Parliament (Coombs 17). In 1901, influenced by philanthropist Seebohn Rowntree (1871-1954) who wrote about the poor of York, Churchill said, "I see little glory in an Empire that rules the waves but is unable to flush its sewers" (Coombs17; Severance 29).

In 1905, the Liberal Party came into power. Switching parties, Churchill entered the House of Commons as a Free-Trader, becoming Undersecretary of State at the Colonial Office (Coombs 18; Severance 31, 32). In 1908, Churchill began a twenty-four year representation of Dundee Scotland while marrying Clementine Hozier (1885-1971). Serving the Liberal party, he became Home Secretary stressing, prison reform, prohibiting child-labor, creating old-age pensions and unemployment insurance. He also intervened with striking Welsh coal miners, dock and railroad laborers. (Coombs 18, 20; Severance 34-37). In 1911, Prime Minister H.H. Asquith (1852-1928) made him First Lord of the Admiralty.

Believing Britain needed to be prepared for war against Germany, Churchill established the Royal Naval Air Force; he also learned to fly (Coombs 21; Severance 38).

World War I began in 1914. Churchill and other ministers attempted to capture Constantinople, in order to defeat Turkey, a German ally. The failure of the Dardanelles Campaign was blamed on Churchill who was forced to resign from the Admiralty. By 1915, Churchill perceived his political career over, thus suffering depression (Coombs 21; Severance 51). Churchill's sister-in-law Lady Gwendeline (1885-1941) was entertaining her children using watercolors and invited Churchill to paint. Artist, Sir John Lavery (1856-1941) began teaching Churchill using oils exclaiming, "I know of few amateur wielders of the brush with a keener sense of light and color…" (Coombs 26).

In 1916, Major Churchill joined front-line trench warfare in Belgium with Royal Scots Fusiliers. When there was a lull, he painted musing, "I couldn't get the shell-hole right in the painting" (Coombs 27, 32; Sandys, Chasing 135). Churchill later elaborated, "In all battles two things are usually required of the Commander-in-Chief: [firstly] to make a good plan for his army and, secondly, to keep a strong reserve. Both these are also obligatory upon the painter" (Coombs 63). 1917, Churchill was appointed Minister of Munitions by Prime Minister Lloyd George (1865-1945). Churchill's drafting skills were useful in assisting in the design of military equipment, specifically tanks (Coombs 30).

The 1918, the Armistice sent Churchill back to Parliament and Secretary of State at the War Office with the task of finding employment for munitions workers and returning soldiers (Coombs32; Severance 56). In 1919, Churchill had his first documented art exhibition at the annual Royal Society of Portrait Painters, Grafton Galleries, London--

showing a portrait of Sir John Lavery working in his studio. In his autobiography, Lavery wrote, “We have often stood up to the same motif, and in spite of my trained eye and knowledge of possible difficulties, he, with characteristic fearlessness and freedom from convention, has time and again shown me how I should do things. Had he chosen painting instead of statesmanship I believe he would have been a great master with the brush . . .” (Coombs 33).

In 1921, Churchill became Colonial Secretary becoming responsible for negotiations: the Irish Treaty with Sinn Fein, Iraq and Palestine supporting Zionism (Coombs 34, 41; Severance 59,60). Arranged by artist, Charles Montag, Churchill showed his work in Paris at Galerie Druet under the pseudonym Charles Morin—six paintings sold (Coombs 34). December 1921 and January 1922, *The Strand Magazine* published Churchill’s essay entitled “Painting as a Pastime” that included color illustrations of his work. *Strand Magazine*, which published writings of P.G. Wodehouse and Arthur Conan Doyle, paid Churchill £1,000 (Coombs 41). According to Churchill, “One begins to see, for instance, that painting a picture is like fighting a battle; and trying to paint a picture is, I suppose, like trying to fight a battle. It is, if anything, more exciting than fighting it successfully” (Coombs 60).

In 1922, Churchill bought Chartwell Manor, the home that became his tangible legacy, having dammed the lake for a pool and built brick walls (Severance 61,120). In the shadow of the Dardanelles, Churchill was voted out of office while recovering from an appendectomy saying, “I found myself without an office, without a seat [in Parliament], without a party, without an appendix” (Severance 61). Churchill confessed, “If it weren’t for painting, I couldn’t live; I couldn’t bear the strain of things” (Coombs 180).

In 1924, Churchill returned as a Conservative from Epping, becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer promoting social reform, pensions for widows and orphans with others receiving compensation after 65 (Coombs 120,125). In 1925, Churchill exhibited anonymously at an amateur show, Sunderland House. He won first prize with jurors Kenneth Clark, Oswald Birley and Sir Joseph Duveen who thought the picture too good to have been created by an amateur (Coombs 125).

In 1929, Churchill's Conservative party was defeated. He remained in Parliament, lost his cabinet position and began his decade in the *Wilderness*, politicking in exile, opposing independence for India (Coombs 131,132; Severance 70-72). Following the '29 Stock Market Crash, he supported his family writing about his ancestor John, first Duke of Marlborough, autobiography, *My Early Life*, and penning articles for the British and American press, including the Hearst papers. "Painting as a Pastime" was published in *The Hundred Best English Essays* (Coombs 132).

In 1933, Hitler became Chancellor of Germany and began to rearm. During this period Churchill was a lone voice arguing for increased defense in anticipation of a coming war against Germany (Coombs 150; Severance 75-77). Like the Romantic Beethoven, Churchill was "the lonely, tortured, afflicted, uncompromising, utterly original genius…" (Banning 34). Churchill's daily writing schedule included painting, feeding the swans and goldfish (Severance 70). The renowned painter William Nicholson (1872-1949) spent months at Chartwell in 1934 and is said to have cooled down Churchill's bright palette (Coombs 146). This paper will show that was never accomplished.

In 1939, World War II began and Churchill returned as First Lord of the Admiralty, shortly thereafter he became Prime Minister, May1940 (Severance 80,85). Churchill vetoed director of the National Gallery, Kenneth Clark's suggestion of sending masterpieces to Canada saying, "No, bury them in caves and cellars. None must go. We are going to beat them" (Coombs 157). Churchill painted one picture of the Atlas Mountains during the war (Coombs 163).

In 1945, the Labor Party gained power and Churchill was again out of office, but kept his seat from Epping. He anticipated the Cold War with the USSR, delivering his famous "Iron Curtain" speech at Westminster College, Missouri,1946 (Coombs 167; Severance 114,115).

In 1949, the Royal Academy appointed Churchill an honorary Academician Extraordinary. He regularly visited Marrakech, took up gentleman farming, horse breeding at Chartwell and cruised on Aristotle Onassis' yacht *Christina* (Sandys, Chasing 4, 241; Buczacki 230). Joyce Hall of Hallmark Cards promoted Churchill's work. The American Association of Art Museum Directors when seeing his work said, "Well, one thing is certain. Whoever the artist is, he's more than a Sunday painter" (Coombs 182). In 1953, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. He made a speech at the Royal Academy dinner declaring, "The arts are essential to any complete national life" (Coombs 187).

Between 1951-1954, Churchill was again Prime Minister. He remained a member of Parliament until his death at the age of 90 (Coombs 219; Severance 124). In 1958, The Royal Academy held a one-man exhibition of his works that had toured internationally (Coombs 209). In 1963, Churchill was made an Honorary Citizen of the United States (Coombs 214).

He frequented the Riviera villa of Wendy and Emery Reves, his literary agent, and visited Cézanne's Mont Sainte-Victoire (Coombs 180, 193). Churchill said, "I am being taken through a course in Monet, Manet, Cézanne and Co by my hosts who are most versed in modern painting and practice in the studio…" (Gilbert, Churchill 946). A state funeral at St Paul's Cathedral followed his death January 24, 1965.

Brief History of Naum Gabo

Naum Gabo (1890-1978) was born in Bryansk, Russia and educated as an engineer in Munich. In 1913-1914 he studied Cubism in Paris. Fleeing Germany, he apprenticed in Norway where he began making his constructions. In 1917, Gabo returned to Russia, writing his *Realistic Manifesto,* in 1920 for an exhibition on the Tverskoi Boulevard. In 1922, the Soviets began discouraging Modernism for Social Realism. Gabo left again for Berlin (Lodder 242, 243; Hammer 99,100). In Germany, 1932 after losing a Russian design competition, Gabo left for Paris where he became acquainted with Ben Nicholson (1894-1982) who had begun showing in Paris (Hammer 212,221,225). In 1935, Gabo exhibited at a London exhibition, *Abstract and Concrete,* and in 1936, realizing London was the new "centre for avant-garde activity," moved there permanently (Hammer 224,226).

Once out of Russia's oppressive environment, Gabo expanded Constructivism to include the artist as individual and returned content to a work. According to Gabo, " it is the creative mind, rather than economics, or the class struggle, which has 'the decisive word in the construction of the whole of our culture', and which furnishes man with 'all the energy necessary to construct his spiritual and material edifice'" (Hammer 240,241).

Circle Magazine's brief publication, 1936-1937, edited by Gabo and Nicholson, is evidence of the influence Russian Constructivism had on British art. In *Circle* Gabo said, "therefore, the universal, critical potential of constructive art was inexplicably linked to its formal purity. Any reference to extraneous subject matter in a work of art could only serve to dilute its impact, since descriptive imagery engages the viewer's intelligence, which is open to social conditioning, so that the experience of the work will tend to confirm pre-existing attitudes (Hammer 243). Ironically, it is the idea of socially conditioned subject matter that must be considered in a Churchill work. Gabo who followed Nicholson to Cornwall during the war years, left for the United States in 1946 (Hammer 231, 313). Gabo's hybrid Constructivism allows discussion of Churchill's art beyond Formalism.

Brief History of Ben Nicholson

Artist Ben Nicholson was the son of famed woodcut- portraitist, William Nicholson (1872-1949) and began life at Chaucer's House, Woodstock, across from Blenheim Place. (Checkland 6; Lynton 9). In 1910, Nicholson entered the Slade with no apparent artistic talent accept a legacy of artists on his mother's side (Checkland 18). Christmas 1911, Nicholson left the Slade's classical education of copying casts (Checkland 45). March 1915, he was home volunteering for World War I and was rejected (Checkland 26-30). In 1920, Nicholson married Winifred Roberts at St Martin-in-the-Field. Her grandfather was the 9th Earl of Carlisle (a Howard) and her father, Charles Roberts was a liberal MP (Checkland 44-46).

In 1924, the *Daily Mail* began to notice Ben in a derogatory way as the "The Prodigal Son." The paper read, "William Nicholson, it said, must be horrified at his son's 'artistic

experimenting' with its irregular geometric shapes …here and there decorated with round spots like a tiger's skin. What with titles like *Sweet Pea*, *Spice*, *Whitethroat* and *Jungle*, these works were carrying abstraction 'to a point altogether beyond the grasp of the normal mind'" (Checkland 61). Wyndam Lewis (1882-1957) condemned, " the new naivety in painting as the product of an 'irresponsible Peterpannish psychology' then in vogue among the' revolutionary rich'" (Checkland 80,83).

A 1930 one-man show at Lefevre Gallery had a favorable review in *The Times* followed by a Paris exhibition at Galerie Georges Bernheim. In Paris he became acquainted with Modernism's multiple perspective, discovering the Constructivists (Checkland 84). In 1932, Nicholson moved in with sculptor, Barbara Hepworth (1903-1975) residing in Hampstead, the avant-garde section of London (Checkland 96, 100,103,106). Paris was now bombarded with abstract artists fleeing impending oppression, including Gabo (Checkland 147).

With increased tensions in Europe, Kenneth Clark (1903-1983) and his followers pushed for a revival of "romanticism and neo-picturesque." "Surrealism and Constructivism were becoming marginalized in the British cultural consciousness" (Checkland170). William Nicholson, now a trustee at the Tate, soon to be knighted, continued to look disparagingly at his son commenting, "Done any more of those lavatory seats, Ben" (Checkland 149,159)? However, The *New English Weekly* which had said Ben Nicholson's art was "a lavatory artform" showed signs of acknowledging that "'the new abstractionist movement' was gaining a 'kind of respectability' at least in the intellectual world" (Checkland 149, 152).

By 1945, degenerate or abstract art became popular. The *New Chronicle* said Nicholson was "our own British Picasso;" the *New English Weekly* said "that the 'perfection' in Ben's work amounted to 'the conclusion of a logic which will be found to be at a tangent to the mainstream of art'" (Checkland 239).

In 1955, Paris' Musée National d' Art Moderne gave Nicholson a show recognizing him as the first "English painter of universal significance" (Checkland 295). In 1957, he received the Guggenheim Prize; in 1958 *Architect's Journal* made him "Man of the Year" (Checkland 308,321). In 1968, Nicholson accepted an Order of Merit (OM) (Checkland 363). During the ceremony, the Queen mentioned to Nicholson that her cousin Lady Patricia Ramsay was also an artist saying, "but of course, she only paints for pleasure." Nicholson replied, "Whatever other reason could anyone have" (Checkland 364).

In 1971, Nicholson who had relocated to Switzerland, exhibited worldwide including several Venice Biennales, moved back to Great Shelford (Checkland 372). Nicholson died in 1982 (Checkland 396). In 1994, the Tate held a retrospective on his hundredth birthday (Checkland 400). Nicholson like Churchill were beneficiaries of Empire and its decline. Nicholson's loose acceptance of Constructivism should be considered when analyzing a Churchill work (Hammer 305).

Summary: Chapters 1-6

Churchill's art has been dismissed as the leisure of a gentleman painter. Today amateur refers to the economic status of an artist; but early as the eighteenth century, amateur meant being an aristocrat no matter what remuneration you received. The six chapters contextualize ways to consider Churchill's art. Working around the same time as Churchill,

Nicholson becomes the ground for this paper, as he also transitioned from a Victorian painter into one of Britain's premier post-World War II Modernists. Nicholson's association with Gabo cemented Content into British Formalism, providing contextual dialogue when referring to Churchill's paintings.

Chapter One: looks at the evolution of the amateur artist who evolved from a courtly appendage. With political upheavals and commercial changes, the amateur artist broadened his social spheres, evident in the diminished line and increased coloration found in his works. Churchill remained an amateur even though he had professional skills. His essay, *Painting as a Pastime,* is read to understand his approaches to art, perhaps incorrectly. Gabo's *Realistic Manifesto* becomes a comparison as themes about art are contrary to Churchill's.

Chapter Two: considers the history of British landscape, Churchill's principal way to paint. British landscape rose to prominence in the late seventeenth century as the Picturesque, couched in political ironies, its portrayal of *England's Green and Pleasant Land* (Blake poem) came to represent anti-Catholicism and Romanticism along with Enclosure that stressed the unseen working poor. Nicholson's abstracts do does not break from the Picturesque entirely.

Chapter Three: investigates Cézanne and his effect on Churchill's work. Cézanne took colors and light of Impressionism and objectified/solidified shapes, obliterating the three-banded landscape which Churchill retained. Nicholson's abstractions also reveal his scrutiny of Cézanne's landscapes.

Chapter Four: analyzes British Imperialism and its relationship to Churchill's paintings. Churchill's compositions retained the essence of Imperialism which visually

interpret his views on the waning Empire. His paintings done abroad continue to express his love of Britain. In 1915, Nicholson's father who went to India to paint the Viceroy, benefitted from Empirical connections (Schwartz 127,170). Britain's post-war Socialism embraced Modernism providing government funding that propelled artists like Nicholson.

Chapter Five: reviews Place or what landscape paintings personally reveal. Map making and describing using perspective evolved into Picturesque. Although Churchill lived in numerous houses and flats, Chartwell, his country estate symbolizes both the Churchillian real and imaginative. Like Nicholson, Place whether painted at home or abroad was the essence of Britain.

Chapter Six: considers post-World War II Kitsch as produced object and metaphorical. Although Churchill's art is not Kitsch, he received remuneration from those who made money from Kitsch. After his death in 1965, the manufacturing of Churchilliana escalated, retaining his aura and memory while possibly overlooking the importance of his paintings.

Conclusion: Gabo broadened Formal Constructivism to include Content. His presence in Britain influenced Nicholson whose art career parallel's Churchill's landscape painting, providing a ground for a more in depth investigation of Churchill's art, as both responded to the evolution of Empire. Churchill's paintings go beyond the mere dabbling of an aristocratic amateur, becoming an important way to understand the British Empire in Form and Content.

Chapter One: Evolution of Amateur Artist through a Cultural Critique

In the present, Winston Churchill is considered an amateur artist which maintains his aristocratic status but prevents scrutiny of his paintings, the quality of a professional. His essay, ***Painting as a Pastime***, 1921, written in a Romantic yet deferential style, typical of Victorian amateurs when referring to master painters, continues to be read as to how he approached art. Close scrutiny into both Formal/Contextual analysis of his works reveal a much more complex artist, when viewed through a Cultural Marxism lens.

Although today an artist can call himself amateur or professional at will, the amateur is considered inferior to the professional who receives remuneration for his work, the definitive marker of achievement. But that was not always the case. The original amateur artist dates back to seventeenth century English courtly life, when as an aristocrat, he would paint for pleasure often to the amusement of royals. Then, an amateur was often more skilled than a professional, a traveling servant who relied on teaching for sustenance. Amateurs did not live off art which was deemed a leisurely activity compared to estate management or politics. With the rise of the bourgeois came the creation of commercial venues that would meld classes and slowly allow the amateur, if desired, professional status (Lymberopoulou 171).

Color, one of the most visible tropes in a painting, provides optical evidence that changes were occurring, seen in the varied palettes of the amateur. Oils were replacing watercolors as brown tones replaced cleaner Complementaries. The arrival of Russian Constructivist Naum Gabo to Britain just before World War II, along with his *Realistic*

Manifesto which instructed artists to integrate their work with the "the real laws of life," helped the British contextualize art and reprioritize classical components, line and color, just as Cultural Marxism in Britain was reevaluating literary works from "Eliot to Ibsen" (Chipp 328; Higgins 25). Gabo would mentor British artist Ben Nicholson whose painting career paralleled Churchill's, thus allowing a contextual critique of art deemed Formal. This chapter discusses the evolution of the amateur artist who began as a leisure component of the aristocracy and blended into the socialist fabric of the twentieth century where artistic labels defer to a commercial construct, unless you are Churchill whose fame both elevates his accomplishments and detracts from really seeing him as a unique painter.

Winston Churchill knifed his canvases with Modernist primaries, retaining a hint of Victorian browns. His palette remained the same, whether he was painting in England, Southern France or North Africa. He seemingly painted in the Picturesque style yet his brighter Continental palette and rearrangement of landscape tropes reveal his understanding of trends beyond English painting, paralleling his understanding of the changing British Empire. Nicholson, influenced by Gabo's Content/Formal constructs came from a generational art family, was educated at the Slade and married into aristocracy. He had the ability to inhabit the upper classes and London's Bohemia alike. Gabo's presence in London during the war provided Nicholson with additional artistic language which contributed to his popularity after the war when British Formalism was waning. Although Gabo dismissed color as merely an illusion, he deferred to other Constructivists like Malevich (1878-1935) who looked upon color as an independent categorical art object (Foster 133). British critical theorist David Batchelor (b. 1955) explores the contextual aspects of color through the lens of Cultural Marxism, how it overtook classical line, a way to visually understand changes in

society, which can be used to see the evolution of Picturesque and thus the British Empire. (Chromophobia).

How did the status of the seventeenth/eighteenth century amateur artist change through economic and political evolution? Why does Churchill remain an amateur even when the category has all but vanished? How does color, in reality, an imaginative trope based on light reflections, become an object that can define social change? Why does color seen through cultural-Marxism, or the reduction of color, manifested in Nicholson's work, allow for a better understanding of Churchill's paintings which became vivacious in tones? In analyzing color in Churchill's paintings it is helpful to understand several concepts. For centuries, color as an image was deemed inferior to line. The Impressionists subjectified their recently discovered Complementaries that enhanced painting's nature and light. Post-Impressionists like Cézanne would objectify color, thus visually verbalizing its meaning further. Demoting color as preferred by the Constructivists, because it was merely a surface coating and trope representing establishment rule, becomes significant when understanding the importance of absence in landscapes that reflect social instability, thus the need for change.

I will argue that the changing status of the aristocratic painter who moved from court life to public arenas: public eateries, art establishments, began breaking down barriers with the result work could be valued for worth alone. I will also argue that bold primaries that define Continental Modernism, leaped across the channel, the result of world wars, visually documenting changes to the Empire eventually mixing with Victorian browns, standard in British landscapes, which contained underlying symbolism, defining periods of social inequality and desired reform. The changed look of British landscapes corresponded with

increased social welfare and a push for a Labor government. Churchill responded to these brash primaries but also retained Victorian browns applied to representational imagery, reflecting both ambivalence and rationalization to political/economic change. His essay ***Painting as a Pastime***, in truth reveals overlooked contextual painterly underpinnings. Nicholson responded to social change by becoming abstract and minimizing color; he too retained Victorian browns, evidence of his continual attachment to Britain, with its compensation for some at the expense of others less fortunate. Applying a contextual approach to Nicholson's art, elucidates Churchill's work which leads to a discovery of his social and political views: preservation of the Empire, improvements in social welfare, with a regret of the bygone. I will also argue that the brighter palette becomes a marker in British art reflecting the evolution of the amateur painter who must evolve with changing social and commercial trends.

British artistic/amateur traditions reached heights in the courts of the Stuart Monarchy. After the Glorious Revolution, 1688, with its attention to Protestant frugality, art and literature found its way into the public sphere of coffee houses and salons. While salons remained the domain of aristocratic intellectuals, coffee houses mixed merchants and shopkeepers with the upper classes. By the eighteenth century culture was merging with commodity (Lymberopoulou 171-173). By the 1700s, 55 percent of British artists were immigrants or visitors (Bhabha, Nation 155). There was no school of English painting which was thought of as expressionless compared to other countries; nonetheless British art represented "the national character…" Roger Fry (1866-1934) says, "the characteristic unpainterliness of English painting…is…its ability to be used as a 'medium for preaching' and for storytelling" (Bhabha, Nation 155, 156). Scholars blamed the lack of a school on the

climate and the overuse of local color which failed to achieve “the universality of great art…” (Bhabha, Nation 158,159). Churchill, however, painted his unique style of local color in Britain and abroad, attaining a narrative universality as did Nicholson abstractly, thus contributing to stylizing English painting. According to John Barrell (b.1943), “when one nation wins, they all win” (Bhabha, Nation 159) This was Churchill’s feeling in establishing a United States of Europe as expressed in the consistent approach to his landscapes in England and elsewhere. Presently, unifying Europe has been derailed by Brexit, which is why viewing Churchill’s paintings gains historical importance, regardless of his amateur status.

Eighteenth century England felt its fine art “was understood to be structured as a political republic; the most dignified function to which painting could aspire was the promotion of the public virtues….and England as ‘the nation of the free’ was thus of all the nations of Europe most likely to restore to painting the power and prestige it had enjoyed in the free republics of renaissance Italy” (Bhabha, Nation 159,160). Artist Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) wrote that the painter “must divest himself of all prejudices in favour of his age or country; he ‘must disregard all local and temporary ornaments’, for ‘he addresses his works to the people of every country and every age’” (Bhabha, Nation 161). This notion of civic humanism, a proper education with a Protestant bent, embodied the amateur painter. While these ideas were developing, Enclosure was destroying the working peasantry, who were losing lands to the aristocracy, because they confiscated property for grander vistas or sheep grazing. Meanwhile, those fleeing to cities, London and Manchester for factory jobs continued to live in poverty. British art like its social state reflected the mire found in its class

structure. If the amateur painter portrayed the poor, it was only to add contrast to cultivated greenery. Drab landscapes devoid of peasants portrayed a fictional aristocratic reality.

Reynolds, whose writings on how to paint were the cookbook for decades, insisted that rendering local tropes was all right as long as the universal nature of the composition was not compromised or cluttered (Bhabha, Nation 165). He believed that to be a humanist painter was to minimize costly ornamentation as, "The public function of painting is to make us aware of ourselves as *citizens,* by teaching us to subordinate our private interests to the interest of the public, or to grasp the identity of the two" (Bhabha, Nation 166). Reynolds continues, "Painting and the enjoyment of painting is thus conceived of by the discourse of civic humanism in terms of an opposition between the ideal, the universal, and the public, on one hand, and, on the other, the material, the individual, and the private" (Bhabha, Nation 166).

As Barrell suggests, not everyone who read Reynolds' view of aesthetic universality agreed with him (Bhabha, Nation 168). In reality, Reynolds' attitudes on painting disappeared after the French Revolution as fear that its aftermath would spread to England. British painting retreated to nationalistic, parochial attitudes. Landscapes grew darker and did not have the radiance of the Italianate nor the narrative of the French, nor the expanse of the Dutch. With the effects of the French Revolution, Reynolds too, became colloquial (Bhabha, Nation 170). He now professed, "it was no longer the primary nor even the final duty of art to create a universal republic of taste. Art should create, instead, a customary community of taste, to develop in a people a sense of its nationhood, of belonging to one nation rather than another, and to provide the justification of social and political privilege which the civic discourse could no longer be relied upon to supply" (Bhabha, Nation 171). This declaration

was useless to the poor who supplied the food and labor for those who were free to debate the ideals of democracy. The debate about whether the "Englishness of English art…" belonged to a "private sphere of experience" continued into the nineteenth century (Bhabha, Nation 173, 174).

Historian Ann Bermingham (b.1948) writes that, "Professionalism began with the founding of the Royal Academy and the line it drew between the liberal arts of painting, sculpture and architecture and the mechanical arts of craftsman and artificers" (Bermingham, Drawing 130). This suggests that the professional was superior because he had been institutionalized. Amateur artists/gentleman were mainly from the upper class, not necessarily college educated but perhaps a stint in the military. To be an amateur painter meant you did not rely on the sale of a work for your livelihood (Bermingham, Drawing 130). In the nineteenth century this changed as amateur artists overwhelmed exhibition submissions. Leisure spawned the rise of sketching clubs and art manuals along with travel (Bermingham, Drawing 132,133). London's new art emporiums catered to both the amateur and the professional who now could mingle among the supplies and prints. Commercialization which created the professional was also breaking down barriers as to who was professional or amateur (Bermingham 138). *The Compleat Gentleman* by Henry Peacham (1578-1644) continued to be a popular read and placed drawing and oil painting in his list of gentlemanly activities along with "cosmography, armory, geometry, poetry and physical exercise" (Bermingham, Drawing 50). Both Churchill and Nicholson chose oil possibly because The Royal Academy viewed oil as superior to watercolor. Cheap/convenient watercolors continued as the medium for the middle-class amateur who Grand Toured (Bermingham, Drawing 174).

Gentlemen painters were often more knowledgeable about their craft than professionals who needed to spend time giving art lessons. Amateurs were increasingly interacting with professional artists either by taking lessons, gathering at emporiums or submitting to annual exhibitions. Interest in painting clubs began to outnumber academic institutions which continued to adhere to strict rules about who could enroll, what to draw and paint, and who to accept. Commercialization and competition aided in removing more barriers between the professional and amateur. (Bermingham, Drawing 127-141).

Churchill's art mimics Reynolds' original thesis on painting; his works took on a universal quality whether he painted in Britain or abroad as evidence of similar shape placement and an identical palette. Conversely, his desire to hold onto the waning Empire prevented him from further pushing his art beyond total disappearance of Picturesque. His fame in the Post-World War II era allowed his art to have universal appeal as it symbolized the triumph of the West, even though Empire was dissolving. An amateur has the advantage of self-promotion free of needing remuneration.

Churchill's ***Painting as a Pastime***, is often dismissed as a melodramatic essay about his discoveries in paint, pitched to an elite audience by one of their peers, who acknowledged the accomplishments of Modernism, distasteful to many in Britain. ***Painting as a Pastime*** (*Strand Magazine*, 1921) *and Hobbies* (*Nash's Pall Mall*, 1925) were originally printed along with Churchill's paintings. Both essays have been frequently reprinted, merged and edited, often without visual aids or attention to authenticity of Churchill's verbiage; all of which reduces the texts to mere panderings of a gentleman. Color not only is one of the most poignant tropes Churchill employs, it also represents a distinct difference between Western

European art of his generation and Russian Constructivism that considered color immaterial unless it became categorically objectified (Foster 133).

Color is one of the first things people react to when coming upon a painting. According to Ruskin, “Everything that you see, in the world around you, presents itself to your eyes only as an arrangement of patches of different colours variously shaded” (Batchelor, Colour 27). In the twentieth century, when Complementraies finally seeped into England, they paralleled increased cultural and political changes, the result of wars and the decline of Empire. Nicholson’s reduction of color as much as Churchill’s abundance of color provide concrete imagery of the erratic changes occurring in twentieth century Britain, as it moved away from the aristocracy and the wealthy bourgeois into a Labor government with greater reform.

Batchelor says, “colour has been the object of extreme prejudice in Western culture” (Batchelor, Chromophopia 22). The arrival of non-white peoples from the declining Empire changed the face of Britain and becomes another way to understand the changing British palette. Churchill’s love affair with color can be construed as a complete acceptance of the ethnic changes that occurred in Britain. His relationship to men of color occurred in a subservient mode, mainly in a military situation. The importance of color to him reflected his love of England, interpretation of a changing Empire and the continuous importance of the subjective self. In Post-Modernism, cultural-Marxism can be applied to further investigate Churchill’s art and allow features to become objectified.

In ***Painting as a Pastime***, Churchill explains his art by saying, “They are the productions of a weekend and holiday amateur who during the last few years has found a

new pleasure and who wishes to tell others of his luck" (Coombs 51). This beginning could not be construed as anything but the sentiments of an aristocrat, perhaps exaggerated by editors. He continues, "To have reached the age of forty without ever handling a brush or fiddling with a pencil…" (Coombs 51). In truth, Churchill had extensive art training at Sandhurst. In 1895, he took drawing equipment to Cuba for war reportage. But why does he demean himself? The answer lies in his aristocratic background. The insistence to call drawing a leisurely pursuit over the importance of service to the state was hard-wired into him, so naturally when he wrote about art it would have been as an amateur, as his readers would have appreciated and understood (Bermingham, Drawing 18).

In ***Pastime…*** Churchill uses many military references indicating "painting a picture is like fighting a battle…" which included planning military engagements similar to designing a composition (Coombs 60, 63). He also writes about the process of art-making indicating "You know you will never get to the end of the journey" (Coombs 70). These musings tie into his writings, his politics, and his unending travel, on to interests in Cold War politics even after he was out of office. Of note: Churchill's impetuous lifestyle as coded in his essay, deviates from the dilettante whose life was simplistic, such as P.G. Wodehouse's Bertie Wooster, who flits from different activities never connecting any of them.

Historian Ernst Gombrich (1909-2001) in his best seller, *Art and Illusion*, wrote about Churchill's "coding process…" for painting, or the "route between the retina and our unconscious minds" (Gombrich 52).

Gombrich observes:

> No professional critic has seen the nature of this problem more clearly than a famous amateur artist who has taken up painting as a pastime. But then this is no ordinary amateur but Sir Winston Churchill [who said,] "It would be interesting if some real authority investigated the part which memory plays in painting. We look at the object with an intent regard, then at the palette, and thirdly at the canvas. The canvas receives a message dispatched usually a few seconds before the natural object. But it has come through a post office *en route*. It has been transmitted in code. It has turned from light into paint. It reaches the canvas a cryptogram. Not until it has been placed in its correct relation to everything else that is on the canvas can it be deciphered, is its meaning apparent, is it translated once again from mere pigment into light. And the light this time is not Nature but of Art." (Gombrich 38,39)

Here, memory mixes with science to surmise how an artist renders nature through light.

Gombrich recognized the complex talent of Churchill beyond the amateur, but even he cannot move Churchill into categorical professionalism.

Churchill's ***Pastime…*** approach to discussing color employs trite phrases as, " Happy are the painters, for they shall not be lonely, Light and colour, peace and hope, will keep them company to the end, or almost to the end, of the day" (Coombs 115). This has been analyzed to suggest painting relieved his alleged depression. Maybe so, but there is more to Churchill's scrutiny of color (Coombs 115). Beyond the musings of an amateur is a deep

pondering of how color can change a picture and relate illusion to reality. According to Batchelor, "Colour is no longer a presence in the world but a memory of another world (for those old enough to have known it), or a largely alien concept (for those too young to have known anything else)" (Batchelor, Luminous 27). A consistent palette helped Churchill to memorialize Britain's glorious past.

Although ***Painting as a Pastime*** has superficial metaphors, the notion of color as memory and shape placement, becomes an objective way to understand Churchill and his relation to Empire. Churchill was a master at using color as metaphor in his writings or in butterfly collecting as a soldier in India, which became a later hobby at his Chartwell aviary (Buczacki 16,32). Paint becomes memory, for his ancestors specifically John, first Duke of Marlborough. Color enhances remembrance of Imperial wars and the sights/sounds that constitute differing cultures of Empire, as well as Britain's continuance inferred from his paintings. Objectifying Churchill, the amateur, through Cultural Marxism as visualized by a professional like Nicholson, who removed color and further abstracted Picturesque, reveals Churchill's contribution to English art, found in ***Pastime***… and his modifications to the British palette in his works.

1.2 British Amateur Artist Collides with Russian Constructivist

Increasing twentieth century Continental social unrest dispersed artists to Britain where they introduced abstracted shapes into parochial Victorian stodginess. The amateur artist, often at the forefront of aestheticism, had to respond to these invasive changes. One example was Russian Constructivist Naum Gabo who had a one-man show at the London Gallery, 1938, promoting abstraction (Hammer 254). Although he would later abandon

socialist tendencies for capitalist opportunities, Gabo's insistence on combining form with content helped British art fuse with Continental trends. Critic Richard Shone (b.1949) says, "foreign influence was slow to show its hand, restricted by natural British caution, social expediency and the lack of any pronounced internal dynamic" (Shone 12). The Industrial Revolution produced a wealthier middle class with the means to appreciate art; but it was Victorian professionalism they wanted. The First World War decimated the male population, especially the aristocracy, while higher tax structures led to the demolition of estates. Vacancies in the social strata allowed advancements and education for those on the fringe, including artists.

The early twentieth century British art establishment continued to resist Modernism from Europe, favoring representational brownish landscape. Ironically, English landscape had its origins in Italian, French and Dutch schools but the British believed they had invented all their own techniques. In a 1935 essay "*The Future of Painting*" Kenneth Clark, the director of the National Gallery, vehemently attacked contemporary art (Lynton 70). Most of the British press "mingled disdain with pretended horror" Britain stubbornly wanted "good art" that was "pleasant, pretty and unproblematic." In 1933, Frank Rutter of the *Sunday Times* said that Picasso was "led astray by the desire for novelty and a restless craze for new inventions!" (Lynton 49, 50). Articles announcing "death of abstract art" abounded (Checkland 189).

Representational art, endowed by the aristocracy, was considered national heritage. During the Blitz, effort was made to preserve this art by hiding it in caves. Churchill had prevented Clark from sending any art to Canada, as its preservation on British soil became

another symbol for survival (Coombs 157). Ironically, much of the art sequestered had its origins elsewhere.

After 1945, Britain's social welfare increased. Clark broadened his thinking creating a Ministry of Culture, supporting exhibitions which benefitted Nicholson and others. Abstract art became popular as "figurative art was now associated with the Fascists" (Checkland 232-239). Government programs supported artists indiscriminately. Artists with working class origins, like Richard Hamilton (1922-2011) now attended the Slade. British academic, Raymond Williams (1921-1988) professed that, "art is part of the whole way of life, and the individual artist has behind him and within him an important body of social experience without which he could not even begin" (Higgins 63). Williams was part of the liberal intellectuals who considered the artist a contributor to the whole social construct.

The origin of the university educated artist harkens back to the Bloomsbury Group which was most prominent between 1910-1930; their beginnings centered around Roger Fry's Post-Impressionist Exhibitions 1910, 1912. Bloomsbury felt "that English culture had for too long split from the Continent…" (Shone 12). Commonality was their association with the University of Cambridge, differing from previous generations of dandies who merely dabbled in education or forewent it altogether (Shone 14). Bloomsbury professed to being Formal and gravitated to those who favored direct observational painting and a leftist political slant. But like Russian Constructivists, who also professed Formalism, claiming any narrative was non-existent, Bloomsbury work contained "psychological content" reflecting the times (Shone 13, 14).

Like many British artists with means, including Churchill and Nicholson, Bloomsbury traveled to the Continent interacting with the avant-garde, exhibiting, publishing their art and adopting the flat shapes that defined Modernism. (Shone 12). And like the Constructivists, Bloomsbury believed in craft-making. They founded Omega Workshops Ltd. which sold furniture and textiles which were, ironically, abstract by design, regardless of what they claimed. But unlike the Constructivists' arenas of work, Omega was not state controlled. Bloomsbury combined fine art with crafts, traditionally the domain of the working classes who rendered folk designs, further mixing amateur and professional artists. Sociologist Howard Becker (b.1928) refers to artists who cannot be categorized as mavericks writing, "They succeed, when they do, by circumventing the need for art world institutions. They may, for instance, create their own organizations to replace those which will not work with them" (Becker 235). Mavericks are educated and aware of trends but they selectively violate art world practices (Becker 242,243). Bloomsbury were mavericks, yet most were amateur bourgeois liberals who had never had to defend their political views. Churchill was arguably a maverick.

In 1924, Nicholson briefly exhibited with Bloomsbury but his abstractions were attacked by the press. According to Lynton, "Nicholson repeatedly stressed the importance of Cubism which "liberated colour from identifying what is presented…. in reaction perhaps to the Bloomsbury artists' reluctance to accept the revolution it wrought" (Lynton 232,234). Bloomsbury preferred Fauvres' primaries (Lynton 17, 22, 226). They professed to ignore "Spaceless painting…" with overlapping tonal shapes that Nicholson preferred (Lynton 234). Most associated with Bloomsbury never painted Social Realism, while some adopted Cubism

and used bold colors, just as Nicholson did not always paint in a Cubist style or abandon color.

Like Bloomsbury, Nicholson was establishment educated, but rebelled against tradition (Lynton 226). He broke with Slade's classical training and his artist father, William's Victorian art: black and white woodcuts, paintings, mainly portraits, constructed in tonal grays. Nicholson felt William's "slick and froth of Edwardian culture as he found it in his father's portraits…" was distasteful and preferred "fresher air, open skies, big sea-and landscapes…" (Lynton 178). Like Churchill, his Englishness when constructing art never faltered.

Nicholson was born into a family of professional painters, so being an amateur was never in his vocabulary. Until after the Second World War when his art became highly prized, he relied heavily on the charity of family and friends and like genuine amateurs, did not live off his art- making.

Churchill socialized with artists who were associated with Bloomsbury like Walter Sickert. Churchill's Other Club was considered bohemian as contemporary writers and artists like painter John Lavery (1856-1941) were members (Rose, Literary 182). Lavery began teaching Churchill using oils exclaiming, "I know few amateur wielders of the brush with a keener sense of light and colour…" (Coombs 26). In 1919, even though he referred to him as an amateur, Lavery sent a Churchill painting to a Royal Academy exhibition at London's Grafton Galleries which promoted avant-garde groups like Bloomsbury (Coombs 33). Whether or not Churchill applied Modernist tendencies to his paintings after frequenting galleries is inconclusive. But circumstantial evidence of his relationship to the

avant-garde through artists, Sickert and Lavery suggests Churchill must have been aware of recent trends (Sturgis 442). He must have known Nicholson, as his painter-father, William, frequented Chartwell. Churchill painted with professional artists, occasionally inviting them to paint on the same canvas. At the home of Consuelo Vanderbilt Balsan, Churchill handed out brushes and orchestrated four other painters to render sections of a landscape, confidently demonstrating his desire to take control and show-off his artistic skills (Sandys 229; Balsan 242). Churchill gained more knowledge than amateurs of old because of his greater interaction with professional artists who respected him aesthetically.

During the war, Bloomsbury art critic Adrian Stokes (1902-1972) moved to Cornwall to escape the Blitz, encouraging fellow artists like Nicholson, who brought along Gabo, whom he had met at the Paris exhibition, *Abstract and Concrete,* 1935 (Hammer 226). *Circle Magazine's* brief publication, 1936-1937, edited by Gabo and Nicholson was an introduction of Constructivism to Britain (Hammer 244). In *Circle,* Gabo said, "The shapes we are creating are not abstract, they are absolute. They are released from any already existent thing in nature and their content lies in themselves" (Hammer 238-242). Gabo's wider definition of genuine Russian Constructivism provided a forum along with his ***Manifesto…*** injecting Content into British art mainly viewed as Formal. Hammer suggests, "*Circle* represented the fulfilment of the dialectical progression within art" (Hammer 241).

The origins of Russian Constructivism, an art form, emerged after the Russian Revolution, 1917. By 1933, it spread across the European art scene after Russian artistic freedom was curtailed (Hötte, 16). There was a desire to construct a new world by synthesizing art with work (Hötte 13, 14). Art of the past did not matter; neither did the individual artist (Hötte 16). Constructivism insisted that art should be made collectively for

utilitarian purposes. In truth, Soviet manufacturing costs after the revolution reduced color pigments, perhaps explaining why color was dismissed. Socialist compositions became geometric and flat against white backgrounds. Colors were monochromatic and dirty; red and black were coded as revolutionary (Hötte 97,100,101). Some socialist artists retained bold primaries expressing their desire for a new world order. Artist Malevich explains, "there has been realism of objects, but not painterly, colored units. Easel painters should now turn exclusively to the material properties of their art as the significant content of their work: color, faktura, the planarity of the surface, the flatness of the support, the shape and extension of the ground" (Gough 21, 22). Color as absence also became a way to express content. Gabo announced, "Colour is accidental and it has no connection with the inner substance of a body" (Hammer 64). He also said that "language of colour and form is universal and not one for a special class (though this may have been in the past)…" (Hammer 242). This notion deviates from the purity of Russian Constructivism. Gabo's ambivalences to color and its importance provide a comparison when looking at Churchill who embraced color.

Once out of Russia's oppressive environment, Gabo broadened his Constructivist format, reaffirming the artist as individual. According to Gabo, "it is the creative mind, rather than economics, or the class struggle, which has 'the decisive word in the construction of the whole of our culture', and which furnishes man with 'all the energy necessary to construct his spiritual and material edifice'" (Hammer 240, 241). Gabo's confirmation of the creative mind as a commonality for all who are true artists, detours from the Marxist view, yet further blurs artistic categories: amateur, professional.

The Constructivist movement brought to Britain by Gabo at the beginning of World War II, imparted visual social content into art, specifically to painter Nicholson. Gabo

insisted, “constructive art possessed an unprecedented unity of form and content, whereas representational art was ‘based on the obedience of Form and Content’” (Hammer 241). Content was found in all forms of art. After Gabo left Russia he “depoliticized, formalist Constructivism” emphasizing the infusion of science, space-time relationships, into art (Hammer 65, 96,). Arguably, politics never left Gabo’s work and his theories on space-time are ill-defined, but his form/content relationship would define Post-Modernism.

Both Churchill and Gabo perceived art as a vehicle for interpreting life. Their writings: Gabo’s ***Realistic Manifesto***, 1920, and Churchill’s ***Painting as a Pastime***, 1921, continued to be read for clues as to how they interpreted art as evidence of continued publications.

Gabo’s ***Manifesto…*** *was* written in Moscow three years after the Revolution, after the family foundry had been confiscated and Gabo’s dilettante existence had briefly ended. The prose shouts at the reader with short, punchy phrases and italicized type, relying on metaphorical expressions as, “Above the tempests of our weekdays, Across the ashes and cindered homes of the past, Before the gates of the vacant future…” which infers a leftist tone to get the attention of the ordinary man. ***Manifesto…*** was posted all over Moscow, accompanying a 1920, Russian outdoor exhibition and would have only been read by the intelligensia (Hammer 62). Gabo professes, “Everything runs from the past to the future, but everything should live by the present…” (Hammer 62; Chipp 325). But he contradicts when he poses sculpture, “inspires the ideas of all great epochs” (Chipp 337). According to Hammer, “There is no indication in the text that Gabo was seeking to promote a purely abstract art.” As “non-objective art” is never mentioned (Hammer 62). Given the Russian government’s desire to return to Realism, it is possible Gabo was purposely vague, protecting

himself from arrest. Besides ***Manifesto…*** declares, "The word 'abstract' has no sense, since a materialized form is already concrete…" (Chipp 336). Inconsistencies allow ***Manifesto…*** to be considered for different kinds of art and approaches. Gabo desired to leave Moscow and it is clear he desired his declarations to be contemplated beyond Russian soil, writing, "Art should attend us everywhere that life flows and acts…" (Chipp 329). Gabo like many Russian artists, were trying to invent their own brand of Modernism, so disappointment with Cubism may be construed as rivalry when he wrote, "Cubism has [not] brought us what our time has expected of them" (Hammer 63). Gabo renounced, "in a line its descriptive value…" But line had been a valued component of Western painting. He "renounced color as a pictorial element…" as the internal rhythm of a work only mattered (Chipp 328, 329; Hammer 63-64). Gabo insisted, "Space and time are the only forms on which life is built and hence art must be constructed" (Chipp 328). Manifestos, written in a moment of haste and passion, are meant to arouse and lack the how and why of explanations.

Gabo left Russia for Germany, France and Britain professing ideas about art's universal empowerment, yet ***Manifesto…*** finishes with the importance of his own kinetic sculptures detouring from the collective, returning to the artist as individual. (Chipp 337). However, when integrated into the Cornwall artist community during the war, Gabo continued to insist art was made for the "everyday life of the masses…" (Hammer 283). Yet, Cornwall during the war became an insular artist collective, not representative of Britons who suffered from effects of bombing or participated in combat elsewhere.

Gabo's ***Manifesto…*** gave him an introduction into Western art venues, even though contextual themes were misinterpreted by MoMA's Alfred Barr who saw Gabo's work as an extension of Picasso's Cubism. Leaving for the West, Gabo never suffered like many

Russian artists, however, his ***Manifesto…*** has been linked with fellow Constructivists who were struggling to survive, competing for the few Russian university jobs and grateful for factory work.

Being an amateur or professional becomes irrelevant when survival is paramount and money is irrelevant. During the war, the British art market was almost non-existent, art supplies were scarce, so being an amateur or professional was even more of a moot point. However, ideas continued to be exchanged between differing artists which further blurred boundaries.

Painting as a Pastime is Churchill's manifesto originally written for *Strand Magazine*, whose readers were upper class Victorians with time to read. Founded in 1891 by George Newness, a Congregationalist minister's son, member of Parliament and philanthropist, *Strand* paid Churchill a thousand pounds for his article, a considerable sum for the day. Churchill's demure phrase, "I hope this is modest enough: because there is no subject on which I feel more humble…" was what the amateur artist was expected to write (Coombs 51). In ***Manifesto…*** Gabo was subordinate to no one, but Churchill defers to the artistic expertise of painters John and Hazel Lavery (Coombs 54). Churchill also credits past artists like Manet and Matisse, whereas Gabo brashly discredits anything from the past especially, Cubists and Futurists (Coombs 77; Chipp 326).

Unlike Gabo's shouting staccato, Churchill's sentences are run-on, melodramatic and insipid as in, "We may content ourselves with a joy-ride in a paint-box" (Coombs 53). ***Pastime…*** is *c*onsidered a Formal essay although references to color often have contextual underpinnings as in, "wider considerations come into view" (Coombs 60). While Gabo's

Manifesto… shouts to an indiscriminate audience of artists and actors, his self is never revealed even when he described his own sculpture (Chipp 325). Churchill's essay is introspective and the reader learns a lot about his struggles when learning to paint and his gratitude that art rescued him from depression.

In 1959, Churchill wrote for *Nash's Pall Mall* while at the Reves' Riviera villa saying, "Painting is a friend who makes no undue demands, excites no exhausting pursuits, keep faithful pace even with feeble steps, and holds her canvas as a screen between us and the envious eye of Time or the surly advance of Decrepitude" (Gilbert, Life 955). This saccharine quotation has the cadence found in the *Book of Common Prayer*, which continues to suggests his aristocratic, Anglican upbringing as well as his attention to painting. Churchill wrote that painting made "no undue demands." Actually, painting demanded a lot of him, more than most gentleman painters who painted on occasion. (Gilbert, Life 955).

When panting on the Cote d'Azur, Churchill apologizes for having to leave England to find sun (Coombs 86, 90). To Gabo, light traveling more than 300 kilometers per second is a scientific phenomenon used for internalizing a work and not a topical painting trope (Chipp 327). ***Pastime…*** reflects knowledge of Complementaries: red to green, orange to blue, yellow to purple, while Gabo dismisses color (Chipp 328). Gabo left Russia as the regime was annihilating artistic freedom which might explain his dismissal of color. Batcherlor says, "the absence of colour is the visual synonym for a world deprived of change, variety, joy and desire" (Batchelor, Luminous 71). Churchill's embrace of world's beyond Britain is reflected in brightening the Victorian palette.

Pastime's… references to Churchill's military career indicate an understanding that painting is more than prettiness (Coombs 78). Gabo shuts out the past whereas Churchill makes many references to memory saying "The whole of this considerable process is carried through on the wings or the wheels of memory" (Chipp 330; Coombs 83). While this phrase continues in a melodramatic mode, it moves the essay towards Reynold's universal, the past, revealed in Churchillean art, made in other continents. The entrance exam into Sandhurst required drawing a map from memory. Narrative of the Empire is both productive and horrific memories. For Churchill it was memory but for Gabo is was a wiped-off slate, or was it?

Both manifestos written at the same time, after the devastation from war, suggest differing views on how art should be considered and contain different ways to consider the subjective artist. Gabo's ***Manifesto…*** cries out for a new kind of art, free of the amateur /professional without locale. In Churchill's ***Pastime…*** art is evolving but it still clings to a Western historical venue. Churchill longed to be an artist free of constraints and Gabo wanted to be a Western artist desiring his sculpture to keep pace with his idea of the universality of architecture (Chipp 337). Yet architecture was tied to pure Constructivism, in that it involved productivity, something he abhorred. Both artists gained financially from their post-war fame which incorrectly placed Churchill's art into the Victorian mode and Gabo's art as another abstract-expressionist among many. ***Manifesto…*** and ***Pastime…*** collide as they present differing views on art of the same period. Presented to two different kinds of readers, one on the street and one in a drawing room, they provide insight into European art at the beginning of the twentieth century. Both essays instruct the reader how to

view art, both essays contain underlying themes that there are problems when connecting the past with the future.

Churchill's, ***Pastime…*** is about his emotional discoveries with color which he appropriates in the same way he took ownership of Empire. Philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy (b.1940) says, "it is the coming into presence: how the thing becomes thing, how it exists *as* the thing that it is: contour/color, not a form cut out of matter, not a material that fills a form, but this rising, this lifting—the plasticity—this coming of that in relation to which 'form' and 'matter' are abstractions, just as 'drawing' and 'color' are" (Nancy 353). Churchill's color becomes presence as it represents the post-war idea of the declining Empire, revealed in memory of what it once was. Gabo's sculpture fails to describe presence as it revisits wire-sculpted Constructivist work done after the Russian Revolution.

The English Channel couldn't keep Cubism and other forms of abstraction from seeping into British art as Victorian brownish tonality was being challenged by Impressionist color and Constructivism's minimal hues along with the evolution of the amateur. Gabo rejected art as utilitarian but never gave up ideas of Content infused with Formalism which was his finest contribution, even if he did not always adopt it himself (Hammer 99). The Form/Content idea allows an analysis of Churchill's art beyond the Formal. ***Pastime…*** is the only essay that attempts to explain how Churchill felt about his art. Interpreted as an essay written by a gentleman painter, the amateurish tone masks Churchill's Post-Impressionist discoveries which he infused into his Victorian methodology. ***Manifesto…*** inconclusively wants to move beyond Modernism without pigeon-holing artists; but an important essay for art as contextual and that art should be considered important regardless of who in society made it.

1.3 Amateur in Churchill's Paintings

The aristocracy viewed drawing and painting as a "secret pastime" as long as it did not hinder service to the state or the growth of commerce (Bermingham, Drawing 18). Churchill's life centered around his political career, but he never kept his painting a secret. He painted wherever he went, to the point of annoyance. Mrs. Harry Byrd felt Churchill had overstayed and told her senator husband, "Don't you ever invite that man here again!" (Sandys 96, 97). Painting set-ups meant control; painting landscapes were a way to control his immediate environment even if the larger scheme of things, his Empire was eroding.

His essay, ***Painting as a Pastime*** talks about battles with paint akin to his military career. He writes about painters he admires. He refers how "retentive memory" plays in a painting when trying to better render a scene accurately (Coombs 83). ***Pastime's…*** numerous reprints keep the memory of Churchill in the present, but is sadly often all that is read when interpreting Churchill's painting. At recent exhibitions, viewers are surprised to learn he painted at all, let alone understand meaning. Churchill peppered his writings with color metaphors, so it is not surprising he created a colorful palette. Metaphors used for writing were fairly straight forward: blue and gold of officer's uniforms, red blood on a dying chestnut horse, russet brown on butterflies (Churchill, Early 28, 61, 84). By layering bright Complementaries onto Victorian Picturesque with its three-banded horizontals, retaining the use of perspective, side coullises and tonality that included browns, he created a dialogue between palette and canvas, much like a dialogue between Britain and the World.

Churchill was an accomplished painter but is dismissed because the modern definition of amateur has been commercialized, identified with making money, including tax deductible gifting. Except for original penned writings saved for posterity, his paintings

remain the only trace of the man, yet they are underestimated as to their importance and exhibited in second and third level museums. For the fiftieth anniversary of his death, January 24, 1965, there have been Churchill exhibitions: Millennium Museum, Atlanta Georgia, The Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum at Washington University, St Louis, Missouri, The Queen Mary, Long Beach, California. Chartwell has over a hundred paintings, descendants own some; many of his five hundred are lost. Chartwell's Katharine Barnett said, "we have 142 paintings on show in the Studio (136 by Winston Churchill and 6 by other artists)….We have a number of paint tubes, brushes etc. which are all on display in the Studio" (email: Barnett, 9/24/14). Housing them at Chartwell assures their safety but fails to establish that many were made elsewhere.

The Churchill Center, opening Fall 2016, at George Washington University, Washington, DC has Churchill's World War II appointment diaries. When emailing the university's Jennifer King, she responded saying, "My understanding is that the space here at GW is really envisioned as a place to use existing Churchill scholarship and his own words and actions as a platform to teach about leadership and government service" (email: King, 12/28/15). The artist does no shut off his other occupations when working, but brings them to the canvas. Churchill painted wherever he went, except during World War II when he only painted one work in North Africa. Adding Content to Formal interpretations will broaden understanding of the man as will looking beyond ***Painting as a Pastime.***

***The Hallway of Wilfred Scawen Blunt's home, New Buildings, Sussex,* 1921 (Coombs 35):** was an estate the Churchill's frequented. Blunt was a family friend, a poet and ironically, an anti-Imperialist (Rose, Literary 61). In 1909, Churchill told Blunt, "whereas the British army could contain any armed insurrection, it would be powerless against peaceful

noncooperation. If [the Indians] ever unite against us and put us in Coventry all around, the game would be up…. 'If they could agree to have nothing at all to do with us the whole thing would collapse'" (Rose, Literary 221, 222). Noncooperation eventually succeeded and ended British Victorian Imperial rule. Churchill's painting of an English Romanesque arch with a doorway opening to a garden beyond is an example of Victorian domesticity which symbolized the strength of Empire, established and maintained by an economy based on the domination of others miles away. What a perfect venue to discuss how to maintain India as a colonial hold. Romanesque vaulting, seen in churches throughout Britain harkens back to the Roman conquests of English lands; now the Modern British are doing the conquering in foreign territories.

The grandfather clock barely visible on the left does not reveal its face; it did not have to. Greenwich was where world's time was organized; the Empire controlled much of the world's economy through time management. Churchill demonstrates his ability to organize a picture using architectural tropes and perspective in the form of receding archways, opening onto the English garden, a symbol of organizational skill that became a metaphor for British democratic governance. The viewer is not hindered by aesthetic impediments in the foreground but is only allowed to peek into the garden beyond the open door. Not everyone in Britain or the colonies could enjoy the benefits of Reynolds' civic humanism or live in a house this grand, let alone be a guest.

The English garden becomes a source of political ideology as to who owns the landscape, who designs gardens and what they represent. Churchill has painted Blunt's garden Impressionistically so the viewer can only speculate what flowers have been planted and in what formation. The observer is positioned in the hallway, away from whatever the

rest of the house reveals, as if to be shown out a lesser entrance. The garden also suggests affluence, yet many in Victorian England were suffering from ill effects of poverty and lack of fresh air.

Light comes from a skylight above and trickles in from the open door. While Churchill has chosen to cut off parts of the hallway on both sides of the painting; this is not a Derrida Parergon that invites us to imagine beyond the frame or include the viewer into what is around the corner from the grandfather clock. Churchill wants the viewer to remain in the hall ignoring the rest of the house with only a glimpse at the greenery lurking beyond the open door, as aided by the dark Victorian tonal browns that contrast with the vibrant greenery.

The painting was done when Churchill was Colonial Secretary, traveling throughout the Empire. He appointed T.E. Lawrence (1888-1935) as advisor on Arabian affairs, was a supporter of Zionism and proposed a treaty to make Ireland an independent state (Coombs 34). This was also painted a year before he purchased Chartwell when Churchill was desirous of his own estate, even though numerous friends and relatives allowed him to borrow country houses such as Blunt's home. Churchill contradictory life supported prison reform, lobbying for lectures and entertainment in prisons at least four times yearly (Gilbert, Life 215). Yet his personal life and his painting locations were confined to private aristocratic venues.

This hallway appears claustrophobic. According to professor Malcolm Andrews (b.1944), "The motif of the window view, sometimes including a gazing figure, has been associated with specifically northern European Romantic preoccupations, the longing to

escape confinement, the inducement to liberate the imagination to explore the vast regions of light" (Andrews 111). Churchill's political debacles, when he was in and out of government were a kind of claustrophobia to him. Travel, not implied here, seems to liberate his frustrations. (Coombs 20).

Why did Churchill paint the rear entrance to the Blunt house? Was it mainly an unobstructed area to paint? Was he telling his viewers to use the back door? Aside from his love of color found in the garden, Churchill's mother, Jennie, had recently died which may explain the tomb-like appearance of this painting. Churchill does not paint as a hack amateur but he demonstrates amateur social tendencies, by painting in an aristocrat's home.

The Cloisters*, 1930s (Coombs 77):** was probably executed in Southern France (Coombs 77). Churchill had been painting for over fifteen years. He had been in a show under an assumed name at Galerie Druet, Paris,1921, and had had his paintings published in *Strand Magazine* along with his essay, ***Painting as a Pastime (Coombs 34,41). Churchill had interacted with professional artists like Lavery (Coombs 26, 113). He engaged with Sickert who taught him how to construct an underpainting, use a camera and grid-square for transferring imagery. Sickert liked to paint in the dark; many of his works are murky with rough brushstrokes. Churchill used a projector to trace imagery onto canvas which Coombs writes about in a disparaging tone as if this is proof Churchill is an amateur (Coombs 128). Many masters used primitive forms of lenses and today the use of projection equipment is not only common but considered appropriate. In spite of his wife's desire that he paint in a Victorian style, Churchill enjoyed bright colors.

Using Pliny's classical four-color palette, Churchill produced tones of brick reds, mustard yellows, and gray-blues. Today's art schools use this minimal palette, as an exercise to discover color's infinite variety. Somewhere Churchill gained knowledge of Pliny either through an instructor or when he was at Sandhurst. ***Cloisters…*** somewhat grayed out composition feels Victorian, yet not dreary as the grayness lends itself to the sacred space. This was painted after the '29 crash when Churchill was vigorously writing to recoup financial losses and traveling on book tours. ***Cloisters…*** represents a brief calm in his harried life.

Cloisters… is Catholic/Gothic space, yet Churchill has painted it without any reference to religion. Churchill belonged to the Church of England which diminished iconographic images. ***Cloisters…*** speaks more about the importance of its architecture, the strength of Western civilization, than its function as a religious space. Arches not only get smaller but so do the voids between columns. The detail in the Gothic architecture indicates his attention to perspectival drawing. The study of perspective was mandatory at war colleges, a point he fails to mention in ***Pastime...*** Churchill invites the spectator to enter the foreground just so far, as strong light patterns on the floor stop the viewer. Three horizontal bands common in British landscape have been pushed to the far right. ***Cloisters…*** vaulting in the center is the main focus. The neo-classical architecture suggests the Greco-Roman past and the foundation of European power structures which coincided with Churchill's idea of British Empire encompassing everything.

Many of Churchill's paintings detail passageways of stone or vegetation often ending in darkness—no light at the tunnel's end. While this sometimes is construed as a sign of depression, here it adds to the solemnity of space, suggesting the unknown future of his

political career or his Empire. The angle of sight mandates viewers look up from the stone tiles to the vaulting which seems positive. Churchill often painted with an aerial view which can be attributed to map making instruction at Sandhurst; here he used a lower angle, whereas an amateur painting a castle would render the structure from his vantage point in the grass. Light comes from the courtyard and radiates through the columns onto the stones keeping the viewer stationary in the foreground. Directing the viewer is often contrived using trees or high walls; here it is accomplished with sophisticated angles. Artificial light as the subject of conversation surfaced in the eighteenth century (Blühm 12). By the mid-nineteenth century artists like Degas were drawing interiors that showed oil lamps (Blühm 13). For centuries light was a trope for "goodness." "Sweetness and light" was a Victorian phrase coined by the poet Matthew Arnold (1822-1888). According to Blühm, "daylight was now the slave of materialistic scientists" (Blühm 37). Churchill painted in daylight exclusively, as did many British landscape painters. The grayed flooring not bathed in light should be a lighter tone than the rest of the gray stone wall, it is not. Although Churchill was interested in light, his strengths lay in color, drawing and designing space. ***Cloisters…*** with its outside to inside lighting fails to bleach out the columns that are bathed in the same light as the bleached floor (Ball 110). Was this overlooked or did Churchill paint ***Cloisters…*** has a one-tone tunnel indicative of his exile from government. Churchill made this painting after the 1927, General Strike involving coal miners. He was voraciously writing books and magazine articles. India was pushing for independence which he discouraged (Severance 71, 72).

Still, there is a *do not approach*, that is common in his works. Is he apprehensive as an artist, or reserved as the aristocrat? Perhaps he does not want the bourgeois public to scrutinize his paintings? Politician, Boris Johnson explains Churchill's attitude towards the

poor, 1906, when "fighting for the constituency of Manchester." Walking through slums Churchill said, "Fancy living in one of these streets, never seeing anything beautiful, never eating anything savoury…never saying anything clever" (Johnson, Churchill 140,141). This remark has been taken as derogatory to those less fortunate (Johnson, Churchill 141). Johnson points out that Churchill was, "the progenitor of unemployment insurance—the precursor of the dole" (Johnson, Churchill 144). Churchill was an aristocrat who helped those less fortunate but did not fraternize with many beneath his class unless they had gained financially.

Churchill's ***Cloisters…*** has an Impressionistic quality as details of the stones in the columns are not completely pronounced, nor are the tiles in the vaulting, the flooring or the roofing at the right. The center point of the painting has been derailed by the acute angles of the colonnade, as the end of the archway, the brick wall and the stained glass window compete for the center seat. While his palette seems devoid of Victorian browns, it lacks the acute Complementaries of a Modern palette generally used. Although this is a grayed composition, the palette does not feel Victorian, nor does it have the feeling of heat found in Southern France either. British amateurs painted architectural ruins, generally the whole building; but this is not decayed and there is no entangled vegetation. This work is stark, compositionally twisted and contains no narrative from a person who loved storytelling.

***The Coast Scene on the Riviera,* c. 1930 (Coombs 136):** was paradise to wealthy Europeans of the thirties. Unemployment was widespread with Communism seen as the hopeful fixative. Hitler came to power in 1933, taking advantage of the financial crisis; there was talk of another world war. Twenty-five per cent of England's working class were unemployed (Severance 75, 77). King Edward VIII had fallen in love with the American,

Wallis Simpson, adding to England's insecurity about the future of monarchy (Severance 77).

Churchill's ***Coast…*** is traditionally split into three horizontals planes: the foreground with the red roofed houses, the middle ground with the water, the background with the mountains and sky. The viewer is allowed upon the front lawn but stopped from going further into the water or the mountains, by the houses and two tall green trees at the right that behave like sentries. The windows in the houses show no indication of what is inside.

Churchill often extended foreground trees, piercing through the horizontal bands reflecting his take charge manner. The oak became synonymous with the power of the British Navy which maintained the Empire. Although these trees resemble poplars, they are tropes for Churchill engaged in conversation. Churchill was good at painting water. The British navy "ruled the waves." The horizontal brush strokes used to make the bay water, helps move the viewer's eye from the left to the right of the painting. Churchill's pre-World War II rendering of water flows off the canvas on both sides, indicating the power of Empire. Churchill's complementary colors are working: red roofs against greenery, yellow/orange mountains tinged with blue/purple shadows. The trees, houses, grass and water all pick up surrounding Complementaries. The sides of the painting have curtain-like heavily painted shrubbery, a common trope in British landscape. Normally side trees bend inwards; Churchill was never deferential, even to trees.

There is a touch of technology/industry in the hardly visible highway across the bay which suggests the slight changes to this region. Churchill appreciated science especially for warfare. Disruption will come to this sleepy bay in the guise of landing craft and air attacks.

This painting is about maintaining the status quo, threatened by economic and political angst in Europe; the side shrubbery keeps the idyllic from escaping for now. This is an aerial view of the bay and has a military feel derived from map making, familiar to Churchill, and somewhat foreboding. Churchill by now has absorbed lessons about Modernism's Complementaries as the red houses pull toward the greenery. The focus here is on the abstracted rock formations and not on the buildings, another sign of the steadfastness of Empire.

Gabo's ***Blue Construction in Space (Kinetic),*** **1953 (Hammer 350, 351):** surprisingly has color. Blue and white tones penetrate the surface of his abstract design. The painting was motorized to rotate, combining objectivity of a machine with subjectivity of his sculpture. The tonal facade harkens back to a tondo, popular in classical Renaissance painting which contradicts his insistence that the past is gone and the focus should be on the future. The center of this work is the focus which harkens to traditional art making. And the painting is oil on panel, a popular method before the introduction of canvas to Western art. This piece was constructed when Gabo had moved to Connecticut and would have been far removed from any constraints in Russia. He had left Britain after the war as he felt the United States offered him greater artistic remuneration and less competition. Although he has mechanized this painting and the viewer has the advantage of feeling the three-dimensionality through its revolutions, the internalization that he worked to impart is rotated away. ***Blue Construction…*** is not situated in Gabo's time-space dimensionality but grounded by the limitations of the motor. Gabo has used blue, a color not associated with Russian Constructivism. Socialist painterly compositions were geometric and flat against white backgrounds. Colors were monochromatic and dirty; red and black were coded as

revolutionary (Hötte 97,100,101). Blue is associated with Impressionism which deviated from black tones found in Victorian paintings. Nicholson retained Victorian black indicating he did not remove himself from his father's art. Churchill's attraction to the color blue may have stemmed from his long military career as blue became synonymous with the Royal Navy, the ocean and British uniforms (Ball 224, 225). By 1870, India mass produced indigo under the control of the British government who needed the dye for military uniforms (Ball 223,225). Gabo's integration into Western art with its Capitalist advantages can be seen in not only the use of blue, but color returning as a topical and prominent feature. By now, art had been mechanized, by Picabia and Duchamp; doing it again becomes redundant.

Churchill's art is too complex to be considered unprofessional. Unlike amateurs who situate themselves in front of trite landscapes: ruins, a castle, and then attempt to render what is in front of them, Churchill seeks out unusual spaces, lathering bright colors over his line, the traditional marker for judging a work. Churchill's originality never faltered. Gabo as a professional was different. He was a dilettante because his family could support him, in country torn apart by revolution where jobs were scares so labelling an artist was irrelevant. His branding of Constructivism and its financial rewards did not occur until after the Second World War. By associating with the artists in Cornwall and then moving to the Unites States, he became a professional by virtue of the Cold War that deemed Russian immigrants unique; and it was the beginning of the mass consumer culture. Gabo never achieved the prominence of Barbara Hepworth or Henry Moore, whose attention to surface Gabo ironically copied (Hammer 382). Nicholson who broadly adopted Constructivism became original by retaining the essence of Picturesque. No one could grasp the idea of Churchill as an important painter.

Like Churchill Gabo, the Socialist painter, could not escape the labeling which restricted who he was.

1.4 Conclusion to the Amateur and Russian Constructivist

The traditional British amateur painter rendered exactly what he saw whether in Britain or on the Grand Tour. According to Baudelaire, "colour is a sign of civilization, not its Fall; it speaks of nobility rather than the 'fraudulent' and 'baseborn'; an appreciation of colour indicates a rise above nature, not a fall into its lower strata" (Batchelor, Chromophobia 55). Early drawing with pencil and watercolor would have been acquired from a nursery nanny or the tutelage of an itinerant drawing master. Officer training would have provided skills in map making and perspective. Selling was immaterial; giving away was common. Learning to make art was a way to gain knowledge about purchasing paintings for your estate, an indication you were erudite (Beard 46). An amateur's lifestyle expressed the ideals of a civic humanist stance, echoed in family and domicile. What you painted or the art you bought reflected the slow and evolving British Constitution, which expressed "variety, individuality and antiquity" (Mitchell, Landscape 86). The Englishness of English art promoted by Joshua Reynolds contained the essence of the private individual who subordinated himself to the state, yet could maintain a public and universal aura, albeit hypocritical (Bhabha, Nation 154,166).

The Royal Academy founded in 1768 was organized to promote professionalism, fearing competition from the plethora of gentleman amateurs who joined art clubs, traveled routinely and frequented museums and art supply houses (Bermingham, Drawing 130). But there were hybrids. If you became an accomplished, well connected painter, like Turner

(1771-1851) whose prestige allowed him to fraternize with his upper class patrons, or the Nicholson family who improved their status by marrying into the Howards, or Gainsborough (1727-1788) the son of a prosperous wool merchant, whose art tutelage combined with marriage to a Duke's daughter, then you would advance into professionalism.

The eighteenth century was the apogee of amateur artists who were capturing light in their landscapes, also commissioning compositions that displayed their wealth obtained as men of property: elegantly dressed wife and children, healthy livestock, ploughed fields, abundance of game against a large Georgian mansion. Yet peasantry whose welfare was sacrificed and made the estate function, were omitted.

Nineteenth century uprisings meant those in need: farmers, factory workers, could no longer be overlooked. Art began to take on a political context, reflected by thinkers like Marx who wrote about economic inequalities and the need for change. The plight of laborers was both hidden in professional paintings that fetched up in grand estates as well as in amateur's sketchpads.

In the early twentieth century, the British Bloomsbury Group advocated social reform which they infused into their art and crafts. Somewhat hypocritical as they never had to act on their political beliefs, Bloomsbury broke boundaries between the professional and the amateur artists because they made the university educated intellectual the commonality instead of class. While Bloomsbury were not working class, their discussions revolved around changes in society from socialist trends abroad, to the aftermath of World War I.

Gabo's arrival into Britain with his ***Realistic Manifesto*** proclaiming the artist as the "new culture and a new civilization with their unprecedented-in-history surge of the masses

towards possession of the riches of Nature, a surge which binds the people into one union…" (Chipp 326) further broke down art's social structures, even if Gabo did not adhere to his beliefs. He spent World War II in Cornwall with erudite artists; some had already experimented with contextual narratives in their work (Chipp 326). Nicholson would broadly adopt Constructivist theories as seen in his reduction of shapes and colors while retaining Victorian browns as reference to the British past. Nicholson emerged after World War II as one of Britain's most sought after international artists, as commercialism now became the only measure of an artist's worth. In contrast, Churchill whose quality of art with its memory of the past and acceptance of the future, was never considered a professional, even though his art traveled internationally, and his financial stature boomed. His continued presence as a Victorian gentleman from an aristocratic dynasty could not be overcome because his presence as a world's statesman rendered his paintings incidental, which continues.

Early themes of Russian Constructivism speak about the importance of the collective, the idea of community working to make art or "merging of art and life through mass production and industry" which was theorized to be more important than the individual artist working in his studio (Lodder 3). According to Hammer, "By 1920, such thinking was relatively commonplace among the artistic avant-garde. After the Revolution, the idea of artworks as commodities for private consumption of the wealthy few was ideologically discredited and viewed by radical artists as a relic of bourgeois, capitalist society" (Hammer 88). Artists who left Russia reverted to Capitalism.

This notion of a collective was briefly adopted by some British avant-garde; for others collective creativity was more an idea than an actuality. Bloomsbury was a loose socialist collective claiming to paint only Social Realism. In fact, most were aristocrats,

painting in a Modernist style. As Shone points, “But Bloomsbury was not organized; it did not come together to form a club, worship a god, found a movement or inspire social action. Because of its so-called exclusivity, it is frequently seen as having no theoretical points of contact or shared enthusiasms with other groups or individuals” (Shone 19). Artists like Gabo and Nicholson who relocated to Cornwall during World War II were forced into a kind of collective as they had to pool limited resources, sharing food and housing. Churchill’s only experience in collective living was in military service. In 1916, Churchill met French painter Paul Maze (1887-1979) at the front. Maze who also resided in England, became a longtime friend of Churchill and the only artist he routinely painted with (Soames, Personal 657).

Gabo took Constructivism to Cornwall during World War II. When Constructivism was taken out of Russia, it merged with Capitalistic tropes and much of its ideology diluted. But working collectively did affect the Cornwall group, specifically Nicholson. Nicholson’s pictorial linear line resembles Gabo’s wiry sculptures. Following Gabo, Nicholson, minimized color until it was obscured completely. Unlike Constructivist abstractions, Nicholson never abandoned the format of British landscape.

Constructivists saw no truth in color, although their structures were mainly gray. According to Batchelor, “Grey is the colour of loss and the colour of losing…hardly alive but not yet dead…” (Batchelor, Luminous 64). The 1917, Revolution resulted in human loss and disappointing social change which may have contributed to their disinterest in color. Ideas about community and collective art production were often the result of having to organize to survive as much as wanting group innovations. Creative freedom evaporated under Lenin who mandated a return to Realism for propaganda purposes. Those who left Russia influenced Europe’s art establishment with ideas of incorporating community, science, and

technology into design. Writer Aldous Huxley (1894-1963) said, “our colour experiences have been transformed by the products of industrialization” (Batchelor, Luminous 35). Gabo’s emphasis on science (light, speed) yet dismissal of color, a relative of science and speed seems inconsistent. Batchelor says, “through science, colour can be made finally to ‘conform’ to the higher requirement of the Idea” (Batchelor, Chromotopia 26). Art with Content was not going to be stopped.

Color as absence needs to be contemplated. Gabo dismissed color as an illusory surface; becoming his other in absentia as it reflects his dismissal of potentially dated tropes: color, line, depth. Gabo writes, “The past we are leaving behind as carrion” (Chipp 330). The absence of Modernism’s Complementaries in Victorian art was a refusal to break with the past and embrace change which we can contextually empathize through Gabo’s rejection of color. According to Gage, “Until the seventeenth century the main emphasis was on the objective status of colour in the world, what its nature was, and how it could be organized into a coherent system of relationships. From the time of Newton, on the other hand, the emphasis has been increasingly subjective, concerned more with the understanding of colour as generated and articulated by the mechanisms of vision and perception” (Gage, Meaning 43). The Constructivists reinterpreted Newton’s theory by abandoning color altogether, which contrasts to Churchill who embraced the subjective of color, further enhanced by objectification.

Both Churchill and Gabo would remain enigmas if it was not for the documentation they produced on how art should be considered. Gabo’s ***Realistic Manifesto*** written in the tone of those wishing to see the overthrow of oppressive governments, was placed on public message boards around Moscow and pitched to liberals who desired change and not the

masses, who were too busy surviving. Gabo declared that it is up to the masses to find new ways to make art, beyond Cubism or Futurism as he insisted art must be felt beneath the surface; old tropes like line and color must give way to scientific leanings about space and time (Chipp 26).

Churchill's ***Painting as a Pastime*** written for an elite audience reveres memory as an ingredient in art as "Time stands respectively aside..." (Coombs 85). Former masters who employed traditional tropes that carried the past: line, form and color are exalted. And yet he contemplates "old harmonies and symmetries in an entirely different language" indicating he knew past trends were not enough, which parallels his political views (Coombs 51). Churchill never deviates from what he writes in ***Pastime…*** even after his art has post-war commercial appeal, his main focus is about light and color. Gabo however detours from his ***Manifesto…*** that calls for the masses to make a new kind of art. Except for using the manifesto and his refugee status to gain attention in post war Capitalist art markets, he copies the work of Western artists like Hepworth and Moore.

In ***Pastime…*** Churchill refers to art critic Ruskin's *Elements of Drawing* (Churchill, Pastime 69). According to Ruskin, "It is best to get into the habit of considering the coloured work merely as supplementary to your studies; making your careful drawings of the subject first, and then a coloured memorandum separately, as shapeless as you like, but faithful in hue, and entirely minding its own business" (Ruskin, Elements 139). Ruskin believed in the classical tropes of drawing that amateurs followed. He saw color as filler. Ironically the Constructivists who were separating themselves from anything in the past, also discredited color. Churchill may have alluded to Ruskin but he did not follow his advice.

Manifesto… and ***Pastime…*** become subjective in that Gabo and Churchill speak about their own art as well as art‘s universality—color or no color as an important trope. Batchelor says, “In a world dominated by the power of language, we often underestimate the significance of showing….To fall into colour is to run out of words” (Batchelor, Chromophobia 85). Color becomes another because it is the first thing a spectator visualizes on the surface, or notes its absence. It is a good way to understand the subjective self in relation to the object at hand, even when color is reduced/dismissed.

Batchelor says, “colour is a very peculiar other….We usually expect or demand of otherness that it be marked in some way, the better to distinguish it from our fine and cherished selves. As often as not, that has come to mean a physical mark of some kind, in order that a spatial separation can be made, at least in the imagination. The other is over there: geographically or physiognomically distinct. But the other that is colour is everywhere: around and in and of us, a part of everything we see every day in our every waking moment” (Batchelor, Chromophobia 70). Color is a way to internalize Churchill’s political and military involvements, his travel, his homeland and estate and his Empire, referred to in ***Pastime…*** and demonstrated in paintings. Color becomes important for experiencing the universality of his work, as his palette did not change from Britain to abroad; Victorian hues combined with Modern Complementaries reveal memory of the past and a reckoning of a future. In Gabo’s ***Manifesto…*** his other is the masses, but he ends the essay by contradicting himself when writing about his personal sculpture and reinstating the artist individual. The other in the world of Capitalist Gabo reverts back into his art.

In spite of living beyond his means, Churchill maintained an aristocratic lifestyle, was never hungry or without shelter like many of his generation who suffered from economic

hardships, the victim of totalitarian governments and political upheavals (Severance 75, 77). Although Churchill was not a socialist, he worked for societal improvements and sympathized with the working man as they were his servants and military underlings. Churchill's association with nanny Everett whom he supported in her retirement, may explain why he sympathized with working classes. Like many aristocrats, his nanny was his early emotional support (Severance 14).

His choice of painting locations, mainly the estates of wealthy friends, reflect his aristocratic background. Churchill mastered draftsmanship and was a good spatial designer; but it was his inability to gain aesthetic control that compelled him to repeatedly return to the easel. According to Johnson when Churchill was fencing at Harrow, "Churchill believed, correctly, that if you get into a fight, you have got to let your enemy know they are losing, and you have got to make the point with whatever tools you have available" (Johnson 161). After a win, he was conciliatory, but he never could win with paint.

Johnson reflects on the General Strike of 1926 saying, "Throughout the summer and autumn he [Churchill] tried to bring the mine owners to accept that their impoverished workforce deserved a minimum wage, and declared that the capitalists were being 'recalcitrant' and 'unreasonable'" (Johnson 148). Some said Churchill was a "weathervane" when it came to his convictions (Johnson 148). When he painted he was always focused and painted the way nature presented itself, or so he thought. He expressed the evolving Empire by layering new Complementaries with classical browns. He believed in the greatness of Britain as Empire, and the preservation of the established order of the country in which he grew up. He also believed in science and technological progress and that government could and should intervene to improve "welfare of the people…" (Johnson 149). Unlike Ferdinand

Leger (1881-1955), he never expressed Modernity in terms of urban scenes. For Churchill, color became a means to express memory and to retain a bygone era.

The themes developed in ***Pastime…*** are reflected in Churchill's paintings. Local color for Churchill was a challenge. Although he brightened his Victorian palette with Impressionistic colors, his applications never reflected the intense heat found in his favorite locales. Fry says, "And throughout the development of painting we may trace a gradual decline in the tyranny of local colour" (Reed, Fry 17). British stately homes that Churchill frequented had predominately Victorian brown art. It was bold of him to use Complementaries which he never completely mastered. John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) knew how to paint Victorian browns; he also knew how to paint intense heat. Rendering the tropical in a Sargent work meant keeping the majority of the canvas white, while keeping colors transparent, with major shifts in value. Churchill's colors remained opaque with tinges of Victorian brown, in the same value. He never wavered from his mission to retain the Empire, so ingrained in his psyche that he could not ignore Victorian browns.

Churchill's autobiography, *My Early Life*, uses color metaphors for people and places. Churchill retells the Battle of Omdurman, "Then I saw immediately before me, and now only half the length of a polo ground away, the row of crouching blue figures firing frantically, wreathed in white smoke" (Churchill, Early 190). Churchill's run-on writing style can be excused as his color imagery places the viewer into the scene excusing verbosity. But in his landscapes, he limits the viewer's participation with foreground obstructions; in paint, his aristocratic world and Empire were personal, until after World War II when the Empire was fading and his political appointments terminated.

Cloisters… incorporates graded tones with similar values, flattening out the composition, if it were not for the strong diagonals in the architecture. Churchill came into painting proficient at perspective but was just realizing Complementaries. The red brick pulls towards the green grass in the courtyard. His colors reference Pliny's four-color palette and Victorian browns. As a Gothic building, it represents the evolution of Western civilization, the functioning town with a guild of craftsmen who could build in the Roman style. This was what Empire began to stand for. In ***Hallway…*** tonal values direct the viewer through the hallway, and are evident in the outside garden. The red-brown walls are pulling towards the green/yellow grass, suggesting a hint of Complementaries. According to Batchelor, "Colour is no longer a presence in the world but a memory of another world…" (Batchelor, Luminous 27, 28). This was an estate built upon the Empire's riches; although those who toiled are not visible, they should be realized out beyond this doorway as they are Empire too. ***Coast Scene…*** becomes an example of mixing tonal variations found in the mountains and water with Complementaries found in the foreground foliage which opposes red roofs while the somewhat purple mountains oppose the yellow-stucco. This scene is about the aristocrat needing to get away from the gray weather of England, which is recreated somewhere else as was done throughout the Empire. Churchill is not using Mediterranean colors but ones used to compose an English scene. Superimposition was a way of Empire, seen in all their acquired territories and in this composition. Color is one of Churchill's most contextual devices that memorializes a desire for the continuation of Empire seen in Picturesque.

Gabo's ***Blue Construction…*** presents contradictions; color is the dominant element, something he previously disparaged. Gabo has resurrected color, a trope the Constructionists

considered decadent. Although Gabo's piece reflects science in that it is motorized, this piece is a layering of his Russian culture overpowered by Western Capitalism.

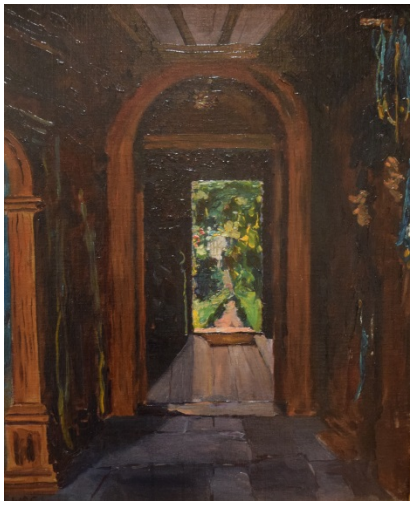
Russian Constructivists had its contradictions when claiming to be Formal. Some wanted Realism to "participate in the building of socialism but that this art should be easel painting…" (Lodder 185). Much art was constructed in connection with making utilitarian goods. How could that have been exclusively Formal? Did their objectivity combine with subjectivity to create a new subject/object? After dismissing color, Gabo said that color is "the idealized optical aspect of objects." Gabo also says "Space is the form of the 'outer sense'…Time is the form of 'inner sense.'" Then why could not color, another non concrete concept, be considered as "outer sense?" (Hammer 64, 66, 120). According to writer Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956), "a formalist was anyone who could not see that form was inseparable from content" (Foster 33). By theorizing time and space, he automatically incorporated subjectivity into objectivity which allows Churchill's landscapes to be considered contextually, including applications of color beyond what is written in ***Pastime...***

Constructivism took Marx's Materialism and applied it to making art, after the 1917 Revolution when ideas about working collectively and making art as utilitarian goods in a factory became reality. When artists like Gabo left Russia, he moved away from Marx, returning to making art as an individual, but retained the essence of Constructivism. According to Hammer, "Socialism and Communism offered a solution to the problem of 'whether it is now possible for the artist to discover a system of values that are not purely subjective and individualistic, but objective and social'" (Hammer 241).

Applying Form/Content or objectivity/subjectivity to Churchill's landscapes, can show how his paintings reflect ideas about preserving the Empire found among his layers of Victorian browns and Complementaries. Nicholson and Churchill retained the essence of British landscape not only with their positioning of landscape bands but by maintaining Victorian browns. For Nicholson it was abstraction with minimal coloration; for Churchill it was loose representation with Complementaries. Gabo was universal in that his commissions were bought in Europe and the United States, but their abstract constructs were similar to other artists and did not reflect a feeling of geographic universality as Churchill's work projected. Constructivism permeated Britain's art groups between the wars changing Nicholson's way of painting while pushing British art into Modernity. Constructivism became a backdrop to Churchill the painter, thus providing contextual contrast in the form of abstracted works to his representational landscapes.

The British amateur represented the stability of the English Constitution pictured in their art which emphasized the importance of classical line while dismissing color. Although an aristocrat and an amateur painter, Churchill emphasized color. The poet Baudelaire exclaimed color had, "the power to be autonomous" (Batchelor, Chromophobia 55). Churchill expressed independence in Picturesque by brightening colors and moving standardized shapes. After reviewing the ideas expressed by Churchill in ***Painting as a Pastime***, in the wake of the development of Gabo's ***Realistic Manifesto*** which contextualizes art with the assistance, Russian Constructivism, it is possible to examine Churchill's paintings, which are generally considered from a Formal stance, as Content based. This is possible even though Gabo himself later abandoned much of what he professed in ***Manifesto...*** Churchill's contemporary Nicholson, who adopted a broad perspective on

Constructivism allows us a comparison into Churchill's work. Although more abstract, he also retained Victorian brown tones that link him to the English art tradition. The status of being an amateur was a social construct and should not influence the quality of the work Churchill produced.



Winston Churchill. *The Hallway of Wilfred Scawen Blunt's home, New Buildings, Sussex*, 1921. Oil on Canvas. 20 x 24 in: The Studio, Chartwell

Winston Churchill. *The Cloisters*, 1930s. Oil on Canvas, 20 x 24 in. The Studio, Chartwell

Winston Churchill. *The Coast Scene on the Riviera,* c. 1930. Oil on Canvas, 20 x 24 in. The Studio, Chartwell

Naum Gabo, *Blue Construction in Space (Kinetic),* 1953. Oil on Panel, diameter 91 cm. The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, CT.

Chapter Two: Churchill and Landscape

The majority of Winston Churchill's five hundred paintings are landscapes. In order to interpret Churchill's works it is useful to understand British landscape, the portraiture of a nation showing how land was distributed and became the measure of society both on the island and as Britain developed its Empire. Landscape imagery adds to an understanding of social history by also suggesting memory and absence. This chapter discusses cultural aspects found in the historical landscape and an analysis of Churchill and Ben Nicholson paintings through a contextual lens.

British artists who interpreted the countryside and eventually the urban areas, looked to the Continent for inspiration: the Dutch for large skies, the Italians for light, the French for impressions and the Russians for Form and eventually Content. Churchill painted abroad but his work reflects the social history of Britain from the vantage point of an aristocrat. Nicholson was a professional painter who also painted abroad. Association with Constructivism allowed him to see beyond his ties to the aristocracy by interpreting British landscape through abstraction. Malcolm Andrews' understanding of landscape provides background when scrutinizing the social history of Britain. Dennis Cosgrove (1948-2008) contextualizes landscape through a cultural-Marxist viewpoint. Simon Schama (b. 1945) views landscape as the memory of culture.

Landscape painting popular as a gentlemanly pursuit or a professional career, revealed much of the struggles that occurred between the aristocracy, the working classes and the up and coming bourgeois. Eighteenth century Picturesque generally ignored the plight of

the working man; and with its absence of toil and strife, inspired a conversation about social reform as well as the symbolic strength of Constitutional Britain. How does the historical landscape through a lens of cultural-Marxism, manifested by Nicholson's work, allow for a better understanding of Churchill's paintings beyond the Formal?

I will argue that the culture of British landscape, particularly the Picturesque, which revealed social inequalities by the absence of the working classes substituted an idealized vision of Britain. Churchill's paintings whether he painted in Britain or abroad are layered with British Landscape methods and Modernism's abstracted spatial aspects. Nicholson's adaptations to abstraction that he layered into his British landscape which he developed after his association with Constructivism adds to an understanding of Churchill's paintings. Applying a contextual approach to Nicholson's art elucidates Churchill's work which leads to a discovery of his social and political views.

Landscape painting, popular as a gentlemanly pursuit or a professional career revealed much about the struggles that occurred between the aristocracy, the working classes and the up-and-coming bourgeois. Early landscape emphasized beauty and mimicking nature that only a select few were thought to comprehend or admit, would evolve into the modern era of abstraction where the spectator's opinion gained importance. But it was eighteenth century Picturesque that mixed rough and smooth vegetation on canvas and kept the viewer at bay. Middle and upper class travelers searched for the Picturesque in rural and urban settings. While ignoring the plight of the working man, the Picturesque with its absence of toil and strife, inspired a conversation about social reform as well as the symbolic strength of Constitutional Britain and the Anglican church.

Joshua Reynolds, president of the Royal Academy, 1768-1792, eventually endorsed landscape as a major genre in 1780; previously he had placed it behind portraiture and history painting (Bermingham, Landscape 1). According to Ann Bermingham, "The Emergence of rustic landscape painting as a major genre in England at the end of the eighteenth century coincided with the accelerated enclosure of the English countryside" (Bermingham, Landscape 1). Churchill began painting with this historical backdrop already engrained into English garden culture. Bermingham proposes that, "there is an ideology of landscape and that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a class view of landscape embodied a set of socially and, finally economically determined values to which the painted image gave cultural expression" (Bermingham, Landscape 3). Churchill's paintings should be valued as his visual account of Britain, especially as his England disappeared.

According to Malcolm Andrews, "we are not passive consumers of landscape images. Our sense of our own identity and relationship to our environment is implicated in our response to such pictures...Landscape in art tells us, or asks us to think about, where we belong. Important issues of identity and orientation are inseparable from the reading and meanings and the eliciting of pleasure from landscape" (Andrews 8). This is what is important in a Churchill work.

Bermingham suggests that "Nature" as represented in painting "became a supreme social value and was called upon to clarify justify social change" (Bermingham, Landscape 1). Nature became a social value when it came to political and economic rationalizations of enclosure which escalated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as greed could be more mechanized (Bermingham, Landscape 1). Since Henry VIII/Elizabeth I, the realization that the peasantry had to have sustenance and fuel was constantly bumped against Protestant

England's push for a strong industrial economy both on the island and abroad (Schama 153-155). Britain's incessant Continental wars and routine agricultural disasters stressed the peasants who had to deal with devaluation of goods, inflationary price gouging and disproportionate taxation by the government.

The defeat of the French at the Battle of Blenheim, 1704, and the unification of the English and Scottish parliaments was reflected in a feeling that English art should be more English (Cosgrove, Social 203). Palladian architecture continued to symbolize constitutional landscape. England associated the strict Roman style with "moral and political perfection" (Cosgrove, Social 207, 209). Here, the viewer has visual control as he leaves the manicured view from mansion windows and walks the paths and occasional bridges to muse, as art overtakes nature but must follow rules of proportion and harmony (Cosgrove, Social 203,204). Mood, feeling and painterly skill overtook the rational mind; aerial perspective overtook linear perspective (Cosgrove, Social 205). The idea of landscape as a trope for rational would become both an economic asset and a hindrance to social reform.

Ignoring realities in British landscape, heightens awareness. (Andrews 156). Absence of agricultural elements or evidence of decaying plant life impacted compositions; what was not seen could be construed as social commentary too. Andrews says, "They are places where political life is *not*, and therefore remind us of what is absent" (Andrews 156). It was thought "mixing labor with leisure was disagreeable" (Copley 57; Bermingham, Landscape 31, 32).

In eighteenth century London notions of "political self-determination" were being replaced by wealth as government was to promote "material improvement" (Bermingham,

Drawing 135,136). Urban arrogance got its support financially and emotionally from country estates. The argument for Enclosure was higher crop or grazing yield for the landowners (estates, merchants, clergy, universities) by creating larger parcels of land. According to historian E.P. Thompson (1924-1993), "Enclosure…was a plain enough case for class robbery, played according to fair rules of property and law laid down by Parliament of property-owners and lawyers" (Thompson 218). Redistribution gave cottagers inadequate parcels for subsistence; they paid disproportionate rental fees too. If they had no proof of any ownership they were dismissed. (Thompson 217, 219). Another justification for Enclosure was the belief that the peasantry was socially undisciplined. *Commercial and Agricultural Magazine* stated, "A wicked, cross-grained, petty farmer is like the sow in his yard, almost an insulated individual, who has no communication with, and therefore, no reverence for the opinion of the world" (Thompson 219). This, blame the victim, attitude contributed to poaching and the occasional uprising.

1740-1860, were the Golden Age of English landscape painting (Bermingham, Landscape 2). It had roots in Italian and Dutch cultures but also in Enclosure (Wordsworth 58; Andrews 184). The English countryside provided food, while forests supplied wood for ship building/exploration, commerce and warfare. English travel escalated with the rise of middle class leisure. British tourism to Scotland and the Lake District increased during war with France, 1793-1812 (Wordsworth 150). Building urban parkland, often seen as superfluous when the population was ill fed, nonetheless, provided the upper classes with country in town.

English cultivations reveal, whether in a painting or in an actual field, traces of the peasantry who were displaced or traces of the aristocracy, ruthless in that displacement.

Some landscapes added peasantry for aesthetic contrast. Other landscapes show clues: structural ruins, chimney smoke, proof that humans were once present and have altered natural surroundings. Organic landscape was ingrained in British literature, commerce and social spheres and thus is often analyzed much like paintings that were inspired by these natural and cultivated vistas.

According to W.J.T. Mitchell:

> Landscape as a cultural medium thus has a double role with respect to ideology: it naturalizes a cultural and social construction, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable, and it also makes that representation operational by interpolating its beholder in some more or less determinate relation to its governess as sight and site. (Mitchell, Landscape 2)

The English aristocracy created outdoor manicured landscapes carefully hiding the cottages of peasantry who, in reality, ran their estates. Mitchell says, "Landscape…doesn't merely signify or symbolize power relations; it is an instrument of cultural power, perhaps even an agent of power that is (or frequently represents itself as) independent of human intentions" (Mitchell, Landscape 2). But even the most manicured estate could not prevent the poor from improving their existence: acquiring land and profits or seeking more opportunity in factories and cities.

Landscape painting in eighteenth century England relates to gardening practices, which included writing about horticulture as well as architectural practices often celebrating, a lost way of life. Acquiring money from the estates' tenant farmers and creating cultivated views, the result of laboring classes, the aristocracy grew bored and traveled to the Scottish

Highlands and the Alps seeking the sublime. Still, the aristocracy craved views of their castles and enclosed land used for preserving and hunting game. As Raymond Williams (1921-1988) says, "men could produce their own nature." The English who looked to the Dutch and Italians for design, wanted to produce their own kind of nature. (Williams, Country 120-129). Attention was paid to principles of order as ponds were dug and groves balanced with distant forestry and foothills. Straight hedges and roads contrasted with natural curves hiding evidence of rural labor or laborers. There was a conscious effort to imitate what was painted and visa-versa. According to Williams, "Looking from art to landscape we can see many conscious imitations of particular scenes: the bands of light and shade and water, as in the canvas compositions; the buildings and groves to give verticals and points of emphasis; the framing of views by dark foregrounds of trees…" (Williams, Culture 124-27). There was a sense of possession as "the river 'conducts the eye'; the sloping land 'displays' its grace; the stream 'inlays' the vale" (Williams, Country 126).

Eighteenth century rules about executing landscapes were developed. William Marshal Craig (d. 1827) who emphasized the importance of foreground while others like William Gilpin (1724-1804) were proponents of middle ground. (Mitchell, Landscape 88, 89) While these differences may be merely stylistic, they reflect the changes in political leanings visualized in land usage as the aristocracy saw sheep farming to be more lucrative than leasing ground to peasantry.

Mitchell says:

> Is landscape painting the 'sacred silent language' of Western Imperialism, the medium in which it 'emancipates,' 'naturalizes' and 'unifies' the world for its

> own purposes? . . . There certainly is a genre of painting known as landscape, defined very loosely by a certain emphasis on natural objects as subject matter. What we tend to forget, however, is that this 'subject matter' is not simply raw material to be presented in paint but is always already a symbolic form in its own right. (Mitchell, "Imperial Landscapes" Limberopoulou 175)

The height of Picturesque was 1790 through 1800s (Copley 1). It was fashionable, theoretical or historical with connections to the Gothic, sentimental and Romantic (Copley 1, 2). Picturesque comes from Gilpin's tours (Copley 42, 282). Black lead mines of the Lake District in the 1800s became a tourist destination as well as a place for the poor to work and pick through tailings (Copley 42, 43). Gilpin ignored the hardships of mining for the lure of landscape. After all, mining lead produced sketching pencils (Copley 47). Tours were seen as an escape from urban luxuries into the fantasy of rural simplicity (Copley 50). Picturesque was a reaction to changes in countryside and the Industrial Revolution. It was anti-symmetry, anti-Palladian, anti-smooth which is why it sometimes included disheveled cottages and rutted country lanes (Copley 283). Gilpin worried that contact with the working classes and the tourists would introduce the locals to material luxury. He urged excluding the working man from a composition (Copley 45, 56). True Picturesque tourists took along a sketch book and a "Claude glass" for leisurely pursuit. The character of George Emerson in E.M. Forster's, A *Room With a View*, pursues sketching in the Italian countryside with no intention of any professional career. Uvedale Price (1747-1829), a landholding Baronet, said English landscape after the French Revolution was seen as British liberty. He described "all the parts are free and unconstrained, but in which, though some are prominent and highly illuminated, and others in shade, and retirement some rough, and others more smooth and polished, yet

they are all necessary to the beauty, energy, effect, and harmony of the whole. I do not see how good government can be more exactly defined" (Mitchell, Landscape 85). As contrast, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716-1783) was a renowned British landscape architect who manicured the aristocracy, resisting anything wild. "Eye-catcher" became a phrase for creating a horticultural focal point using a clump of trees or an artificial pond (Andrews 70). Picturesque was a visible affirmation of the continuity of the landed gentry.

Eighteenth century English gardening became a metaphor for the Enlightenment's rational universe with the unkempt outside estates coming to mean the "fallen world" This approach challenged Picturesque theorists who created a mixed garden look. Picturesque wanted to "reassure, not to shock." It wanted to domesticate, refigure, the uncultivated and make different places seem familiar (Andrews 129). Landscape presented as sublime could not only represent the "inexpressible and unpresentable" it could find meaning in "a bridge, a road, a castle, an isolated monument" and indicate "human control and organization." Wild scenery was "untrammelled liberty" (Andrews 149, 156).

According to scholar John Barrell (b.1943), "in eighteenth century Britain, the capacity to read the landscape as a whole, to be able to relate particulars into a comprehensible unity, marked out the liberal mind" To be able to assess the "general from the particular" meant the ability to understand "humanity the public interest from the labyrinth of private interests" (Andrews 157). Landscape was a masculine pursuit involving, "property and territorial control, the masculine "command" of a view" (Andrews 157). To Gilpin, the Picturesque was the middle ground between Burkean Sublime and Beautiful—it is Englishness (Copley 176,177). His Picturesque is a cross between the "explorer and the wanderlust of the Romantic poet" (Copley 179). Picturesque is concerned with the

susceptibility of time, loss, decay and ruination and collapse (Copley 189). Landscape continued to evolve in nineteenth century Industrial Revolutionary capitalism; writers like Ruskin pushed "a way of seeing" with landscape "asked to carry the burden of a fully-articulated body of social theory" (Cosgrove, Social 10). The "ruined abbeys were signifiers of melancholy…" and the passage of time celebrated nostalgia and sentimentality (Copley 65). Painting abbeys from a high vantage point celebrated their ruination, whereas seen from below, shattered the state of ruins (Copley 70). According to professor Raimonda Modiano (b.1946), "The English, unlike the people on the Continent, cannot tolerate signs of decay or neglect in an environment, being entrenched in a mentality that values newness, cleanliness and trimness" (Copley 204). Therefore ruins that ought to speak of neglect of decay become fashionable ornamentation (Copley 204). Churchill's landscape contains the idea of political sensibility with a masculine outlook. Nicholson's art reveals cracks in the system and the potential for upheavals.

Modiano says, "the major aestheticians of the Picturesque were wealthy landowners and that their ability to reserve vast amounts of land for the enjoyment of Picturesque views was made possible by the profits they drew from enclosures" (Copley 208). Appropriation of land was not political; it was good taste (Copley 249,250,251).

Eighteenth and nineteenth century artists eventually moved into working class sections of London viewing the poor. Picturesque got grittier as the poor could not be hidden as "aesthetics of poverty" (Copley 287, 288,291,292). Landscape became realistic for showing the "deserving poor" trying to survive, grateful to get charity (Cosgrove, Social 214).

Picturesque faded with the Industrial Revolution; it was both true and fanciful England (Cosgrove, Iconography 73). Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) felt that a beautiful scene is unimportant compared with the "wear of a foot on a threshold" (Cosgrove, Iconography 87). Industrialization reduced land as factories and railroads consumed the countryside. According to Williams, "it is exactly at the point of rupture between possession and prospect, between control of land and surrender to forces which cannot be controlled that a new view of nature emerges in this period, whereby nature is seen as a 'principle of creation, of which the creative mind is part, and from which we may learn the truths of our own sympathetic nature" (Copley 209). Churchill's art does not portray the poor; it lacks Williams' rupture but not possession or control.

As Andrews suggests, the ability to read landscape was proof of one's "liberal mind" (Andrews 157). Churchill's paintings contain appropriation of country life. The abundance of water he painted was the power of Empire and its potential. Churchill's rendering of waterways were restricted after World War II reflecting the waning Empire. His landscapes always contain personal memories of ancestry, politics and ambitions, but none of financial struggles. Schama observes, "Whether we scramble the slopes or ramble the woods, our Western sensibilities carry a bulging backpack of myth and recollection" (Schama 574). Picturesque is malleable but its effect on the British is clear as it became tangible evidence for how the country structured itself politically, often hypocritically.

Mitchell states, landscape is "the desire to escape from the turmoil of cities into the peace of the countryside" (Mitchell, Landscape 11). Two world wars decimated all classes leaving a shortage of agricultural labor and heavy tax burdens. In previous generations disease stressed production. There is no escape from turmoil in the country; nirvana was a

myth. The culture of English landscape is the rise of the lower classes to overcome aristocratic rule, opposing the aristocracy's stronghold to maintain positions as inherited wealth dwindled, taxes escalated and the working class produced fewer servants. Churchill and others recognized that social welfare was needed; at the same time they wanted to retain the aristocratic lifestyle with the weekend parties and hunting to hounds on large estates. Churchill's landscapes are connected to old school European Imperialism in that they are free of turmoil (Mitchell, Landscape 5). However, absence of social strife becomes poignant in realizing imbalances, reflected in changes to traditional color and design in both a Churchill and Nicholson work.

Churchill painted few portraits; his oeuvre was mainly landscape/still life. Why did he choose portraiture over landscape? Landscape, after all is, "the elevation of a lowly genre from mere portraiture of place to ideal models of human happiness or heroic dignity" (Andrews 103). Scenery has a relationship to portraiture because both genres represent the human narrative. Historian Richard Brilliant (b.1929) points, "Making portraits is a response to the natural tendency to think about oneself, of oneself to others, and of others in apparent relation to themselves and to others" (Brilliant 14). It is widely known Churchill was egotistical, so it is odd he dismissed portraiture. Besides, the famed portraitist to Queen Victoria, Sir William Nicholson, stayed at Chartwell doing commission work and instructing Churchill (Checkland 175). Yet Churchill did not turn to portraiture. When it rained, he painted still life, a close relation to landscape. This genre has strong ties to Dutch culture, historian Julia Berger Hochstrasser says, "Still life…[is about] the birth of the consumer society (Hochstrasser 1)." Dutch still life like landscape are "intentional allusions to

transience and the *vanitas* theme" (Slive 203). Landscape provided a political platform in paint as it could reflect both the memory and the transience of Empire, his other.

Churchill's attraction to a specific landscape might have been initially objective, but there are subjective themes beneath.

According to historian W.J.T. Mitchell (b.1942):

> These semiotic features of landscape, and the historical narratives they generate, are tailor-made for the discourse of imperialism, which conceives itself precisely (and simultaneously) as an expansion of landscape understood as an inevitable, progressive development of history, an expansion of 'culture' and 'civilization' into a 'natural' space in a progress that is itself narrated as 'natural'. Empires move outward in space as a way of moving forward in time; the 'prospect' that opens up is not just a spatial scene but a projected future of 'development' and exploitation. And this movement is not confined to the external, foreign fields toward which empire directs itself, it is typically accompanied by a renewed interest in the pre-presentation of the home landscape, the 'nature' of the imperial center. (Mitchell, Landscape 17)

In spite of an immense ego, which should have resulted in choosing portraiture, Churchill gravitated to landscape, the symbol of Empire at home and overseas. Churchill's landscapes and still life gave him another arena to work-out angst explaining painting is "the same kind of problem as unfolding a long, sustained, interlocked argument" (Churchill, Painting 46).

Churchill began painting in an English garden during the First World War. Shortly, he took his easel everywhere for business and pleasure, mainly painting country settings. Early discoveries of landscape were at his ancestral home, Blenheim, designed by Capability Brown and thus highly manicured, artificial and reactionary. Churchill's military training occurred in rural surroundings and even overseas battles were waged in countryside. He came of age in the country, so the genre of landscape appealed.

Like Narcissus' image, an artist's work becomes the "other" or the reflection in the pool. Churchill overlooked works are the viewer's reflective other (Brilliant 45). He was also looking for England's reflection with its uncertain future. According to Andrews, "we are not passive consumers of landscape images. Our sense of our own identity and relationship to our environment is implicated in such pictures….Landscape in art tells us, or asks us to think about, where we belong. Important issues of identity and orientation are inseparable from the reading of meanings and the eliciting of pleasure from landscape" (Andrews, Landscape 8).

2.2 The Social of Landscape

When Churchill began painting, "Social Realism became the communist movement's official aesthetic in 1934" (Hemingway, Marxism 7). According to Martin Hammer, "The idea of 'construction' implied an artistic process of building up a work from autonomous elements, as opposed to working from a predetermined representational image. For other artists besides Gabo, the attraction of the term lay in its metaphorical resonance, implying analogies between artistic creation and the building of technological structures, the construction of geometrical figures and the formation of a socialist society" (Hammer 82). Constructivists who stayed in Russia were forced to abandon abstractions and paint Realism

(Lodder 204, 226). However, Gabo had always stressed that socialist art should not be only be utilitarian (Hammer 99). He left Russia, taking his version of Construction and combining it with Capitalist art making, free of production or collective art making, obligated only to "new spatial conceptions" (Hammer 398).

Internalizing an artwork was not exclusive to Constructivists. Romanticism with its trope of the sublime sought to penetrate the surface of the object represented. According to Andrews, "The Sublime, with its emphasis on obscurity, vacuity and indeterminacy, destabilizes and disorientates: in terms of landscape art it seeks to represent less the objects that strike the viewer than the sensations experienced by the viewer—or it is a combination of the two?" (Andrews 147). Upending the norm was not new. Even Gainsborough had set out to "undercut the established code of painting" by painting rustic (Bermingham, Landscape 49). Gilpin also wanted to show "real landscape" as opposed to ideal beauty, albeit hypocritically (Bermingham, Landscape 65). Price felt the contrived tropes of Brownian landscape were not only artificial but "evoked the malice of democracy" (Bermingham, Landscape 68). Beauty was not being glorified but questioned with "time" often portrayed as dying foliage (Birmingham, Landscape 68, 69). While "Notions of beauty, sublimity, and picturesqueness are all derived 'from the minds of the spectators….' Price… saw the picturesque primarily as a taste granted to only a few and inaccessible to vulgar minds" (Bermingham, Landscape 70, 71). How art was perceived was still the domain of a few harkens back to the Enlightenment which is why its social messages went unread.

In 1934, Constructivism came to Britain with sculptor Gabo, leaving Social Realism, the official art of the Russian Communist party. Social Realism, however, did not stay in Russia. For British leftists like "F.D. Klingender (1907-1955), Anthony Blunt (1907-1983)

and W.H. Auden (1907-1973) and the 'Euston Road' school of painters, only the realistic description of everyday themes offered the possibility of an accessible, socially responsible art" (Lodder 204; Hammer 238). Gabo did not join with Britain's Socialists whose aesthetics deviated from genuine Social Realism. He stressed the "metaphorical resonance, implying analogies between artistic creation and the building of technological structures, the construction of geometrical figures and the formation of a socialist society" (Hammer 82). For Gabo it was the artist's "creative mind, rather than economics or the class struggle…" (Hammer 99,241). He returned art to the individual, adding Content to Form (Hammer 103). As T.J. Clark (b. 1943) explains, "Individualism was the platitude of the age, contradictory, inflated, often absurd; yet somehow or other the idea that art was nothing if not the expression of an individuality, and that its disciplines were all means to this ambiguous end, survived" (Clark, Image 19).

Layering the ideology of Constructivism's content onto a Churchill landscape interprets meanings beyond individualism, revealing the collectivity of Britain. Gombrich insisted art was not just the spirit of one age elaborating, "Representation really does seem to advance through the suppression of conceptual knowledge. On the other, no such suppression appears to be possible" (Gombrich 298). Thus Content is essential to art.

But Gabo's rhetoric had contradictions. According to Hammer, "For Gabo, art was accessible to the masses because it represents, 'the most immediate and most effective of all means of communication between human beings'. It could offer a more direct insight into 'life' than that available through more intellectual or rational modes of cognition…" (Hammer 291). He emphasized "the most practical design of the object is the most beautiful….For Gabo, design should be left to engineers, and the artist should concentrate on

addressing emotional and intellectual needs rather than his practical requirements" (Hammer 124). Gabo often changed his mind; it was the validation of Content that was his strongpoint.

Gabo's insistence that, "the artist's role was to transmit the current picture of reality to a wider public, through art's direct impact on the senses and emotions…" was a needed addition. (Hammer 381). Gabo's gift to British art was merging Constructivism into Western art, especially Form/Content which allows exploration into Churchill's work, which infused British landscape with Post-Impressionistic objectivity through color. Churchill's landscapes were his reality of a fading Empire, but an Empire not to be forgotten for its contributions either.

Nicholson who was influenced by Modernism after travel to Paris, pushed content into landscapes through contact with Gabo (Lynton 54-58, 67). His thesis revealed Constructivism as "the independent language of art and design and thus made possible the expression of 'those human impulses and emotions which have been neglected' in modern times." Nicholson responded by saying, "the present constructivist movement is a living force and that life gives birth to life" (Lynton 73, 86). According to Hammer, "It was a sign of newfound self-confidence that British figures, such as Nicholson…were shown alongside these leading abstract artists from Europe" (Hammer 226).

Nicholson and Churchill, in their own ways, were incorporating flattened shapes, primary hues, and the loosening of perspective which got replaced by spatial stacking for depth. Nicholson "seized the moment, putting himself at the forefront of an avant-garde tendency" while Churchill pondered "small separate lozenge-shaped points and patches of colour" complementing his political life in paint (Lynton 96; Churchill, Pastime 66). Gabo's

invasion into British art confirmed that landscape was not ambiguous Picturesque but contextual studies into British ideology. As Bermingham points when political issues in Parliament were silent, it was landscape that revealed the truth (Mitchell, Landscape 77).

As Gabo explains spatial relationships, "Our task is to penetrate deeper into its substance and bring it closer to our consciousness; so that the sensation of space will become for us a more elementary and everyday emotion the same as the sensation of light or the sensation of sound" (Chipp 333). Gabo allows for the internalization of color and space in Churchill and Nicholson compositions. According to Gabo, "space is a primary natural sense which belongs to the basic senses of our psychology" (Chipp 333). British landscape morphs into perceived space through Gabo. According to Adorno, "It must be kept in mind that works of art are alive, have a life *sui generis*. Their life is more than an outward fate. Over time, great works reveal new facets of themselves, they age, they become rigid, and they die . . . . [Yet] they have life because they speak in ways nature and man cannot" (Holly ix). Churchill's landscapes allow for contemplation into his political and social lives. Nicholson who was striving to surpass his father's fame, stumbled into Constructivism's contextual themes. Although his landscape (sculptural or flatwork) gravitated towards Continental abstractions, like Churchill, he never lost the figure/ground of English landscape. Each had a unique way of representing the changing Empire with its uncertainties. Gabo influenced Nicholson who accepted Constructivism as his "broad church" (Hammer 305).

Gabo was not the only one to see art as a social construct; yet he saw himself as the quintessential individual artist, resisting those who were advancing art as utilitarian (Hammer 92,241). According to Hemingway (b. 1950), "a Marxist art history is a total contradiction in terms, in that Marxism as a totalizing theory of society necessarily throws all disciplinary

boundaries into question as obfuscations of bourgeois thought, and, in one variant, at least, sees them as a product of the reification of knowledge characteristic of capitalist society" (Hemingway, Marxism 3). This broad and vague definition allowed Gabo to build his own version of socialist art which he further developed outside Russia. Nicholson's aesthetic boundaries were thrown into confusion by Gabo's ideas as he struggled to conjoin abstract and representational, the breakup of Victorian coding as Empire declined. Although Churchill never contemplated socialism within his painting, contemplating the application of different social theories allows greater perceptions of his art as more than just pretty scenery.

Landscape before it is art evolved as social construct. Denis Cosgrove (1948-2008) sees all landscape as capitalism replacing feudalism. Capitalism in Europe evolved between 1400-1900 (Cosgrove, Social 2, 3). He says, "The self-contained universes of manor and parish which we take as the model of the spatial order of feudalism gave way over time to the integrated and structured space economy of the nation state with its urban hierarchy and specialized agricultural and industrial regions" (Cosgrove, Social 4, 5).

Cosgrove feels the idea of "a way of seeing" is "determined by "specific historical, cultural forces" (Andrews 20). Those who work the land are "insiders." "For the insider there is no clear separation of self from scene, subject from object. There is, rather, a fused, unsophisticated and social meaning embodied in the milieu. The insider does not enjoy the privilege of being able to walk away from the scene as viewers can walk away from a framed picture or from a tourist viewpoint" (Andrews 20). This is Marxian's "alienation of the worker from his world" (Rose, Marx 71). Land now becomes "a commodity with little or nothing of the personal value or 'social meaning' it had for those for whom it was home—and an aesthetic value replaces a use and dependency value" (Andrews 20, 21). This was the

problem with Enclosure, as it never considered the plight of the working man over the greed of the landowners as having national consequences, all of which was hidden in Picturesque.

British estates relied heavily on revenues from farming and husbandry of livestock. After Enclosure and the stress on laborers increased, denial about the plight of the peasantry heightened, rationalized by metaphors of patriotism and democracy. Actual British land did change with industrialization and denser communities, but landscape painting would continue to reflect bygone eras by most often omitting the negative. Allegorical painting tropes: sky, clouds or trees, reflected stasis; in reality land was enclosed, timber overharvested, marshlands drained and wasteland reclaimed for more productive agriculture (Cosgrove, Social 5). A social reading of Georgian English landscape might be misconstrued as harmony between the aristocrats and the peasantry as depicted in cottages and baronial housing or happy laborers looked upon by approving gentlemen. True hierarchies could be found in the positioning of buildings: the church high on the horizon, the glowing mansion in the middle ground with the cottages and lake scenery at the bottom in shadow (Andrews 169,170). For Barrell, "The landscape is still, an image of stability, of permanence, the stability of English agriculture to partake of the permanence of nature" (Andrews 174).

John Constable's (1776-1837) landscapes represented British national stability (Andrews 175). He did not paint the massive poverty or rioting labourers (Andrews 173-175). Ironically, landscape mythology kept Britain focused throughout World War II. Urban children were deemed safer if sent into the countryside, no matter their fate. Britains living in the Colonies cherished myths found in prints and in song. In the nineteenth century, "the Picturesque aesthetic was linkage back to Britain." The rural myth "assuaged homesickness amongst transportees" (Copley 278,279). The singer/writer Ivor Novello (1893-1951), wrote

The Land of Might-Have-Been which reinforce the power of British landscape (Gosford Park dvd).

Once biblical and mythological narratives were removed in painting, figures in landscape became accessories. Albrecht Altdorfer's (1480-1538) *St George and the Dragon,* 1510, was an early example of forest debris overtaking figuration (Schama 99). In Turner's *Snowstorm,* 1842, there is no visible figuration; the storm becomes the subject/object leaving the spectator with no empathetic characterization (Andrews 188). Landscape moves beyond subjective design and taste to a Marxian understanding of culture, society and economy (Cosgrove, Social xiii, xiv). Yet, landscape absent of figuration leaves human traces.

As landscape becomes "social formation" rather than a "mode of production." It is not only the changes of "feudalism to capitalism" it is Modern societies encapsulating the socio-economic, demographic, cultural and spatial (Cosgrove, Social xvi). Landscape involves the growth of secularism's work ethic of a Protestant belief in personal salvation through the exploitation of land for profit (Cosgrove, Social xvii). Cosgrove says, "Changes in the working landscape and in landscape painting and gardening were consistently connected into the cultural and economic circuits of the European colonial project, and may often be read as a cipher of the complex interchanges it entailed" (Cosgrove, Social xix). Not only is it seen in Churchill's work but in the breakdown of landscape but in the uncertainty of whether to paint the status quo or move into unchartered waters found in Nicholson's art.

Geography in the form of map making overlapped with landscape painting. Cosgrove contends, " landscape as an active concern for progressive art died in the second half of the nineteenth century, after the flourish of Romanticism, and that its ideological function of

harmonizing social-environmental relations through visual pleasure was appropriated through the discipline of geography" (Cosgrove, Social xx). Like maps, landscape compositions provide visual exploration of the unknown. They carried tropes of possession and power (Andrews 77). Early maps incorporated picture making into mapping. Sixteenth and seventeenth century Dutch developed cartography; artists, Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675) and Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) incorporated maps into compositions as metaphors for their country's success at exploration and commerce (Andrews 79, 80, 82).

Painted landscapes derive from real land, whether it was raw or developed. We know when it aesthetically pleases, and when it seems uncomfortable. Derrida's thesis on expanding beyond the frame, allows for understanding about how imagery can alternate between the real and imagined, questioning which is real, realizing perceptions change. Landscape can remain the "other" or the place we don't belong to wish we did. Nature can be the: "ideal world," "the non-human world," "the recreational, aesthetic, and spiritual all at once" (Andrews 9, 10).

According to Mitchell:

> Landscape is not a genre of art but a medium. Landscape is a medium of exchange between the human and the natural, the self and the other. As such, it is like money: good for nothing in itself, but expressive of a potentially limitless reserve of value. Landscape is a natural scene meditated by culture. It is both a represented and presented space, both a signifier and a signified, both a frame and what a frame contains, both a real place and its simulacrum, both a package and the commodity inside the package. (Andrews 15)

Landscape like portraiture reveals much of what is human, often unseen. An example is Rene Magritte's (1898-1967) *La Condition Humaine*, 1933, is a painting of a heavy curtained window that looks onto a rather dull landscape: a grassy foreground, middle green hill and background of blue sky with clouds. There is one central tree and a road in the foreground that continues off both sides of the canvas. Magritte has painted this scene from a window and placed the painting onto the sill lining up with the landscape it replaces. The curtained window, the canvas and the partially obscured true view out the window become the whole painting. An artist's clip, the stapled right side of the stretched canvas, and the legs of the easel have been painted allowing the viewer to toy with the real and the copied. But the stretched canvas is frameless, allowing for it to flow into the real view, if desired. The real view out the window is framed with heavy draperies similar to coullisses in a contrived landscape. Andrews states, " One framed landscape replaces another, the simulacra substitutes for the real, while both make us aware of the degree to which we feel we have become distanced from 'nature'" (Andrews 107). Magritte's teasing of real and fake questions the true image. Nature comes into our structures via windows, doors and art works, often as framed pictures, taking for granted " domestic versus wild, art versus nature, manufactured versus organic, copy versus original" (Andrews 126).

In the nineteenth century, Turner referenced Cézanne's claim that nature had become so processed, we only see the environment as simulacra (Andrews 177). Ruskin disliked reinvented landscape as not being true to nature. (Andrews 182). He writes, "the artist must know this particular landscape intimately" (Andrews 183). Both Churchill and Nicholson had a keen sense of the British countryside and used it to express what it was to be English; accuracy can only be relevant to their personal assessments.

Allegorical landscape painting was a familiar European theme (Andrews 185). The Renaissance landscape had been changing from "inert background to a dramatic human event…" (Andrews 188). Arguments ensued whether moral lessons were present. In an essay, 1835, Goethe praised the "symbolic and the poetic power of painting." Andrews claims, "Landscape is the scope of nature, modified by culture…" (Andrews 193). Cosgrove insists, "the painter's "scenic" sense of landscape is incompatible with the subjective experience of landscape because the painter is an outsider, detached from that which has become his motif" (Andrews 193). Using landscape to describe what is familiar makes the painter an insider in his sphere.

Although open-air painting had been practiced since the Renaissance; in the nineteenth century plein-air escalated. Geological science had progressed, cameras became portable as did oil paint which could be taken outside the studio in tubes (Andrews 190,191,197). Plein-air painters could now dialogue with nature choosing between what they saw a real and how they wished to portray that real. (Andrews 201). According to Cosgrove, "All these spheres of existence which we separate conceptually are in fact unified in the consciousness and actions of a social order" (Cosgrove, Social 46). Churchill used a studio and the outdoors, as did Nicholson incorporating, what was internal, the view and application of paint.

Schama posed, "landscape is the work of the mind…Landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock… Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock" (Schama7, 61). He continues, "once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a particular way of muddling categories, of making metaphors more real than

their referents; of becoming, in fact, part of the scenery" (Schama 61). Wood and forests have been mainstays of warmth and protection before being replaced by fossil fuels and plastics. Nineteenth century romance of the woods was expressed by the Grimm Brothers as the forests were the "heartland of folk culture" (Schama 107,114). In the eighteenth century, the oak became the symbol for British power even though over-forestation denuded acreage for naval ship building (Schama 103,114). Trees as Picturesque become what was cherished and abused.

Bodies of water were believed to flow like blood circulation (Schama 247). Marx saw, "hydraulic societies and despotism as functionally connected." Manpower had to be mobilized to dig ditches and maintain canals and dikes. (Schama 260,261). When land was difficult to traverse, rivers became roadways, often straightened for practicality. Riverbanks were seen to provide security to river traffic, as exploration, specifically over oceans, was fraught with danger (Schama 261). Elizabeth I, was born at Greenwich on the Thames and used the river for publicity, allowing her subjects to see her (Schama329). According to Professor Wyman Herendeen, "English history itself is made to travel with the current. The confluence of waters, moving irresistibly to the sea, seems to embody both the natural harmony of the English landscape and an end to the strife that for centuries had torn the realm" (Schama 330). Easy to see why water became a focal point in landscapes.

The river as metaphor for the flow of time was also the dumping ground for sewage and the cause of much illness (Schama 362-367). In the 1820s, Turner sold lithographs containing quaint villages and stone bridges in *Turner's Annual Tour*, as he knew his middle class customers wanted mythology, "not faithful representations of industrial-barge traffic and dockyards" (Schama 363, 364). Ideal British democracy embedded into landscape which

prevented reform both at home and in the colonies was ignored in the imagery. For subsequent generations landscapes become a needed referent to study the past, along with the foibles.

Marxist notions of emphasizing material production as the primary basis of social life expanded, pushing cultural life into the forefront when speaking of the contextual way art is perceived. (Cosgrove, Social 40). Cosgrove suggests, “There are within any social formation at any given historical moment specific social and political or religious tensions and struggles being played out by individuals and groups. Landscape has frequently been deployed as a medium for commenting on them” (Cosgrove, Social 66). Thompson wrote, “ If we are to locate the idea of landscape as a way of seeing the world, a product of human consciousness and culture, within the materialist framework of the capitalist transition, we are obliged to consider this problem of Marxist cultural theory” (Cosgrove, Social 55). Landscape without perceiving narratives are boring.

Enclosure, neatly tucked away within rolling hills and manicured hedges could no longer be hidden as could other cultures that Empire had acquired (Hammer 114, 124, 238, 291, 382). Churchill kept the essence Empire in his paintings by upending traditional methods of positioning trees and waterways around centered buildings. Landscape became a genre that welcomed the viewer which Churchill was slow to accept. Slowly his colors brighten, his brushstrokes loosen and houses were no more important than trees. After World War II, his waterways no longer flowed endlessly, but dead-ended by rocks and shorelines, finally allowing the viewer into compositions reflecting inevitable changes. (Cosgrove, Social 55).

Nicholson undressed traditional British landscape with its structured systems about where to posit trees, buildings and the occasional figure, uncovering his line drawing which he then splashed with glazes of Victorian browns. Line drawings, geometric shapes and blocks of Victorian coloring now carried the upheaved Imperial message into Modernism.

Churchill did not paint in isolation from the art world, or his political world. How people rearrange actual landscape and paint their interpretations becomes their visual and social record which holds meaning beyond surfaces: water, mountains and plants. Nicholson, influenced by Gabo also altered traditional British landscape by removing color and drawing in a child-like manner. According to Andrews, "the aesthetic value of a landscape is not inherent in the spectacle—not a part of its 'essence'—but 'constructed' by the perceiver" (Andrews 4). It becomes the onus of the viewer to synthesize social constructs, with cultural Marxism's insistence on the importance of the spectator.

2.3 Landscape and Churchill's Art

Churchill's ***Painting as a Pastime***, speaks about color and light, memory and metaphors, about waging war but it does not talk about where Churchill is positioned in British landscape. Nicholson who painted around the same time as Churchill, shows how Continental themes, changes in color and shapes, changed British art. Nicholson's line only drawings and disregard for color become skeletal/underpinnings of Picturesque. As Cosgrove suggests, all art has materiality because it begins by using human labor in the form of a pencil or a brush, which is then used in the material world to illustrate specific cultures. Cosgrove points, "Part of our contemporary difficulty in recognizing this unity, and our tendency to separate the symbolic from the material springs from the fact that in our own

society and time symbolic production is located predominately in the production of material commodities of exchange -- as are painting, music, and literature" (Cosgrove Social 58,59). The requirement that art has to have a price put on it before any value can be deduced has kept Churchill's art in the shadows. Although Churchill gave away his art and a recent auction sold a painting for 1.5 million pounds, the highest price ever, his paintings are not valued beyond a souvenir of valued statesman (internet source: Bage, *Essex Live*, June, 06,2016). Churchill's art belongs within the cannon of British landscape as it contains clues as to how English landscape evolved in relation to the entire Empire.

Much conversation has ensued over Churchill not only painting for pleasure but only painting one work during World War II, which supposedly diminished his Post-War art skills. True, he was preoccupied with strategizing, but there is an historic connection to mapping and landscape that allowed Churchill to retain aesthetic skills because he designed and scrutinized quantities of war maps (Andrews 77-93). According to Victoria Chan, of the Imperial War Museum, "Churchill was fairly obsessed with maps and liked them hand coloured in pastel colours. The Yalta map at the Imperial Museum would have been prepared with his input" (email: Chan, 4/22/15).

Churchill's artistic skills were thought to derive from his early encounter with watercolors, 1915, and his sporadic lessons with renowned painter-friends. Churchill's, *The Ruins of Arras Cathedral,* painted around 1920 shortly after he had encountered his nephew's paint box, is a copy of a Sargent work. (Coombs 92). As Bermingham points, in the mid-eighteenth century " the introduction of drawing into military academies meant that, on a scale never before seen, drawing—including landscape drawing—was routinely taught to a large number of men from the upper and middle classes who passed through these schools"

(Bermingham, Drawing 84). Churchill's ability to use perspective was learned long before he took up painting as a hobby.

Sabastion Puncher, Curator at Sandringham has verified that "exercises in perspective and shading" were required in Churchill's time (email: Puncher, February 29-April 6, 2016). Architects Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) and Robert Hook (1635-1703) believed manual skills "formed the subject of systematic and philosophical thought" (Bermingham, Drawing 67). Royal Academy's, (founded 1660) preamble written by Wren stated, "Like the new science, drawing would legitimate itself as a 'disquisition of nature' and a skill in service to the commonwealth" (Bermingham, Drawing 34). Churchill brought honed skills to his landscapes, which allowed him to advance into perfecting color and light while infusing his art with his personality as well as his literary and political careers.

Regardless of whether the art buying public recognizes Churchill's paintings as a valuable commodity, the uniqueness at the easel of this famous Briton should not be overlooked. The following Churchill paintings and one Nicholson are scrutinized through the lens of British landscape. British landscape goes back to conquests from the Continent by marauders who stole lands from inhabitants. And medieval England with its Robin Hood lore of the English "Greenwood" was contrasted with the orderliness court life. It was the place you found yourself; it is the true other where "gender and rank are *temporarily* reversed in the interest of discovering truth, gender, love, freedom, and, above all, justice. In pre-Enclosure times, the English Greenwood was in fact as much a myth as the fate of the "bold and ingenious poacher." The Greenwood was also subsistence for the common man and all would be well until the king decided to claim land for his pleasure, the royal hunt, or revenue

from trees (Schama 135-141,144,145). The king's pleasure at the expense of his subjects marks the origins of Picturesque.

Eighteenth century country life becomes the beginning of the Modern day comparison. As Barrell states, it became "us the poor, them the rich." It was also the beginning of understanding the need for charity and the increasing fear of the poor as becoming literate and less dependent on the upper classes (Barrell, Dark 3,4). England was being measured by its wealth and its military strength (Barrell, Dark 9). By the end of the eighteenth century the demand for realism, adding laborers to a landscape became a moral issue for some and a mere aesthetic pleasure for others (Barrell, Dark 13,14, 16). Laborers presented the hard working and moral. Ironically, this imagery was used as propaganda during World War II (Barrell, Dark 20, 21). Churchill never puts the working man in his works, but they are still present in that they into built what he painted, gardening and household staffs.

Figure/ground tropes borrowed from portraiture are another way to decode a landscape and understand the artist's intentions. In the nineteenth century, the importance of 'foreground' or whether landscapes should position and place importance on details was greatly discussed (Mitchell, Landscape 88-89).

***View of Cherkley*, 1915 (Coombs 28):** was one of the homes of Anglo-Canadian, Max Aitken, aka Lord Beaverbrook (1879-1964) a wealthy newspaper magnate (*Daily Express*) who served as one of Churchill's World War II ministers. Relocating to London in 1910, Beaverbrook had been knighted by George V when this painting was made. Like many of Churchill's friends, Beaverbrook was a self-made entrepreneur, not an aristocrat, who was

able to buy titles and prestige. English landscape reflects social changes. Baronial lands which had been acquired at the expense of displacing peasantry were now being purchased by wealthy bourgeois, a new approach to “an elegy for a lost way of life” as the aristocracy living on estates was shrinking from high taxes and dwindling inheritances (Williams, Culture 120, 269). Churchill eventually made enough money through publishing and donor gifts to buy his own estate, Chartwell. But in 1915, he was leasing Hoe farm (Coombs 22). This painting may represent a longing to be part of the landed gentry. Churchill was not the Duke of Marlborough which came with land holdings.

In this early Churchill landscape, the two large green trees in the foreground resemble two people in conversation as they look out onto pastoral landscape. These tree-shapes rise from the foreground cementing the land and sky that divide the picture plane in three boring planes that lack connection. Gray-blue hills in the background complement the cerulean blue sky with the over worked clouds that appear too thick/too thin. The clump of trees at the right midpoint seems awkward and should have been rendered smaller or discarded. The two spots of red flower imagery brighten the greens found in the bottom half, indicating early attempts at experimenting with complementary colors. His should have painted another red flower, allowing the viewer’s eye to roam from left to right. Churchill’s political career was just beginning and he envisioned d achieving greatness like his ancestor John, the first Duke of Marlborough. His political decisiveness can be felt within the thick paint and the somewhat blocky forms that begin to deviate from Picturesque, looking Impressionistic in style and color.

Realistic landscape became popular with Romantic painters who were drawn to late afternoon light (Blühm 24, 25). Many Romantic landscapes long for the bygone. The painter,

Martin Heade Johnson (1819-1904) working before the American Civil War, expressed themes of foreboding and continuities within change using exaggerated shadows and intense cloud cover in a similar fashion to Churchill. Contextual foreshadowing of the upcoming World War found in ***Cherkley…*** outweighs technical skill.

British Landscape generally emphasizes the middle ground, making the foreground the point of entry for the spectator. Classical landscapes often referenced a low focal point so distance would loom into grandeur. Instead, Churchill expresses a high vantage point and pushes the viewer into the overpowering sky, similar to Dutch landscape with its references to mapping or his own military experiences making maps. A church steeple behind the hills also grounds this work into British tradition. The two large trees conjoin the three disjointed horizontal bands; in most classical landscape the trees remain in the middle ground. The twin trees also prevent the viewer easy access to meander, a stylization of his until after World War II when he allowed the viewer access. Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) remarked, "If man is ever to solve the problems of politics in practice he will have to approach it though the problem of the aesthetic, because it is only through Beauty that man makes his way to freedom" (Blanning 44). While beauty takes on a broadened meaning in Modernism; the point to be made is, Churchill's connection with painting and politics. The significance of the two prominent trees, Churchill in conversation with Beaverbrook, is quite unique in that traditional British landscape's major focus is to wander through rocks and shrubbery often following a stream to the sky. Here Churchill stops the viewer, and asks him to focus on him, much as he did in parliament. Churchill often lines up objects in his landscapes, resembling soldiers on maneuver or military personnel in conference.

There are no coullises to stop the viewer from leaving sideways. They are not needed. Through the image of trees, Churchill has taken it upon himself to oversee Britain, something he tried to do in World War I but finally accomplished in the Second World War. He personalizes British landscape without the use of figuration.

***The Mill at St-Georges-Motel*, 1930s (Coombs 180): a** Normandy château was purchased in 1926 by Consuelo Vanderbilt Balsan. Vanderbilt was formerly married to Charles Spencer-Churchill, the 9th Duke of Marlborough, cousin to Churchill, which made painting visits routine. The English have had a love/hate with France and for that matter the whole Continent. They fought many battles with France and Wellington's victory over Napoleon instilled confidence into the Victorian age and Empire. On June 23rd, 2016 the British voted on "Brexiting" the European Union (EU), demonstrating that Nationalism and sibling rivalry has not subsided (internet source: Giles, FinancialTimes,2/22/16).

According to Johnson, Churchill loved France:

> He had grown up in Frances's belle époque; Paris was where his parents chose to get married, the city of lights and infinite diversions, the place he went to spend his gambling winnings—on books and 'in other directions'. Even for an Englishman as patriotic as Winston Churchill there was no shame in acknowledging the superiority of French quality of life: the wine, the food, the cheese; the elegance of the chateaux; the fun and style of the casinos; the pleasure of bathing on the Cote d'Azur, and trying to capture its outstanding natural beauty in paint. French was the only foreign language he even

> attempted to make himself understood….Churchill believed in the greatness of France…. (Johnson 219)

Churchill painted the majority of his oeuvre in Southern France and its territory of Morocco because he could; his paintings resembled one done at Chartwell.

This landscape is about the house, a piece of a fortress representing the continuity of French culture. Once a mill, it is now home to aristocracy. Henry IV had slept there before "the Battle of Ivry which gave him Paris" (Balsan 239). According to Williams, "The house is properly subsidiary to the uses of money and productive investment, the creation rather than the celebration of Nature: nature in man's works rather than in a perceived or fortunate paradise" (Williams, Country 59). Churchill placed the château in the middle ground as was the traditional focal point, except he blew it up so it dominates the picture plane, recognizing the importance of generational privilege. Churchill does not always coordinate sky and water but here he does. Brown rocks in the running water are reflected in the muted beige shadows on the house. A red chimney at the right not only complements the green trees but keeps this work from being drab. Churchill's shapes are beginning to flatten, but the bending trees at both sides of the composition, coullises, harken to traditional British landscape painting. A figure incidental to the composition, leans on the back railing. Although painted in France, Churchill's colors are the same he used in Britain.

Painting at the same time as Churchill, Leger writes, "A landscape is not just 'grass and some leaves….There is a modern element, a human element—the hand of mankind introduces new elements into the landscape'" (Vallye 109). Churchill and Leger had both experienced the horrors of World War I and used landscape to explain historical change,

especially water used to cut across time and space also suggesting impending doom. The philosopher Nancy says, “Looking out to sea, I think I am seeing my life over again, its ebb and flow, its happiness and mourning, and I think I hear” (Nancy 81). Flowing water is also a way to have a work spread beyond its frame. Like Derrida, Leger “did not wish to segregate his painting from its surroundings…” (Vallye 29). Here, Churchill’s work radiates beyond borders. Churchill and Leger express a desire for continuity after the First World War through art. Architect Jean Badovici (1893-1956) writes, “For a work to endure, it’s not sufficient that it be constructed according to accepted principles; one must feel the artist’s thoughts and his domination over the material” (Vallye 214). Churchill’s themes for an enduring Empire can be felt in ***The Mill….***

The statuesque stability of ***The Mill…*** the massive château challenges the running water; water, evokes power struggles found in controlling Empire; yet it could be considered a trope for the uncontrollable of Europe at the time (Schama 313). ***The Mill…*** is a testament to the survival of rural France, given centuries of war. As Cosgrove tells, “perspective, proportion and landscape are united within a single claim for the role of the individual artist as a controlling creator” (Cosgrove, Social 25). As for the evolution of British landscape, Churchill has taken the main structure, which usually is situated in the middle of a composition, has equal billing with the greenery and sky, and enlarged it to overpower other tropes. It is the upper class, not nature that surrounds Churchill’s life, just as it controlled much of the Empire, what it acquired or rearranged to its benefit. Although Churchill is out of office he is plotting to return and dominate just as the house overshadows everything else in the picture.

The Custody of the Child*, 1955 (Coombs 236):** might be dismissed as a-side-of- the-road Kitschy landscape depicting a windswept rocky shore overlooking an azure sea. Churchill was good at describing water, shown here with white caps and blue tones guiding the viewer throughout the work and sideways off the canvas. Water represents memory, the seen and the unseen (Schama 7, 61, 278). Rocks indicate impending danger (Andrews 185). There are two trees bending inward on each side like coullises found in traditional British landscape, which he uses to connect the horizontal bands of the painting. What is this little tree doing in the mid-foreground? Judging by the title ***Custody… searching for a maternal theme would be understood. Trees have substituted for human figures (Andrews 43).Yet this tree guarded by two mature trees stands before a raging sea, suggesting security is transient, as all three could be swept out to sea.

Churchill and his wife Clementine had turbulent childhoods. Their own children, were reared by nannies, had emotional and drug induced issues. The tree may not represent the child in need of protection, but Britain, which was once protected by Churchill is now faced with post-war issues: lack of sufficient goods, a labor government that was proving disappointing, post-war stress combined with impending Cold War fear. The small bent tree is having the most trouble withstanding the wind. Churchill had recently retired as Prime Minister and was putting his financial affairs in order; leaving money, security for future generations may have been on his mind.

It was the myth of Romanticism in which the aristocracy wished to dwell, as they found themselves in an ever socialist world, reflected in the myths Picturesque had stressed. Post-war Britain struggled to address both capitalism and socialism as felt on this windy coast. Artistic self-absorption faded as the collective society had to be addressed (Banning

25-30; Cosgrove, Social 234, 235). The individual, as represented by trees spars with the collective, as ocean. Addressing balances is continual and unresolved as expressed in the abstracted scribble in Nicholson's work. Hamilton's compositions would reflect the consumer oriented society, its desired commodities and a return to self-interest.

This painting is about the sublime, in that Churchill has positioned the spectator on uneven rocks, not a sandy surface, contemplating a fall that would in the least bruise before a terminal plunge into the surf. The sublime in landscape captures "the immediacy of transient natural events…" (Cosgrove, Social 229). Is this landscape the natural and untouched? Cosgrove says, "The forces which belonged naturally to the sea, the mountain and the storm were unnaturally subjected to human control and the production of exchange value" (Cosgrove, Social 232). In ***Custody…*** the sea was untouched but the rocks had likely been arranged to prevent coastal erosion. This painting speaks to the natural that was disturbed by four years of war, the terrifying otherness that continually reappears, and the rebuilding that needs to occur (Andrews 145). Churchill has shown that a landscape can reveal pain, upheaval and uncertainty internally and on the surface.

Ben Nicholson's ***1947, December 13 (Trendine 2)*** **(Lynton 124):** depicts abstract objects in the foreground that are placed over impressionistic farmland in the background, as he cannot decide whether to move into complete abstraction. Shapes in the foreground resemble abstract bottles. Nicholson like to paint his mother's kitchen table. Landscape coullises have been replaced by abstract cylinders while the beige sky has black horizontal lines and is part of the abstracted foreground. Green/beige farmland in the background has a few sketched- in buildings which recede into rolling hills. Nothing in this picture dominates; the farm scene appears as a window of the abstraction. Modern meet classical as raw canvas,

blends with pencil lines; nothing is concealed. Nicholson retains Victorian browns which oppose green grass. Tones, stacking objects, and vague perspective still send the viewer through three bands of Picturesque. Objectivity as abstracted shapes in the foreground contrast with the subjectified farmland in background. Can these shapes and concepts be interchanged? Nicholson made this after World War II when Britain had become liberal as it came to terms with rebuilding after the bombing. He has superimposed faceted abstraction with a loose landscape that has no focus. Nicholson is steamrolling Modernism onto British landscape, even if he still retains the essence of the Victorian Empire as well. ***Trendline…*** is about trying to move beyond the individuality of the artist more than Churchill, whose art always remains firstly about him.

Churchill's keen observances are found in his art as much as in his writings and orations. According to Boris Johnson when shown pictures of "dummy British battleships" at Scapa Flow, Churchill noticed there were no seagulls lurking around funnels. He ordered food strewn about to fool the Germans into thinking they were real warships (Johnson 190-191). Churchill understood the power of the visual to look real when it was simulacra. Churchill's country scenes reflect what was his view of political Britain. English landscape was a statement about the upper class who owned the rural, while living in the city for economic purposes.

Nicholson's ***Trendline…*** retains enough brown and line to know you are viewing a Victorian landscape, turned upside down, modernized while embracing the viewer and the Constructive collective to become perceptions of Post War Britain's uncertainty. Churchill loosened traditional British country landscape by enlarging shapes, adding bright colors to

Victorian browns and imposing his political self as his version of Britain's forward momentum.

According to Schama, "landscape is the work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock" (Schama 7). Both may have thought they omitted social and political themes but they are present in the paint, with the rearrangement of traditional shapes indicating change and countryside suggesting retention of past landscape traditions.

2.4 Conclusion to Landscape

British landscape subscribed to a set of rules. Using shifting tones and perspective, viewers were led through three bands of horizontals to an aerial perspectival sky. Coullises bordering a canvas' sides, kept the spectator focused on a stream, greenery both manicured and unkempt, and the occasional animal or figure, designed to optically push the viewer through lower hills on to sky in the background. These landscapes visually stated Britain's civic humanism that defined the power of Britain from its early beginnings as an agrarian society tossed about by the occasional band of marauders to the landed-gentry who acquired property from the crown or from Enclosure. Estates provided timber for the navy and food for marching armies, thus an investment in Empire.

Most likely, these aristocrats had townhouses in London as they held government appointments that controlled the Empire and the growing industries at home. Politician Joseph Addison (1672-1719) wrote, "A spacious horizon was an Image of Liberty" (Mitchell, Landscape 84). But, nothing could have been accomplished without the working classes who tilled the fields, fought the wars and were sent to the colonies, often for petty offenses. Even

though painted landscapes often did not reveal the peasantry who were responsible for the manicured imagery, presence is in their absence. Although many suffered from this disproportionate system, there was still a national nostalgia for British landscape, both at home and in the Colonies as represented in Picturesque. Turner would often alter a trope as coding in a landscape to unsettle and suggest social and political unrest and needed reform (Mitchell, Landscape 103).

Eighteenth century creation of the tourism saw the printing of guidebooks, often by the owners of estates who advertised visiting their ruins and natural features on their property. The visitation by mainly the middle-class showed-off the haves who owned the property and the have-nots or those who came to imagine themselves living a different lifestyle. This stimulated the idea of "public property" or parks so national heritage could be shared and not be the property of the few. A guidebook was a way for the middle-class to feel they had gained membership into English exclusivity (Mitchell, Landscape 103-106). Churchill's *Painting as a Pastime* could be construed as a guidebook to the way the gentleman painter should conduct themselves when painting. Yet Churchill's brash style and political thoughts are not what is contained in this essay. Nicholson's *Circle* Magazine an extension of Gabo's ***Manifesto…*** which hailed Constructivism as addressing societal "psychological, economic and social needs" visualized in his abstract landscapes, shook up traditional British landscape principles (Hammer 238). All contributed to a realization that what was on the surface of a landscape was not all there was to contemplate.

According to historian Peter Gay (1923-2015), by the late nineteenth century, "art for art's sake was a radical assertion in behalf of nineteenth-century artworks, as well as of their makers' claim to sovereignty; the artist is responsible to no one but himself, and herself,

except perhaps other artists"….Art for art's sake was in fact too direct a proposition for many advanced writers and painters to support it wholeheartedly" (Gay 61, 62). The post-Victorian art world questioned what was objectively truth and beauty while, the artists themselves were casting off the status of servant, marrying into the upper classes (Gay 59-71). Upheavals blur boundaries and allow for consideration about pondering Content in Churchill's works, even if he was unfairly labelled an amateur.

By the early twentieth century European political discontent and revolutions pushed Content into academic discourse; scholars like Williams insisted Formalism indeed had Content (Higgins 164). Somewhat confusing, genuine Russian Formalists, 1922, were insisting their art was not Content based. What was abstract and what was utilitarian got mixed up with differing definitions of Formalism. While subjectivity associated with the artist as an individual mixed with the collective/other. Others said that the Formal lent "form to reality." While, "fusing art with life" really meant Russian artists were making decorative art, "posters, ceramics, works in glass, and theatrical decoration" necessary to make a living (Hammer 111,112). After all, housewares would seem to be Content based. According to Williams, "Under the spell of their own selected examples, of valued but highly specific uses, they forgot that every act of composition in writing, indeed, every utterance, at once moves into specific processes which are no longer in that way open: which indeed, as acts, even in the most seemingly bizarre cases, necessarily have 'content' and intention and which may, in any many thousands of ways, even in these terms represent" (Higgins 164). Williams and his colleagues drew conclusions about the Form/Content construct in the safety of British universities and not under the watch of the suspicious Russian government. However, Williams' conclusions not only clarify different approaches to Formalism, they validate there

is Content in all artworks. This allows an understanding of Nicholson who adopted some aspects of Constructivism into traditional British landscape, and Churchill who maintain the status quo of Empire in paint.

Churchill and Nicholson approached the landscape genre that once took a backseat to portraiture, evolving as an ideological thesis for looking at human culture. Its appreciation is not an acquired taste that only a few can relate to, but a "product of cultural processes continually subject to change" that anyone can perceive (Andrews 8, 10).

Britain is small and its landscape has been overused. Peasants needed land for crops and livestock but had to pay hefty sums to nobility who continued to shrink their lands for their recreational purposes: hunting and fishing. Confiscating the lands of peasants rationalized that these now larger estates were good for the whole country at large; it was a demonstration of power. Harvesting trees, initially the Oak, also competed for space, as timber was needed to build ships. Bermingham suggests, "Nature, with its various representations in painting, poetry, letters, manuscripts, dress, philosophy, and science, became a supreme social value and was called upon to clarify and justify social change" (Bermingham, Landscape 1). Stressing the population that was the labor force: displacement, starvation, illness, eventually weakened the populations causing shortages, uprisings like the "Bread or Blood Riots of East Anglia, in 1816" which created more riots (Williams, Country 111).

The Industrial Revolution and the building of railroads further reduced acreage. Peasants becoming factory workers, dying from plagues or recruited as soldiers stressed agricultural populations. Factory work did provide an alternative to tilling fields, while train

transportation sent workers into the cities. Nothing was perfect or free from avarice; factories exploited the working classes and the city often proved to be a disappointment as housing was squalid and the air polluted. Mitchell states, landscape is "the desire to escape from the turmoil of cities into the peace of the countryside" (Mitchell, Landscape 11). In truth, the country air was cleaner provided you were not near a belching factory; farming meant long hours for little pay while living on properties not your own. Picturesque was a myth seen in drawing rooms of the wealthy. It remained the picture of perfection until both World Wars decimated the male population and estate taxation began breaking up the aristocratic acreage.

Landscape painting in eighteenth century England related to gardening practices, which included writing about horticulture like Humphry Repton's (1752-1818) *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening*, 1795. Others boldly declared that all was not well. William Cobbett (1763-1835) wrote about reforming parliament, ending poverty and pointing out that starving the labor forces was detrimental; he wrote, "Here is much more than enough to make me rejoice in the ruin of the farmers…seeing that it appears absolutely necessary, that the present race of them should be totally broken up…in order to put an end to this cruelty and insolence towards the labourers…" (Williams, Country 111). Others like Victorian writer, Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865) chose fiction to voice attention of the poor. Her novel *Mary Barton*, graphically recorded "everyday life in the working-class homes" (Williams, Culture 87).

Silly as it seems, the aristocracy that accumulated land by confiscation or as a gift from a grateful monarch acquired ennui, after manicuring their estates to perfection. Having made money from tenant farmers and having manicured their vistas with the help of laboring

classes, the aristocracy was free to travel to the Scottish Highlands and the Alps. Travel writer William Coxe (1748-1828) said the most extravagant compliment he can pay to Alpine Switzerland is, “I could almost think for a moment that I am in England” (Schama 483). This remark is insightful when contemplating Churchill’s art made out of Britain but possessing a feel for Britain, nonetheless. Nicholson’s art done abroad has an English feel too.

Picturesque grew into a widespread horticultural genre, a way to groom your estate, mixing rough vegetation with smoother more cultivated plantings which provided aesthetic variety, expressing ideas about freedom morality and a contrast to Continental designs that were seen as having an affinity with the French Revolution. Although today we place Capability Brown into Picturesque, at the time he was considered in opposition, because he removed wild cultivations, masonry walls, allées and all forms of ancient statuary, replacing them with highly manicured clumps of trees, seen as undemocratic. True Picturesque was about “free organic growth” as “time and accident” (Bermingham, Landscape 68; Andrews 70). All forms of Picturesque become blurred as to whether it was fashionable, theoretical or historical (Copley 1).

Thomas Paine’s (1734-1809) *Rights of Man* which advocated the end of hereditary government posed a threat to the aristocracy, was eventually banned and Paine was driven into exile (Thompson 87). According to Bermingham, “The picturesque garden with its variety, individuality, and antiquity was comparable to the British Constitution’s slow and natural evolution as opposed to the Brownian garden or the violent imposition of the abstract principles in the *Rights of Man*” (Mitchell, Landscape 86). Many adopted it to suit their personal and political biases, as those who saw their backyards as a trope for the British

Constitution were also proponents of Enclosure which was not the least democratic as it stole lands from the working classes and favored the rich.

Ironically, laborers hardships were considered aesthetic; Gilpin's travel books rationalized belching smokestacks as a needed contrast to natural scenery. If coal mining had been portrayed as something that needed reform, these paintings might have aroused the need for change. Mining was a necessity and the cruelty was overlooked, so why not present it as a good thing. Eighteenth century British Picturesque wanted to "reassure, not to shock." Picturesque wanted to domesticate, "refigure the familiar" and make different places seem the same (Andrews 129). Still there was the status quo believed Picturesque, whatever the interpretation, was the true theme of England which is why it appears in the work of Churchill and Nicholson.

By the nineteenth century, Picturesque became conversation for London's architecture as there was disdain for the countryside with its effects from Industrialization, without regard to its inceptions. Picturesque landscape utilized working class sections of London where the poor were portrayed as a trope for anti-Georgian individualism. This Victorian individualism was designed into architecture as, "the breaking-up of uniform regular surfaces with lavish ornament and a more abruptly angular geometry of design." Red brick, terra cotta and carved stone replaced white Georgian facades and the symmetry of the Italian Palladian, another indication of political change reflected in the end of the Georgian monarchs (Copley, 283-288). Although Churchill's landscape often reflect essence of the Brownian manicured style as seen at Blenheim, ***The Mill…*** has the disheveled cottage appeal of Picturesque (Copley 283). .

Picturesque as “political power” faded with the Industrial Revolution; in its heyday it was both true and fantasy England (Cosgrove, Iconography 73). But the essence of Picturesque serving as a truly English way of painting continued throughout the Victorian period and into British Modernism, if only in bits and pieces on canvas, serving as a grounding for new ways to look at Nature and the recognition of social unrest through paint.

By the mid-nineteenth century Bohemian populations of urban artists grew, particularly in Paris; they were not academy trained and did not adhere to academy rules about possessing talent and needing to conform to imitation (Smith 108). Political turmoil also saw artists leaving oppressively intolerant countries, merging styles in Paris’ Latin quarter (Clark, Image 33,34). Leger provides contrast as he rendered urban landscapes ignoring traditional tropes: bands of three horizontals, trees on both sides of the picture plane and analogous tones. Leger said, “A landscape is not just ‘grass and some leaves….There is a modern element, a human element—the hand of mankind introduces new elements into the landscape’” (Vallye 109). Even in the confines of the British isle landscape was being forced to represent internal social change and what leeched in from Europe. In paintings, compositional centers became immaterial to a presentation and there would be no entry point to a landscape at all, something that Nicholson adopted and Churchill played with (Lynton 233).

Politics in the form of art expressing social unrest also entered landscape. Landscape not just design and taste, can be construed as a broad Marxian understanding of culture, society and economy (Cosgrove, Social xiii, xiv). Landscape is “social formation” rather than “mode of production.” It is not only the change of “feudalism to capitalism” it is “the evolution of ‘Modern’ societies more broadly conceived, societies which share certain socio-

economic, demographic, cultural and spatial features, but which are also historically and geographically varied" (Cosgrove, Social xvi). Immigration of artists like Gabo with his Form/Content constructs that he instilled into British artists like Nicholson who layered Constructivist space and geometric tropes together with traditional landscape with its Victorian browns, visually shows how landscape evolved helping to change societal structuring.

Churchill's ***Cherkeley…*** is a three banded landscape, although the mid-ground does not separate. The somewhat awkward trees acting as pushed-in coullises in the foreground, unite the composition but perform better as understudy for Churchill in dialogue with Lord Beaverbrook. ***Cherkeley…*** represents Churchill trying to move into Modernism, in his painting as well as his approach to politics, by attempting to remove perspective, replacing it with stackable shapes. Like the poet Ezra Pound (1885-1972), Churchill wants to "make it new." Although the aerial view is not acute, Churchill employs mapping skills including the presence of a big sky. Lacking any rough vegetation, terrain as evidence of social inequality, this landscape presents English countryside as ideal with Churchill in charge.

Churchill's ***The Mill …*** is evidence of British traditional landscaping in the brown coloring on the house, and the bordering coullises. The house is huge, overpowers the landscape becoming more of a portrait of the house. Spatially, this work flattens as it wiggles to be Modern. Water and rocks do not really let the viewer enter. Like a Modernist abstraction Churchill places the viewer into the center of the picture plane with no visible way to escape. Evidence of perspective is found where the house recedes upstream. Europe in the thirties was witnessing the aristocracy dwindling. This house is about the continued presence and survival of the aristocracy as Churchill's cousin Consuelo Vanderbilt Balsan

owned this Middle-Ages château in contrast to other elite who had lost their mansions. Yet, Churchill chose to paint the mill, the utilitarian piece of the estate and not the main building. The side trees act as theatrical drapes that appear to be closing the stage performance on the upper class; the Balsans fled to America in the wake of Nazi occupation.

Custody… is Churchill who can no longer protect Britain from its enemies or itself. The Empire has been washed away too. The palm fronds that unusually rise from the foreground, cannot protect the frenzy from the Cold War. The even pattern of breaking waves indicates continuation of life in spite of never ending turbulence. ***Custody…***is more rough than a balance of both. Rocks have been artificially arranged. This painting speaks about the sublime and does not hide in trepidations like many Picturesque. It is Churchill expressing concern for the future that he is not involved with.

Nicholson's ***Trendline…*** becomes another interpretation for post war confusion and unknowns. War was supposed to be over but, now the Cold War and social unrest in Britain ensue. Is landscape returning to the comforts of Picturesque or moving on to be wholeheartedly abstract?

Understanding the history of landscape both in Britain and the Continent with its changes in styles through wars, disease and political upheavals is needed when scrutinizing both a Churchill and a Nicholson work. In the eighteenth century, the British confiscated land at the expense of hurting other citizens and then rationalized that Enclosures were for the good of the country. The result was hypocritical paintings that fetched up as innocent landscapes in large estates. Conversely, in the nineteenth century art acquired as plunder in Europe's incessant wars, moved across the channel, and was celebrated in exhibitions and

fetched up in auction houses like Christies and Philips; all was ignored as influential to British landscape (Bermingham, Drawing 127-141). British landscape was enriched by mapping and aerial viewing that originated with Dutch, along with the rendering of light and placement of foliage, ruins and occasional figuration derived from the Italians and the French, even if the British denied they adopted techniques from Europe proper. Picturesque had the mark of inequality beneath.

A closer look through social constructs finds human emotion, as an element that penetrates the surface of a work, revealing the hard work and sacrifice of the working classes. The idea of expressing deep emotion in an artwork was not the exclusive realm of cultural-Marxists or Constructivists. Romanticism with its trope of the sublime sought to penetrate the surface of the object represented. According to Andrews, "The Sublime, with its emphasis on obscurity, vacuity and indeterminacy, destabilizes and disorientates: in terms of landscape art it seeks to represent less the objects that strike the viewer than the sensations experienced by the viewer—or it is a combination of the two?" (Andrews 147). The sublime invited the spectator to become included in the process of decoding content, "whose pre-existing trains of ideas are revived, refreshed and associated by new, but correspondent impressions on the organs of sense" (Bermingham, Landscape 70,71). The viewer could assess the power of a landscape a social construct.

But it was Gabo's Constructivism that invaded pre-World War II Britain. Churchill and Nicholson began painting, highly influenced by Victorian coloration and its precise spatial placements. Both adopted Modernism in different ways. Constructivism helped further verbalize how to understand a work, to look beneath the surface of the paint which can then be used to interpret art as a way to explain the human condition. The Post-War

socialist-liberal literary atmosphere found in British universities and political circles, also contributed to the contextual dialogue. Churchill and Nicholson retained traditional landscape tropes but each added their interpretation of Modernism to British painting.

Nicholson was a Slade-trained artist striving to make a living. Churchill acquired professional skills through classes at Sandhurst: drawing, and mapping, along with advice from renowned painters in later life, but retained his amateur status as was the custom for Victorian aristocratic gentleman, although that does not mean he did not paint as well as professionals. Even after World War II when he was receiving money for his art, he remained an amateur, in name. Landscape is not just design and taste and "way of seeing" but a "broad Marxian understanding of culture and society (Cosgrove, Social xi, xiii, xiv). Through knowledge of landscape together with Marxian contextual thought, we can better understand how British society evolved, both productively and unfairly, as seen through Churchill and Nicholson who were pushing away from past tendencies, yet desiring to retain some of the old ways, given the restrictions their positions in society placed on them—Churchill the aristocrat, Nicholson who relied on money from upper class relatives. Although Churchill did not utilize Constructivism, its British presence provides not only comparisons but greater freedom to explore Churchill's art beyond the surface.

Winston Churchill. *View of Cherkley*, 1915. Oil on Canvas, 20 x 31 in. Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Frederickton, New Brunswick, Canada

Winston Churchill. *The Mill at St-George-Motel*, 1930s, Oil on Board. 24 x 32 in. The Studio, Chartwell

Winston Churchill. *The Custody of the Child*, 1955. Oil on Canvas, 25 x 30 in. Dallas Museum of Art, Dallas, TX

Benjamin Nicholson. *1947, December 13 (Trendine 2)*. Oil and Pencil on Canvas. 38.4 x 37.1 cm. The Phillips Collection, Washington, DC

Chapter Three: The Cézanne Effect on Churchill's Paintings

Winston Churchill painted landscapes in Southern France, influenced by Cézanne who solidified Impressionist shapes while employing warm and cool colors, and visible line to optically drive the viewer through a composition. Churchill who alludes to Cézanne in *Painting as a Pastime,* adapted some of his methods while maintaining traditional landscape themes: aerial perspective, three horizontal bands, modulating tones. British painter, Ben Nicholson, influenced by Russian Constructivism with its attention to space and dismissal of color, also retained British landscape tropes.

Although Churchill did not totally understand the objectivity of Cézanne's Modernism beyond capturing light, he mixed the techniques into British Victorian landscape, none the less (Coombs 71). Churchill's paintings reveal his desire to maintain an aristocratic lifestyle along with his understanding that social welfare was needed. Nicholson approached Cézanne through his encounter with Constructivism which removed color but maintained the importance of line and objectifying what is unseen beneath the surface of a work. French philosopher, Maurice Merlau-Ponty (1908-1961), felt the world we experience is through the objectified body communicating with others, so the subject/object in art, traditionally separated, conjoins (Audi 558,559). Similarly, art cannot be separated from what the artist observes and what he intuitively feels (Gaut 168, 169). Professor Richard Shiff (b.1943) contrasts Cézanne with other artists of his generation. He examines the cultural impact of Cézanne, in an age when a classical education was being challenged by those who felt originality and sensuality derived from the artist's inner-self was the correct approach to

nature. Historian Meyer Schapiro (1904-1996) who "insisted that form was inseparable from other aspects of a work's meaning" references Cézanne who represents the individual and his intense feelings (Hemingway, Marxism 134, 142). Focusing on the importance of loosening perspective, and vibrating Complementaries, he leads the viewer through Cézanne's houses and vegetation to enhanced backgrounds. Cézanne's landscape painting was seen as the artist-self, rebelling against impersonal classical narratives. He evolved along with the changing culture: the overthrowing of dynastic rule, the increasing secular societies. How does Cézanne's desire to objectify Impressionism, change the way Churchill saw British landscape? Does Churchill's infusion of so-called rebellious abstraction enable the viewer to see his art as more than the desire to retain an aristocratic lifestyle, the waning Empire or the need for social reform? Nicholson viewed Cézanne through Constructivism which selectively chose Cézanne's approaches. How does Nicholson's view of Cézanne, his attention to line using minimal color, provide a grounding to Churchill's art?

I will argue that Churchill's fusion of Cézanne's modernism with military topographical training in mapping and perspective, produced abstracted British landscapes that moved beyond traditional British Picturesque which mainly presented social injustices within highly prescribed painting structures and limited compositional venues. Using Continental motifs as well as layering tropes of Modernism over Picturesque, Churchill could envision England in relation to other parts of the Empire in the context of twentieth century social and political conflict including two world wars, the dissolution of the Empire and the rise of the labor movement. Nicholson who merged British landscape with Constructivism, provides a contextual approach to contemporary British landscape, widening how we view a Churchill work.

Cézanne objectively painted subjectivity, observing atmospheric properties with a limited palette, playing adjacent complements off each other instead of varying tones (chiaroscuro). The viewer becomes a sleuth, looking for Complementaries that result in the perception of solidifying objects while visually navigating through the picture plane stacking warm and cool shapes instead of modulating values. Drawing and painting, along with meaning would be contextually woven before Constructivism objectified time, space within an artist's construct.

Churchill frequented the Riviera and gravitated to the work of Cézanne. In ***Pastime…*** Churchill attempts to describe a Cézanne work, "Now I must try to represent it by innumerable small separate lozenge-shaped points and patches of colour—often pure colour—so that it looked more like a tessellated pavement than a marine picture" (Churchill, Pastime, 66). Churchill recognized these patterns and spent much of his art-life trying to decipher their coding. Cézanne's work not only represents his interpretation of French countryside but also its essence that he had the innate gift to internalize.

The British art world was slow to accept Modernism. According to historian Jeremy Black (b.1955), "Renaissance and later Italian paintings were valued greatly in Britain, where they were regarded as the best example of their art" (Black 287). Would-be tourists seeing these paintings became a motive for trips to Italy; which made them "discerning critics." (Black 287, 300). After the creation of the British Royal Academy, Picturesque tourists brought back Italian works or commissioned reproductions (Black 288,289). Some on the Grand Tour also painted. Whether bought or created, these paintings contained a narrative or myth achieved by using traditional methods of painting: chiaroscuro, variable shapes that

diminish, modulating dark and light areas, perspective and mapping. Not surprising, they were not interested in Modernism.

Shiff feels that in the first decades of the twentieth century a Cézanne work was seen through "an overlay of so-called dehumanized abstraction…" (Shiff xiii). During Cézanne's life and after, critics toyed with the complexities of his contextual style. Shiff questions whether an artist's "original vision" can really be understood (Shiff xiii). Deciphering Cézanne can only be done through the present, but the approaches are vast. Revisiting what has been said of Cézanne enlarges a contextual understanding which was being contemplated before Post-Modernism.

An 1890 writer said that Cézanne was, "restricting the range of effects [he] sought, focusing, respectively on the atmosphere and the structure of the scene, *with less and less reference to specifically human values"* (Shiff xiv). Roger Fry, an admirer of Cézanne, viewed Form and Content as an obvious unit, acknowledging that "sincerity," "truth," "originality," and "self-expression" are "human" values. My contention is that painters such as …Cézanne represented these values not only in their pictures, but inside their picture making, within their technical practice itself….Form or rather technique, could both represent or embody content, and not in any obscure or mysterious manner" (Shiff xiv). Critics of his era realized Cézanne's work visually embraced the notion of a Form/Content construct before Gabo repositioned it back into Constructivism. There were always those who differed.

Before Cézanne's Post-Impressionism, there were Impressionists. According to historian John Rewald (1912-1994), Impressionists, "renounced even the pretense of

recreating reality. Rejecting the objectivity of realism, they had selected one element from reality—light--to interpret all nature…" (Shiff 3). But critic, Jules Antoine Castagnary (1830-1888) feared that artists like Cézanne were removing "naturalism" with its relationship to "human values and social conditions…" and would get carried away with overly "personal subjective fantasies…" and revert back to Romanticism where "nature is no more than a pretext for dreams…" (Shiff 3, 4). Cézanne's removal of representation, focusing on materiality, creates intuitive objectivity differing from Impressionism. Churchill retained representation but played with materiality.

Shiff points, "the impression, as an image or an object of vision, was not the end of impressionist art, but the means to an end, the means to an *experience* through which the true could be apprehended in an act of seeing (Shiff 13). Some did not take Impressionism seriously; as it was just a group of mediocre artists exhibiting (Shiff 14). Shiff says Impressionism actually did contain objectivity and, "is the embryo of both bodies of one's knowledge, subjective knowledge of self and objective knowledge of the world; it exists prior to the realization of the subject/object distinction. Once that distinction is made, the impression is defined as the interaction of a subject and an object" (Shiff 19). This is why looking at a Churchill work must be considered beyond Formal surfaces.

French poet, Jules La Forgue (1860-1887) wrote of the new Impressionistic painting, "object and subject [that is, either nature and artist, or artwork and viewer] are…irretrievably in motion, in apprehensible and unapprehending" (Shiff 28). Although there were thinkers in the nineteenth century who felt strongly about the viewer's responsibility to an artwork, many ignored the importance of the spectator. Shiff points, "All the subsequent confusion and ambiguity with regard to subjective and objective truth cannot be blamed on the modern

scholar alone….psychologists [and] other nineteenth-century theorists, contributed to the breakdown of the distinction between subject and object, especially through their emphasis on the *experience* of the observer" (Shiff 26). Painter Maurice Denis (1870-1943) said, Cézanne's art became a "reconciliation between the objective and the subjective" (Shiff 28). Nicholson through Gabo confirmed the importance of Constructivism's Form/ Content and acknowledgement of the spectator's worth.

Shiff relates:

> The impressionists sought a technique or means of expression that would convey his own spontaneity, originality and sincerity; above all he wished to avoid traditional academic conventions because they would link his art to a communal school rather than to a unique temperament. Through this radical naturalism he could express his individuality: painting (as opposed to sketching) in outdoor light was itself considered as unconventional, with few, if any, predetermined rules of procedure. If impressionist technique, judged by comparison of one painting to another, appeared inconsistent or haphazard, little was lost—this could be taken as a further indication of the idiosyncrasies of the spontaneous impression. Artistic 'truth' might be guaranteed more by the suggested sincerity of the technical procedure than by any claim that technique might have to accuracy of representation or precision of communication. (Shiff 46,47)

Nicholson was finally accepted as the artist/individual but Churchill's Post-Impressionist style was not understood; it was misconstrued as poor Victorian art.

Nineteenth century theorists pondered the artist's temperament as the source of "a necessary subjectivity of vison" (Shiff 29). Fry when referring to Impressionism retells," In no school does the individual temperament count for more…its methods enable the individuality of the artist to find completer self-expression in his work than is possible to those who have committed themselves to representing objects more literally'" (Shiff 158). Artist, Eugene Delacroix (1798-1863) said, "the individual temperament always revealed itself in the manner in which an observed object might be rendered; this is to say that the act of depicting an 'impression' simultaneously conveyed personal 'emotion'" (Shiff 29). Novelist, Émile Zola (1840-1902), Cézanne 's childhood friend proclaimed, "I wish that one should be alive, that one create with originality, outside of all, according to his own eyes and his own temperament. What I seek above all in a picture is a man and not a picture…. A work of art is never other than the combination of a man, the variable element, and nature, the fixed element…. Make something true [to nature] and I applaud, but above all make it individual and living, and I applaud more strongly" (Shiff 30). Shiff says that "Zola considered the naturalist or impressionist painting as representing both object and subject, nature and man" (Shiff 32). This notion of looking beyond what was copied and feeling the emotional impact of the artist was hard for Victorians to grasp but enhances how Nicholson's and Churchill's paintings are viewed.

Historian Hyppolyte Taine (1828-1893) questioned, "Does a 'subject' (that which is represented) have *any* essence independent of its realization in the artist's experience of it? Or… does the world exist in the forms one creates, only in its 'idealization'? Is the 'ideal' the only… reality?" (Shiff 39, 40). For Taine it was the, "interrelation of the artistic subject (the 'real' model in nature) and the artistic object (the artist's representation, his 'end,' his

‘ideal’)” (Shiff 40). According to Shiff, “in the great work of art, the subjective (individual) becomes the objective (universal) (Shiff 40, 41). Considering the subjective/objective and individual/collective in a Churchill or Nicholson allows the viewer to see their compositions pushing British art beyond Picturesque to becoming a universal construct.

Nineteenth century saw the breakdown of art academies whose students all had innate talent, a reason to deny education to others. Critics continued to insist that “technique can never be entirely uniformed or unintended; it cannot be *found* but must be *made*” (Shiff 51). Although some Impressionists like Manet had academic training, others like Cézanne did not. His success caused a puzzlement; artistic achievement might not come from traditional étude. Émile Bernard (1868-1941) and Maurice Denis thought Cézanne lacked technique (Shiff 47). To the nineteenth century theorist, originality was paramount. Matisse liked Cézanne for his “immediacy and incompletion” (Shiff 56). Art critic Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891) said, “Is artistic originality a matter of essence, or appearance? One expects the original to *look* original, and any painting that appears more different from other paintings than it appears like the others possesses a certain distinction that will seem ‘original’”(Shiff 61). As Shiff points, “the painter’s self-expression and originality must dominate his technique” (Shiff 63). Churchill’s and Nicholson’s distinct subject matter should be perceived through his unique temperament.

In the eighteenth century notions of imitating the ideal of nature included combining multiple views were thought to retain a masterful technique (Shiff 64). It was “nature and self” that functioned together (Shiff 66). The nineteenth century artist feared technique would cloud his view of “nature and self” (Shiff 65). While some felt technique had to be found, others like colorist Charles Blanc (1813-1882) said, “that technique was simply part of an

inherited body of convention that could be used to express original thought or vision" (Shiff 82). Cézanne said, "nature does not always appear in the form of a painting; paintings are not always faithful to nature" (Shiff 84). This notion of nature and self was what critics of Churchill's art did not understand. Nicholson who loved a bohemian life was freer to deviate from nature, although he did not always make attempts.

Academic art continued to play an important role in the nineteenth century where imitating the "vision of past genius was to regain originality, combined with "technical mastery". Innovation was seen by some as "willful, insincere individualism" (Shiff 72). Academics dismissed sketchiness favoring "line, chiaroscuro and color" (Shiff 74). It was important to transition between dark and light areas (Shiff 83). To non-academics, sketchiness was a popular way to show art as "found and in process" (Shiff 77). Many artists actually combined the Modern and the academic approach by applying chiaroscuro with loose brushwork (Shiff 78). But for Denis, Impressionism meant "absence of all rule, the negation of academic teaching, the triumph of naturalism, the influence of the Japanese [and the] liberation from all constraint" (Shiff 87). Denis argued for, "order and principle to be extracted from the artist tradition without advocating academicism or the formularization of originality; conceivably, both academic and independent artists can serve as models because universal principles will be evident in the works of any true artist, whether trained or untutored" (Shiff 137). Denis' notions of the artist as individual who has complete control, came to fruition in the post-war Ab-Ex era which benefitted Nicholson.

Imitation was another concern of Impressionists as academic schooling copied, adding nothing (Shiff 93, 97). Zola felt that as long as art was free of convention, imitation especially of nature was original (Shiff 97). Unlike a Claude that smoothly transitioned

from lights to darks, Cézanne had an “unconventional distribution of values” with duller coloring in the background’s decreasing forms (Shiff 112). Cézanne’s moves the viewer by “patterns of contrasting warm and cool hues” (Shiff 117). Ocular movement through the canvas relies on Complementaries, subordinating the importance of line and tonal modulations (Shiff 121,123). According to Shiff, Cézanne painted, “nature according to his personality and not according to [the idea of] art itself” (Shiff 125). This differs from Picturesque which set out to copy the countryside using specific tones and perspective. Nevertheless, Shiff points out that the Impressionists rejection of tradition became somewhat formulaic, which may explain the coming of Post-Impressionism (Shiff 136).

According to art critic Fry, Cézanne’s, “compositions at first look accidental, as though he had sat down before any odd corner of nature and portrayed it; and yet the longer one looks the more satisfactory are the correspondences one discovers, the more carefully felt beneath its subtlety, is the architectural plan; the more absolute, in spite of their astounding novelty, do we find the color harmonies” (Shiff 143). In 1910 and1911, Fry brought Cézanne works to the Grafton Gallery, London and coined the term Post-Impressionism (Shiff 144). Through cultural-Marxism, underlying narratives of Picturesque and Impressionistic painting are found including the mystery of whether Cézanne painted by intuition or a contrived method.

According to Fry, “In a world where the individual is squeezed and moulded and polished by the pressure of his fellow-men the artist remains irreclaimably individual—in a world where everyone else is being perpetually educated the artist remains ineducable—where others are shaped, he grows. Cézanne realized the type of the artist in its purest form, most unmitigated form...” (Shiff 152). Shiff adds, “representation and expression often

stand in reciprocal relation to one another: as one increases, the other diminishes. Given this formulation, post-impressionism becomes an art of increasingly expressive design, supplanting the representational art of impressionism; the artist 'is prepared to subordinate consciously his power of representing the parts of his picture as plausibly as possible, to the expressiveness of his whole design'" (Shiff 157). Churchill's work more closely resembles Post-Impressionism's ideals.

Cézanne was not against studying the classical; however he did not gain acceptance into a French Academy. He advocated going to the Louvre "to study the masters for solutions to technical problems, but, above all, to retain "his individuality through a personal experience of nature" (Shiff 181). Cézanne insisted artists were not to "bring the manner of the past masters to their personal experience of nature, but to bring a very present and personal nature back into the inherited artistic tradition" (Shiff 183). Churchill learned classical methods at Sandhurst which he used when mixing Modernism with classical landscape traditions.

Shiff says, "nineteenth century art critics regarded the artistic 'ideal' both as the individual vision of the painter (associated with his personality or temperament) and as a universal normative style (associated with the tradition of art)" (Shiff 188). The ideal becomes

"subjectively individual and objectively communal" (Shiff 188-189). "When does the subjective truth of the individual's impression or sensation become an objective truth known to all?" (Shiff 36). This is the quandary of Churchill and Nicholson artwork. Denis would say Cézanne's art was the "reconciliation of the objective and the subjective" (Shiff 28). Zola

“ considered the naturalist or impressionist painting as representing both object and subject, nature and man” (Shiff 32). Cézanne insisted that “both experiences (sensation and impression) are simultaneously subjective and objective, interactions that imply the presence of both self and nature” (Shiff 188). How a concrete object can become a non-concrete sensation or in the least merge with subjectivity is why a Cézanne work needs to be considered. Cézanne felt “the artist and the landscape become one in a living sensation” (Shiff 194).

For Taine, “reality consisted not of the mind (subject) or of matter (object) but of the conscious experience, which manifests itself under both these dependent aspects of reality” (Shiff 27). Merlau-Ponty’s essay *Cézanne’s Doubt* imposes Phenomenology directly onto the painter who had the ability to see the experiential. According to professor Adrienne Dengerink Chaplin when trying to understand how Cézanne worked writes, “on the one hand, the intellectualist’s prioritizing of the mind as, for instance, in classical line drawings with linear perspective, and, on the other hand, the empiricist’s privileging of the senses, as with impressionists’ obsessive attention to the eye’s reception of light and color” (Gaut 169). Cézanne painted objects from different angles making his body a painting device; Cézanne says, “the landscape thinks itself in me” (Gaut 169). Churchill and for that matter Nicholson unconsciously gravitated to Cézanne for the way he merged the mind and experiences of the body into painting. It was much the same way Churchill was engrained in the Empire. Nicholson discovered abstraction as way to be different form his Victorian artist father. Both men struggled to see themselves and empirical objectivity, yet they could not eliminate Victorian aesthetics.

Meyer Schapiro said, "[Cézanne] loosened the perspective system of traditional art and gave to the space of the image the aspect of a world created free-hand and put together piecemeal *from successive perceptions*, rather than offered complete to the eye in one coordinating glance as in ready-made geometrical perspective of Renaissance art…. Cézanne's method was not a foreseen goal which once reached, permitted him to create masterpieces easily. His art is a model of steadfast searching and growth" (Shiff 195). Picturesque artists merged different landscapes into one view; Cézanne portrayed multiple views of one area.

Nineteenth century French Modernism broke with academic painting's mimicry, but that did not mean classical ways were not mixed in. Churchill retained traditional ways of painting but infused Cézanne's bright Complementaries with traditional tonal applications. While understanding a Churchill work through the lens of Nicholson adds Content to a Formal discussion, looking at a Cézanne with its Continental progressions is another way to understand Churchill and Nicholson. Churchill, who struggled to understand Cézanne, proof that he was a thinking artist trying to move beyond Picturesque, as was Nicholson. At a post-war dinner party, Churchill announced, "I am not a great painter…" Everyone including his wife and Time/Life's Walter Graebner were embarrassed (Sandys, Chasing 237). But they misunderstood what he meant. He knew his painting was mired in political interests and the limitations placed on him as a gentleman painter.

3.2 Social Effect of Cézanne

Russian Constructivists thought Cézanne was, "the [bearer] of a 'constructive' tradition counterposed to Impressionism" (Gough 38). Constructivism was Formal even

though it represented materiality and a universal emotional response within a work. Cézanne's provided Constructivism with a way to perceive objectivity.

Gabo considered the Russian painter Mikhail Vrubel (1856-1910) the equivalent of Cézanne as he was committed to a "benign vision of tradition and aesthetic and moral order" (Hammer 374).

He said:

> Vrubel freed the arts of painting and sculpture from the academic schemata. He revived the concept in visual art that the fundamental visual elements are of decisive importance in the creation of our visual consciousness was as decisive as Cézanne's and equivalent to the latter's on the trend of painting in Western Europe. (Hammer 26)

Vrubel becomes another link into understanding of Cézanne's influence on Gabo which further provides understanding into Nicholson when considering freedom from an academic approach while retaining a universal appeal. Gabo reverted to subjective Capitalist practice after World War II, deviating from his ***Manifesto….***

There are always the doubting. Artist Winifred Nicholson (1893-1981) writes, "What was really the point of Cézanne tipping that fruit bowl?" (Khoroche 29). According to writer Peter Khoroche, Nicholson's "abstract linear shapes played off against natural forms—[is] a practice learnt from Cézanne" (Khoroche 134). Nicholson's intersection of geometric form into the natural not only is reformatted Picturesque, but is seen as changes to the political structure of Britain. Historian Charles Harrison (1942-2009) **s**ays, there is a need to "question the dialectic between picture and painting" (Mitchell, Landscape 227). When speaking of a

Cézanne landscape he continued, “It combines an effect of spatial recession with an effect of literal fullness or density….the painting establishes the illusion of a relatively deep space—the space of a landscape; that the composition positions a notional viewer as it were on the threshold of the scene the picture represents; and that this viewer is qualified in terms of certain cognitive activities involving the reading of mass, light, distance…” (Mitchell, Landscape 227, 228). A conversation occurs between the viewer, the painter and the picture which is richer than the artist composing the spectator observing. Cézanne, returns mass to Impressionist works that primarily focused on light.

Harrison continues:

> Cézanne’s painting is thus marked by a profound and critical form of thematization of the relations between making and seeing that are the practical conditions of all painting. What is it like to see? Is it to take the thing seen as forming a totality outside oneself, and as being that in relation to which one orients oneself? Or is it to take the act of looking as the means to decide one’s cognitive being in the world? The painting is not *designed* to pose this problem, as if it were a philosopher’s object. Rather it is the contingent and specialized product of a mode of existence that the problem has come to dominate. The painting does not exactly stand as a form of metaphor for this mode of existence. Rather, the painted landscape makes the problem palpable as a condition of its own effect upon the viewer. (Mitchell, Landscape 230,231)

Gabo believed the viewer was an emotional participant to scrutinizing a work (Hammer 381). The viewer becomes part of the equation "what it is to see" through the artist maker. The problem occurs when an audience refuses to see or sees with a bias. The viewer useful when analyzing a Nicholson but essential to a Churchill because they can dismiss the mature/professional debate and focus on the work.

Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) was another who saw the painted image as connecting to reality and interprets, " The painter succeeds in 'realizing', not only what is present, but presence itself; that is to say, not only the thing, but the 'thinging'—the thing becoming thing, the world becoming world—the destination and the journey. Cézanne enables us to grasp the ungraspable in its intractable ungraspability" (Danchev 357). Similar to, *The Origin of the Work of Art*, Heidegger uses painting to interpret what it is to be in the world.

Cézanne was useful for cultural Marxists to move beyond Formal. According to historian T.J. Clark, "Flatness in general in Cézanne had always been at root a metaphor for materiality-for the painter's conviction that in a world made up of matters, the being-in-the-eye of an object is also its being-out-there-at-a-distance, known to us only by acquaintance" (Clark, Farewell, 159).

Clark explores flatness, one of the most obvious Modernist tropes saying:

> And finally, unbrokenness of surface could be seen—by Cézanne par excellence—as standing for the evenness of seeing itself, the actual form of our knowledge of things. That very claim, in turn, was repeatedly felt to be some kind of aggression on the audience, on the ordinary bourgeois. Flatness

> was construed as a barrier put up against the viewer's normal wish to enter a picture and dream, to have it be a space apart from life in which the mind would be free to make its own connections. (Clark, Painting 13)

Classicism continued to dominate nineteenth century art scenes. Nicholson's flatness was viewed as nonsensical; London's art world refused to embrace Modernity. Churchill's flatness was deemed untutored as those who viewed his work could not move beyond his persona as gentleman painter. Flatness may have been the visual of change, but it was "individualism in French art" that became the key factor of Modernity which Churchill and Nicholson demonstrated, even if the art world did not always appreciate its meaning (Clark, Image 19).

Cézanne believed that "all things, particularly in art, are theory developed and applied in contact with nature" (Mitchell, Picture 222). Clark articulates, "Visual art offers many different kinds of interest. Any attempt to argue that one kind is superior to all the rest regularly ends up as not much more than apology for one's own narrow-mindedness" (Clark, Farewell 165).

Clark continues:

> Certain works of art… show us what it is to 'represent' at a particular historical moment—they show us the powers and limits of a practice of knowledge. That is hard to do. It involves the artist in feeling for structures of assumption and patterns of syntax that are usually (mercifully) deeply hidden, implicit, and embedded in our very use of signs; it is a matter of coming to understand, or at least to articulate, what our ways of world-making most

> obviously (but also most unrecognizably) amount to. I think that such work is done with real effectiveness–and maybe can only be done –at the level of form. It is the form of our statements, and the structure of our visualizations, that truly our ways of world-making--at any rate the ways that hold us deepest in thrall. (Clark, Farewell 165)

Clark feels Cézanne merged story and application becoming "all one great narrative machine" (Clark, Farewell 161,162). Narration is not always evident on the surface of a work. For Churchill's and Nicholson, knowledge of social workings of Britain and its Empire are embedded but also visible. It is the seen and unseen that fascinates.

The picture plane is where our imaginations meet with the artist's imagination (Clark, Farewell 166). Modernism would not have had a problem if it "did not so flagrantly assert the beautiful as its ultimate commitment. And if it did not repeatedly discover the beautiful as nothing but mechanism, nothing but matter dictating (dead) form" opponents would not be angered (Clark, Farewell 167). This is what happens when Churchill paintings are considered only pretty. When visiting Churchill's Chartwell studio, Boris Johnson commented about the paintings. Johnson said, "He loves a pink wall, or a gorgeous ocher ruin, and then an azure sky and preferably a line of snow-capped mountains somewhere in the distance. He can't get enough of the shadows on the Pyramids, or the light on the waves as they crash on some Mediterranean shore. Anything involving dark green cypresses, lime-green lawns, bright blue skies, pinky old buildings—Churchill is your man" (Johnson 330). Johnson's friend remarked, "They are so light, and so optimistic….He sets out to please the viewer, and he succeeds" (Johnson 330). These remarks demonstrate that beauty becomes a barrier and is often misconstrued, preventing other meanings to surface (Clark, Farewell, 165,167).

According to Clark, “In the light of the real history of the *avant-garde* is the history of those who by-passed, ignored and rejected it…. The hero of that history is… Cézanne” (Clark, Image 14). Churchill is not considered avant-garde but was avant-garde in his politics that permeated his art and had bohemian friends. Nicholson painted and socialized with the avant-garde. Both artists were original which is sometimes overlooked: Churchill because he was an aristocrat, Nicholson because the British disliked abstractionists.

Harrison considers seeing Cézanne as the unquestionable master. French Salons of 1860s-1880s viewed his work as “involuntary incompetence” or in the least failure at an attempt to paint the “prevailing manner.” Today we view salons as having “uneducated prejudices of the vulgar” which Harrison says may be as short-sighted. He suggests, “There may after all be some justice to the idea that Cézanne, *unable t*o be competent under the conditions of the 1860s and 1870s, persisted in his incompetence until the grounds of judgement changed…” (Harrison, Conceptual 179). Artists can be overlooked, misunderstood or their fame/time just happens.

Harrison says, “There is another history to be thought; a history of unredeemed incompetence, of unpainted and unpaintable pictures, a history of the wasted and the unauthenticated, the abandoned and the destroyed” (Harrison, Conceptual 179,180). Having been deceased for fifty years, Churchill’s paintings have increased in value, perhaps only as souvenirs; their worth as poignant lessons continue to be overlooked. Harrison suggests we consider an art world where those pieces cast aside could actually be valued. This would reassess Churchill’s art for its historical importance as well as its aesthetics. Nicholson, like all artists of renown, had failed works that are now valuable because of his posthumous fame.

The history of Cézanne's failures become as poignant as the compositions he constructed. Some failed art really is ideas still in the making and possess a raw look at the artist.

How does nature move from grass and trees to becoming a social construct either as land or remade into paint? According to poet Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), 'Landscape has no owner', "and the pure viewing of landscape for itself is spoiled by economic considerations: 'you cannot *freely* admire a noble landscape, if laborers are digging in the field hard by'" (Mitchell, Landscape 15). Today's landscape does not much look like what Emerson realized. Reconfigured landscape can be worth pondering, even for its negativity. According to Bermingham, "Gainsborough's rustic landscapes do not actually depict eighteenth-century enclosures, they enforce a mode of perception that profoundly accommodates them. Gainsborough's landscapes are thus highly ambivalent, on the one hand expressing a nostalgia for the old order, its small scale and relative naturalness, and on the other hand promoting a mode of perception that adjusts to the new" (Bermingham, Landscape 40). Cézanne's landscapes move beyond any specificity to a broader view of the human relationship to landscape, all as part of nature, as abstract objectivity.

Art critic, David Sylvester (1924-2001) says, "painters normally take it for granted that nature is one thing and painting another, that nature is natural and painting artificial, and that in translating nature into art they have every right to use conventions of art" (Sylvester 90, 91). He continues, " Only a fraction of the painters in the history of the world's art have in any case made it their habit to paint directly from nature, and they have mostly taken in their stride the need to select from and rearrange what they saw in order to turn it into art" (Sylvester 91). Cézanne used "an apple or an orange" which was disposable nature and carried "no strong emotional overtones;" interfering with his "sensations" (Sylvester 93).

Cézanne employed “repetition and variation” to fruits and crockery that held no specific arrangement, making them timeless as in Heidegger’s, *On the Origin of a Work of Art*, where the material for a temple merges with raw rocks becoming a metaphor for the relationship of art to its origins; as Cézanne’s fruit to nature (Sylvester 93, 94). Cézanne recognized nature was transitory; the job of art was to provide “endurance” (Sylvester 96). Cézanne’s worldliness is broad. Churchill’s worldliness in relation to Empire clashes with the narrow vision of the British. Nicholson’s personal life and the war delayed the acceptance of Modernism into the Picturesque. Nature is not just beautiful, it is an incorporation all things objective.

Cézanne had, “Doubts about vision [which] became doubts about almost everything involved in the act of painting; and in time uncertainty became a value in its own right; we could almost say it became an aesthetic” (Clark, Painting 12). Nicholson’s paintings reveal a struggle between abstraction and representation that represents the British art scene before the Second World War. Churchill appeared in command of painting sessions but he struggled to perfect his lighting and brush coordination.

Merlau-Ponty’s essay *Cézanne’s Doubt*, not only connects Phenomenology to art, it connected Cézanne to its cultural constructs (Gaut 168). Merlau-Ponty says the essence of his work was, “His extremely close attention to nature and to color… [and] his devotion to the visible world” (Johnson, Ponty 61). Merlau-Ponty writes, “he abandoned the baroque technique, whose primary aim is to capture movement, for small dabs placed close together and for patient hatchings” (Johnson, Ponty 61). This is what captured the attention of Churchill, who never quite understood the graduating tones to solidify objects (Johnson, Ponty 62). Cézanne declared, he wanted to make nature and art the same (Johnson, Ponty

63). Merlau-Ponty says, “He did not want to separate the stable things which we see and the shifting way in which they appear; he wanted to depict matter as it takes on form, the birth of order through spontaneous organization” (Johnson, Ponty 63, 64). Cézanne realized, “the lived perspective, that which we actually perceive, is not a geometric or photographic one. The objects we see close at hand appear smaller, those far away seem larger than they do in a photograph” (Johnson, Ponty 64). This defies what most perceive.

Merlau-Ponty continues, “perspectival distortions are no longer visible in their own right but rather contribute, as they do in natural vision, to the impression of an emerging order, an object in the act of appearing, organizing itself before our eyes….The lived object is not rediscovered or constructed on the basis of the contributions of the senses; rather, it presents itself to us from the start as the center from which these contributions radiate” (Johnson, Pont 64, 65). Merlau-Ponty says, “It is not enough for the painter like Cézanne, an artist, or a philosopher, to create and express an idea; they must also awaken the experiences which will make their idea take root in the consciousness of others” (Johnson, Ponty 70). The enlightened other, crucial to cultural-Marxism, is what is needed to understand the materiality of a work.

According to Merlau-Ponty, “The revelation of an immanent or nascent meaning [sens] in the living body extends, as we will see, to the entire sensible world, and our gaze, informed by the experience of one’s own body, will discover the miracle of expression in all other ‘objects’” (Ponty, Phenomenology 203-204). For Churchill and Nicholson the physical body extended through to compositions, from what they observed. Painting is like the movements of a dancer who envelopes his work with his self.

Sculptor Alberto Giacometti (1901-1966) said, “I believe Cézanne was seeking depth all his life” (Tanke 459). This is a different approach than thinking of Modernism as just surface flatness or capturing light patterns.

Merlau-Ponty explains depth:

> Depth thus understood is, rather, the experience of the reversibility of dimensions, of a global ‘locality’ in which everything is in the same place at the same time, a locality from which height, width, and depth are abstracted, a voluminosity we express in a word when we say that a thing is *there*, In pursuing depth, what Cézanne is thinking is this deflagration of Being, and it is all in the modes of space, and in form as well. Cézanne already knew what Cubism would restate: that the external form, the envelope, is secondary and derived, that it is not what makes a thing to take form, that that shell of space must be shattered—the fruit bowl must be broken. But then what should be painted instead? Cubes, spheres, and cones—as he once said? Pure forms having the solidity of what could be defined by an internal law of construction, forms which taken together, as traces or cross-sections of the thing, let it appear between them like a face in the reeds? This would be to put Being’s solidity on one side and its variety on the other. Cézanne had already made an experiment of this kind in his middle period. He went directly to the solid, to space—and came to find that inside this space—this box or container too large for them—the things began to move, color against color: they began to modulate in the instability. Thus we must seek space and its content

> *together*. The problem becomes generalized; it is no longer solely that of distance, line and form; it is also equally, the problem of color. (Tanke 459)

Merlau-Ponty continues, "Color is the 'place where our brain and the universe meet'….Thus the question is not of colors, 'simulacra of the colors of nature'. The question, rather, concerns the dimension of color, that dimension which creates—from itself to itself—identities, differences, a texture, a materiality…" (Tanke 459). Gabo pushed Nicholson to create form with internalized structure and a place for it spatially, absent of color. Churchill wrestled with internalizing the external while objectifying vast amounts of color simultaneously. Churchill's recognition of Cézanne's abilities, even if he did not achieve them completely, indicates he understood beyond mere copying of nature. Merlau-Ponty is not only academic documenting the experiential, he is returning the importance of the self/artist to his immediate and universal worlds.

There was a nineteenth century shift from easel painting to the decorative. Cézanne is thought to have kept Poussin's "easel-painting gravity and point-by-point calculation…Easel painting, especially as it came down to the French from Poussin, is best understood as a defensive maneuver against the culture at large, predicated on the belief that the possibility of a public language has to be preserved in the face of everything (in the actual social world, and the world of ideology) that militates against it" (Clark, Farewell 160). Churchill never left the easel; Cézanne like Nicholson returned to it often.

Schapiro feels Cézanne's self is always present. He is the "fusion of nature and self." Impressionist paintings, "dissolved objects into atmosphere and sunlight, forming a crust of twinkling points, Cézanne applied to the building of solid forms" (Schapiro, Cézanne 10).

Schapiro insists, “the spectator does not dwell in [his] landscape” (Schapiro, Cézanne 14, 15). Neither does the viewer dwell in a Churchill or a Nicholson. “Inhuman” is applied to his paintings but that does not prevent the spectator from interpreting works (Johnson, Ponty 61). Schapiro suggests, “The suspended palette in his hand is a significant barrier between the observer and the artist-subject” (Schapiro, Cézanne 15). Churchill clasped his palette and kept the viewer at bay, along with his sombrero and cigar. Through understanding, a viewer can become pro-active.

According to Schapiro:

> Cézanne’s… work is a living proof that a painter can achieve a profound expression by giving form to his perceptions of the world around him without recourse to a guiding religion or myth or any explicit social aims. If there is an ideology to his work, it is hidden within unconscious attitudes and is never directly asserted, as in much of traditional art. In Cézanne’s painting, the purely human and personal, fragmentary and limited as they seem beside the grandeur of the old content, are a sufficient matter for the noblest qualities of art. We see through his work that the secular culture of the nineteenth century, without cathedrals and without the grace of the old anonymous craftsmanship, was no less capable of providing a ground for great art than the authoritative cultures of the past. And this was possible, in spite of the artist’s solitude, because the conception of a personal art rested upon a more general ideal of individual liberty in the social body and drew from the latter its ultimate confidence that an art of personal experience has a universal sense. (Schapiro, Cézanne 30)

Schapiro includes the subjective/individual back to the objective/universal; cultural Marxism can embody not only the experiential but the Formal, the artist and the spectator, widening what Gabo professed to Nicholson; tools to understand what is beneath Churchill's ***Pastime…***

3.3 Cézanne's Effect on Churchill's Paintings

Subjectivism dominated nineteenth century art and philosophy. It was thought the fanciful of the Baroque that express "intensely subjective states of mind" diminished whatever subject matter was used (Johnson, Ponty 165,166). According to Forrest Williams, Cézanne strove for, "*Objectivity without sacrifice to individual perception*" (Johnson, Ponty 166). Williams continues, "Cézanne found himself to *begin* with his own subjectivity, and yet the equal necessity to turn toward mountains and houses and people" (Johnson, Ponty 166). The idea of subordinating the self or in the least making an equal partner with objectivity was uncomfortable and at times problematic. Williams feels, " the conviction that the human subject carries within its consciousness a capacity to apprehend objectively real structures was central to his conception of his work as an artist" (Johnson, Ponty 167). After all Kant (1724-1804) claimed, " Nature is beautiful because it looks like art, and art can only be called beautiful if we are conscious of it as art while yet it looks like nature" (Gaut 65). Philosopher Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781), a contemporary of Kant, dismissed Nature declaring, "landscape painting to be a mere work of the eye and hand, in which genius could have no share because of the inorganic and vegetable worlds are incapable of an ideal" (Johnson, Ponty 166). Ideal meant being human, inward and above anything Nature could procure (Johnson, Ponty 166). Although Kant promoted the genius artist, his symbiosis of empiricism to rationalism was the beginning of the subject/object relationship.

According to art critic Herbert Read (1893-1968):

> [Modernism painting from 1840-1910] is all a persistent attempt to correlate art and reality. It is the research not of the absolute, but of the concrete, of the *image*, and behind it all is not only the divorce of the artist from the processes of production, but also the concurrent attempt to establish a philosophy of reality, a [sic] phenomenalism that owes nothing to divine revelation or universal truths, but brings to the analysis of human existence the same faculties that the artist brings to the analysis of nature. (Johnson, Ponty 168)

Read is overriding the universal for the experiential into all of Modernism, even those who were merely searching for the effects of atmosphere and light. Read suggests Cézanne was attracted to light and colour but not its "lucidity" (Johnson, Ponty 169).

Cézanne was finding "the real, appearing thing" beyond the "surface sensuousness" (Johnson, Ponty 170). He was searching to find "intentionally given objective structures without abandoning perceptual experience" (Johnson, Ponty 172). His intent was to feel an object from the inside/outside. Merlau-Ponty realized color was a major component writing, "If the painter wishes to express the world, the arrangement of colors must carry in it this individual Whole [of the subject]; otherwise, his painting will be an allusion to things and will not give them in that imperious unity, that presence, that unsurpassable plentitude which is for all of us the definition of the real" (Johnson, Ponty 173). Merlau-Ponty credits color with being more than a surface coating, something that the Constructivists discredited, ironic, given Newton's theory that Color was merely refracted light. For Churchill, color carries

meaning in his writing and painting. Meaning for Nicholson is found in the ambivalence and absence of color.

***Formal Garden and Pavilion at Lympne,* 1930s (Coombs 89):** conjoins all areas with warm and cool hues. This is one of Churchill's finest attempts in resembling Cézanne, by uniting the center building with the foreground and background landscape. Subjectivity as aristocratic manicured gardening, found in the building and in the sculptured topiary contrast with the unkempt objectified background which possess larger shapes than the foreground. Clement Greenberg (1909-1994) says of Cézanne, "He had noted the Impressionists' inadvertent silting up of pictorial depth; and it was because he tried so hard to re-excavate that space without abandoning Impressionist color, and because this effort, while vain, was so profoundly conceived, that his art became the discovery and turning point it did" (Greenberg 50). Cézanne wanted "pictorial unity." He wanted to, " make Impressionism something solid and durable like the Old Masters…he wanted to impose a composition and design like that of the High Renaissance on the 'raw' chromatic material provided by the Impressionist registration of visual experience" (Greenberg 50, 51).

According to Greenberg, "The Old Masters had assumed that the members and joints of pictorial design should be as clear as those of architecture. The eye was to be led through a rhythmically organized system of convexities and concavities in which manifold gradations of dark and light, indicating recession and silence, were marshaled around points of interest" (Greenberg 51). Cezanne reinvents optical meanderings by juxtaposing analogous colors and then hitting the groupings with Complementaries. Through Greenberg, Churchill comes close to achieving Cézanne's vision; although the subtle vibrations of analogous hues is missing. Cézanne disrupts the forward to backward Picturesque stroll by pushing the viewer back to

the front or revolving the viewer into rocky outposts because nothing recedes in any traditional way. In ***Formal Garden…*** dark/light, warm/cool are interwoven as Complementaries rhythmically modulate across three bands of traditional landscape, barely visible. The painting center is the focus with the background featuring just as prominently. Churchill has used the geometric flower beds in the foreground to push the viewer through to the columns and up through the background using the center poplar (his subjective self) as axis, vibrating and staying still at once.

Like the "Florentines," Cézanne wanted "mass and volume first and deep space as their by-product, which he thought he could do by converting the Impressionist method of registering variations of light into a way of indicating the variations in planar direction of solid surfaces. For traditional modeling in the dark and light, he substituted modeling with the supposedly more natural—and Impressionist—differences of warm and cool" (Greenberg 52). However, Gabo affirmed "depth as the only pictorial and plastic form of space" (Chipp 329).

Churchill flattened surfaces and adjusted his focus. Like Cézanne, he still has a hard time letting the viewer past the ***Formal Garden's…*** tiles of turf. The light that bounces off the building onto the foreground is solid. According to Greenberg, "The illusion of depth is constructed with the surface plane more vividly, more obsessively in mind; the facet-planes may jump back and forth between the surface and the images they create, yet they are one with both surface and image" (Greenberg 55). Churchill's planes bounce with the help of red/green Complementaries. His painting lacks the vibrations of a Cézanne, but his abstracted shapes and overall vitality unite the work in a funky way. Yet, Churchill has retained the three horizontal bands and a slight amount of Victorian brown that is added throughout,

which Cézanne omitted. Cézanne often would create surprise with a lone tree stuck in the middle. According to Merlau-Ponty, "Objects were depicted as they appear to instantaneous perception" (Johnson, Ponty 61). Nature is not always in balance. The instantaneous is Churchill's retention of landed estates. Churchill also paints a desire for change, while Picturesque can be felt as well as the persona of aristocrat in the columns and symmetry of the building which has no function other than decorative.

La Montagne, St Victoire,* 1948 (Coombs 214**): made from several photographs is Churchill's attempt to copy Cézanne's favorite motif. In 1866, Cézanne's geologist friend, Fortune Marion (1846-1900) helped him discover Sainte-Victoire; Cézanne returned to the mountain all his life. He would leave his canvases outdoors so he could feel the effects from the environment (Danchev 95, 97,298-299,302). According to David Sylvester, "Cézanne's painting of drapery always tend to be metaphorical of mountains and cliffs; and here the drapery is not only mountainous in feeling but has a shape exactly echoing that of Mont Sainte-Victoire, which rears up in the background of so many of Cézanne's paintings of landscape" (Sylvester 94, 95). In ***Victoire… does Churchill become the mountain overpowering everything surrounding it? Unlike Picturesque, he moved the farmhouse away from center so the mountain dominates. Churchill made this work after his World War II victories.

Philosopher Robert B. Pippin (b.1948) said, Heidegger was an admirer of Cézanne, and often visited Sainte-Victoire. Cézanne's comment about "all the world is around me, not in front of me" had "Heideggerian tonality" (Pippin 115,116). Heidegger's Poem, *Cézanne*, expresses "presence and being" that he found in actual and painted landscapes (Figal 310-311). Heidegger says, "What through art or thinking we have before our physical or spiritual

eye as an object has lost all absolute interest for us if it has been put before us so completely that the content is exhausted, that everything is revealed, and nothing obscure or inward is left over any more. For interest is to be found only in the case of the lively activity [of mind]. The spirit only occupies itself with objects so long as there is something secret, not revealed, in them" (Pippin 130). In spite of heroic attempts, ***Victoire…*** does not reveal; Churchill's concealment should not be ignored as it balances British refinement with brash.

Churchill loved Southern France and was captivated by Sainte-Victoire, yet he never understood how to paint its surrounding hot climate. When Cézanne, paints Sainte-Victoire, the foreground middle ground and sky blend into one unit. Churchill's composition continues unified by traditional horizontal bands and not by weaving the colored dabs. True, Churchill's reds and greens solidify planes highlighting the red-roofed house that contrasts with the green hedge, middle ground. The purple branch mid-center-right pulls to the yellows in the foreground, reminding the viewer of Victorian coullises. Churchill's blue sky is picked up in blue shadows found in the mountain and lower hills and on the house. But vibrations are missing. Cézanne's announcement that he lived from the inside and did not see from the exterior is not quite felt in Churchill's ***Victoire….*** Churchill was trying to move out of Picturesque tonality and into Cézanne's Complementaries, but just did not get the rhythm. The painting lacks unification of a Cézanne even though Churchill's individual objects solidify. According to Merlau-Ponty, Cézanne "did not want to separate the stable things which we see and the shifting away in which they appear" (Johnson, Ponty 63). Cézanne makes the mountain and farm house vibrate, rotate, coordinate with the rustling trees, compelling the viewer to contemplate the movement/stability factor, not quite found in a Churchill work. The essence of Cézanne that Churchill imposes onto Picturesque is noted.

***Cap d'Ail,* 1952 (Coombs 237):** belonged to Churchill's friend and advisor, Lord Beaverbrook. After World War II, Churchill spent months, yearly in Southern France. Churchill often visited Wendy and Emery Reves' villa, also on the Riviera. They collected Modern art which Churchill scrutinized.

When Churchill made this painting he had been returned as Prime Minister which may explain why he painted this image from a photograph and not in situ on the Riviera. According to professor John Severance, "In early 1952, Churchill went to Washington to confer with President Truman….They discussed fighting in South Korea, and the need for an Anglo-American alliance" (Severance 119). ***Cap…*** is about military organization as seen in the trimmed foliage.

It is thought that a figure is seen in the doorway, a common trope in classical landscapes (Andrews 111). The image is immaterial to this analysis except to say, creating light and depth in the doorway and the neighboring window enlivens the painting. This painting has less depth than his earlier landscapes and could be construed as poorly painted, which would be wrong. Perspective has been replaced by stacking shapes made from different tones and Complementaries making this piece closer to a Cézanne painting in its Modernity and uniqueness. Except for shrubbery in the background, tonal values of hedges in the foreground and middle ground are the same. There is some perspectival recession in the walkway which leads the viewer to the garden archway in the middle ground, if it were not for the yellow sun spots on the pavement which come from the lawn and disappear into the hedge. Churchill's attempt to paint heat works more as a pattern in the composition and less as an element that feels like true heat. The Riviera is hot but Churchill's palette is not high-key enough to describe this heat.

The viewer is blocked from entering the garden which is only visible as an abstract patterning of vegetation. This patterning coordinates with the foregrounded lawn. The door and window of the villa are partially blocked by a spreading tree and red, yellow and green hedge which prevents the viewer from seeing the immense scale of this villa, perhaps on purpose. The reds and greens complement each other while the yellow in the foreground leads the viewer back to hints of yellow on the mountain, thus coordinating the composition. There is enough tonal variation in the front and background trees and the façade of the mountain to contrast with the flat sky and the flat hedges on the left. Churchill has chosen to face this composition away from water which he so often featured, now an indication of the Empire in its glory fading. Churchill's reluctance to let the viewer in is keeping with his class; he never interacted with the middle or working classes except in organized situations: military personnel, government bureaucrats, home maintenance specialists.

Churchill's rendering of the solid feel of objects: the mountain, house, vegetation, all have objectivity visualized by Cézanne. Although the mountain looms in the center, it gets equal billing with the farmhouse which is actually a portion of the much larger estate. His focus on the mountain represents the continuation of political life, even if without him, and a homage to Cézanne's rendering of Sainte-Victoire. Aerial perspective has been replaced as the viewer looks past the house to the mountain via stacked patches of changing color, Churchill's best attempt at mimicking Cézanne. Churchill was not outwardly religious but there is a spirituality found in this work. Churchill painted the essence of Britain even when abroad as a touch of Victorian brown is always apparent, here by the garden archway and in the background trees.

Cap… is contrived Southern France. The wealthy created large estates, ironically to resemble the local working farms. Cézanne's farms are genuine and blend into fields, trees and sky. For Cézanne, "the backwall is an integral part of the composition" (Danchev 302). This becomes a major change from Picturesque which took the viewer back to insignificant space. According to Georges Braque (1882-1963) and Picasso (1881-1973), Cézanne broke with Renaissance coding as his, "horizontal collapsed into the vertical; color was called upon to do the work of linear perspective. Color had to express all the ruptures in depth" (Danchev 305). Historian Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893) said, "every painter has his own vision and must use color accordingly, but those who succeed are those whose use of color conforms to some generally recognizable sense of harmony: the individual must strike a universal chord" (Shiff 36).

French novelist Georges Lecomte (1867-1958) felt Cézanne's work was merely a "decorative simplification of color and design" (Shiff 12). It is easy to see why they thought Cézanne was decorative as Art Nouveau with its wild splashes of color in between patterns of black lines was popular. Closer look into his blue/green and yellow/green that are woven into the countryside opposing a red/blue skyline show this patterning is not furniture decoration. Cézanne's color shifts are abrupt (no gradation) and his depth is nonexistent (Shiff 167,169,171). Denis writes, Cézanne creates "a concrete object instead of a sensory illusion" (Shiff 171). Like a primitive painter, Cézanne omits the tropes of: "overlap, diminution of scale, gradation of light and color," with little distinction between figure and ground (Shiff 171,173).

In ***Cap…*** Churchill made strides in modulating colors, best viewed in the mountain of yellow/blue, and the red/green foreground shrubbery reflected in the pink/yellow front

lawn. He does not simplify these pairs and carry them throughout. Instead he returns to tonal changes resembling British Picturesque. However, this combination of tonal together with Cézanne's modulations enrich Picturesque. Not only is Churchill trying to emulate Cezanne, here Churchill is holding on to a way of life that is disappearing, only kept with bourgeois monies.

April 19 1949 (St Herbot, Huelgoat, no. 2)* (Khoroche 57):** reflects post-World War II nostalgia for British landscape even if painted abroad. Khoroche says, "After years of wartime isolation and post-war deprivation, the impulse to go south was widely felt among the English, who yearned for the warmth and sunlight of the Mediterranean" (Khoroche 56, 57). ***St Herbot… maintains a classical style using a high landscape vantage point with minimal sky. Shapes of the houses and trees are even, as in a Cézanne. Nicholson has removed all paint except for a brown wash. A church bell tower, usually smaller, looms large like Cézanne's Sainte-Victoire. Line is the dominant trope mixing with overlapping shapes, combining the classical alive with the unity of a Cézanne work. Trees on the right appear as a coulis, but the left trees only partially curtain the edge as the new cannot be kept out. A dark brown road cuts across the foreground keeping the viewer at bay, yet focused. Trees are bare and like Cézanne leave no hint of being peopled. Nicholson has taken Gabo's linear sculpture and placed it on paper using limited color. The stacked overlapping shapes and the odd placement of trees pushing the viewer is borrowing from Cézanne, Gabo's wiry sculptures and his own style or contriving a Victorian composition in a flat-stackable Modernist way. Varying shapes are now indicating distance as opposed to using perspective (Rewald 578). Cézanne looked at nature as a "the cylinder, the sphere and the cone…" (Danchev 285). Artists afterwards, gravitated to using geometry in their work. According to Giacometti,

“Cézanne revolutionized the representation of the exterior world” (Danchev296). Evidence of Cézanne can be detected in a Nicholson work who retained Victorian browns, and more subtly in a Churchill who retained linear perspective.

Did Modernism reflect flatness and light and should Modernism have gone further into a “wider world of social and psychological experiences about which Modernist criticism has had relatively little to say” (Frascina 182). Magazines written at the beginning of the twentieth century emphasized “a break with the past,” and an “abandonment of naturalistic description” which they attributed to Cézanne and yet he did not completely leave the natural world (Frascina154). Frascina points out that traditional artists like William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825-1905) were still popular and selling well. Bouguereau displayed “careful delineation and smooth modelling…the practice of framing of deep illusionistic space, the easy blending of colour and tone, the discrete subordination of brushwork to the requirements of illusion—and to observe how few of them are to be found in Cézanne’s painting” (Frascina 205).

Cézanne “worked against the grain of established culture” with “complex rhythm, space and volume” and not the “weakly theatrical, inert and largely vacant” (Frascina 207). Frascina points out that it was surprising a small number even considered him worth contemplating (Frascina 204,205). He suggests that a breakdown in the “established consensus of taste” might have been the reason for change, as the avant-garde wanted: “’sensation’, ‘effect’, ‘originality’ and ‘temperament’” (Frascina 206). Churchill’s family and friends could not move beyond their desire to see him paint as a gentleman Victorian using dull colors. His mixture of Modern stacking with traditional British movement using tonalities reflects his stubbornness and vison for change.

Frascina poses an important question, “How was the spectator (and how even now) to tell pictorial effects of the original and the temperamentally gifted from those of the hapless incompetent?” (Frascina 206). Francina continues, “Modernist theory offers no easy answer to this question” (Francina 206). Francina surmizes about Cézanne saying, “the force of his individual temperament impelled him to work against the grain of established culture--specifically against the grain of such cultural forms as had become representative of a standard of bourgeois taste” (Frascina 207). Perhaps Churchill desired to go against standardized British art?

According to Frascina, “The paradox which animates Cézanne’s painting lies in the gap between two worlds, on the one hand the three-dimensional world which is the scene of our activities and the limitless object of our vision, on the other the bounded two-dimensional canvas, within the literal edges of which any transcription of that world must be adjusted (Frascina 213). This could be Churchill’s paradox too as he traveled extensively and felt at home globally, transcribing feelings onto his canvas.

Frascina concludes, “Cézanne’s expressed aim was to measure up to the achievement of past painting, but to be original, in the sense of absolutely empirical, absolutely free of all but that which was apparent in nature” (Frascina 212). Churchill intellectually understood Cézanne, but he could not completely describe his innovations in his own work. In his stubbornness and desire to combine Victorian with Modern he was like Cézanne. He never quite mastered Cézanne’s subjective/objective blend that both vibrates and quiets a landscape, while the entire composition pulls together as if surrounded by rubber banding. Churchill pushed traditional British painting to embrace Modernism with an underlying narrative that was not just colloquial but extended ot hi feelings about Empire. Nicholson

combined Cézanne's stacking with Gabo's absence of color, retaining the essence of Victorian painting, adding abstraction to British art uniquely.

3.4 Conclusion to Cézanne

According to Derrida, "Truth could be presented or represented quite otherwise, according to other modes. Here it is done *in painting*: and not in discourse (as is commonly the case) in literature, poetry, theater; nor is it done in the time of music or in other spaces (architecture or sculpture). Thus we retain here that which is proper to an art, the art of the signatory, of Cézanne the painter" (Derrida 6). Many were attracted, puzzled by the work of Cézanne. He was a misanthrope who chose to paint impressionistically, pushing into an opaque manner. Churchill's struggled to understand Cézanne's interwoven color combinations, while retaining Victorian British landscape, three horizontal bands permeated with brown tones.

Russian Constructivists recognized Cézanne for his ability to assimilate space. Gabo's ***Manifesto…*** says, "Our task is to penetrate deeper into its substance and bring it closer to our consciousness; so that the sensation of space will become for us a more elementary and everyday emotion the same as the sensation of light or the sensation of sound" (Chipp 333). He adapted Cézanne's ideas of emotionally penetrating a surface bringing it forth, combining it with the surrounding surface. Nicholson used what he saw in a Gabo sculpture: line and positioning of shapes, adapted abstractly into flat work and slab sculpture, so the internal is externalized, using Cézanne's geometric shapes too. Nicholson experimented with removing color, replacing it with lines that overlap and direct. He repeatedly returned to colored shapes or the play of light on uneven surfaces, always bringing

back Victorian browns. Nicholson's approach to Cézanne becomes a comparison to Churchill who also modified Picturesque by using Cézanne's shape-positioning and woven Complementaries. Penetrating beneath surfaces is what united Churchill and Nicholson who expanded the scope of eighteenth century British painting: Nicholson as a avant-garde professional and Churchill as a gentleman painter with an unusual background and political career. Both benefitted from travel outside Britain.

Schapiro says:

> Cézanne's object is a piece of the visual world that combines in a striking way equivalents of the subjective and objective in his own seeing. The object of the vision is closed off, the space near the spectator is open to him; the path of the eye is very marked, the path of the body is obstructed or absent. But the object and the spectator's space cohere in a rigorous way, through both the shapes and the colors. The object is accepted as directly given; it is in the center of the eye's field….What counts…is Cézanne's color sense and the life of his brush.
>
> (Schapiro, Cézanne 90)

Cezanne's way of seeing almost like he had Superman's X-ray vision, is what Nicholson and Churchill strove to discover and understand even if they ignored some of the visual effects of his paintings. Churchill retains the essence of British landscape and hints of retaining perspective which he learned at Sandhurst (email: Puncher, February 29- April 6, 2016). Nicholson exaggerates the classical idea of line from a classical Slade education. According to philosopher Tom Rockmore (b.1942), in 1870, "after Louis XIV [1638-1715],

academic painting in France was dominated by the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, which fixed the rules of beauty roughly until impressionism (*impressionisme*) emerged in the nineteenth century" (Rockmore 259). Original Impressionists not only broke from academic painting, they stressed the "overall" of a scene rather than details. They examined the fleeting perception of an object as opposed to what actually was. They turned from "ideal beauty" and the "eternal" to the "personal vision of each painter" (Rockmore 260). Classical never left Churchill or Nicholson as they pursued a version of Modernism.

Renoir noted, "Cézanne 's immense pride, matched by his deep humility; his intense focus on the task at hand, and his corresponding lack of interest in the work he had already made—and indifference bordering on the careless, which led him to shed paintings whenever they had served their purpose, casting them off like old clothes" (Danchev 129). According to Schapiro, "The theme is typical of one side of Cézanne's art, his vision of nature as a detached presence, solid and stable, something we see and cannot cross" (Schapiro 88). Schapiro agrees the spectator does not dwell in many of his landscapes (Schapiro 14) He says, "The suspended palette in his hand is a significant barrier between the observer and the artist-subject" (Schapiro, Cézanne 15). Churchill too clutched his palette and insisted on painting alone, omitting the viewer, who must push through his work to see his Empire.

However, like Cézanne, Nicholson and Churchill both showed indifference to the viewer. Often shapes are placed in the foreground; there is no figuration in their landscapes. All three possessed a stubborn independence. Some thought Churchill had a "humble approach to painting" (Coombs 13). Churchill was never humble at anything. In the 1880s, Postimpressionism further changed "color, pattern, form, and line." Cézanne was obsessed

with space and volume, and color, deemphasizing outlining figures and chiaroscuro. He saw the "relation between form and color" to the "concrete study of nature…" (Rockmore 260). He wanted Impressionism to be canonical by merging observation of nature with classical composition. Cézanne broke nature into color and volume (Rockmore 261).

Line has traditionally been superior to paint. Yet, Churchill often painted without sketching first. Lavery admitted, "I know few amateur wielders of the brush with a keener sense observer of light and colour, or a surer grasp of essentials" (Soames, Winston 23). True, Churchill was an amateur in the sense that as an aristocratic painter he did not live on his art work; he was thought of incorrectly as "self-taught" (Soames, Winston 14). According to Sabastian Puncher, Deputy Curator of Sandhurst, "cadets were taught the 'A,B,C' of perspective, shading, physical ability or skill of using ink and pencil" (email: Puncher, February 29-April 6, 2016). Churchill's gravitation to Modernism derives from foundational art classes, which gave him tools to move beyond line and absorb the promotion of the paint surface that the Impressionists desired.

Cézanne felt perspective should not just be one-point (Rockmore 260-261). This allowed him to see a subject from several viewpoints, creating a composition that feels in motion (Rockmore 141). A multiple approach suited Churchill who also could handle multiple tasks simultaneously. Professor Stephen Kern (b.1943) believes, Cézanne was the first to introduce "heterogeneous space in a single canvas with multiple perspectives of the same subject" (Kern 141). Like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, Cézanne wanted to show "all that he wanted of the man and his work…" but at the same time be compositionally correct (Kern 141). Kern suggests, "he violated aerial perspective in landscapes by painting objects in the distance as bright or brighter than those in the foreground, and he occasionally

chipped off a piece of pottery when overlapping would interfere with his overall design" (Kern 141). By flattening three-dimensional space into two-dimensional space he vibrated the picture plane (Kern 142). Kern continues, "He 'realized' objects in space as they take form, as the eye darts about the visual field and hovers around things until they are identified in space and integrated into our world of experience" (Kern 142).

Kern explains space historically:

> In the Middle Ages the importance of persons and things in heaven and earth determined their size and position in space. With the introduction of perspective, objects were rendered to scale according to their actual size and were located in space to reproduce the relations of the visual world….Although there were occasional variations or intentional violations of the rules of perspective, they governed the rendering of space in art until the twentieth century. Then under the impact of the Impressionists, Cézanne…[the] perspectival world broke up…. (Kern 140,141)

Churchill never abandons perspective. He struggled at attempts to use vibrating color as a substitute for perspective. His drawing skills, learned at Sandhurst, help move the viewer when his color combinations faltered. Nicholson almost totally abandons perspective, organizing space with the retention of line helped by Cézanne-style overlapping shapes.

Jean-Francois Lyotard (1924-1998) decides, "The art-object no longer bends itself to models, but tries to prevent the fact that there is an unpresentable; it no longer imitates nature…." Cézanne worked with 'coloristic sensations' to discover, 'what is a painting? Cézanne's landscapes are timeless and their locations are immaterial. (Tanke 539)

Lyotard continues:

> These elementary sensations are hidden in ordinary perception which remains under the hegemony of habitual or classical ways of looking. They are only accessible to the painter, and can only therefore only be re-established by him, at the expense of an interior ascesis that rids perpetual and mental fields of prejudices inscribed even in vision itself. If the viewer does not submit to a complementary ascesis, the painting will remain senseless and impenetrable to him. The painter must not hesitate to run the risk of being taken to be a mere dauber. (Tanke 539)

Churchill's understanding of how he wanted to paint are missed because viewer's, past and present, cannot interpret his meanings or want him to be some other kind of artist.

Lyotard says, "Recognition from the regulatory institutions of painting—Academy, salons, criticism, taste—is of little importance compared to the judgement made by the painter-researcher and his peers on the success obtained by the work of art in relation to what is really at stake: to make seen what makes one see, and not what is visible" (Tanke 539). In the end, it is up to the artist to create. Not all peers are objective.

According to British painter Derek Hill (1916-2000) Churchill's, "chief concern was to paint the landscapes that, in whatever country he may have found them, gave him peace and tranquility of mind—an escape, even, from the world he had to help control, and to assist in its struggle for survival" (Soames, Winston 14). Churchill never escaped from anything except South Africa. Example: in 1944, he wanted to be with the initial June 6, Normandy landing, but the King George VI thought it too dangerous. Never a quitter,

Churchill met Montgomery on the beach, June 12 (Gilbert, Life 777,778). Churchill submerged himself in the world much like Cézanne did with his color.

Kenneth Clark felt Cézanne had severe limitations. He could not paint from memory and he could not master the academic stylistic devices of the post-Baroque artist for achieving depth. But his "power to reduce what he sees to interesting shapes" and his insistence that "a picture must exist as a design of flat patterns even before it creates an illusion of depth," impressed Clark (Clark, Landscape 216). He continues, " The powerful horizontals which run parallel to the picture plane, and support the simplified mass, produce an immediate assault on the eye, differing both from the carefully contrived 'leads in' of the Baroque landscape, and the balanced design of classical" (Clark, Landscape 216). Cézanne copied Rubens, Delacroix and pencil drawings of Baroque sculpture at the Louvre and mastered drawing which his critics overlooked (Clark, Landscape 218). Churchill's skills were also overlooked. Churchill understood the importance of great works enough to override Clark who wanted Britain's art heritage moved Canada during World War II.

Clark points that Cézanne could achieve depth by color value and using foreground horizontals, then middle ground verticals, differing from traditional diagonal running to the background, architecture in middle to rear much like Poussin (Clark, Landscape 218,219). He insists, "the subject must be seen in pattern and depth at once, and that form be rendered by colour" (Clark 227). Churchill played with horizontals and verticals, but never gave up diagonals or perspective. Nicholson's perspective, less pronounced than Churchill, also maintained diagonals.

Fry explains Cézanne, “How the Post Impressionists derived from the Impressionists is indeed a curious history. They have taken over a great deal of Impressionist technique, and not a little of Impressionist colour, but exactly how they came to make the transition from an entirely representative to a non-representative and expressive art must always be something of a mystery, and the mystery lies in the strange and unaccountable originality of a man of genius, namely Cézanne” (Reed 109). Fry says, “Cézanne transcended Impressionism by ‘re-creat[ing] form from within’, so that his paintings are more than mere records of momentary appearances; they achieve spontaneity the qualities of classic art” (Reed 125). He defines his idea of an aesthetic past, “classicism is not dependent on historical reference but defined as ‘the power of finding in things themselves the actual material of poetry and the fullest gratification for the demands of the imagination’” (Reed 125). Churchill’s paintings mix imagination into the historical Picturesque as does Nicholson.

Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926) speaks of Cézanne’s work as, “scales of an infinitely responsive conscience…which so incorruptibly reduced a reality to its color content that that reality resumed a new existence in a beyond of color, without any previous memories….he recognized the correspondence of object and color” (Rilke xv-xvi). Rilke felt that Cézanne’s pictures demanded the viewer accept what Cézanne expressed (Rilke xvii). Churchill and Nicholson must be accepted too. Rilke reconsiders Cézanne’s work, “I would never have thought of this but facing the pictures, it is eminently right and revealing. I also noticed yesterday how unselfconsciously they are, how unconcerned with being original, confident of not getting lost with each approach toward one of nature’s thousand faces; confident, rather, of discovering the inexhaustible nature within by seriously and conscientiously studying her

manifold presence outside. All of this is very beautiful…" (Rilke 43). Churchill carried self-confidence into painting as did Nicholson.

Schapiro says, "Cézanne's art, now so familiar, was a strange novelty in his time. It lies between the old kind of picture, faithful to a striking or beautiful object, and the modern 'abstract' kind of painting, a moving harmony of colored touches representing nothing" (Schapiro, Cézanne 9). He is the "fusion of nature and self" whereas the Impressionists "dissolved objects into 'atmosphere and sunlight" Cézanne was solid in forms (Schapiro, Cézanne 10). He liked large shapes like sixteenth and seventeenth century masters with "tones of a great span." (Schapiro, Cézanne 12). Colors "overlap" and "slip" while "deformations of perspective' lead to "strange distortions, swellings, elongations, and tiltings of objects;" near and far are indistinct; far is brought close and near has no details (Schapiro, Cézanne 21). By 1861, Cézanne considered himself a "realist" although it is hard to perceive as his subject matter was about nature as opposed to lower class lifestyles, common for realists of his generation. (Schapiro, Cézanne 24). While nature's superiority over imagination is debated, Churchill and Nicholson adapted nature with imagination (Schapiro, Cezanne 21).

Schapiro says Cézanne's work contained, "undistinguished subject, without a dominant or a central point of interest, yet is picturesque for modern eyes" (Schapiro, Cézanne 44). Here Schapiro is using Picturesque very broadly. Churchill and Nicholson retention of Britishness make their landscapes distinct even if done with Continental motifs or in an abstract format. Schapiro notes, " The Romantics found the picturesque in the irregular, the roughly and the oddly textured, the ruined, the shadowy and mysterious; the painters of the beginning of the twentieth century found picturesque the geometric intricately

grouped, the disorder of regular elements, the decided thrust and counter thrust of closed-packed lines and masses in the landscape" (Schapiro, Cézanne 44). British Picturesque had a specific coding on how to move tonally through vegetation which Schapiro does not address. Also Cézanne lacks any hint of underlying political message. Churchill maintained the three horizontal bands and coullises on at least one side of the canvas, while wallowing in Cézanne's color. Nicholson abstracted the three bands but maintained Victorian browns.

In his last years, Cézanne sought out themes of "grandiose solitude" (Schapiro, Cézanne 29). His work reveals "independence of nature…the "natural and the artificial…" (Schapiro, Cézanne 102, 104). Churchill's work is devoid of actual people but the presence of laborers or the aristocracy who own the estates in always there. Schapiro continues, "Under all this turbulence of brushwork and color lies the grand horizontal expanse of the earth" (Schapiro, Cézanne 124). For Nicholson it was the patchwork of English fields, fishing villages layered with geometry that he returned to. For Churchill it was vast waterways connecting the Empire and British estates. According to Heidegger, "What Cézanne calls *la réalization* is the appearance of the present in the clearing of coming-to-presence—such that the duality of both is bound up in the simplicity of the pure shining of its images" (Figal 311). The history of British landscape updated by flattening shapes and employing bright colors was Churchill's coming-to-presence, with the acceptance of Empirical changes. For Nicholson it was the exaggeration of classical line and minimizing of color, also an acceptance of the new Britain.

Cézanne is about the independent artist struggling for recognition. He is about changes to Modernism beginning with surface with its attention to light, to dredging beneath an object. Churchill, although an amateur painter by virtue of his aristocratic birth, gravitated

to Modernism, moving beyond the Grand Tour-artist who bought or made paintings which contained a narrative or myth.

Shiff concludes:

> The impressionist sought a technique or means of expression that would convey his own spontaneity, originality, and sincerity; above all he wished to avoid traditional academic conventions because they would link his art to a communal school rather than to a unique temperament. Through his radical naturalism he could express his individuality: painting (as opposed to sketching) in outdoor light was itself considered as unconventional, with few, if any, predetermined rules of procedure…. Artistic 'truth' might be guaranteed more by the suggested sincerity of the technical procedure than by any claim that technique might have to accuracy of representation or precision of communication. (Shiff 46,47)

Churchill's family and friends could not see how his personality fit into Modernism. Nicholson never fit in with his father's Victorian painting, but as a professional he had the freedom to pursue new trends.

Nonetheless, academic art continued to play an important role in the nineteenth century as "received 'original' ideas through a technical mastery of representation; they discounted innovation as an indication of willful, insincere individualism" (Shiff 72). Academics dismissed sketchiness in brushwork, favoring "line, chiaroscuro and color" (Shiff 74). However, sketchiness was popular a way to show art as "found and in process" (Shiff

77). Other artists combined the Modern and academic approach by applying chiaroscuro with loose brushwork (Shiff 78).

Cézanne provincial bourgeois upbringing in Aix made it difficult to assimilate into the art world of Paris: classical schooling or the Impressionists. He was mentored by Pissarro (1830-1903) who said, "Look for the kind of nature that suits your temperament. The *motif* should be observed more for shape and color than for drawing" (Danchev 192). Gabo came to Britain at the beginning of World War II, inviting English artists to rethink space and light objectively, having assimilated Cézanne's approach. He influenced Nicholson, a needed comparison to Churchill as artist. Churchill and Nicholson's paintings analyzed through the lens of Cézanne's objectivity, adopted some of his compositional tendencies and played with his color combinations but always retained tropes of British landscape with its underlying themes about Empire and its relationship to the different classes of people.

Merleau-Ponty's essay *Cézanne's Doubt*, analyzes the fascination and the make-up of this artist. According to Johnson, "Cézanne is an example of how precariously expression and communication are achieved" (Johnson, Ponty 4). After all painting nature without "Renaissance technique of linear perspective and outline" was unique (Johnson, Ponty 5). Merlau-Ponty's Phenomenology pushed "actual appearance" beyond supposition or anything science theorized by looking into "Cezanne's gestural brushstrokes using carefully chosen colors on his palette, in his long an repeated mediations germinating with a scene, and in his own insistent words regarding his work, than he was interested in the schooled and theoretical analyses of art historians and critics" (Johnson, Ponty 8,10) Merlau-Ponty insisted Cézanne's color was paramount in fusing "self and world" (Johnson, Ponty 12). According to Johnson, "'*Cezanne's Doubt'* draws our attention to the standing of artist and artwork to the

visible world" (Johnson, Ponty 13). Williams concurs Cézanne achieved, *"objectivity without sacrifice of individual perception"* given his egotistical personality (Johnson, Ponty 166). Cézanne's technique and eventual renown becomes a bridge to Churchill and Nicholson as Cézanne's essence can be seen in their work. The documentation of how Cézanne worked, how he positioned colors and how he vibrated shapes so the painting is felt beneath the surfaces is what both Churchill and Nicholson attempted. Nicholson removed color and returned to line, Churchill retained perspective, yet both found Cézanne's dredge up underlying emotions. Churchill did not desire to be Cézanne enough to give up his political career as stately duty was the mark of an aristocrat.

Winston Churchill. *Formal Garden and Pavilion at Lympne*, 1930s. Oil on Canvas Board, 20 x 14 in. The Studio, Chartwell.

Winston Churchill. *La Montagne, St Victoire*, 1948. Oil on Canvas, 25 x 30 in. The Studio, Chartwell.

Winston Churchill. *Cap d'Ail*, 1952. Oil on Canvas, 30 x 25 in.

Ben Nicholson. *April 19 1949 (St Herbot, Huelgoat no. 2).* Oil Wash and Pencil on Paper, 33 x 51 cm

Chapter Four: Churchill and Imperialism

Historian Lawrence James (b.1943) suggests that attitudes of British Empire were a mixture of "vanity with a strong quasi-religious element" and that "Providence favoured certain nations and turned its back on others, usually because they lacked the requisite moral qualifications to rule others" (James 28). This was the Empire Churchill was born into, Empire that shaped his life, even when it was beginning to show signs of disintegration beginning with the First World War. Churchill, the lone warrior, became a politician at the height of Victorian world domination. His career began with personal involvement in the last pre-industrial wars and ended as an elder statesmen speaking out against threats of global nuclear warfare and accepting the termination of his beloved Empire, financially destitute. Imperialism gets brought forth through the narrative and underpinnings of Churchill's paintings whether he painted in Britain or abroad, reflecting Britain's Picturesque with its social content.

Some artists painted Empire with narration using Oriental imagery, or dark skinned men clad in loud clothing chopping up allegedly innocent white travelers. Churchill couches his Imperialism into British landscape using big shapes and bright colors, an indication of change. Understanding the Empire beyond aesthetic Formalism is paramount. Historian, John Darwin (b.1948) explains the economic and cultural aspects of Imperialism from early Norman conquerors who retained properties on the Continent. In modern times, the competition to dominate foreign lands for manufacturing cheaper goods brought about conflicts as the dominated also desired to profit. Professor Julie Codell, defines

transculturation as Imperialism's tangible evidence: histories, dress, architecture, material goods that blended cultures who were forced to coexist, expanding the way we view sociological structures beyond mere subjugation and domination (Codell 5, 7). Professor Tim Barringer (b.1965) focuses on Imperial art, the visual evidence of transculturation, painted in the colonies; other works were painted in England. The common thread becomes the intertwining of British landscapes with themes found in the dominions, the result of Empire building.

Churchill's landscapes, seen by many as an appropriate pastime for a gentleman are actually treasure troves revealing his relationship to the British Empire and its eventual decline. How do tropes of Empire, metaphorically embedded into a Churchill work, contribute to be British landscape that traditionally used parochial English countryside to explain ideas of political power?

I will argue that Churchill's landscapes contain themes about preservation of Empire, and its inevitable decline. Constructed during the early twentieth century, against backdrops of preindustrial warfare, to later decades with threats of nuclear annihilation, increased socio-economic pressures from colonies and dominions to obtain independence from an outdated and overstretched Victorian power structure, along with political and economic pressures from European countries, posturing to dissolve their monarchies in the light of economic shortfalls, all contributed to the termination of the British Empire. Churchill's painting are visual evidence of the way he wished Empire should remain but could not. His break from Victorian browns and bands of landscape to Modern colors and flat shapes mainly used for bourgeois Continental compositions, indicate change was inevitable. Painter, Ben Nicholson who benefited from Empire and pre-World War II immigrant artists, infused

British Formalism with content, thus providing contrast to Churchill's works. Nicholson pushed abstraction into a reluctant British art scene but retained Victorian browns and the historic importance of line, while Churchill kept the Picturesque format but dismissed line for bright colors.

According to James, "The British Empire was the largest empire. In 1900 the red bits on the world map added up to 1.8 million square miles which were home to 294 million people, nearly two-thirds of whom were Indian" (James 20). He continues, "Churchill's Empire was an accumulation of overseas estates and it was the duty of every Briton to see that they were well managed and that their inhabitants were well treated" (James 19). How everyone down to the chimney sweep was supposed to uphold Empire was fanciful. But this paper's concern is with Churchill who believed keeping the Empire as it had been established, was the best way to keep Britain and the rest of the world running smoothly, as felt in his paintings.

To Churchill, Empire was his inheritance. In spite of known atrocities, Churchill viewed British officers as "gentlemen" (James 30). Whitehall appropriated a unique way of running the Empire by appointing managers in satellite regions who relayed both goods and profits back to London until decolonization beginning in 1945 (Kwarteng 25). Churchill believed in supporting foreign rulers as long as they were humane (James 30). Colonists would receive legal protection from Britain, "a benevolent and passionate trustee…" (James 39). By 1900, it looked like Britain would be forever powerful; this was something Churchill failed to understand, "empires were transient" (James 30, 31).

As more colonials received Western education, more wanted increased remunerations and independence. According to James, “In August of 1914 the dominions had thrown themselves wholeheartedly behind Britain in the conviction that its defeat would have unthinkable repercussions” (James 96). Serving in both World Wars had ironies. Soldiers who survived felt they were entitled. Others had been transported from small villages to new lands, thus gaining sophistication and did not want to return home. When black men were finally recruited, racial arrogance from British soldiers was brutal. Indians especially, hoped loyalty would speed up independence (James 96-98).

Nonetheless, the British continued to rely on Empire. James continues, “Total war had left behind all kinds of detritus that had to be cleared away. Order had to be reimposed, economies repaired, debts repaid, peace treaties negotiated and conquered lands shared out among the victors. Defeated powers had to be taught a lesson, infant nations nursed and the Empire protected from a new species of enemy” (James 120,121). Between World Wars, financial stresses never ended nor did military conflicts, including Irish rebellions at home. The next World War was partially brought about by having over-humiliated Germany, giving Hitler the chance to come to power.

Churchill was not the only Englishman who believed the Empire would continue after having won the Second World War. According to Darwin, “There was nothing straight forward about the end of the British Empire. Despite the huge sacrifice of the Second World War, and the costs of postwar recovery, British leaders saw no reason to abandon the empire” (Darwin 342). But the three American presidents, Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower “distrusted empires” and “ believed that the world would become a happier place once they had disappeared” (James 258).

After World War II, Britain was broke having borrowed heavily from the United States in the form of Lend-Lease, which it was unable to repay. The result of war, the United States had overtaken Britain as super-power. In a speech to an American audience, 1946, Churchill said, "The United States stands at the highest point of majesty and power ever attained by any community since the fall of the Roman Empire" (James 321). If he had to concede the Empire, deferring to the United States, the birthplace of his mother, was better than conceding to Russia. Churchill's post-war desire was to see the United States and Britain friends.

With the collapse of Empire, the regulation of oil diverted away from the Empire to the Middle Eastern countries (Darwin 338, 353). The Orient, a broad term, that suggested an exotic place, came to mean an important area to obtain oil; but prejudices continue to cloud issues in Churchill's era and on into the twenty-first century which is why Orientalism continues to be a puzzlement. Churchill had always, "treated History as the narrative of human progress and concluded that certain races had advanced more rapidly than others. Britain had set the pace and "he boasted that during the nineteenth century it had arrived 'at or around the summit of the civilized world'" (James 183). This arrogant view was shared by many of his colleagues and would prove a hindrance when negotiations on into the twenty-first century were needed to buy oil and maintain stability in those regions.

Historian Edward Said (1935-2003) relates, "the term Orient nor the concept of the West has any ontological stability; each is made up of human effort, partly affirmation, partly identification of the Other" (Said xvii). Orientalism had multiple meanings ranging from reducing non-white populations to a child-like status, being an Englishman who is condescending in foreign lands, to a scholar defining the sociological. According to diplomat

Evelyn Cromer (1841-1917), the real British presence in Egypt is not to "train the Egyptian's mind" but to "form his character" (Said 212). Professor Homi Bhabha (b.1949) who as an Indian benefitted from Colonial independence; he went to Oxford and now teaches at Harvard says, "Nations, Like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind's eye. Such an imagination of the nation-or narration—might seem impossibly romantic and excessively metaphorical, but it is from those traditions of political thought and literary language that the nation emerges as a powerful historical idea" (Bhabha, Nation 1). Bhabha's assumptions can apply to those who controlled Empire, to the colonies who eventually emerged victorious as free entities.

Churchill was born in 1874, the pinnacle of Victorian England and the British Empire; he died in the mid-sixties after most of the Empire had dissolved. Churchill's interest in soldiering began when playing with toy soldiers and progressed through training at Sandhurst. Because of early military success at the Battle of Omdurman in the Sudan, the Boer War in South Africa, and his aristocratic lineage, he was able to enter politics. In spite of the Dardanelles-debacle of World War I, where he was blamed for the loss of many soldiers leading in an aborted campaign, Churchill volunteered for trench warfare and finished as "Secretary of State for War with ministerial responsibilities for the Royal Air Force" (James 120).

As First Lord of the Admiralty again, 1939, and Prime Minister in 1940, Churchill felt "the moment had at last come for him to fulfil his destiny as the nation's saviour" (James 221). Churchill's toy-soldier-imperial attitude towards war diminished at the onset of World War II when he realized his island was in grave danger. According to James, "Churchill remarked with tears in his eyes, 'God alone knows how great it is. We can only do our best.'

Three days later, when passers-by cheered him on the street with cries of 'Good Luck, Winnie, God Bless you', he observed forlornly: 'Poor people. They trust me, and I can give them nothing but disaster for quite a long time'" (James 221).

He won the war with the help of the United States and Russia but as James concludes, found it hard to accept Britain's limitations (James 208). British dominions and colonies worldwide who had contributed to the war effort wanted independence while the Russians were trying to impose Communism and further threats of nuclear war. The Truman administration thought "the British still retained the 'colonial' attitude of Queen Victoria's reign" (James 373).

Churchill and others believed the British Empire had, "projected a moral and cultural authority, the implication of which was that British values, beliefs, institutions and habits were the norm against which all others should be measured- and usually found wanting" (Darwin 266). This is the visual or the metaphorical that fetches up in British landscape; "The English model presumed: a well-peopled countryside of compact village communities; a landscape of manors, common-fields and a corn-growing agriculture; a peasantry under the thumb of a landowning class and its ecclesiastical allies; a network of towns, markets and fairs; an active land market, permitting some social mobility; and above all a monarchy that supplied peace, founded towns, levied taxes and fostered trade" (Darwin 15). Updated with larger shapes and cleaner colors, this is the essence of Churchill's paintings.

British landscape and its themes were copied by colonists who saw Picturesque as a fond memory. According to anthropologist Michael Taussig (b.1940), "The adult's imagination of the child's imagination is markedly accentuated, I believe, by rights to

remembrance granted expatriates, such as myself, for whom childhood past across the seas lies petrified as a dead object preserved under glass awaiting a hand to shake it into life" (Mitchell, landscape 322). Colonists who viewed British landscape or crafted their own landscape using the Picturesque model adapted to local environs, gained a connection to Britain as dislocated colonists. Churchill was never shipped overseas for political or economic reasons; he traveled as an aristocrat and volunteered in foreign wars, freely commuting to England.

Churchill began painting in 1915 and continued until five years before he died, with the exception of World War II when he painted one work in North Africa. He traveled for work as well as pleasure, but when painting, preferred Southern France and Northern Africa. According to professor Jonathon Fineberg (b.1946), "Great paintings express a healthy function of the ego, and they are not identical with the unconscious of the artist, even though they derive content from it." They "reflect the nature of our understanding of how things really are" (Fineberg 10, 38). To overlook Churchill's paintings is to neglect Bhabha's "mind's eye" (Bhabha, Nation 1). The history of a nation is not sitting out on some piece of land but within the peoples of that nation. Churchill idea of Empire that accumulated in his being was transferred to his paintings via his brushwork. Fineberg continues, "Every form is charged with layers of meaning and is in dialogue with the other features of the canvas that are also permeated with such associations, as well as with other networks of unconscious content (Fineberg 18). Churchill's landscapes are tangible evidence that he desired to retain the British landed-gentry way of life, but they also reflect the inevitability of change, especially the working classes needing a healthier lifestyle, especially when soldiering. (James56).

Does Churchill's art speak to transculturation? Codell writes, "The term 'transculturation' was coined in 1940 by the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz [1881-1969] to identify the transformative process undergone by a society in the acquisition of foreign cultural material. He stressed the loss or displacement of a society's culture in this process, together with the infusion of the indigenous and the foreign to create a new, original cultural product" (Codell 4). Ortiz explains, "The term transculturation better expresses the different phases in the transitive process from one culture to another, because this process does not only imply the acquisition of culture, as connoted by the Anglo-American term acculturation, but it also necessarily involves the loss or uprooting of one's preceding culture, what one could call a partial disculturation. Moreover, it signifies the subsequent creation of new cultural phenomena that one could call neoculturation" (Codell 4). This was seen in Britain after World War II when Empire was dissolving and those from the dominions moved onto actual English soil.

Codell expands Ortiz's definition to include art as her, "efforts explore multiple receptions of these objects: sometimes in one location, sometimes across borders when multiples of these objects were made and placed in numerous sites throughout Britain and the colonies and dominions, as well as postcolonial receptions from the object's inception to the present" (Codell 1). Codell writes, "Transculturation is a complex term that embraces time, place, culture, nation and globalization. The process of transculturation in the nineteenth century was simultaneous with the rise of a presumed British national identity as an island, exclusive, unified and homogeneous, despite the increasing intersections of cultures that were the consequence of imperialism." Philosopher Wolfgang Welsch (b.1946) says, "'transculturality is a consequence of the inner differentiation and complexity of modern

cultures' that rely on 'external networking', 'the interconnecting and entangling of multiple cultures with each other that remove their distinctions and boundaries" (Codell 2). Transculturation explains how the dominant culture also changed, expanding our understanding about how and what Churchill painted as well as how it affected Nicholson's work too.

Codell continues, "While nations are ideologically presumed to be fixed and homogeneous, cultures are often and invariably transcultural, shifting and inconstant: in European art, for example, 'styles developed across the countries and nations, and many artists created their best works far from home', helping to shape 'a network linking' their countries in constantly shifting transitions" (Codell 2). Churchill painted abroad, not only retaining the presence of British landscape but trying to include what was in front of his canvas, as did Nicholson; Picturesque coding never left them.

Codell says, "Close transcultural readings of works of art offer a virtual space that 'reopens and dissimilates the givens', that is, the cultural assumptions that Europeans brought to places and cultures and those they took away from those places, they themselves being transformed and reshaped by their colonial encounters" (Codell 3). Transculturation is about "loss and recovery in new forms of cultural expression" (Codell 4). It produces not just a aesthetic layering from different sources but new ways to express a culture that was often about differences instead of similarities and mainly emphasizing "culture as race, dress, personal adornment, ceremonial forms, architecture, technology, and material goods" (Codell 7). Pushing culture beyond just what is visibly seen, is the way to approach all British art.

According to Codell, “In the colonial encounter, artists were thrust into new spaces they had only imagined and anticipated (often wrongly), while colonized subjects had their spaces violently reconstituted and defamiliarized. Both parties were thrown into a non-space, or inter-space, that lacked cultural logic for either party, marking the encounter as a misjuncture, rather than a conjuncture” (Codell 9). Art becomes opportunities for “transportation out of the habitual and into reconstituted identities of people, places, and even of empire itself” (Codell 10). Churchill and Nicholson never ventured into remote places to make art, even when painting abroad. None the less they combined British art with Continental genres, changing the way English art was viewed.

Codell explains that tropes gathered from Imperial conquests might be “liminal, pedestrian and even humorous.” She says, “Artists can depict a place topographically or imaginatively or somewhere in between, or invent a place and call it by the actual name of a city or country or to create a tension among experience, imagination and affect” (Codell 10). Many colonial artists used portraiture. Churchill and Nicholson did not paint the way they perceived a colonial venue; they painted a new way to view the English countryside, given their experience gained from their vantage point, white men living in England who ruled the Empire. They also attempted a new way of envisioning as they painted abroad, which always had essence of the British isle.

Codell recognizes “little known artists or works” as well as, well known (Codell 10). This is helpful when realizing the importance of a Churchill work. Professor Mary Roberts says art’s purpose often changes from a gift of diplomatic exchange to becoming a “historical curiosity for a broader British audience” (Codell 173). Churchill often gave away his art to

friends and staff. His art and his art practice continue to be a curiosity which inhibits its value.

Codell says, “artists existed between cultures and were attracted to colonial sites for adventure and commercial success inherent in sending back ‘exotic’ images from new places in which they might live more freely…. Imperial artists identifying with the colonizing force were also subaltern because imperial administrators and imperial social and political systems treated them as déclassé servants of empire” (Codell 12). Churchill liked painting abroad although his locations were restricted to aristocratic compounds except for French fishing villages. Churchill did not assimilate with culture. His culture, the Empire, or his personality when interacting with peers, was already imposing on others, not the reverse. Nicholson combined Constructivism and Continental Modernism, brought it back to Britain.

Codell’s broad transcultural definition allows multi-directional contemplation of social complexities. She poses, “transcultural products, more than simple mixes of national cultures, are complex works of unresolved and unfinished possible meanings, and such art opens up atopic spaces and moments of transcultural surprise on the local level that are not solely determined by political, social and racial tensions” (Codell 11).

Transculturation in relation to Empire building was about making money which reconfigured hierarchies as the upper classes were being replaced by middle class merchants. Historian David Cannadine (b.1950) says, “‘in the new and more complex world of the late nineteenth century, there was no longer only one undisputed aristocratic elite’ and peerages were often given to non-landed elites or representatives coming from commercial, business or military backgrounds” (Codell 227). Churchill painted at the estates of wealthy bourgeois,

while his painter/friend, Paul Maze, whom he met in the trenches of World War I, mingled with the aristocracy, as a notable artist.

Codell says, “the cultural assumptions that Europeans brought to other places and cultures and those they took away from other places, themselves transformed and reshaped by colonial encounters” (Codell 74). Professor Morna O’Neill says, “As this art flowed from the capital to the colony, its meaning and value changed according to its context and it audience. Churchill’s art seen in his Chartwell studio takes on a different meaning than when shown on the Queen Mary, Long Beach in a carnival atmosphere.

Transculturation brings new emphasis to the spatial contexts of empire…” (Codell 243). While Churchill and Nicholson did not paint transculturation in the extreme: no exotic portraiture, aboriginal lifestyles, they did paint away from Britain which changed British Picturesque. Nicholson was finally valued for his infusion of Modernism into British landscape. Churchill’s works although never fully accepted as high-art, traveled internationally after World War II as a talisman for winning the war and a chance for viewers to capture the aura of Churchill.

4.2 Churchill and the Culture of Empire

Churchill embodied the British Empire; his passion can be found in his landscapes. According to James:

> His imperial vision was at the heart of his political philosophy. What Churchill called Britain’s imperial ‘mission’ was both lodestar and the touchstone which he applied to policy decisions when he was First Lord of the Admiralty, Secretary for War, Colonial Secretary and Prime Minister.

> Throughout his political career he was convinced that, together, the Royal Navy and the Empire were the foundation of British global power and greatness. Imperial Britain was, he believed, uniquely qualified to further progress and enlightenment throughout the world. (James 1)

Empire was also Churchill's blindside as he did not see it becoming outmoded or empathize with the oppressive reality of its working classes. John Darwin relates, after the depression of the 1930s, "The Marxist attack on capitalism's failings became much more appealing and it became intellectually fashionable to denounce empire as the tool of financiers and industrialists" (Darwin 2) But there were reasons to see its fading; dominions wanted more managerial say, more profit sharing.

From the Seven Years' War, 1756-1763, until World War II, Empire was British private enterprise brought about by foreign workers who had scant relationship to England. According to Darwin, "It required a long chain of mundane activities to bring it about: the reconnoitering of 'targets'; the founding of bridgeheads; the raising of money; the recruiting of sailors, soldiers, emigrants and adventurers; the rallying of allies (not at court or in government); the writing of rules (not the least about property in 'newfound' lands); the regulation of trade as well as of moral behavior in exotic locations; the framing of governments" (Darwin xi, xii). In order to run faraway countries, the British relied on the local elite, who in turn were generously rewarded (Darwin 4). According to historian Kwasi Kwarteng (b.1975), "The favoured way of dealing with native kingdoms was to preserve the façade of native rule, and so maharajas, nawabs and feudal princes were flattered and made to feel important; they were also given appropriate salaries in accordance with their status" (Kwarteng 165). According to Darwin, "Cultural imperialism's founding precept was the

patent superiority of the European (in this case the British) over the non-European 'Other'" (Darwin 5). The arrogance of Europeans and the increased cost of running foreign governments contributed to the erosion of Empire.

British "empire of slavery…" legally ended in the early nineteenth century with pressure from home (Darwin 12). Gradual abandonment of "London's central control…" together with free trade, the beginnings of self-government, showed that the Empire was not only successful, it was a moral entity (Darwin 2, 22, 25). Free trade was connected to British power; until 1939 they were the world's largest traders and investors (Darwin 396, 400). To establish trade in countries where locals dominated and for that matter, other empires, required negotiations and reinventing existing societies (Darwin 10, 11). The idea was to get the local governments to do the ruling and the bookkeeping, by enticing everyone with future liberation (Darwin 12). Disappointment and corruption were rampant.

Empire began in the thirteenth century with the Normans and Plantagenet's invading Britain, but still retaining property on the mainland (Darwin 15). By 1560, the British had established a Queen's navy. Nelson's victory at Trafalgar, 1805, meant "that no other *European* power now had the strength to exclude Britain from markets in the rest of the world" (Darwin 25). The British elite who built the Empire were educated but insensitive, resembling "Westernized poodles while condemning indigenous cultures to a frozen, fragmented and inferior existence, the exotic remains of an immobile past" (Darwin 6). The Great Indian Revolt, 1857, was a warning that "the need for enlightened outsiders was more obvious than ever…" (Darwin 27). Britain's history real and fabricated is what is behind its painting genres.

Some British did think colonial wealth was ill-gotten. According to Darwin, “the great objection to empire was that it served as the prop for reaction, the barrier to political and social progress at home.” Empire was expensive and beyond the grasp of the majority of English trying to survive (Darwin 31, 32). This is the undercurrent of Picturesque found in the best drawing rooms of London.

Reality was, “trade nourished much of the realm and supplied much of its revenue” (Darwin 70). Empire was also venture capital more than Crown monies (Darwin 65). In the mid-seventeenth century Empire meant opportunity; thousands migrated to the Caribbean for the sugar trade (Darwin 39). Black slaves replaced indentured whites who could move up the economic ladder (Darwin 40). Atlantic property within easy reach of the coast could be bought too (Darwin 42). Obtaining land ran from purchasing to “conquest and cession” (Darwin 49, 101).

Often trade meant negotiation with local intermediaries (Darwin 150,157). West Africa had a history of trading systems across the Sahara with the Middle East and North Africa, so respect for the local ruler and his strategies was mandatory (Darwin 42). Maritime Asia was another area trade had to be upon invitation from Asian courts (Darwin 50). Painting panoramas of foreign lands was a way to describe the opportunity Empire presented to some.

Since the 1700s, the British used the sea to compensate for their lack of acreage at home; they were hungry to break into other countries’ commercial areas (Darwin 130). British expansion was military force on land and sea. (Darwin 129). To Victorians, “the ocean was a British possession” (Darwin 131). Darwin explains, “In European warfare the

rules of the game were straightforward. When its army was beaten, the sovereign state would surrender and a new treaty was made. Against non-European foes, nothing could be taken for granted" (Darwin 132). Darwin continues, "British commanders were always in a hurry: they knew London's patience was short and their careers in balance" (Darwin 134).

By 1700, a hundred ships a year left Britain for the Caribbean (Darwin 161). In the beginning, Colonies were not allowed to manufacture, buy and sell nor use foreign ships without permission from Britain (Darwin 166). Free Traders were against Corn Laws, 1815-1846, which controlled prices, restricted imports and starved mainland Britain's working classes (Darwin 167). Cotton from southern United States fed the steam powered United Kingdom (Darwin 168). The East India Company traded with China for silks and ceramics, cotton and Indigo (Darwin 175). These luxury goods appeared in paintings as trophies of Empire. The ocean became the most evident trope of British power.

Between 1830-1930, the British people emigrated more than any other Europeans (Darwin 392). Even though India was considered the *Jewel in the Crown*, the white colonies were considered more important (Darwin 79, 89). White settlers fared better in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa and began to think of themselves as "partners and equals" and not "dependents and subjects" (Darwin 28). Indian taxes were levied to support a local army so Britons would not have to pay (Darwin 79). Indian elite fleeced their countrymen who paid in high taxes and loss of life (Darwin 4). As seen in transcultural artworks, the cracking Empire was overlooked.

By 1890, there was mass migration to South Africa (Darwin 101). In Canada "free grants" went to settlers with larger parcels going to "high-status Loyalists", some of whom

remained absentee (Darwin 102). By 1840, Australia's convict labour was replaced by free immigration. In 1850, it saw a Gold Rush, or a version of America's Wild-West, with London losing greater control of land management (Darwin 103,104). It was a myth that planned colonies protected indigenous people (Darwin 107). Generational settlers lost ties with the mother country and believed they were now the indigenous. Artists took Picturesque to the colonies, selling British landscapes as nostalgia and memory for the motherland (Darwin 114). Churchill's and Nicholson's landscapes as memory of Empire was not new, but updated with Modernism and preserved.

By 1815, the British economy was "coal, cotton and capital" with cheap textiles and ample markets for foreign goods (Darwin 394,395). Between 1800-1940, the British imported more raw materials and food than anyone worldwide (Darwin 393). Steam ships, railways, and telegraph lines meant British global supremacy (Darwin 180,185). In 1890, London was on the gold standard; its gold was mined in South Africa, Western Australia, and the Yukon (Darwin 184). According to Darwin, "By 1913, perhaps half the world's foreign investment had been raised in London." Arrogance is felt in Victorian art.

By 1914, in the white men's countries, "there was no place for natives" (Darwin 115). Since 1850, Chinese migrants had gone to Australia and New Zealand; they went to South Africa for gold mining after the Anglo-Boer War; the need for cheap labor meant importing others. (Darwin 115). According to Bhabha, "In order to understand productivity of colonial power it is crucial to construct its regime of truth, not to subject its representations to a normalizing judgement. Only then does it become possible to understand the productive *ambivalence* of the object of colonial discourse—that 'otherness' which is at once an object

of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within fantasy of origin and identity" (Bhabha, Location 96).

It was Empire with its slaves and low paid workers that symbolized the Industrial Revolution using "gunboats and garrisons…" for protection; free trade saw graft and corruption. Colonists seized "indigenous labour and land…" (Darwin 3,185,194,195). Propaganda in the form of gazetteers and reports were written concluding local populations were "too unprogressive to be released into freedom…" (Darwin 5). White settlers, the hardest to govern, wanted self-rule and tugged at Britain (Darwin 194,195, 202). Itinerant laborers who went to India or Africa stayed on as "shopkeepers and traders." They began to "go native" intermarrying and "feathering their nest" having become embedded with local power bases as did white managers (Darwin 220,221). According to Darwin, the Empire "is often presented as a single dimension: the assertion of dominance by imperial officials (or settlers) and the experience of oppression by indigenous peoples" (Darwin 265). Generally "both sides came to rely on a form of political bargain, or what has sometimes been called 'collaborative politics'" (Darwin 265). This single dimension is what was either portrayed or overlooked in British art.

The British Empire, " projected a moral and cultural authority, the implication of which was that British values, beliefs, institutions and habits were the norm against which all others should be measured" (Darwin 266). Edward Said believed the Empire "destroyed the cultural self-confidence of those they ruled over" (Darwin 267). "Hybridity" defined by Codell means all involved in colonization get "transformed, de-formed and re-formed by empire." While Bhabha feels hybridity is ambivalent as not all benefit equally (Codell 3).

By the end of the nineteenth century there were over 4000 British Protestant missionaries around the Empire. One of the reasons for Christianity was that, "Christian doctrine might collide with divisive caste practices to prevent dangerous political alliances" (Bhabha, Location 124). Elite education (Oxford and Cambridge) became another enticement for Christian conversion (Darwin 289,290). Religion and other cultural attributes, "offered a new individualism: the liberation from custom, worn-out religious ritual, the iron grip of lineage or a prescribed occupation. It was a promise of escape from the grinding rigidity of their own social systems…" (Darwin 302). The village church steeple appears in British as a sign of normalcy and stability.

Empire was employment, "For naval and military men, it was a chain of overseas stations, a frontier of small wars, a source of fame and preferment. For gentlemen-scientists, it was a vast deposit of specimens. For manufacturers and merchants, the empire Britain ruled over was (after c. 1840) the lesser half of the empire of free trade they wanted to conquer" (Darwin 271).

According to Darwin:

> A major a fault-line in Victorian opinion lay between those who showed sympathy for the modernizing ambitions of Asian and African pro-nationalist elites (like the leaders of the Indian National Congress, founded in 1885) and those who dismissed them as bogus and counterfeit, tiresome, unrepresentative, microscopic minorities, whose motive was position and power for themselves. The other side of the coin was the search for authentic tradition among indigenous peoples, the (limited) willingness to clothe the

> colonial regime in some of its trappings, and the selection of princes and chiefs as true representatives. (Darwin 278)

Empire was not all bad or limited in opportunity. It created an educated middle class of bureaucrats, doctors and lawyers (Darwin 296). Darwin concludes Empire, "encouraged a new sense of place, a new feeling for landscape, a new sense of history, and a new sense of nation" (Darwin 297). In Churchill's and Nicholson's work, the status quo of Empire remains, in spite of using abstraction or Modern colors.

Darwin points to the Seven Years' War when the British went global (Darwin 304). According to Darwin, " The open sea and the outer world were where her real interests lay: they yielded the biggest returns and imposed the least cost (Darwin 307) By the mid-nineteenth century Britain's Empire was stretched miles apart, "six months by sail, and at least three weeks by steam" (Darwin 306, 307). In 1913, the British navy was bunched in the North Sea which was considered strategic (Darwin 311, 312,323). Continuing into 1930, "British leaders grasped little of the ethnic and ideological conflicts that galvanized Europe" (Darwin 335). Coming into World War I, Britain's resources were stretched too thin. Churchill repeatedly paints his Empire as flowing water. Nicholson's paints the evolving commerciality of local coved water.

Commerciality local and broad shaped the British Empire and removed it from Feudalism:

> In an agrarian empire, the ruler must tax his subjects directly if he is to profit from power. He must exert close control (with its costs and risks) to prevent his agents from defrauding him and diverting his revenues into their own

> pockets. The effort and burden of doing this tended to set limits to imperial ambition, since the remoter the province the harder it was to supervise from the centre. A commercial empire was largely free from this constraint. It had no interest in raising a direct local revenue, and therefore no need for an oppressive close rule. It relied instead on the profits of trade, taxed at the point where collection was easiest—in the home ports. (Darwin 393)

Replicating Britain's ideals through, "cultural uniformity…Temperance, education, stable family life, regular employment, these were the attributes of a well-policed and well-regulated society" (Darwin 397,398). The British believed their Empire would survive even into the decolonization years of 1945-1965 (Darwin xiii). Lord Curzon (1859-1925) said, "the Empire was not an 'object of ambition' but 'first and foremost, a great historical and political and sociological fact'. In 1909 he reminded delegates to the Imperial Press Conference meeting at Oxford that 'we train here and we send out to your governors and administrators and judges, your teachers and preachers and lawyers'" (Said 213).

The British Empire wanted "world order" not just power in one location (Kwarteng 1). It mattered where you had gone to school more than competency (Kwarteng 6, 7). Similar educational background as well as religious beliefs (Christianity, atheism) was a "shared style." Foreign governance was hierarchical (Kwarteng 5, 6). According to Kwarteng, it was, "class, money and education that counted more than race" (Kwarteng 7). However, being sent to the colonies was a way to wield power away from home. "[S]ons of parsons, sons of university lecturers and civil servants" having not gone to elite colleges could rise to managerial status. (Kwarteng 7).

The Empire was far from perfect, but its failure was in understanding its inadequasies. According to Kwarteng, “The imperial administration was highly elitist, stratified and snobbish” (Kwarteng 7). Much of the time there was “lack of foresight,” too much administrative leeway given to a “chosen elite” (Kwarteng 2). Policy would often be overturned by the rotational incoming management. British Imperialism was vague when it came to “democratic politics.”

Individualism was paramount to Victorians, but without supervision from London there was nothing to stop one man far away from causing havoc (Kwarteng 5). Kwarteng observes, “Notions of democracy could not have been further from the minds of the imperial administrators themselves. Their heads were filled with ideas of class, loosely defined, with notions of intellectual superiority and paternalism. ‘Benign authoritarianism’ would be a better description of the political philosophy that sustained the empire” (Kwarteng 8).

In the 1920s, the British Empire got a foothold in the Middle East because of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. But it was expensive to maintain because Whitehall divided the responsibility among several offices resulting in turf warfare. According to Kwarteng, “the Foreign office was responsible for Palestine, Egypt and the Sudan while the India Office was responsible for the Gulf and Iraq. The War Office also had considerable authority in the region. Middle East policy was a battleground, in which each of the three departments sought to gain advantage over the other two” (Kwarteng 25). In 1942, the Japanese occupied much of Britain’s South-east Asia holdings; the fall of Singapore marked the beginning of the end of Empire. Churchill said it was, “the worst disaster and largest capitulation in British history” (Kwarteng 193). In 1945, there was continued precedent not to give Hong Kong

independence. Churchill "had no desire to witness the liquidation of the British Empire'" which can be felt in his paintings (Kwarteng 349).

According to Said, "The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences…. The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also a place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most reoccurring images of the Other' (Said 1). Said continues, "The Orient was revealed to Europe in the materiality of its texts, languages, and civilizations. Also for the first time, Asia acquired a precise intellectual and historical dimension with which to buttress the myths of its geographic distance and vastness" (Said 77). Said suggests, "From the beginning of Western speculation about the Orient, the one thing the Orient could not do was to represent itself" (Said 283). Conservative, Arthur Balfour (1848-1930) believed the Orientals, "are a subject race, dominated by a race that knows them and what is good for them better than they can possibly know themselves. Their great moments were in the past; they are useful in the modern world only because the powerful and up-to-date empires have effectively brought them out of the wretchedness of their decline and turned them into rehabilitated residents of productive colonies" (Said 35). When Churchill paints North African figuration it is always gestural and subordinate to architecture.

But liberal parliamentarian, J.M. Robertson (1856-1933) disagreed, "What right have you to take up these airs of superiority with regard to people whom you choose to call Oriental? The choice of 'Oriental' was canonical; it had been employed by Chaucer and Mandeville, by Shakespeare, Dryden, Pope and Byron. It designated Asia or the East,

geographically, morally, culturally" (Said 31). Arguably, not all who wrote memorable English prose, cast the Oriental as equal or without sarcasm.

Said affirms, "The Orientalist could be regarded as the special agent of Western power as it attempted policy vis-à-vis the Orient. Every learned (and not so learned) European traveler in the Orient felt himself a representative Westerner who had gotten beneath the films of obscurity (Said 223). Said insists, T.E. Lawrence's main issue was "preserving the Orient and Islam under the control of the White Man" (Said 238). When in North Africa, Churchill vacationed in Westernized hotels or with Westernized royalty.

Hong Kong was granted independence in 1997; the consequences of British presence in the Middle East continue in the twenty-first century. Raymond Williams says, "there is a 'social' definition of culture in which culture is a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behavior (Williams, Long 61, 62). Churchill's landscapes illustrate his version of Empire, a utopian smooth running machine without foibles. Churchill not only paints Imperial order, he paints the tangible evidence of what its profits procured at home and the influence it had on the Continent. Best of all he paints water, without which there would have been no Empire. Nicholson's abstracts reflect the decline of Empire and the survival of Britain under social democracy.

4.3 Churchill's Painting Referencing British Empire

According to Professor Arthur H. Williamson, new sixteenth century empires were obsessed with "hierarchy, authority, order—protection rather than participation" (Kewes 226). Williamson relates, in the advent of the Fifth Monarchy [17th century Britain] it was

theorized “all roads led to Rome and to her foundational Virgilian mythologies.” Another theory explained all roads led to “Jerusalem, and reflected deep-seated religious expectations. Throughout the period, apocalyptic spirituality—variously and conflictingly articulated—shaped Europe’s understanding of overseas conquest and settlement” (Kewes 223). “[S]acred empire rather than classical empire” was important as “salvation no less than dominion…” (Kewes 223). The verbiage in William Blake’s *Jerusalem,* sung in present day British functions, suggests there is a desire for the essence of Empire to remain, similarly to what is found in Churchill’s art.

Churchill was born into the British Empire which he felt obliged to maintain as status quo. He would refer to Britain as an “Imperial Democracy.” In reality, his views of Empire were much like Rudyard Kipling’s “white man’s burden…” (James 20). Churchill believed in the Empire even after World War II, when dominions were achieving independence and Truman and Eisenhower were calling him a Victorian relic (James 371). In 1951, Churchill became Prime Minister again, 1951, and thought, “he could bend the world to his will, just as he endeavored between 1940-1945” (James 356, 362). Churchill wanted to curtail Russian expansion with their “cruel ideology” and restore Empire with help from the United States (James 362-266). Annoyed that the United States had excluded Britain from atomic research, he investigated Britain’s nuclear weaponry and nerve gas in his old fashioned way of building dreadnoughts, the true end of Empire (James 365-366).

But there is evidence to suggest he realized Empire would not last forever. In *The World Crisis*, written between the wars, Churchill anticipates imperial collapse (James 67). After all, his soldiering had embedded him in conflicts not appreciated by fellow parliamentarians. According to politician Leo Amery (1873-1955), “the key to Winston is to

realize that he is Mid-Victorian, steeped in the politics of his father's period and unable ever to get the modern point of view" (James 180). James disagrees, "the past mattered enormously to Churchill, but he was not shackled to it..." However, Churchill welcomed "the devolution of power, so long as it did not weaken the ties with Britain" (James 181). How this could be achieved, would defy the laws of Empire building. James believed, "Churchill differed from hardliners in that he saw the Empire as an evolving organism, which had to accommodate change in order to survive, but always under terms dictated by Britain. He accepted that Egypt and Ireland ought to receive a degree of autonomy so long as it never encompassed separation from the Empire" (James 123). Yet, Churchill failed to realize that these countries were chafing for independence resulting from being treated as inferior. Churchill was not alone in viewing the white man as racially superior.

According to James:

> He treated History as a narrative of human progress and concluded that certain races had advanced more rapidly than others. Britain had set the pace and he boasted that during the nineteenth century it had arrived 'at or around the summit of the civilized world'. It was a broad plateau with abundant room for other races and the British Empire offered the dynamic force to propel them upwards. (James 183)

Churchill believed the British Raj had rescued India from barbarism. He also believed in "clean drinking water and railways over democracy" (James 183-185).

Churchill's art work has been reduced to "his long and happy love-affair with painting" (Soames, Churchill 17). True, he painted on his own terms, he thought. He chose

locations, paint colors etc. but his paint-soaked brushes reveal more. He desired to move beyond Victorian compositions, at the same time he wanted to retain the structure of a Victorian landscape. But Jonathon Fineberg says, "Works of art can disrupt our habits of thought, 'stop the world' (Castaneda), and give us an opening in which to reorganize our relationship with everything around us" (Fineberg 117). James proposes, "Churchill was trapped between his instinctive urge to hammer the enemies of the Empire into submission and the need to uphold its moral character, which, he was convinced, rested on humane values, a uniform system of justice and the consent of its subjects. He wanted order, but he recoiled from the notion of an Empire upheld by intimidation alone" (James 135). He failed to see he was dealing with peoples who had been forced to support Empire. Churchill's art contains many of these contradictions.

This can be seen in context produced with the staccato push/pull of brushstrokes, how he balances Victorian browns with Complementaries and how he stretches the coding of Picturesque. Homi Bhabha relates, "What I want to emphasize in that large liminal image of the nation with which I began is a particular ambivalence that haunts the idea of the nation, the language of those who write of it and the lives of those who live it. It is an ambivalence that emerges from a growing awareness that, despite the certainty with which historians speak of the 'origins' of nation as a sign of the 'modernity' of society, the cultural temporality of the nation inscribes a much more transitional social reality" (Bhabha, Nation 1). The Empire's culture was embedded into statesman Churchill's paintings as it was in Nicholson, a subject of the crown.

***Plug Street Battalion Headquarters* 1916 (Coombs 17):** is the name World War I, British soldiers gave to Ploegsteert, Belgium, which could be construed as disrespectful or an

expression of superiority (Codell 2). British soldiers had come to block Germans who were marching through on their way to France. War and destruction are a part of Empire building and therefore this painting should be viewed in the vein of Imperialism even though the British were not capturing Belgium.

Churchill constructed ***Plug Street…*** when he "spent four months on the front lines with the Royal Scots Fusiliers" (Coombs 27). This painting depicts Lawrence Farm which had been turned into military headquarters. Transculturation embraces "loss and recovery in new forms of cultural expression" (Codell 4).The scarred farm will return to its original intent as will Belgium. This painting displays, traditional British landscape tropes: perspective, brown tones, and three compositional bands. "[T]he contrast between controlling order and free, unruly emotions stands out" in military theatres where peacetime venues are forced to become combative (Fineberg 21). Remarkable to paint in the heat of battle, this courage represents duty of Empire over the self.

Like many Churchill's early works, the viewer's entrance is slightly impeded; here he paints rocks as a barrier. The farmhouse, fortified with sand bags has been hit and parts destroyed. In spite of surrounding danger as imagined by leafless trees and a sentry standing lower left, a soldier calmly sits outside, reading a newspaper. The work is pulled together horizontally by a twisting red walkway that unites buildings and separates this somewhat secure location from the threatening beyond. Churchill omitted an aerial view and resorted to an up-close focus, relying on tones to direct the viewer. Fineberg explains, "symbolized content…resists verbal expression—[and] has a defining role in the structure of individual identity and, as we've seen, the artist can consciously manipulate the relations among visual symbols so as to reorder his… unconscious organization" (Fineberg 147). This painting

brings together different social classes who collectively placed themselves in peril defending Britain from the possibility of foreign invasion. The officer's quarters are not lavish but they are far better than those in nearby trenches. Curator Renzo Dubbini (b.1950) says, " all topographical projections, which are based on a dual operation of deciphering and presenting signs, are likely to be motivated by economic concerns, military strategies, or movements for reform—or, in this case colonial expansion. Picturesque and topographical modes are not at odds with each other" (Barringer 34). This painting both reveals and conceals aspects of warfare. There is a duality between the former farm inhabitants and the present billeted military, whose presence will never completely disappear.

Churchill wanted to uphold Empire on his own terms; he wanted justice and morality while obtaining submission and obedience, a conundrum (James 135). Even though Belgium is not the British Empire, ***Plug Street…*** reveals a paternal take-over, even if temporary. Unlike British picturesque, social issues are exposed in the burned roof and sandbagged doorways. Churchill personally provided gourmet processed food for his men (Gilbert, Life 346). The comradeship needed to wage war likely will vanish in peace time but the possibilities for social and economic advancement brought about by war, will erode the Empire. Does Churchill see this?

Firth of Forth*, 1925 (Sandys, Winston 49):** refers to the estuary that flows into the North Sea; World War I Naval ships can be seen maneuvering. According to Darwin, after Trafalgar 1805, "Naval supremacy and the postwar balance of power in Europe conferred an extraordinary freedom from the mercantilist rivalries of the previous century" (Darwin 131). In ***Firth… water flows across the piece unencumbered like Empire. This work references Dutch paintings with its aerial view of clouds and big sky. He continues, "across a huge

swathe of the world, they could act militarily as if, in the words of a much-travelled Victorian, 'the ocean was a British possession'" (Darwin 131). Dark clouds suggest that there will be war again. Even though British battleships did not carry World War I to victory, to Churchill the British Navy represented Britain's power and might.

Firth… extends themes of Picturesque beyond the manicured backyards of the landed gentry. According to Barringer:

> the picturesque was also an aesthetic of colonial identity, and was equally popular in colonial and English paintings. Pictured both as a colonial and as an English identity, it was, in this very ambiguity, an ideal aesthetic for the art of the empire and its essential (ising) Englishness. The picturesque was able to do its ideological work for two related reasons: its psychological content and its function as a language that could articulate discourses of identity. (Barringer 26)

Picturesque could "reinforce a way of life under threat from the middle-classes" or emphasize the Wordsworthian in which the "middle-classes imaginatively invest the countryside with alienated longings…" (Barringer 26). ***Firth…*** is a Picturesque landscape as it identifies the supposed power of the British Empire with nostalgia for past naval battles and desire for future ones. Churchill painted ***Firth…***after World War I when ocean warfare was declining, another reason for the deterioration of Empire. None the less, this could be a recruiting poster for the next war, as battleships cruise off into the sunset. Distancing the spectator, as shown here, paralleled the inconsequence of people, the result of

industrialization (Bermingham, Landscape 75). Battleships, albeit impending dinosaurs, were tangible evidence of power and mechanization.

The Beach at Walmer*, 1938 (Coombs 122):** was painted before World War II when Chamberlain was appeasing Hitler and Churchill was predicting German advances. Churchill painted this beach scene with a Napoleonic cannon, at water's edge, Britain's south coast. Churchill's aesthetic weakness was not rendering figures, which has dismissed some from realizing the importance of his work. Fineberg rationalizes, "Cézanne could not do academically credible rendering of a figure, but he dissects the way we see objects in space in a manner that profoundly changed our perception and the history of art" (Fineberg 127). Churchill's rendering of water and architectural elements are sufficient to judge him an insightful painter. Mitchell says, "The thinking, feeling human body is always already inscribed in the landscape, and the landscape always presupposes embodied frames of reference" (Barringer 12). ***Beach… rendered with three compositional bands. The foreground beige sand minimally connects with the ultramarine blue ocean; the ocean and sky are distinctly separate too. The cannon at the lower right holds all three bands in place and behaves like a coullis, as it overpowers the composition, preventing the viewer from wandering off the right side. The gestural bathers, treated as vegetation, frolic, oblivious to impending danger, the outbreak of another world war that might invade their island. The vintage cannon and its placement become the metaphorical impetuous Churchill, who is gearing up to defend Britain, in spite of others who deny the threat of war.

Michael Hatt says:

> Empire depends on narrative, on the notion of progress of one sort or another, whether it be a literal progress as one sails out to the horizon, racial progress in a social Darwinist pseudo-evolutionary model, cultural progress in the civilizing mission or imperial progress as expansion….At the same time, empire is profoundly nostalgic. Every step into the future is mirrored by a step into the past, whether it be the national history of Britain or the racial history of the Anglo-Saxon. (Barringer 157)

Churchill is superimposing the threat of Napoleon onto the threat of Hitler. The Walmer cannon actually resides outside the castle above the beach. By impractically placing the cannon on the beach he suggests his aggressive posture when upholding Empire. Like the cannon, passivity is not Churchill's intent. Churchill's vision of Empire will be needed to defend his island against invasion but will quickly become outmoded after World War II as socialism, the antidote of Empire, further invades Britain, as do people from former colonies.

***Buddha and Lily*, 1948 (Coombs 208):** was painted when Churchill was temporarily out of office, trying to maintain a global presence, hoping to retain Empire. James says, "While Churchill was set on retaining or regaining political control over the Empire, Americans were bracing themselves to assert…economic imperialism" (James 323). Post-war consumerism was overtaking land requisitioning. In 1947, India gained independence, to which Churchill was at times reconciled, but never really wanted (James 318). This still life connects to landscape through themes of trade and commerce, one of the primary reasons for Empire (Hochstrasser xv). The lone lily is Churchill, who will bloom again as he shortly

became Prime Minister, participating in Cold War conferences. A Buddha statue represents themes of enlightenment and freedom from suffering which may have been on Churchill's mind when he chose this motif, as he had had strokes. In post-war England decorative gardening could once again resume as it did at Chartwell, as represented by this lily.

Of note, the face of this Buddha appears more Occidental than Oriental, which could be interpreted as transculturation, layering cultures, or just Churchill painting through the lens of a Caucasian. After all, Churchill believed in the superiority of white culture (James 183). Since 1897, he hoped Indian education would remove "faith in idols of brass and stone" (James 29). Had he softened when thinking about the reality of non-white cultures entering Britain after the war, or was this Buddha, just a miscellaneous object to paint? According to Bhabba, "Colonial discourse implicates both coloniser and colonised, colonial periphery and imperial metropole, and its effects can include subtle forms of resistance and critique as well as oppression and domination…" (Barringer 5). India was the symbol of Empire and its independence signaled the finality of the Imperialism, not surprising Churchill acquired this as an ironic souvenir of Empire.

Barringer suggests artist, "Shonibare's (b. 1962) work is a striking parable of Britain's post-war loss of empire and its hybrid, anxious, multicultural, post-imperial lack of any form of monolithic national identity" (Barringer 19). ***Buddha…*** with its Western appearance speaks to , misunderstanding of cultures and the hybridity of the new Western cultures. Churchill's ***Buddha…*** appears militaristic with a helmeted head and a military vest, superimposing a regimented theme onto a religious icon. In 1955, at a dinner with Queen Elizabeth II, Churchill came dressed in full court attire wearing his Malakand and Omdurman medals, battles that were the height of British Imperialism (James 387). Post-war Britain saw

the immigration of more Indians; restaurants popped-up displaying Buddhas as props, thus reinventing original intent. Churchill's Buddha becomes the shrunken remains of Empire and not a symbol of religious fervor.

Mosque at Marrakech,* 1948 (Coombs 200):** was painted during one of Churchill's frequent post-war visits to North Africa. By 1850, Morocco and Algeria under the French became a popular destination for artists. The area had been suggested by Lavery, one of Churchill's artist-friends who frequented Tangier, known for its Bohemian lifestyle (Tromans 109). In 1668, Churchill's ancestor, John Churchill, had served in Tangier. Churchill saw himself as the reincarnated, John (El Glaoui 15). Churchill first visited Morocco in 1935 (El Glaoui 14). He traveled to North Africa throughout the war, meeting Roosevelt in Morocco, 1943. Churchill painted his only wartime work (Sandys, Chasing xxiv). After the War, Churchill spent winters, 1947,1948, at the Hotel Mamounia when he was Leader of the Opposition. Today, Mamounia houses a mini Churchill museum, continuing Western presence in the East. In 1959, he took his sixth and final visit to Marrakech (El Glaoui 17). In ***Mosque… colors are British tonal and do not register as painting a hot climate as complementary colors, tried when painting on the Riviera are missing. His abilities at perspective and architectural details are evident in the mosque. Although the Mosque tower unifies the three landscape bands, this work reads as British landscape, the tower replacing the country Protestant church, with only essence of Northern Africa. The gestural figures fill the foreground much like vegetation in an English garden with several blue robes pulling color towards the sky in the background but also keeping the viewer from entering the work.

In 1935, he painted from the Hotel Mamounia saying, “I am painting from the balcony, because although the native city is full of attractive spots, the crowds, the smells and the general discomfort have repelled me” (El Glaoui 15). Churchill never enveloped himself in North African scenery the way he did in France and England. Yet ***Mosque…*** becomes a souvenir for what the Empire envisioned and superimposed on the East; the gestural figures becoming the foreign Other. In 1935, Churchill was a guest of Thami El Glaoui (1879-1956), the Pasha of Marrakech and painted in his gardens frequently. Until his death in 1956, the Pasha entertained Churchill regularly (El Glaoui 13). The Pasha was royalty and was not Other, but an enabler of Empire’s hold.

Like Churchill, Thami’s son Hassan (b.1923) had an interest in painting but could only be an amateur too. Churchill persuaded the Pasha to ignore tradition and send his son to Paris where he became a professional painter. According to Hassan’s daughter, writing the catalogue for a dual (Churchill and Hassan) exhibition at Leighton House Museum, 2011, Churchill’s “practice of art and the exercise of political power were thus not mutually exclusive” (El Glaoui x). According to Bakhtin, “*we* own meaning, or if we do not own it, we may at least rent meaning” (Clark, Mikhail 12). Hassan’s daughter was not Churchill’s friends or family; as an Other she could see his painting beyond a pastime.

Churchill imposed British landscape onto Marrakech but also transcultured Hassan El Glaoui by helping him become a Western artist. Codell says, “Close transcultural readings of works of art offer a virtual space that ‘reopens and dissimilates the givens’, that is, the cultural assumptions that Europeans brought to places and cultures and those they took away from those places, they themselves being transformed and reshaped by their colonial encounters” (Codell 3). Churchill acquired a bias about North Africa as those in charge

treated him like royalty. He successfully manipulated the architecture in the painting, but his rendering of mountains and streams resembled attempts to paint Cézanne's Southern France; he never embraced colors, climate or the real East.

1929 (Feock)* (Lynton 42):** teeters between styles and providing a ground to Churchill's work. By this time, Nicholson had experimented with Constructivism's geometry and Modernism's flat planes. Here he continues to retain some semblance of Picturesque using perspective to direct the viewer to the coast outside the open window. In spite of being flung open, the window leaves the viewer stuck inside the dwelling. Brown washes reflect Victorian painting styles and emphasis on line harkens to Nicholsons's classical training at the Slade, while askewed placement of shapes break from traditional landscape. His indecision to completely break away from British traditions never is resolved, here or in his tumultuous life of unresolved personal relationships. At the same time Churchill was painting heavy impasto perspectival compositions and pushing away from Victorian browns into Complementaries. The scene out the window however is flat with childlike iconography and boats going in senseless directions, a sign of the fragility of Empire. An open window symbolizes exploration and conquest which were connected to the success of Empire. In 1928, Nicholson's career was stale as Modernism according to Wyndam Lewis was, "the new naivety in painting as the product of an 'irresponsible Peterpannish psychology' then in vogue among the 'revolutionary Rich'" (Checkland 80, 83). European artists like Paul Klee (1879-1940) were reflecting on political uncertainties, making naïve art forms too. The disintegration of Empire after World War I, an impending Second World War is felt in ***Feock… as perspective in the window casing meets Modernism outside. But the fully rigged vessel that is about to beach itself also suggests uncertainties.

Nicholson like Churchill had the best, Victorian England offered to children of lineage which launched their art interests--Nicholson at the Slade, Churchill at Sandhurst. As the Empire sagged, Nicholson's career was recognized internationally, thanks to the socialization of British Post-War art, made possible by the Labor government that came into power along with the decline of Empire. Equality contributed to the status of the amateur artist's decline. Churchill's fame elevated by his war efforts, contributed to sending his art to exhibitions throughout the Commonwealth as both a memorial to Empire which won the war as its final act.

4.4 Conclusion to Churchill's Art through Imperialism

To impart content, artists have to display painterly ability with a narrative which both Churchill and Nicholson imparted. The evolution of the British Empire and aftermath with its finality provided rich contextual thought. Fineberg tells, "Most of us recognize from our personal experience that a variety of visceral sensations, impossible to verbalize, are commonly evoked by a deep encounter with a work of art….The fact that a visual form can elicit such bodily sensations hints that works of art articulate body memory" (Fineberg 68,69).

Churchill's art has been categorized as whim of a gentleman-painter. As noted by granddaughter Edwina Sandys (b.1938) implying, "There was art in Churchill's politics, but no politics in his art. Some artists like to send a message, to make a political point; some concentrate on the message and don't bother with the art at all. Not he! Unabashedly he painted for pure pleasure, channeling his *joie de vivre* onto the canvas" (Sandys, Edwina 12). Others also agree. According to artist, Peter Clarke (1929-2014), "Churchill had many talents

and many interests. Thus he called painting a pastime: one that he enjoyed, working hard to perfect his technique, but without any illusion about his lack of professional status or about the intrinsic value of his own paintings, which he would proudly exhibit and sometimes donate to favoured individuals and institutions, but not offer for sale in the art market" (Clarke xvii). Here, *joie de vivre*, has been misconstrued as Churchill used it when referring to Modernist painters, "Manet and Monet, Cézanne and Matisse" as opposed to "Keats and Shelley" or what he considered "solemn and ceremonious literary perfections of the eighteenth century" (Rose, Literary 182). Churchill, "loved the company of haute bohemia" (Rose, literary 182). He socialized with: H.G. Wells, P.G. Wodehouse, Laurence Olivier, George Bernard Shaw. In 1922, Churchill subscribed to *Ulysses*, then banned in Britain. Rose says Churchill "adored the rule-breaking creativity of the great modern artists" (Rose, Literary 182). Rule breaking can be found in when he was a soldier and a war correspondent or when he carried on as an important government official when he was out of office between the wars. Churchill had an understanding of where he was positioned, found in his writing and painting.

Not everyone dismissed Churchill as serious artist. In 1919, John Lavery sent a Churchill work to the annual show of the Royal Society of Portrait Painters which was accepted. Lavery had no reason to risk his notoriety by supporting Churchill, therefore saw much merit in his artistic abilities (Coombs 33). In 1921, Churchill exhibited in Paris under the pseudonym "Charles Morin," to pursue an objective opinion of his work; six paintings sold (Coombs 34). Artist Paul Maze had been awarded the Croix de Guerre, the Ordre National de la Legion d'Honneur and was associated with renowned Impressionists and had no reason to flatter Churchill (Singer 75) In Maze's memoir, *A Frenchman in Khaki*,

Churchill paraphrases the book's message, "For the rest we have the battle-scenes of Armageddon recorded by one who not only loved the fighting troops and shared their perils, but perceived the beauties of light and shade, of form and colour, of which even the horrors of war cannot rob the progress of the sun" (Maze, Introduction). Maze's tribute not only bestows praise on a fellow warrior, it also demonstrates a keen understanding how content in art can explain life. Maze was a product of social redistribution, the result of the First World War, with its annihilation of upper class males, erosion of social classes.

Churchill could not have engaged in wars, written volumes, remodeled apartments and estates, speculated on cards, horses and dismissed all this when painting. Fineberg says, "The greater proximity of visual expression to unconscious material is precisely what gives the best works of art their privileged sense of authenticity" (Fineberg 73). Curator Touria El Glaoui insists Churchill, "set up his easel, revealing that painting was a passion to which he devoted whatever free time his political responsibilities left him…" (El Glaoui x). Painting was never left his political realm.

Churchill was not the only Briton to impart Empire with art. Much melodrama contained the idea that "Imperialism was clearly a good thing, which would eventually civilize all non-European peoples" (Rose, Literary 26). The *coup de théâtre* performed reversal of fortune melodramas, where the hero sometimes gets a break unexpectedly, leaving the audience aghast. He liked "Imperialist melodrama" and swash buckling movies where the British (or American) hero, aided by loyal, childlike natives who are grateful for British rule, incapable of self-government, win against an evil band of natives (Rose, Literary 11). The fantasy/movie version of Empire was the way he wished it would always remain, but he new differently. He could have just painted English countryside favoring line-quality

and bands of landscape, where muted tonal variations push the viewer through flora and fauna, to a sky that reflects back to the foreground. But he did not; he mixed of Modernism: Complementaries, rearranged larger shapes, indicating Empirical change was inevitable.

Victorian melodrama grew unpopular but Rose thinks Churchill never lost interest; like his father used it in speeches to excite listeners and in his art (Rose, Literary11, 13). The canon awkwardly place at water's edge in ***Beach…*** is melodramatic painting to make the point about impending World war again.

In 1937, Churchill wrote the preface to *Biographical Dictionary of the British Empire* (never published) arrogantly stating, " Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Macedonia, Rome Spain, Portugal, Austria-Hungary all rose to power only to 'fall back into ruin and confusion, leaving nothing but memories of grandeur and a crumbling milestone or two beside the dusty path of progress'"(Rose, Literary 27). Churchill insisted Empire had, "succeeded in reconciling the rights of the individual citizen with the duties of government, the privileges of the individual state with the claims of Imperial unity….Authority and liberty: personal rights and public duty: monarchy and democracy-we have found the way, by inquiry, trial and error, to build on foundations with materials which alien philosophers have declared to be incompatible" (Rose, Literary 27). This was his political attitude which can be felt in the decisive way he places buildings and foliage in his paintings, justifying the importance of the ruling aristocracies.

Yes, Churchill had naysayers. Margot Asquith said, Churchill had, "a lot of suggestion and young ideas, elastic vital youthful military ideas, but he is very dangerous because he has no real imagination in the sense of seeing deeply into events and

probabilities" (Rose, Literary135). However, on the Western Front, Churchill would "go through the barbed wire into no-man's land to visit the battalion's forward posts" risking his own life to boost the morale (Gilbert, Life 347). To be a good officer in Empire was to risk your life for your men who were not your class but your responsibility; devil may care attitude was sometimes essential.

Author, Evelyn Waugh (1903-1966) felt Churchill, "'was a master of sham-Augustan prose' with 'no specific literary talent but a gift of lucid self-expression'" (Johnson 70). But those who benefitted from Empire, the upper classes, enjoyed Churchill's writing. He was averaging "four or 5 shillings a word." The *London Magazine* paid him £5,000 for five articles on war; the *Sunday Pictorial* gave him £250. (Rose, Literary138). In spite of economic downturns, 1933-34, *Thoughts and Adventures* was reprinted four times and sold 7,050 copies with Scribner in the United States printing 4,000 more (Rose, Literary 208). He was a Victorian amateur in name only. While readers consumed Churchill's writing for more than its narrations, similar hints about understanding his personality appear in his paintings, often overlooked.

Although Churchill took up painting after leaving the admiralty, art was not new to him. As indication of privilege and his visual learning style, he was given a magic lantern as a child, and at Harrow enjoyed lectures that used this early version of slide projection retelling this, "is for me the best way of learning" (Rose, Literary 20). At Sandhurst, drawing was on the entrance examination and Churchill, prior to going to Cuba read, *Making Sketches as* dispatches were accompanied with drawings. Churchill recognized that color gave "pleasure to the eye…" just as colour as "word pictures…" enhanced oratory (Rose, Literary 138). Churchill's autobiography, *My Early Life* contains metaphorical descriptions using

color. In 1955, Churchill told Sir John Rothenstein (1901-1992) director of the Tate Gallery, "I rejoice in the highest lights and the brightest colours" (Rose, Literary 139).

Perhaps perimeter walls he constructed at Chartwell were reminiscent of biscuit boxes, as everything in the field was recycled. When describing a field lunch he said, "Then right in our path appeared a low wall of biscuit boxes which were being rapidly constructed, and on the top of this wall I perceived a long stretch of white oil-cloth on which again were placed many bottles of inviting appearance and large dishes of bully beef and mixed pickles" (Churchill, Early 177). The visual he described verbally became the walls he mortared, permanently mixing themes found in Empire into his estate.

In 1947, Churchill wrote about a dream in which he conversed with his father who was speaking about Disraeli saying, "I always believed in Dizzy, that old Jew. He saw into the future. We had to bring the English working man into the centre of the picture" (Gilbert, Jews 297). The recognition that the working man/ career soldier was paramount for Empire building was inherited. His understanding of laborers as necessary components, harkens back to nanny Everest whom he adored and provided money for in retirement (Severance 14, Gilbert 53). Churchill understood that providing for workers, making then physically fit, benefitted the Empire. What he found hard to comprehend was, these workers would want to improve their status.

James suggests that attitude of Empire was a mixture of "vanity with a strong quasi-religious element" and that "Providence favoured certain nations and turned its back on others, usually because they lacked the requisite moral qualifications to rule others" (James 28). This was the Empire Churchill was born into, Empire that shaped his life, even when it

was beginning to show signs of disintegration beginning in the First World War. After all, "Churchill thought of himself as a heaven-born *generalissimo*" (James 101).

Empire affected Churchill as it, "projected a moral and cultural authority, the implication of which was that British values, beliefs, institutions and habits were the norm against which all others should be measured—an usually found wanting" (Darwin 266). This cultural insistence was very hard to dissolve. This is visualized in the following; "The English model presumed: a well-peopled countryside of compact village communities; a landscape of manors, common-fields and a corn growing agriculture; a peasantry under the thumb of a landowning class and its ecclesiastical allies; a network of towns, markets and fairs; an active land market, permitting some social mobility; and above all a monarchy that supplied peace, founded towns, levied taxes and fostered trade" (Darwin 15). It took both World Wars resulting in high taxes and inflation to weaken the economy of Britain.

According to Bermingham, "there is an ideology of landscape and that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a class view of landscape embodied a set of socially and, finally, economically determined values to which the painted image gave cultural expression" (Bermingham, Landscape 3). Bermingham continues, " In the classical landscape the eye moves along the path the feet might travel if the landscape were truly three-dimensional space of which it gives the illusion" (Bermingham, Landscape 122,123).Churchill does not paint entirely in a classical way, although he borrows from it often and cannot escape it clutches. But his paintings provide valuable visual clues about how he viewed Empire, how he fantasied saving it and how it eventually escaped him.

According to Darwin, “There was nothing straight forward about the end of the British Empire. Despite the huge sacrifice in the Second World War, and the costs of postwar recovery, British leaders saw no reason to abandon the empire” (Darwin 342). There was no reason on the part of Churchill and Nicholson to abandon British Landscape entirely. Churchill’s paintings reflected changes shown in his color choices and flattened shapes. Nicholson abstracted landscape adding geometric shapes. In the post war era, Churchill’s palette lightened and he allowed greater foreground entry into his compositions. Nicholson applied Victorian coloration to circles and squares. Unlike Gabo who had to abandon Russia Churchill and Nicholson could always cling to a portion of Empire.

Reynolds’ *Discourses* were a manual for the correct English way to paint. Taken from *Discourse VI,* “let it be observed, that a painter must not only be of necessity an imitator of works of nature, which alone is sufficient to dispel this phantom of inspiration, but he must be as necessarily an imitator of the works of other painters: this appears more humiliating, but equally true; and no man can be an artist, whatsoever he suppose, upon any other terms” (Harrison *1648-1815*, 656,657). Both Churchill and Nicholson slowly broke from eighteenth century attitudes. Churchill’s friends and family wanted him to paint in a Reynolds’ style. Nicholson father thought his son’s abstractions were junk. If Churchill painted alongside artist/friends Lavery, Sickert and William Nicholson, he would assimilate their style, but reverted quickly after they departed. Nicholson struggled to remove himself from his Victorian painter father.

Churchill felt British survival during World War II was “an apocalyptic contest between good and evil” with Britain on the side of “light” (James 95). “Good” and “light” work their way into his palette becoming justification through pigment of the positive

Empire. As Fineburg says, “Artists literally gives form to perceptions and relationships that are too primal to be verbalized” (Fineberg 70). ***Plugstreet…*** not only shows a reconfigured farm in the heat of battle, it shows Churchill’s determination to return to political power, felt in his Victorian brown tones and opaque painting style.

Rose excerpts ***Painting as a Pastime***:

> “painting a picture is like fighting a battle,” he observed. “It is a proposition which, whether of few or numberless parts, is commanded by a single unity of conception.” J.M.W. Turner planned his vast canvases with attention to detail and proportion “equal in quality and intensity of the finest achievements of warlike action, of forensic argument, or of scientific or philosophical adjudication.” Like a general, a landscape painter had to make a “thorough reconnaissance of the country.’ He had to study art history for the same reason military commanders study military history. And proportion and relation in art were analogous to reserves in warfare, without which “The pictorial battlefield becomes a sea of mud mercifully veiled by the fog of war.” (Rose, Literary 138, 139)

Churchill’s attitude about war and Empire cannot be separated from his artwork.

Firth… shows British battle ships conducting maneuvers off Scotland. The ocean represents Empire, as it was the highway to ports of call. After Trafalgar, 1805, “Naval supremacy and the postwar balance of power in Europe conferred an extraordinary freedom from the mercantilist rivalries of the previous century” (Darwin 131). To a much traveled Victorian, “the ocean was a British possession” (Darwin 131). Churchill watery imagery

spans his canvases. In his Post War paintings his water hovers in coves, an indication of the weakening Empire.

According to Hatt:

it may be mistaken to ask how imperial consciousness is *expressed* by the image. Whether one approaches the image from the point of view of its ideological role or whether one takes a more attenuated view that frames it in terms of discourse, such a question entails an instrumental relationship between the image and the empire….Rather than thinking of empire as a differentiated totality, it may be more plausible to conceive it as totalized difference. In other words, imperial consciousness might be exactly the mechanism that *connects* different areas of experience and knowledge for the subject. (Barringer 155)

Churchill's paternal ownership of the navy expressed in this work makes it a better painting because he is familiar with both subject and content, even if not consciously.

Beach… mixes outmoded warfare with modern warfare which is not visible. No one knew if Britain's weaponry could defeat Hitler's updated machinery. Why not call upon an impending channel visit from Napoleon which was just as frightful to a former era. By showing anonymous bathers innocently splashing, the viewer has no idea of their social status--war becomes the great leveler. What will happen to Empire off the coast? What will happen to these bathers if war occurs? Uncertainty is juxtaposed with the strength of the can, which is outmoded. As Mitchell says, "The thinking, feeling human body is already inscribed in the landscape…" (Barringer 12). Placing the cannon at the water's edge underscores his determination to win. Churchill's clichéd, "We will fight on the Beaches"

speech, is felt in retrospect, as the uncertainty of winning World War II was real. ***Beach…*** is not well executed, but has tremendous meaning inscribed.

Buddha… appears as a work of transculturation. The Oriental statue appears to be wearing Western military attire while its face looks Occidental. This piece could be construed as an altar, with Churchill perhaps acquiring religion. Churchill had been raised, Protestant--Church of England. Mainstream religion was thought to have disciplinary value (Rose, Literary 27). Churchill relates, "There was a general agreement that if you tried your best to live an honourable life and did your duty and were faithful to your friends and not unkind to the weak and poor, it did not matter much what you believed and disbelieved" (Rose, Literary 27). However, Churchill wanted the Hindu religion to erase its "brass and stone…" idols (James 29). According to Churchill, "Religion is natural to man, but only in the anthropological sense." (Rose Literary 28). Could this piece be anthropological? "The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences….The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also a place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most reoccurring images of the Other" (Said 1). Correct or not, this piece is transcultural because it Westernizes a Buddha, painted in Victorian browns, back-dropped with English draperies, away from a religious setting.

Mosque…becomes another transcultural work because Churchill painted North Africa using a cool British palette. He continues to distance the spectator which went hand in hand with the emphasis on industrialization (Bermingham, Landscape 75). His foreground figures are merely an excuse for color. Codell says, "Close transcultural readings of works of

art offer a virtual space that 'reopens and dissimilates the givens', that is, the cultural assumptions that Europeans brought to places and cultures and those they took away from those places, they themselves being transformed and reshaped by their colonial encounters" (Codell 3). Churchill enjoyed North Africa for war and entertainment purposes but was not transformed by its culture. However, he left his presence there, recorded in diaries, news reels and belongings, which is a part of transculturation.

By painting beyond rural Britain: Southern France and North Africa, Churchill imparted Empire and persona onto British landscape, also his reluctance to accept inevitable change. As Fineberg says art reflects, "the nature of our understanding of how things really are" (Fineberg 39). According to James, "Churchill's Empire was an accumulation of overseas estates and it was the duty of every Briton to see that they were well managed and that their inhabitants were well treated" (James19). This sense of duty and permanence is found in the staid feeling that his paintings exert, even when he uses brighter colors.

According to Fineberg, "Works of art articulate, in form, profoundly sensual feelings rooted in the most primitive level of bodily memory" (Fineberg 75). Churchill understood that memory went into making a painting, even though it baffled him (Coombs 13). Memory of Churchill's Empire and his aristocratic life are in his paintings, beyond the memory of landscape he was copying. His desire to learn as seen in his use of Modernist colors and flat areas parallel changes to the Empire that he reluctantly accepted. Nicholson who also benefitted from Empire, abstracted his paintings but continued to use Victorian colors emphasizing line over spatial shapes as he came to terms with how he would render postwar Britain. Even as early as ***Feock…*** 1929, he wrestles with old and new ways to describe the changes to Britain and changes to the social order of a Victorian subject.

Winston Churchill. *Plug Street Battalion Headquarters*, 1916. Oil on Board, 10 x 14. Queen Victoria School, Dumblane, Scotland

Winston Churchill. *Firth of Forth*, 1925. Oil on Canvas, 25 x 30 in. National Churchill Museum, Fulton, Mo.

Winston Churchill. *The Beach at Walmer*, 1938. Oil on Canvas, 25 x 30 in. Private Collection

Winston Churchill. *Buddha and Lily*, 1948. Oil on Canvas, 40 x 30 in. Chartwell

Winston Churchill. *Mosque at Marrakech*, 1948. Oil on Canvas, 36 x 28 in. Chartwell

Ben Nicholson. *1929 (Feock)*, 1929. Oil and Pencil on Canvas, 52 x 64 cm, Private Collection

Chapter Five: Churchill and Place

According to Lucy Lippard (b.1937) "The lure of the local is the pull of place that operates on each of us, exposing our politics and our spiritual legacies. It is the geographical component of the psychological need to belong somewhere, one antidote to a prevailing alienation" (Lippard 7). It is hard to believe Winston Churchill felt alienated anywhere as he was born into a celebrated family, as evidence of the media lurking outside his primary school gates. However, his parents did not provide much nurturing; so security was found in nanny Everest, military compatriots and in the dominating presence of Britain's place around the globe. Real and metaphorical place contribute to his political career and eventual renown through his landscapes.

Change is also a factor of place. As two twentieth century world wars stressed Britain's economic and territorial fortitude, partly because other countries wished to partake in her bounty, including communities in the Imperial realm who desired freedom from socioeconomic captivity, Churchill's politics had to adapt. In this chapter 'place' and its components 'space and time' are considered through Churchill's landscapes, painted at Chartwell and abroad, another way to better understand the man. Churchill's legacy of place continues to be of importance as Britons went to the polls and decided to secede from the European Union, confirming the emotional need to maintain the essence of Empire (NYTimes, 4/22/16).

Art critic Lucy Lippard's book, *The Lure of the Local*, 'place' can be applied to any location that holds a cultural interest. She poses, "Space defines landscape, where space combined with memory defines place" (Lippard 9). This allows expansion of thought as

space, place and memory become interchangeable, better envisioned through artworks. Lippard finds memory in natural landscapes where people have lived or been overtaken by other cultures. Memory can be found in abandoned buildings, outmoded machinery, mementos, monuments and natural features.

Professor Renzo Dubbini's (b.1950) *Geography of the Gaze* further excavates Lippard's aesthetic approach of place by considering mapmaking, often arising from military necessity. Things found on a map: waterways, fortifications and railroad and telegraph lines, all hold a trace of culture. Like Lippard, Dubbini's themes of remembrance are key, when scrutinizing Nature and manmade ruins.

Place has been production space organized for profit sometimes at the expense of others. Henri Lefebvre's (1901-1991) *Production of Space* takes Marx's theories often "reduced to the common measure of money" and broadens them into social space, deepening Lippard's themes of memory and Dubbini's geographical evidence into a contextual format that allows for greater scrutiny of Churchill's landscapes. As Lefebvre says, "the form of social space is encounter, assembly, simultaneity. But what assembles, or what is assembled? The answer is: everything that there is *in space*, everything that is produced by nature or by society, either through co-operation or through their conflicts" (Lefebvre 80,100,101).

How does objectifying Chartwell through the lens of Lippard's memory of place, Dubbini's geographical descriptions of place through mapping and Lefebvre's interpretation of cultural Marxism extend beyond the "production of things and works…" into the "production of space…" allow us to explore Churchill's landscapes by using the aesthetic Formal to discover the contextual of his personality back-dropped with Empire? (Lefebvre

128). The inquiry is helped by Nicholson, a contemporary artist who approached changes in Empire differently.

I will argue that place as space not only encompasses the Formal, which possesses geographic space, memory and in a landscape, representation through line and color, but should also include the contextual as understood through cultural Marxism.

According to Lefebvre:

> The contradictions of space, without abolishing the contradictions which arise from historical time, leave history behind and transport those old contradictions, in a worldwide simultaneity, onto a higher level; there some of them are blunted, others exacerbated, as this contradictory whole takes on a new meaning and comes to designate 'something else' – another mode of production. (Lefebvre 129)

Constructivism which influenced Nicholson, materialized new modes by abstracting shapes and using circles and squares while retaining classical line. Lefebvre says, "Space itself, at once a product of the capitalist mode of production and an economico-political instrument of the bourgeois, will now be seen to embody its own contradictions…" (Lefebvre 129). Churchill's landscapes which retain Victorian browns and perspective with its origins in military mapping, merge with Modernism's color and spatial tropes, producing a hybrid of British Picturesque that reveals the essence of British Empire remaining in memory. Nicholson's memory of Empire is the overlay of Victorian browns and the retention of line upon abstraction.

Place is the intimate of landscape, what Churchill painted and where an understanding of him can be found. Place can have multiple meanings beyond a concrete concept.

Lippard (b. 1937) continues:

> The lure of the local is that undertone to modern life that connects us to the past we know so little and the future we are aimlessly concocting. It is not universal… and its character and affect differ greatly over time from person to person and from community to community. For some people the lure of the local is neither felt nor acknowledged; for some it is an unattainable dream; for others it is a bittersweet reality; at once comforting and constricting; for others it is only partial reality, partial dream…. Inherent in the local is the concept of place—a portion of land/town/cityscape seen from the inside, the resonance of a specific location that is known and familiar. Most often place applies to our own 'local'-- entwined with personal memory, known or unknown histories, marks made in the land that provoke and evoke. Place is latitudinal and longitudinal within the map of a person's life. It is temporal and spatial, personal and political. A layered location replete with human histories and memories, place has width as well as depth. (Lippard 7)

Place is real; it is imaginary; it is historical; it is metaphorical; it is art and has trace even if unseen.

Churchill was born at Blenheim Palace, November 30, 1874. The property is known for its gardens, commissioned by the 4th Duke of Marlborough and designed by Lancelot

‘Capability’ Brown (1716-1783) who transformed “the entire park of 2,500 acres into a unified semi-natural landscape” (Buczacki 1, 3). Brown created, “Great Lakes and an artificial river, cascades, carriage drives and discrete and ingenious positioning of groups of trees.” He removed all horticultural barriers between the architecture, wilderness and the cultivation (Buczacki 3). Churchill was not in line to be Duke of Marlborough and therefore was not entitled to officially live at Blenheim. He visited often, celebrated Christmas there and is buried in the family plot, St Martins, Bladon.

As a politician in and out of office, Churchill had numerous townhouses in London and was a country weekender of British aristocrats like Prime Minister H.H. Asquith (Buczacki 51). Beginning in1921, he was a guest of Lord Beaverbrook at Cap d’Ail (Gilbert, Life 436). Around 1934, he was a long term visitor of American socialite Maxine Elliott at Cannes (Gilbert, Life 532; Coombs150). After World War II, Churchill was an incessant guest of his publisher Emery Reves in Miami Roquebrune-Cap Martin (Coombs, 172,193). He took winter vacations at Hotel Mamounia, Marrakesh (Sandys, Celia 115). Towards the end of his life, Churchill frequented Aristotle Onassis’ yacht, *Christina* (Sandys, Celia 9). “Otherness and familiarity are reinforced by impressions of landscape….Given a choice, people often migrate to geographies that remind them of home” (Lippard 61). Churchill’s landscapes are rendered from all these locations including his English country home, Chartwell; its essence was in every work, especially his palette.

In 1916, needing an estate of his own, he bought Lullenden, a farm in Lingfield Surrey, with approximately seventy-five acres (Buczacki 67,68,71). In 1922, Churchill purchased Chartwell, a Kent Victorian house with 80 acres and great view of the Weald of Kent, where nanny Everest had been raised (Buczacki 5, 100, 105,110,115). Lippard feels

that, “[S]ometimes a spontaneous attraction to place is really an emotional response to the landscape, which is place at a distance, visual rather than sensual, seen rather than felt in all its effective power. Even in places we’ve never been before, human lives can eerily bubble up from beneath the ground and haunt us” (Lippard 8). The Chartwell property had been inhabited since the sixteenth century as: a farm, a foundling home. In 1946, the National Trust bought Chartwell for £50,000, giving Churchill a life estate (Buczacki 278,279).

Although there are Churchill monuments, worldwide, Churchill College Cambridge, a National Churchill Museum, Fulton Missouri, Chartwell Booksellers Manhattan, Imperial War Museum London, National Churchill Library and Center DC, not to mention on-line sites, Chartwell is place for the Churchill legacy, one of the most visited homes in England. Dubbini points, “As the picturesque rendered or actually transformed the environment, it brought about a union between two autonomous arts: painting, with its modes of composition and representation, and architecture, with its laws for the definition, design, and construction of buildings” (Dubbini 141). Architectural concepts can be extended to include architectural landscape design.

Churchill recited, “A day away from Chartwell is a day wasted.” He had a studio built on the grounds and painted the surrounding acreage. Here, place is like concentric circles found on early maps; the studio was ground zero surrounded by Chartwell property, also place (Lippard 78). Studio is often not enough. Curator, Mary Jane Jabob (b.1952) ponders, “What does it mean to be *in* the studio? What is the space of the studio in the artist’s practice and life? Is it there that artists realize their own artistic agency and self? Does creative potential originate in the studio or only take form there?” (Jacob xi). Churchill carried abundant paint supplies worldwide, but painted the feeling and reduced colors of Chartwell.

Lippard says, “One can be ‘homesick’ for places one has never been; one can even be ‘homesick’ without moving away” (Lippard 23). Churchill said he did not like to be away from Chartwell and yet traveled extensively, especially when he was out of office; Chartwell was metaphorical place. Lippard writes, “T.S. Eliot wrote in ‘*Four Quartets’*, that home ‘is where ones starts from….We shall not cease from exploration/and the end of all our exploring /Will be to arrive where we started/ And know the place for the first time’” (Lippard 26). This was Churchill’s attitude about Chartwell.

Geographer, Denis Cosgrove (1948-2008) defines landscape as, “the external world mediated through human subjective experience” (Lippard 7). Churchill had a need to be busy and painting was another way to feel in charge, except he was not. He rearranged place, his own and others indoors and out, organized military campaigns, remodeled dwellings and maneuvered in politics. Churchill’s subjective experiences were transferred onto canvas which is why treating his work as mere pastimes falls short.

Artists put pigment down and respond. Paintings do not talk back, but they reveal successes and failures and the artistic response. Lippard says, “Unlike place (which I define… as seen from the inside), landscape can only be seen from the outside, as a backdrop for the experience of viewing” (Lippard 8). Landscape may visually be seen from the outside, but the artist’s inner thoughts hidden within reveal themselves in the brushwork and pigment. Geographer Pierce Lewis (b.1927) writes, “to teach oneself how to see, it helps to *draw*—not any ‘arty impressionistic sketches’, but ‘literal primitive drawings…to force one to notice details that might otherwise go unseen’” (Lippard 6). Churchill learned to draw at Sandhurst. His ability to visualize transferred into his political, military and aesthetic lives: metaphorical

writing and paintings. Churchill often gave away paintings, thus transferring place, often unappreciated and misunderstood.

Lippard continues, “Space defines landscape, where space combined with memory defines place….If space is where culture is lived, then place is the result of their union” (Lippard 9, 10). Some people move a lot, while others remain in place. But memory is hidden culture that can be found in artworks. Lippard continues, “The changing landscape is created by the replacement of some people, the displacement of others, and the disappearance of ways of life paradoxically envied by those who have come to emulate them but, by their very arrival, actually destroy them” (Lippard 43). Churchill participated in war as a soldier and as a politician, orchestrating conflicts and watching boundaries reconfigured along with populations. Memory defines place for Churchill as he witnessed the Empire crumbling. At Chartwell he acquired the means to create a Disney-esque place without the domestic hardships of yesteryear that are the underpinnings of eighteenth century Picturesque. Genuine displacement for Churchill was leaving nanny Edwards and entering boarding school at age seven, where corporal punishment was accepted.

According to Lippard:

> The lure of the local is not always about home as an expressive place, a place of origin and return. Sometimes it is about the illusion of home, as a memory. If place is defined by memory, but no one who remembers is left to bring these memories to the surface, does a place become no place, or only a landscape? What if there are people with memories but no-one to transmit them to? Are their memories invalidated by being unspoken? Are they still

> valuable to others with a less personal connection? Sometimes when people move to a place they've never been before, with any hope or illusion of staying there, they get interested in their predecessors. Having lost or been displaced from their own history, they are ready to adopt those of others, or at the very least are receptive to their stories. (Lippard 23)

Churchill's Blenheim ancestry especially the 1st Duke of Marlborough was hard-wired into his psyche although he was not entitled to live on the property fulltime. Blenheim's essence is found at Chartwell and everything he accomplished, which can be felt in his landscapes. As Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980) stated, "we turn to the past when the future is frightening" (Lippard 10). Churchill's art reflects a world quickly slipping into an unsteady future.

Lippard explains "placelessness" as showing indifference to what is around you (Lippard 44). The Victorians of Churchill's era were comfortable with their indifference to social injustices as heard in private social gatherings where racial epithets were not only tolerated but enjoyed. Churchill's paintings always feel like English countryside but that does not mean he was insensitive to those less fortunate. After World War II he started painting a bombed out village and immediately stopped when the inhabitants complained. Although the plight of the working poor could be imagined beneath his paintings, Churchill was an advocate for reform, bearing in mind he dined with an elite circle of friends; all should be contemplated when viewing his version of Picturesque.

Lippard says, "Place history is most often recorded in maps" (Lippard 76). Few scrutinize the connection between Churchill's military map making/usage and his landscapes.

Lippard suggests, ‘The gap between image and lived experience is the space in which both dreams and ideas are created…” (Lippard 76). Contrary to some, Churchill never stopped mentally designing landscape, even during World War II when his compositional skills turned to mapping. “For most of us the map is a tantalizing symbol of space and time….A map can be memory or anticipation in graphic code” (Lippard 77). Churchill’s dismissal of paint during the Second World war, artists who break from actual rendering continue to mentally compose.

Cartographer Denis Wood (b.1945) explains:

> Maps are embedded in a history they help construct…. Mapping in the Western world developed from the depiction of particular places….As literate people began to describe and document further and further afield, the juxtaposition of local knowledge and foreign fantasy gave way to a mechanistic and ‘scientific’ process that has become increasingly detached from place. Today, construction of a map may not even demand the cartographer’s presence on the land. (Lippard 77)

Without computers in Churchill’s time, maps were manipulated by hand. Those that remain still hold a physical trace of readers. Personnel carried maps for Churchill throughout World War II. That presence was transferred when he began to paint and remains in his surviving works.

Memory and mapping says artist, Roger Welch (b.1936) are, “chipping away at the real place and leaving exposed that memory place” (Lippard 81). Churchill chipped at landscapes revealing a duality of old and new, Britain by adding brighter colors and moving staid shapes. According to Lippard, “History known is a good thing, but history shared is far

more satisfying and far reaching. The layered history of words and places is far reaching to the outside, and less and less visible even to the insider" (Lippard 85). Churchill shared his views of the world both past and present in the volumes he wrote, but he also imparted themes in paint. Those who fill attics with family heirlooms are "keepers of the family stories" (Lippard 91). Churchill is the keeper of the English flame found in his paintings, overlaid with Modern color and shapes, his paintings move 18th century Picturesque into the twentieth century.

Lippard notes, "Because of our social ease with simulacra, we are more drawn to a created image of what we think a place 'was like then' than to any accurate rendition of other times, with their bad smells and rough sights….When 'the real thing' is too far gone but nevertheless stands for something that someone feels should be preserved, the commodification of history is aided by replicas…" (Lippard 93, 95). Picturesque becomes simulacra by rearranging rocks and trees, thus conveying a bogus image/message, that passes for everything being fine/the norm. Churchill's was striving for accuracy in his landscapes, but like Cézanne he was interested in manipulating colors, shapes and light. His results were not imitations but a review of Empire, what he wanted it to remain and what could not remain.

Lippard contemplates we are, " grateful for even the most unimaginative open spaces, we become less and less aware of the gap between space perceived and space experienced… and space conceived and imagined…between the way things are …and the way things should be…" (Lippard 243). The private spaces Churchill painted in, mainly manicured estates, were sheltered from the realities of the real world. True, he painted behind enemy lines during World War I, in churchyards and on docks, but even those places

were structured. He never painted the grit of the city or a stormy night scene. Even his highly cultivated was painted to emphasize grandeur and his persona. Ralph Waldo Emerson's (1883-1882) notion of the city as a 'human community' continues to be the stated goal of city planners" (Lippard 245). Leger's cityscapes were about the communal. Churchill's space is private and yet it speaks to the community that was Empire, those who profited and those who toiled unseen.

Dave Hickey (b.1940) says, "We may safely assume…that the visual content of any Euro-American art that is self-consciously about 'place', is likely to be routinely, and often radically, displaced from the local that constitutes its true subject…we know that the real 'place' under scrutiny is, in fact, the cultural position from which we purport to view nature." (Lippard 277). Lippard retorts, "Cultural positions are relevant if the place itself has some substance—an identity, a history of use or some identified absence…" (Lippard 277). Churchill painted a manicured view of nature and yet the very fact of cultivation has greater relevance than if he had painted wilderness. His portrayal of the Scottish Highland and Western Canada have a fantasy feel, more like manicured Picturesque. Ironically Nicholson's abstracts of British countryside break away and look more genuine than manicured Picturesque.

Art director Madeleine Grynsztejn (b.1962), "calls for a sense of place that is extroverted and outward-looking, as opposed to self-enclosed and defensive (Lippard 278). Churchill was "self-enclosed and defensive" but that reveals much about him and his attitudes towards Britain. His heavy foregrounds kept the viewer from entering. Lippard continues, "Too much art 'about place' then is more about art and the place of the art than about the actual place where artists and viewers find themselves. Places, even contexts,

become absences rather than presences, and context has to be the very bottom line of a place specific art….A 'place ethic' demands a respect for a place that is rooted more deeply than an aesthetic version of 'the tourist gaze' provided by imported artists whose real concerns lie elsewhere or back in their studios" (Lippard 278). Churchill's manicured places were real to him and that is why they become the telling.

According to Lippard, "Artists can be very good at exposing the layers of emotional and aesthetic resonance in our relationships to space" (Lippard 286). Churchill had great sense of the space he painted in, as did Nicholson. Both speak of changes in Empire. "By 1961, Claes Oldenburg (b.1929) was advocating an art that "takes its form from the lines of life itself, that twists and extends and accumulates and spits and drips and is heavy and coarse and blunt and sweet and stupid as life itself"(Lippard 266). Although Churchill was not abstract, Oldenberg defines how Churchill approached painting. Whether it was executed like a master is of little consequence; it's the content that matters.

This chapter looks at place, not only as real but as absent and imaginary. Churchill's art/ place also embodies the aftermath of Enclosure throughout the declining Empire. Nicholson expressed his understanding of Britain evolution through his fluctuations from lose representation to geometric puzzles, to glazed pencil drawings. Churchill gradually loosened his version of Picturesque and brighten his colors always leaving a hint of perspective for the past as did Nicholson.

5.2 Churchill and the Culture of Place

Place is more than objective space; it is the highly personal of landscape. Place becomes overly instilled with memory acquiring external thought as it mixes with history,

baffling artists, scientists and critics. Dubbini says, “If landscape is a result of human labor, the image that effectively captures its characteristics and identifies its essential lines is a document that reveals a given society’s aspirations and its ability to transform the environment” (Dubbini 10). When “a document” gets identified with a unique person, it becomes place. Sometimes place becomes too self-centered with the outer world of which it belongs, becoming detrimentally overlooked resulting in senseless suffering.

Painted landscape harbors history, accepted or negated. According to Dubbini in the Renaissance, “landscape did not and could not exist as a true pictorial subject. It was still equated with ‘distances’… which were inserted among other elements within the picture” (Dubbini 2). A “sweeping vista” was reduced to a few “carefully selected and spaced planes” or “they used *veduta* (view) to insert fragmented ‘distances’ between the objects or figures in the foreground...” Direct interpretation of nature was less important than view which “opened up the setting to the world beyond” (Dubbini 2, 3). This could be construed as early observances of “subject” separating from technique; the beginnings of contextual thought beyond the frame as Derrida later implies. Nature as what to emulate, has been desired or rejected for centuries. The idea of “veduta” really suggested a world beyond the frame and thus culturally “linking mariners’ charts, view-oriented atlases, military cartography, and garden design” changing the way landscape was perceived (Dubbini 3). “Aerial perspective, or gradation of shades and half-shades of color that make the parts of a painting seem to retreat or advance” was queried before linear perspective (Dubbini 94). Formal tropes become contextualized beyond their mere application, needed in understanding Churchill’s paintings. Even if he did not adopt all approaches to landscape construction, Content, often described within the Formal, rescued the space he manipulated.

Despite the contrary, Content has always been connected to the Formal; inspite of post-war Greenbergian attempts to permanently separate the two. Seventeenth century Dutch artists stressed "actual viewing experience to the artificial perspective system of the Italians" (Dubbini 4). Eighteenth and nineteenth century Picturesque of Gilpin, Turner and Ruskin became a "code for defining and composing landscape scenes" based on: "material objects, their cultural matrix, and the influence that their environment had exerted on them" (Dubbini 5). Picturesque was opposed to being uniform; it divided landscape into realism and fantasy, whether it depicted an enclosed garden or a city park (Dubbini 4, 5). Place possessed cultural and political underpinnings, even if ignored or denied.

By the sixteenth century, atlases were a popular way to identify place. They were scientific as well as artistic and architectural/botanical, mixing perspectival drawing with diagraming and actual pictures (Dubbini 20, 25). "*Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1571-1617" detailed major European cities (Dubbini 11). Seventeenth century Dutch embedded Realism with scientific themes providing more contextuality (Dubbini 10). Using optical devices, painters like Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678) crowded their works with details, distinguishing the manmade from the real (Dubbini 12,13). There had to be an organizational contiguity between all parts: foreground, middleground and background, with concrete objects situated on the horizon line. (Dubbini 17). Formal strategies mixed with scientific devices to find content.

According to professor Svetlana Alpers (b.1936) the relationship of maps and picture-making dates back to Ptolemy's (90-168 AD) *Geography* (Alpers 133). Before Alberti (1401-1472) explored the psychological on the picture plane, the Greeks understood maps contained more than directional findings. Dutch painter Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) was

the first to go outdoors to map landscapes as “surface and extent” are emphasized over “volume and solidity” (Alpers 139). The British admiralty also felt that drawing, especially marine, was more useful than written descriptions. Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) secretary of the Royal navy and architect Christopher Wren instituted cartography and drawing including landscaping ports, “with details that showed every object of navigation or strategic importance.” Artist Alexander Cozens (1717-1786) taught importance of rendering coastlines and islands (Dubbini 13, 14). A marine view rendered into a painting, meant territorial power and control (Harley 71, 72). Place was more than emotional territory; it was social and economic importance.

Maps encouraged multiple viewpoints which became incorporated into landscapes as opposed to Albertian one-point perspective which Cézanne adopted, thus imparting Realism into fiction. Mapmakers were “world describers” (Alpers xix, 122,138). According to Alpers, “Maps give us the measure of a place and the relationship between places, quantifiable data, while landscape pictures are evocative, and aim rather to give us some quality of a place or of the viewer’s sense of it” (Alpers 124). The idea of lowering the horizon to let in sky came from mapping (Alpers 141,145). Churchill’s ability to incorporate differing viewpoints, evident he was trained in mapping, adds context to his work. Maps showed two viewpoints: “a horizontal view of the terrain with a view of the buildings from a raised viewpoint.” (Dubbini 38-40). An aerial view was considered better than a ground view, deemed the tourists’ idea of Picturesque (Dubbini 57). The raised view is found in Churchill’s art, proving he was more than an amateur; Nicholson removed directional view, yet was deemed a professional.

Mapping and measuring contributed to Enclosure; the results are inscribed in British landscape. Sixteenth and seventeenth century advances in measuring and surveying techniques began with improvements in castle location and fortification (Dubbini 30). Englishman John Norden's (1548-1625) book, *Surveyor's Dialogue*, 1607, created a conversation between the "surveyor, a bailiff, a farmer, the lord of the manor and a purchaser." Surveyors became the negotiating body between tenants and lords of the manor (Alpers 148). They became important to marching armies (Harley 57). The Reformation brought about massive land transfers that needed surveying; more artists learned to measure. British landscape was coded to be different than French and Italian Catholic countries. Notions of English Protestant superiority endured into the twentieth century, perceived in art. Churchill's landscapes exude power and control, derived from maps and his confidence as a politician.

According to cartographer J.B. Harley (1932-1971), maps provide a mirror of the world (Harley 35). Harley continues, "mapmaking was one of the specialized intellectual weapons by which power could be gained, administered, given legitimacy, and codified" and "as much as guns and warships, maps have been the weapon of imperialism" (Harley 56, 57). In regard to the partition of India, 1947, "the stroke of a pen across a map could determine the lives and deaths of millions of people. There are innumerable contexts in which maps became the currency of political 'bargains', lease partitions sales, and treaties struck over colonial territory and, once made permanent in the image, these maps more than often acquired the force of law in the landscape"(Harley 59). In his retirement, Churchill frenetically bought and sold farms mimicking the way Empire once acquired territories.

Nicholson's work is also map related; he abstracted country farms and fishing villages, the emblem of Empire's propriety at home.

By the eighteenth century, castles became costly and outmoded because of improved artillery. Their presence continued to influence landscape by design (Dubbini 30-36). As Dubbini observes with military and garden drawings, "the methods of representation used in the two disciplines were clearly similar, both in general and in detail" (Dubbini 36). Great houses like Blenheim were designed in a similar fashion as "fortified structures" often near a bend in the river. Having a line of demarcation between what is around the manor and what is deemed woods seemed aesthetically pleasing having derived from military strategy. Landscape gardeners were similar to military installation designers in that they focused on "sight lines." The "ha-ha" was akin to a "military line of defense" (Dubbini 43-45). There was often good reason to worry about predators around large estates. Essence of castle as place became the country estate, symbol of Empire.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Picturesque rivers were rendered by marine cartographers who described coastlines (Dubbini 60). Waterways flowing through urban areas took up entire scenes describing the culture and its wealth (Dubbini 64). Urban rivers were about commerce; unlike the country waterways, they were polluted. Ships tied up to docks represented wealth (Dubbini 57). Churchill paints the fishing boats of Southern France, one of the mainstays of the regions' economy. Nicholson's boats resemble bathtub toys, often heading in wrong directions, suggesting disruption.

Since ancient Greece, seawater was considered medicinal. By the eighteenth century, the British built coastal resorts for curative and contemplative properties (Dubbini 181-184).

Those financially comfortable and powerful partook of resorts, a testimony of power. Churchill occasionally painted beach venues, but mainly the villas that owned water frontage. Nicholson abstractly painted fishing villages, giving the narrative the feel of work as livlihood.

Geographic exploration to foreign lands such as the journeys of Captain Cook influenced landscape painting by combining exploration with science. (Dubbini 83). Dubbini said, "the gaze of the artist and scientist were combined" (Dubbini 89, 91). Melancholy also became a theme derived from ruins. Empirical observation overtook referencing ancient cultures. (Dubbini 84-87). Archeological/historical expeditions were a way to understand the past, while drawing artifacts memorialized them. Exploration led to discoveries of cultures and domination.

Perspectival drawing was the preferred way to "render the movement and play of columns." Adding historical motifs gave Picturesque scientific respectability, as did travel (Dubbini 99,102). According to archeologist Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825) who documented monuments for Napoleon, "It has also struck me, that an artist who undertakes to travel…ought not to consider what may, or what may not make a fine drawing, but the general interest which the aspect of the spot he proposes to draw may inspire. The artist-traveler should thus be able to impose on his work a graphic method appropriate to circumstances and living conditions" (Dubbini 107). Place as documentary is essential for nation building.

Obelisks generally taken from foreign lands by force were not only considered sculptures but landmarks at their newly positioned places. A statue of John, the First Duke of

Marlborough, sits atop a column at Blenheim, suggesting power. (Dubbini 21). Although Churchill did not physically pillage, he captured foreign places metaphorically with paint adding to his mythical Empire, while the real one was eroding. The houses he visited and Chartwell become obelisks to his presence and power.

According to Dubbini, the end of the eighteenth century became the beginning of studying sky, saying "The environment could no longer be considered an inert model open only to exploitation by an artist's genius; it was now recognized as having intrinsic natural beauty and an extraordinary aesthetic potential" (Dubbini 98). Continuing into the early nineteenth century, cloud movement puzzled observers as did the origin of shadows used to define land features (Dubbini 177). Artist Roger de Piles (1635--1709) realized, "the entire force of light is concentrated in the sky….Everything that is upon the earth must yield to [the sky] in brightness" (Dubbini 94**).** Sky as place merged scientific study with art, and contributed to globalization.

In the eighteenth century the "circular panorama" added theatricality to landscape, depicting "enclosed space of a garden to an entire city or region." Like the elevated view, it presented an on high vantage point: "a church spire, a hill, a tower, or a fortress, the preferred angle of vision of topographers and travelers." "Circular depictions" derive from military topography (Dubbini 4, 76, 77). Spectators craved theatricality in flatwork, the result of acquiring optical viewing devices, mirrors and the illusion of travel through pictures. Improved lighting created the allusion of fire and volcanic eruptions in large dioramas and paintings (Dubbini 115,116). Again science gained commerciality as it mixed with art.

Dioramas often used narratives from literary works to seek "the primordial and the wild." Thus the sublime entered Picturesque (Dubbini 130-132). "Mythmakers" like poet Thomas Gray, (1747-1771); writers like Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) and artists like William Gilpin transformed the way scenic areas were viewed which helped encourage a love of British landscape, along with mass production printing (Dubbini 133, 134). With the evolution of the railroad, the hot air balloon and the photograph, themes of imitation and beauty were now being pushed beyond "detailed identification of the object" helping the public to define place as content (Dubbini 6, 7).

Panoramas were a way to see a whole city as an elevated view, streets intersecting with architectural elements, preferred over a ground view which fractured a city (Dubbini 189). Gestural painting of people was a way to render, "an anonymous mass of individuals" thus focusing on place itself (Dubbini 195-197). Churchill rarely painted people; their insignificance is noted. The camera defined the city as voyeur, reinventing a singular point of view (Dubbini 199). In the Sixties, Michael Snow's (b. 1929) *Wavelength*, would push the camera into its own realm as lone reporter. Churchill used a camera as a painting tool; his paintings become reportage in paint. He did not however paint urban like Leger. Cameras usually give an instant picture of present life whereas Churchill's paintings remain a bygone era, even when using a snapshot as sketch (Dubbini 203). Nicholson mixes the past with his uncertainty of future. Picturesque craves narrative through different mechanisms and is richer for encompassing all of them. Through photography, place was captured and immortalized.

By the end of the nineteenth century "the culture of celebrity" arose, good for politicians like Churchill. As a child, he acquired a love of adventure through Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) (Rose, Literary 35-37). According to Jonathon Rose, "Again and

again, Churchill likewise would follow a fictional model (*Treasure Island* in the case of Cuba) to perform a real-life adventure and then publish the story, in which the correspondent was inevitably at the center of the narrative" (Rose, Literary 37). While Churchill hid from the Boers, he read *Kidnapped* recalling, "Those thrilling pages which describe the escape of David Balfour and Alan Breck in the glens awakened sensations with which I was only too familiar" (Rose, Literary 77). Rose reflects, "Churchill was disappointed that King George VI would not let him beach-land on D-Day. Churchill quoted Stevenson reciting, "A man who has to play an effective part in taking, with the highest responsibility, grave and terrible decisions of war may need the refreshment of adventure…. I thought my view and theme of the war were sufficiently important and authoritative to entitle me to full freedom of judgment as to how I discharged my task in such a personal matter" (Rose, Literary 362, 363). Rose concludes, "There was no clear distinction between Churchill the soldier, Churchill the politician, and Churchill the author—all three were engaged in performing and publishing a common narrative" (Rose, Literary 37). Narrative is fused into his landscapes too. Rose says, "Of course 'view' and 'theme' are aesthetic factors, properly decided by independent artists and authors, and Churchill still conducted himself as a war correspondent as well as Prime Minister" (Rose, Literary 363). Churchill's idea of place is mixed with fiction and reality.

Rendering space by political leaders and others of influence occurred before Churchill. Politician Horace Walpole (1717-1797) wrote, "there must be a close relationship between the essential nature of a place and precisely defined methods of observation." He stressed, it was up to the artist to choose how to explain visually (Dubbini 135). Gilpin advocated, "precise observations" without exaggeration. Alexander Cozens insisted on a

“proper choice of the subject, strength of character, taste, picturesqueness, proportion, keeping, expression of parts or objects, harmony, contrast, light and shade, effect, etc.” (Dubbini 136, 137). For the essayist, Rene Louis Giradin (1735-1808) advocated unity; “the house was the center around which a landscape must be organized.” This included coordinating all hues found on site (Dubbini 138). For architect Étienne Boulée (1728-1799), Light and shadow cast on a volume was important (Dubbini 139). All these ways to paint correctly are nebulous, which explains why adding contextual narrative when describing place is vital.

As Dubbini points, “As the picturesque rendered or actually transformed the environment, it brought about a union between two autonomous arts: painting, with its modes of composition and representation, and architecture, with its laws for the definition, design, and construction of buildings” (Dubbini141). Gilpin continued to stress the “choice of the view to be depicted and the relationship its various planes must necessarily follow the rules of classical painting” (Dubbini144, 145). Ruskin wanted to improve upon topography; he desired “harmonies and discordances in the place observed” (Dubbini 146). Writer Stendahl (1783-1842) said, “the very misery of the country contributed to the emotion that it gave, even its ugliness. If the countryside had been more beautiful, it would have been less terrible; part of the mind would have been busy feeling its beauty” (Dubbini 158). Buildings hold a natural story: design, builders, functionality which enhances Formal tropes adding to the contextuality of landscapes. Picturesque, even with ambiguities, placed buildings at the forefront of a composition with its relationship to setting, daily life and history which Churchill addressed in his art as did Nicholson who abstracted and further decentered place (Dubbini 160,163-165).

English civil engineering (bridges and railways) advanced after the Napoleonic Wars (Dubbini168-173). Engineering was influenced by Picturesque which became popular enough to dictate how real landscape should be manipulated: bridges positioned, highways and waterways landscaped. Artist's rendering of bridges and tunnels reverted imagery depicted in landscape back to engineers, procuring a "new historical definition of the relationship between the individual and progress and between territorial development and society" (Dubbini 175). While some felt technology ruined understanding of nature, not everyone did. Churchill was an advocate of speed. He promoted the manufacture of tanks in World War I, learned to fly; and predicted aerial bombing would replace much ground combat, place destroyed and rebuilt. Churchill's swift brushwork reflects an age of spatial changes but actual evidence of technology is absent in a Churchill work. Naum Gabo, the Constructivist, was engaged with speed which he depicted in art, influencing Nicholson's work who omits technology. Aside from an occasional hint of bridge or suggestion of architecture, both Churchill and Nicholson are embedded in the Picturesque of place.

Churchill avoided painting the city; its absence in his work must be considered as it played a large role as place in nineteenth century art. Painting boulevards opened neighborhoods, merging classes, representing gaze (Dubbini 195-197). "Kafka (1883-1924) nonetheless thought it impossible to avoid the dissociation between seeing and being seen" (Dubbini 207). Window frames and arcades were painted as a way to separate indoors/outdoors (Dubbini 186,192-195). Baudelaire said the window was "a black or luminous hole" where "life is lived, life is dreamed, life is suffered." Hitchcock's film, *Rear Window,* 1954, plays on the window as separation as do Proust's windows in *Remembrances of Things Past* , 1913, (Dubbini 206). Another way to describe a city was by depicting walls

and gates (Dubbini 69, 74). However, Churchill's painted walls and gates are in the country, not keeping out marauders but isolating the aristocracy. Churchill's art remains in the British and French country. Even rendering North Africa was done from a window. The countryside was paid for by Empire; it was the visual place of power and money from trade.

Churchill painted rocks and trees and foreground foliage to keep the viewer out, as place in his landscapes becomes his exclusively. Occasionally Churchill's paintings are about ruins, trees or long hallways; still never revealing anything more than what he desires the viewer to see. Ironically, Churchill loved to be seen and was seen in the city. Except for his body guard who accompanied him painting and friends whom he stayed with, his painting excursions were mainly in country settings, conducted in private. He saw without being seen. The private places Churchill painted were his, whether he owned them or was a guest and borrowed. Nicholson's work can also be private, even uninviting as he goes totally geometric, not only slamming the door on the viewer by blocking foregrounds but scrambling meanings through meandering line quality.

According to Schama, eighteenth century British baronial gardens opened up to the public as a testimony to the greatness of Britain where plain folk could imagine another way of living (Schama dvd, 2010). Place as parks, Empire became the collective for Britons who could now enjoy some of its benefits.

Churchill's foregrounds opened after World War II as Victorian browns were cast aside. But waterways dead-ended as his Empire faded. According to Dubbini, "The modern perception of landscape gradually threw off the neoclassical theory of art and adopted the principles of empirical observation" (Dubbini 87). There was a strong desire "to assign

temporality to the visual event and to grasp 'real' time of the representation—that is to make the image and the instant coincide" (Dubbini 82). Churchill combines Formal tropes with personal memory of place, objectively revealing his way of perceiving Empire he wants to keep, but cannot. His love affair with Empire, seen through his art are can be clouded by ignoring the plight of Empire, which was not only dwindling but others less fortunate did not reap its benefit. Nicholson also retains the essence of Empire through line and brown-colors but embraces Britain beyond Empire through geometric shapes as new world of place. Place is documented through maps and monuments with pens and cameras, revealed personally, metaphorically through the wider lens of landscape, which can also document the concealed, destroyed and reinvented.

5.3 Churchill's Painting in Relation to Place

Often overlooked as a place to find Churchill's voice, paintings are a trove of his personality and the times he lived. Dr. Leonard Shlain (1937-2009) recounted that Vincent Van Gogh wrote to his brother Leo about his frustration with articulation of words saying, "Really, we can speak only through our paintings" (Shlain 20). Many dismissed Churchill's art as mere stress release for alleged depression. According to historian Michael Ann Holly (b.1944) when exploring sadness, "Melancholy, of course, is not only about loss and resulting sadness; as Renaissance thinkers and artists long ago recognized, it can be creatively empowering as it is spiritually disabling" (Holly xxi). While this paper does not explore Churchill's depression, it does look at loss of Empire and acceptance of change as a major theme. Holly continues, "In sum, the melancholy that courses through the history of art is a product of its perhaps unconscious awareness that works that seem so present are actually absent. It is the loss embedded in this ambiguity that both haunts and animates its

activities" (Holly 21). Holly's melancholy is broad enough to refocus loss to the declining Empire that surfaces in Churchillian landscapes.

What if the experiential is not embedded in reality as phenomenologists suggest, but in the recreated image? Holly uses Heidegger's analysis of Van Gogh's shoe paintings saying, "but perhaps it is only in the picture that we notice all this about the shoes. The work of art, in other words, does not have origin in the 'real thing'—quite the reverse. The material thing in the world has its origin—*only comes into its own*—in its visual representation" (Holly 107).When we view Churchill's paintings today we are aware of his absence as an alive human, but we are also aware of his continued presence found in his paintings. This allows exploration into a Churchill work to see how he looked at place and how the observer can come to understand the reality of Empire, which was a desire for the aristocracy to forever stay the same.. According to conceptual artist, Victor Burgin (b.1941), "This space 'between the unconscious and the consciousness' is the location of cultural experience" (Burgin 272). Cultural experience, his and Empire, is gleaned from a Churchill work. Lippard says, "Space defines landscape, where space combined with memory defines place" (Lippard 9). The following paintings explore the importance of space/place to culture. Nicholson's work adds to our understanding of Imperial culture because his work also embedded in the past, profits from the declining Empire..

***Blenheim Palace through the Branches of a Cedar,* 1920s (Coombs 61):** is constructed with loose brushstrokes that blur imagery, as looking through a windowpane. Even though Churchill was not in line to be a Duke, Blenheim was his ancestral home. Churchill was born at Blenheim and was a regular guest. Painted using minimal colors: yellows and greens with an overall brown tone, the palace is eclipsed by an overhanging

cedar, blocking the viewer's line of sight. Blue sky finds no other blue hue to gravitate to, a flaw in many Churchill works. Here it does not matter; yellows and greens dominate and hold the composition together as does the cedar branches as Churchill often keeps the viewer outside by planting a hedge or a fence in the foreground. But does this cedar tree keep Churchill out too? The façade he painted is not Blenheim's grand entrance but the lesser Westside. Did he feel he was an outsider, or was he confidently uninhibited, painting the lesser side?

By writing a biography of John Churchill, the First Duke, Churchill took possession of family history. Not having title to Blenheim did not prevent him from becoming the greatest Churchill since John, as evidenced of his state funeral, 1965. By painting the west side of Blenheim, Churchill becomes a *flâneur*. Walter Benjamin writes, "The street becomes a dwelling for the *flâneur*; he is as much at home among the façades of houses as the citizen is in his four walls….The *flâneur* who turns the street into a living room commits an act of transgression which reverses an establishment distinction between public and private spaces" (Burgin 144,145). In spite of not having title to Blenheim, Churchill was welcome there, as he was at other estates he frequented. Yet, he paints from a low viewpoint or what Picturesque tourists preferred, indicating his detachment from house and its inhabitants. None the less, his Blenheim was a private family experience, so blocking out the viewer with branches may have been his sole intent. Both world wars, increased taxes and labor shortages made stately homes too expensive. Blenheim opened to the public since 1950, exemplifies social changes to Imperialism as it gets help from the National Trust, funded in part by public donations. Place at Blenheim is still the signature home to the Dukes of Marlborough line of Spencer-Churchills, but collectively now public place.

***State Room at Blenheim,* 1928 (Coombs 58; Sandys, Winston 90, 91):** is part of the buildings and grounds which were the prize John Churchill received for making Britain a powerful nation, early Empire building. Churchill paints boldly in Victorian browns and classic tones of red, blue and gold (symbolizing pricey pigments commissioned by aristocrats since the Middle Ages), united throughout the work.

According to Burgin, "In conformity to the exigencies of a militant and expansive mercantile capitalism, the image of the convergence of parallel lines toward a vanishing point on the horizon became the very figure of Western European global economic and political ambitions. This optical-geometric spatial regime—the panoptical-instrumental space of colonialist capitalist modernity--would govern Western European representations for the ensuing three centuries" (Burgin 143). Churchill's mastery at perspective pushes the viewer into adjacent rooms, not only showing that Blenheim is vast, but the room he is painting from is intimate, a metaphor for the generations of his family who resided at Blenheim. Churchill setup his easel in the middle of the room as if he were hired as painter. His aerial approach harkens to his military studying of drawing and mapping and not of a tourist parked by the roadside ruin, looking up. There is an ambivalence to place as Churchill paints as a voyeur and not a household member.

State Room… displays heraldic banners of red/blue that casually lean against tapestries, pulling rich hues toward red chairs surrounding the main doorway. Banners stand in for ghosts of the past. Ancestral portraits, painted gesturally, hanging on the wallpaper, morph and blur generational power. Lippard says, "The lure of the local is the pull of place that operates on each of us, exposing our politics and our spiritual legacies. It is the geographical component of the psychological need to belong somewhere, one antidote to a

prevailing alienation" (Lippard 7). Churchill did not quite belong to Blenheim as he was not the generational duke. Blenheim is not only found in the histories he wrote but the estates he frequented, especially Chartwell which is a small version of Blenheim, but his own place. The uncertainty of belonging found in the paintings done at Blenheim are later resolved in depictions of Chartwell, especially ones done after the war. Place as wanting to completely belong is what Churchill accomplished by taking charge of Empire.

***View of Chartwell,* 1938 (Coombs 67; Sandys, Winston 23):** depicts the estate Churchill bought in 1921; it had been farmed since 1659 (Buczacki 105-110). The Russian Constructivist, Tzvetan Todorov said, "The form of a work is not its only formal element: its content may equally well be formal" (Burgin 19). Painted using Victorian brown tones, this is a classic British landscape in three bands. The house, Chartwell in left middle-ground is no longer centered; it is overshadowed by the aerial view of the weald. Land is what made the gentry; here it is featured. There would be a good optical lead from the path in the foreground, to the waterway middle ground, if it were not for the two trees in the foreground right, that abruptly stop the viewer. The blue background, vaguely reflected in the waterway at center does manage to push the viewer into the background only to be stopped by more trees. Brown tones in the sky help to unite the composition with the frontal foliage. Shapes have been slightly flattened and the green trees complement the rusty autumn leaves and red/brown house. Churchill has rearranged a classical landscape pose on his way to incorporating more Modern tropes: larger shapes and bright colors. Painted from the aerial, this is Churchill's English place, including beyond lot lines. Out of office and chomping to get back, Chartwell will become his Empirical remembrance, as he travels for them Second World War effort.

A Corner of the Drawing-room at Chartwell,* 1938 (Coombs 66):** crams viewers into a corner, while the three landscape bands get vertically upended. According to philosopher Henri Lefebvre's (1901-1991) critique of "Western visualization," "All impressions derived from taste, smell, touch and even hearing first lose clarity and then fade away altogether, leaving the field to line, colour and light"(Burgin 231). Since conceptual thought adjoins Formal, the viewer can feel Churchill's out-of-office frustrations as he paints himself into a corner. ***Corner… shows a window surrounded by bookcases. A table at the right has red flowers as does another table near the window. Red is echoed in the lamp shade atop a patterned lamp, reflected in the mirror. According to Lippard, "'nature is a place where we are not' has ruled for centuries...powerful, uncontrollable and threatening, on one hand, and inferior and subordinate…to human culture, on the other" (Lippard 12). To the British Empire, nature belonged to them where "humans are the center, *surrounded* by everything else…" (Lippard 12). But three scenarios here play with reality: the greenery outside the window, the drawing room's interior and reflections in the mirror. The outside is England, stand-in for Empire; the interior is where this elite family safely congregates; with the mirror presenting the contemplation of change. England is on the brink of war and British power is once again threatened.

Corner… has Victorian brown tones but the green draperies complement the reds found in the flowers, lampshade, window cushion, carpet and bookcase, pulling the work together. This room may seem dowdy for an estate but to the working man, it represented extravagance constructed by the laboring class. According to Lefebvre, "Those who produced space (peasants or artisans) were not the same people who managed it, as used it to organize social production…" (Lefebvre 48). Eric Hobsbawm (1917-2012) relates, "The

early to mid-Victorians saw themselves as leaders of progress and pioneers of civilization, and prided themselves on the limited nature of their government, their lack of interest in formal empire, their hatred of show, extravagance, ceremonial and ostentation. The certainty of power and the assured confidence of success meant that there was no need to show off " (Hobsbawn 112). ***Corner…*** has a lived-in, I belong, comfortable family feel, quite different than Blenheim's ***State Room….***

Corner… is a trove of metaphors about Imperial rule. Aside from books representing knowledge, the lamp and rug were probably imported, the result of healthy Imperial trade. According to Darwin, "trade nourished the realm and supplied much of its revenue" (Darwin 70). The outside beyond the window has minimal features, yet it is "England's green and pleasant land" as identified in Picturesque. According to Malcolm Andrews a window is, "the longing to escape confinement, the inducement to liberate the imagination to explore the vast regions of light" (Andrews 111). Ambiguities abound between the feelings of confinement and the sudden discovery of the coziness of the room along with opportunities to read great books, a symbol of intellectual leisure. ***Corner…*** was painted during the *Wilderness Years* when Churchill was frustrated at not being a major player, addressing Hitler's impending threats. ***Corner…*** is secure containment with the importance of belonging and who/what is in or out.

View from Chartwell,* 1948 (Coombs 211):** was painted after World War II when Churchill was out of office writing, painting and traveling. The house takes center stage away from the surrounding weald; for now, Churchill's world is Chartwell and not the Empire beyond. Chartwell is now headquarters for all his activities including future political intrigue. Chartwell as place to Churchill has gained importance. In ***Chartwell '48… the

viewer remains stuck in the fore-ground's fenced yard and is prevented access to the house by a large evergreen. This solo evergreen is Churchill, now looking inward to the house, as he was out of office. Chartwell is now part of the British panorama as Churchill is now part of British history.

Lefebvre points, "From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space" (Lefebvre 38). This work reveals mixtures: perspectival and flat shapes, tones and complementary colors, the old world and the new have collided and can never be separated. The lower sky picks up some of the foreground green, but is a mix of weather patterns, suggesting uncertainty may lie ahead. When this was painted, Churchill was frenetically buying property and race horses while Britain was forced to rethink its role in a world without Empire as the Cold War loomed with more uncertainty. He was also having extreme medical issues culminating in multiple strokes. To the bourgeois public, who gained a foothold in a more liberal Post-War Britain, memory of Churchill's Empire will remain at Chartwell as place, even if it is somewhat a myth as he created place in many parts of the world.

***The Palladian Bridge at Wilton,* 1920s (Coombs 109): symbolizes the** Roman presence in Britain lasting four hundred years, with the neoclassical style, a sign of order, power becoming an homage to Britain's past, an appropriate theme as Churchill respected the defeated and the victorious. The bridge is on the grounds of Wilton House, Wiltshire, originally a priory until Henry VIII gave it to William Herbert the 1st Earl of Pembroke who married Anne Parr, sister to Catherine Parr, the last of Henry's six wives. Earls of Pembroke have occupied this home for 400 years with Philip Herbert, the 4th Earl remodeling in the

Palladian style. Like Blenheim, Wilton House opened to the public in 1951 changing how place is reinvented.

Churchill incorporates neoclassical elements found in the bridge with Romantic renderings of manicured and unkempt greenery, as Victorian browns dominate his palette. Trees at the top of the canvas harken to crossed swords used for military celebrations while giving equal importance to both the background and foreground in a Modern way similar to Cézanne. Water dominates the bottom half of the picture picking up colors of foliage and reflections from the bridge. Water bleaches out beyond the bridge; its further travels are unknown. World War I has ended but future conflicts are predicted. Horizontal shadows and reflections as well as tree limbs keep the viewer on the riverbank. The neoclassical bridge dominates the upper half of the picture and is bathed in reflected colors from the water and the surrounding greenery. Churchill's greens behind the bridge as well as glimpses of pale blue sky fail to recede, hinting at his understanding of a Modernist composition, putting the viewer off from center. According to Burgin, "The same abstract order that informed painting and architecture was brought to enhance the instrumentality of such things as navigational charts, maps and city plans" (Burgin 143). This painting becomes a microcosm of Empire; the bridge symbolizing the power of Empire flowing smoothly along as indicated by the water. The water becomes a mirror wherein the image of the bridge is fragmented thus suggesting the breakdown of Empire.

***Le Béguinage, Bruges* 1946 (Coombs 195):** is a convent. Somewhat unusual, Churchill has featured place as belonging to the nuns who are painted prominently, not gesturally. Scholar, David Cannadine felt that Churchill's "vigor in his earlier work disappeared" compare to work finished before World War II (internet source: Cannadine,

Yale Daily News, 4/22/11). True, Churchill was frail, but he now had time to discover new layers of his art, as his mind was sharp. He spent months at the Riviera home of Wendy and Emery Reves who were avid collectors of Modern art.

In an NPR essay about the composer Sergei Rachmaninoff (1873-1943), Marin Alsop said that for creative people, music is the outlet that organizes thoughts. The audience are the benefactors of this emotional release. Like Churchill, Rachmaninoff was a genius who allegedly suffered from depression (internet source: Alsop, Rachmaninoff, 1/2/16). Substituting music for painting we can better understand why Churchill painted and why viewers can better understand Empire through his art.

This Post-War painting reflects understanding of post-Impressionism; bright flat shapes and his interpretation of nuns going about their daily lives in the aftermath of Belgian liberation, play equally with the trees, a trope for renewal. ***Le Béguinage…*** nuns are reading while walking and provide contrast with the trees but also echo the foliage which also survived the horrors of war. Trees have traditionally stood for "heroic and spiritual actors" (Schama 196). The "cathedral grove" have also represented pagan ritual, tree idolatry combined with Gothic architecture; here a contrasting theme to these Catholic nuns whose 16th century convent is far from Gothic (Schama 14). Not unlike contemporary artists, Churchill painted ***Le Béguinage…*** from several photographs indicating a talent not only for designing a canvas but an understanding that it is often beneficial to rearrange a scene from sketches or camera shots—cameras create metaphorical place. This work is reminiscent of Gauguin (1848-1903) who also painted nuns, but as design elements without content. British Picturesque can suggest anti-Catholicism, often found in the ruins of abbeys. (Berminham, Drawing 107, 114,125). The red roof, path, and tops of the wall complement the green

foliage and grass. The blue sky is reflected on the roofs. Although the tones in the grass do not coordinate with the blue sky, the trees span the entire composition and remove any noticeable color discrepancies and compositional disintegration. Shadows on trees as well as grass indicate Churchill's interest in light patterns. This piece has been flattened almost to resemble needlework. He has allowed viewers into the picture in the foreground, something he rarely did in pre-World War II works. The church steeple at right mid-ground harkens back to British landscape and suggestion that place has been sanctified.

1945 (parrot's eye)* (Lynton 116):** Nicholson's interaction with Constructivist Gabo moved his work into a more abstract mode, flattening out planes and replacing farmhouses and boats with geometric shapes. Like a n x-ray, this could be a map or the underpinnings of Picturesque, the lines and swatches of color chosen and sketched before the final imagery is added. Nicholson retained Victorian browns and the essence of the three bands of landscape underneath strong diagonals, altering the traditional but also retaining its core. The British art world was starting to accept non-representation with its minimal paint application. Nicholson moved into abstraction but retained enough of the framed British landscape model. [P]arrot's eye…*** shows how order can emerge from chaos. Cosgrove believes that landscape should move beyond "design and taste" and embrace a broad "Marxian understanding of culture and society…" (Cosgrove, Social xiii). Through place with its ambiguous themes of personal memory and denial of cultural realities, landscape becomes Marxian. Britain's World War II win left England depleted, but structured enough to regroup as seen in this work which minimizes color. The Constructivists minimized color which revealed the honesty of constructing a new way of life. Here, Nicholson shows underpinnings

of Picturesque as he tries to move away from the hypocrisies it could hide. Place visually reveals memory but also an awareness of the need for change.

5.4 Conclusion to Place

Cosgrove defines landscape as, “the external world mediated through human subjective experience” (Lippard 7). Looking at various themes defined by place: actual, memorable, metaphorical which interprets Churchill’s paintings encompassing ideas of global Empire which he imparted into his works, even when he painted outside England. Artist Nicholson whose themes of place reflect an internalized Britain made possible by the outer Imperialism, even in its final stages which he adapted to. Sometimes the experience begins in childhood as in the case of Churchill’s relationship to Blenheim Palace as place becomes uncertainties about belonging, that result in a reinvention of place at Chartwell with the memory of old and new discovered in paintings. Or in Nicholson’s case, establishing his own aesthetic place by pushing aside the legacy of renowned father, William, by abstracting British art, thus representing the internalization of Empire at home.

As Lippard notes:

> Inherent in the local is the concept of place—a portion of land/town/cityscape seen from the inside, the resonance of a specific location that is known and familiar. Most often place applies to our own ‘local’--entwined with personal memory, known or unknown histories, marks made in the land that provoke and evoke. Place is latitudinal and longitudinal within the map of a person’s life. It is temporal and spatial, personal and political. A layered location replete with human histories and memories, place has width as well as depth.

> It is about connections, what surrounds it, what formed it, what happened there, what will happen there. (Lippard 7)

Blenheim became Churchill's proving ground as he competed with ancestor John, for political/military prowess. Nicholson's four war years with Gabo brought Constructivism to his doorstep, reinventing British art so it could express the closing days off Empire and finally make way for Modernism.

Churchill's personal placement had many paths and intersections all hidden beneath what the palette knife scraped, leaving traces of personality. He was a warrior, politician and statesman, often lucky as he was spared in combat, in a New York City taxi collision and verbal confrontations at the House of Commons. He had a Victorian marriage often seeking solace in friends; his children, 'seen and not heard' were raised by nannies. Churchill was a welcome houseguest of celebrities, in Britain and abroad in spite of his impatient demeanor. He gambled on cards and horses, generally overspending; wealthy relatives and admirers who came to his financial rescue

Chartwell which began as seventeenth century farm, is now a National Trust and twenty-first century British landmark, providing an understanding of what place meant to Churchill his example of British country living. Country estates often belonged to politicians who commuted from London where they managed Empire. Place was the dominions, a London townhouse, but ultimately the intimacy of the country estate, the reward of the privileged. Initially estates were fueled by generational trusts, or the nineteenth century insurgence of new moneyed bourgeois. Behind these properties were the ghosts of the working classes, who rented farm and grazing lands, who endured Enclosure, which

diminished their agricultural opportunities sending the poor off to industrial factories also owned by the landed gentry who had investment opportunities: mining, agriculture, farming, throughout the colonies.

Place to Churchill began in Britain with its hierarchical class system that was embedded into rolling hills, abundant foliage and the local church yard and steeple that was painted into most Picturesque landscapes. In the late nineteenth century there was a realization that factories and military installations would run more efficiently if the manpower had been better housed and fed beginning as children. Churchill's stroll through slums early in his political career instilled the realization that abject poverty needed to be eradicated. Change is a factor of place and through the political process, social welfare happened. He was not a painter of social issues, but his reforms must be considered when looking at his art as memory residing in place is not always about what is pretty. For Nicholson place depicts essence of his environment by breaking away from complete representation. Churchill and Nicholson used art to speak about themselves situated in the times they lived.

Ultimate place for Churchill was never removed from Blenheim along with the sense he did not quite belong, as felt in the remoteness of ***Blenheim through the Branches…***where Churchill joins the viewer looking through the branches to the estate he will not inherit. Blenheim's interior, ***State Room…*** painted from the orientation of an aerial map, shows portraits and heraldry of a generational/aristocratic family that Churchill is not completely at home with.

Aerial perspective thought to come from map making continued to be emphasized over linear perspective, defining place as the power and domination of the upper classes who displayed these landscapes in their homes as well as the real around their property.

Burgin says:

> At the dawn of modernity, disembodied geometric and mathematical principles came to dominate all visual representational practices. The same abstract order that informed painting and architecture was brought to enhance the instrumentality of such things as navigational charts, maps, and city plans. In conformity to the exigencies of a militant and expansive mercantile capitalism, the image of the convergence of parallel lines toward a vanishing point on the horizon became the very figure of Western European global economic and political ambitions. (Burgin 143)

Churchill's early artistic training came from drawing classes at Sandhurst where perspective, mandatory along with topography, were required. His perspective further relaxes after World War II when flatter shapes and brighter colors increase as his health and empire diminish.

Privileged insiders often ignore social inadequacies beyond their doorsteps. Churchill gained the ability to understand the need for social change (he could be slow to exercise it) the result of cruelties experienced in early education and the realities of being a combat soldier. Underpinnings imagined beginning with a military style of painting pushed Churchill's art beyond mere pastime.

Lippard said, “Space defines landscape, where space combined with memory defines place” (Lippard 9). By allowing space and place to interchange, a wider discourse opens. Dubbini says, “The modern perception of landscape gradually threw off the neoclassical theory of art and adopted the principles of empirical observation” (Dubbini 87). Churchill moved out of the strict Victorian three banded landscape with its variety of tones that pushed the viewer through the picture and adopted vibrating Complementaries. Like Cézanne who engaged in objectivity by painting the subjective of color, allowing for an infinite choice of found meanings both intuitive and retroactively back to the neoclassical, Churchill mixed color into drab Victorian scenery expanding meaning and expressing the effects of global expansion on the Empire, along with its impending end. Even when his painting was not considered perfect, meanings can be found beyond awkward draftsmanship.

Place at home gains meaning with places elsewhere. Dubbini insists, “It has also struck me, that an artist who undertakes to travel…ought not to consider what may, or what may not make a fine drawing, but the general interest which the aspect of the spot he proposes to draw may inspire”(Dubbini 107). Travel improved both Churchill and Nicholson’s work and should be viewed with its Britishness even when painted abroad.

For Ruskin, “the reason for making topographical drawings was to be able to improve on real topography. Descriptions and written observations of an aesthetic, historical, or geographical nature were means for analyzing one’s surroundings; they served to register harmonies and discordances in the place observed” (Dubbini 146). Place is better understood to both Churchill and Nicholson because they knew how to describe verbally. Churchill’s Sandhurst map training allowed him to quickly advance into painting. Ruins became a tangible source for considering the space/place left from past civilizations. Maps were troves

for showing where former cultures had acquired space. Subjectivity got embedded into objectivity through tangible ruins and maps. Derrida challenged the importance of a frame that prevented the image from engaging with its surroundings. Churchill's art bursts through its frames, regardless of where he painted, similar to his personality. Even when Nicholson becomes totally geometric, he remains inside the frame, content in the country landscape of Britain, even when abroad.

Along with rearranging shapes in a painting, Churchill rearranged the landscape of Chartwell: damming streams to make ponds, alternating decorative plantings with vegetable gardening and adding more structures. Both paintings: ***Chartwell '38 and '48…*** show that Churchill was committed to an aerial view, having mastered it at Sandhurst instead of the gentlemanly/tourist view of looking up. Post-war Chartwell features the house with the central lone tree as Churchill looking at his home and his Britain beyond. ***'48…*** gets his undivided attention more than in ***'38…*** when buildings carry no more weight than the stream or trees. ***'48…*** Chartwell has overtaken Blenheim as Churchillian-place. Water, the symbol of Empire and domination, prominently shown in***'38…*** has been omitted. Dubbini says, "In western Europe, the invention of landscape painting coincided with the elaboration of the *veduta* or 'view' as a space contained within a picture, but which opened up the setting to the world beyond. The discovery of an adequate technique for framing and defining depth signaled the invention of landscape as a cultural space, visible in all its aspects" (Dubbini 3). In ***'48…*** Churchill was out of office fidgeting to return.

Chartwell was more than a home. He had bought it after frenetically leasing, buying, selling and remodeling London apartments. There was the book writing and painting in between the weekend house parties. After World War II, he bought additional farms around

Chartwell, briefly escalating his farming and livestock breeding. Place never stayed in one place for Churchill, although it was never placeless around Kent, the birthplace of nanny Everest, who provided him with his security of place.

Corner… an informal room at Chartwell reveals Churchill's love of books that surround the window to the outside world, he desired to return to as a political player. According to Holly, "In sum, the melancholy that courses through the history of art is a product of its perhaps unconscious awareness that works that seem so present are actually absent. It is the loss embedded in this ambiguity that both haunts and animates its activities" (Holly 21). The idea of Churchill painting at home and not on some political excursion reveals the results of Empire found in the room's accessories. Missing are the working classes who made the made the essence of Empire found here, possible. Churchill is politically absent, waiting for his impending return beyond the pulled back curtain.

Palladian Bridge '20s… has subjectivity/objectivity as a faux Roman ruin. Land surveying had its roots in the Reformation as property confiscated from the Catholic Church had to be surveyed, often by artists (Dubbini 38). According to Dubbini, "The English land surveyors offered a more technical picture of the great landholdings….The cultural matrix of those representations was, once again, the Dutch view. It provided an instrument for an easily grasped, three-dimensional depiction of vast stretches of land; it was an instrument capable of registering with great immediacy the relationship between architecture and landscape" (Dubbini 41). ***Palladian Bridge '20…*** becomes so important to see the relation of architecture to landscape. Nicholson's abstracts provide by substituting geometric shapes, embedding them with landscape. ***Palladian Bridge '20s …*** is situated on land confiscated

by the crown and then remodeled with Imperial monies. Place as water flowing under the bridge becomes miniaturization of Empire.

According to Dubbini, “The picturesque was an interpretive code and a theory of character applied to the environment, by means of which spaces and objects could be composed harmoniously and meaningfully. Composing a scene effectively thus depended on an analysis of a quantity of possible events and a careful evaluation of the specific qualities of each of these and of the correlations between them” (Dubbini 136). Churchill understood this coding but felt compelled to enliven his color and flatten shapes. As Dubbini says, “The picturesque brought to the forefront the building, with its context, atmospheres, and histories, not only for antiquarians, but also for the general public” (Dubbini 160). Churchill’s paintings personal place into buildings, inserting often overriding past memories. ***Blenheim Palace…*** shows the building as the centered attraction, while retaining the three landscape bands. A manicured lawn contrasts with the tangled cedar, thus situating his personality with generations of Dukes.

Space/place as discovered in Picturesque, aerial perspective, linear perspective, maps and ruins all contribute to defining place.

According to Lefebvre:

> Descartes had brought to an end the Aristotelian tradition which held that space and time were among those *categories* which facilitated the naming and classing of the evidence of the senses. The status of such categories had hitherto remained unclear, for they could be looked upon either as simple empirical tools, for ordering sense data or, alternately, as generalities in some

> way superior to the evidence supplied by the body's sensory organs. With the advent of Cartesian logic, however, space had entered the realm of the absolute. As Object opposed to Subject…space came to dominate, by containing them, all senses and all bodies. (Lefebvre 1)

Objectifying space/place and having it interact with the subjective would eventually happen.

Nicholson turns objects into geometric shapes to describe empirical space/place. Churchill repositions trees and buildings. Even though Ruskin "concentrated his sensitivity on physical order and on the characteristic essence of things" he was striving for objectivity by insisting, "Descriptions and written observations of an aesthetic, historical, or geographical nature were means for analyzing one's surroundings; they served to register harmonies and discordances in the placed observed" (Dubbini 146). Marx's theories further helped to understand Empiricism in art. Lefebvre suggests, Marxist time is, "historicity driven forward by the forces of production and adequately… oriented by industrial, proletarian and revolutionary rationality….merely to note the existence of things, whether specific objects or 'the object' in general, is to ignore what things at once embody and dissimulate, namely social relations and the forms of those relations" (Lefebvre 22,23,81). The social creates the narrative that inflates the objects allowing Churchill and Nicholson's work to be viewed with the backdrop of the Empire and its relationship to the working of Britain proper.

Lefebvre says, "No limits at all have been set on the generalization of the concept of *mental space*…. Space considered in isolation is an empty abstraction; likewise energy and

time (Lefebvre 3, 12). He adds, “space implies, contains and dissimulates social relationships--and this despite the fact that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products)” (Lefebvre 82, 83). Marx’s “concept of production’ added to “production of space” merges the subjective with the objective so a bridge can be seen as a continuation of Roman conquests reinvented as evidence of Imperial holdings or a lamp can be seen as cheap goods flooding the market because of Empire.

According to Lefebvre, “space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence domination, of power…” (Lefebvre 26). Churchill placed trees and structures in a very confident way, not only to control his environment but to work out ideas he had for holding together the Empire. Nicholson shows agricultural shifts within Britain affected by the deteriorating Empire, by butting the representational up against the abstract which often is expressed in classical line.

Lefebvre suggests, “It is clear, therefore, that a spatial code is not simply a means of reading or interpreting space: rather it is a means of living in that space, of understanding it, and of producing it. As such it brings together verbal signs (words and sentences, along with the meaning invested in them by a signifying process) and non-verbal signs (music, sounds, evocations, architectural constructions) (Lefebvre 47, 48). Churchill wrote and painted , employing color as metaphor in his verbiage and art, bringing the environments: shipboard, Riviera villa, trench warfare into his work. Nicholson whose encounter with Constructivism reinvented the Picturesque by Content in the form of abstracted shapes and limited color.

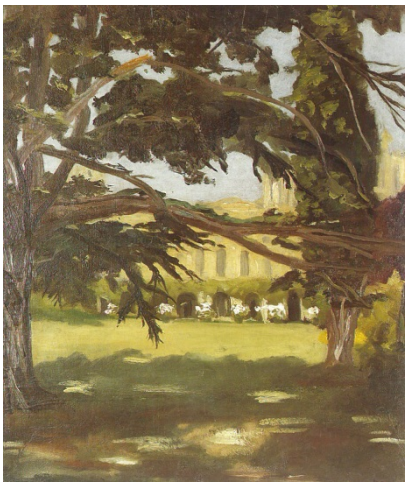
According to Lefebvre, “The form of social space is encounter, assembly, simultaneity. But what assembles, or what is assembled? The answer is everything that there is *in space*, everything that is produced either by nature or by society, either through their co-operation or through their conflicts. Everything: living beings, things, objects, works, signs and symbols. Nature space juxtaposes—and thus disperses: it puts places and that which occupies them side by side” (Lefebvre 101). The history of space cannot be limited to the study of the special moments constituted by the formation, establishment, decline and dissolution of a given code. It must deal also with the global aspect—with modes of production as generalities covering specific societies with their particular histories and institutions. Furthermore, the history of space may be expected to periodize the development of the productive process in a way that does not correspond exactly to widely accepted periodizations” (Lebebvre 47, 48). Through Lefebvre, subjectivity and objectivity become empirical. Those in Churchill’s circle did not see how his art differed from true Picturesque because they also did not see the decline of Empire. The social history of the British aristocracy which viewed education as a calling “towards the service of the state,” which was why, “Art is pursued by [Churchill] not as an innate talent but as a ‘secret pastime or recreation’” (Bermingham, Drawing 18). Churchill understood the aristocratic coding frequently reciting, “We may content ourselves with a joy-ride in a paint-box” (Coombs 53) But his perseverance to be a better painter: better skills and showing incognito, similar to his pursuit of history is enough to realize he was indifferent to be called a gentleman painter. He could have painted in brown Victorians but he discovered color and flat shapes which he incorporated into Picturesque. Churchill wanted to keep the Victorian past while advancing into a more technological future which can be seen in the different styles he overlaid onto his

paintings, even more so after World War II. The evolution of objectivity permits Churchill's art to be viewed as a remnant of how he considered his place in the inevitably changing Empire. Nicholson's transparent planes and minimal color interprets how he pushed Britain to accept Modernism.

American foreign policy analyst Strobe Talbott (b.1946) writing about the negative consequences of secession from the European Union said, "In the first half of the 20th century, nationalism ran amok in Europe, spawning two world wars. The United States intervened decisively in both. In the aftermath of that experience, in 1946, Winston Churchill envisioned a "United States of Europe" that would depend on American support and protection" (internet source: Talbott, NYTimes 4/22/16). Place still retains Imperial memory found in the Brexit metaphor. Churchill's idea of place began with Imperialism broadened after World War II with economics controlling the myth of Empire. Place as nationalism becomes "non-verbal systems and signs" (Lefebvre 39). Brexit's win on June 23, 2016 further defines place as nationalism. Churchill's paintings are "non-verbal systems" that provide understanding of Britain's place in the past and today as Imperialism has resurfaced in new ways of defining Britain Globally.

Nicholson art should be viewed as willingness of Britain to embrace the Continent. ***[P]arrot's eye…*** upends the three bands of landscape by turning horizontals into diagonals. He has added other verticals and horizontals confusing the viewer as to what and where they are looking. Circles, thick, thin, filled and empty, rotate around the vacant center. Nicholson has incorporated a frame into the work so the wiry geometric shapes cannot leave; a closer look shows shapes can escape at the bottom right, thus creating tension and conflict as traditional ways to paint clash with abstraction helped by Gabo's wire constructs.

Churchill's ***Le Béguinage…*** becomes a mosaic as Churchill flattens out nuns and trees. Churchill's post-war compositions allow viewers to enter his foreground. Here they are stopped by the film-clip stillness. He has glazed the red roofs tiles in blue, coordinating them with sky. However he left red tiles in the center of the building drawing attention to the red path below where the nuns are walking. Place has none of the self-centeredness found in former Churchill landscapes. There is a sense of peace, continuation for life and embrace of the continent further broadening Picturesque, which was imbibed with Protestantism and purposed in Britain.



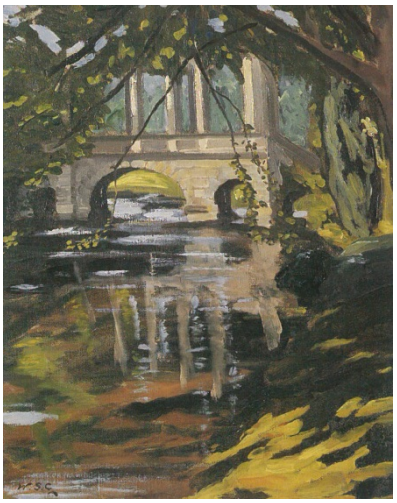
Winston Churchill, *Blenheim Palace Through the Branches of a Cedar*, 1920s. Oil on Canvas, 24 x 20 in. Chartwell.

Winston Churchill, *State Room at Blenheim*, 1928. Oil on Canvas, 24 x 20 in. Hallmark Fine Arts Collection, Kansas City.

Winston Churchill, *View of Chartwell*, 1938. Oil on Canvas, 24 x 36 in. Chartwell.

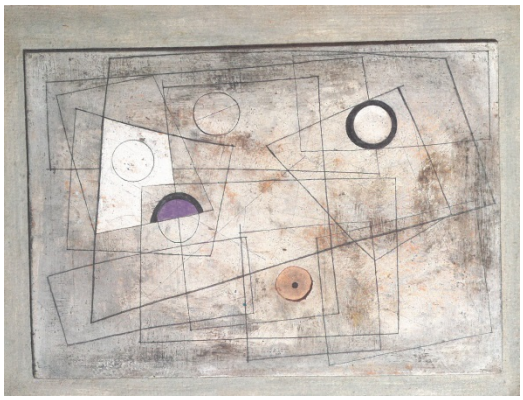
Winston Churchill. *A Corner of the Drawing-room at Chartwell*, 1938. Oil on Canvas, 20 x 24 in. Chartwell.

Winston Churchill. *View from Chartwell*, 1948. Oil on Canvas, 30 x 25 in. Chartwell.



Winston Churchill. *The Palladian Bridge at Wilton*, 1920s, Oil on Canvas, 24 x 18 in. Hallmark Fine Art Collection, Kansas City.

Winston Churchill. *Le Béguinage, Bruges,* 1946. Oil on Canvas, 25 x 30 in. The Studio, Chartwell



Ben Nicholson. *1945 (parrot's eye).* Oil and Pencil on Board, 19 x 24 cm. Private Collection

Chapter Six: Churchill's Legacy through Kitsch

Kitsch is defined as a mass produced item exhibiting bad taste. Philosopher Tomas Kulka (b.1934) says, "what is considered aesthetically wrong by our standards may be aesthetically appropriate by some other standards" (Kulka 10). Modern Kitsch evolved in post-World War II, as Western countries responded to shortages by escalating manufacturing. Aesthetically, Kitsch became Pop Art, a genre that interpreted the production boom employing cultural-Marxian, contextualizing why Coca-Cola and Brillo pads had morphed into gallery art. As professor Matei Calinescu (1934-2009) points, "ideological art—a characteristic of modernity insofar as modernity is an age of ideology—can be better described in terms of kitsch" (Calinescu 206). Kitsch's mass appeal as an inexpensive art says a lot about Post-War consumerism which has expanded into the digital age. Presently, posting on *Facebook*, digital Kitsch, explains aesthetically what appeals to a mass audience.

Churchill's post-war fame contributed to manufacturing Churchilliana. While his landscapes are not Kitsch, mass-produced Churchill schlock contributes to keeping his legacy alive, but it also diminishes the importance of his art. W.T.J. Mitchell says, "A thing appears as a stand-in when you have forgotten the name of an object" (Mitchell, What 156). Kitsch as 'stand-in' for Churchill, prevents serious scrutiny of his artwork, because buying Churchill schlock on-line satisfies the need to further investigate him aesthetically. Mitchell says, "when the empire declines and falls…it leaves behind nothing but objects—relics and ruins, inscriptions and monuments —which are invariably interpreted as ironic 'object lessons' for succeeding empires" (Mitchell, What 155). Sadly, Churchill's paintings are evaluated through Kitsch, and are not considered informative relics of the former British Empire.

Calinescu positions Kitsch as Modernities' logical next step, surfacing in Post War Capitalism/Consumerism with its "open-end indeterminacy, its vague 'hallucinatory' power, its spurious dreaminess, its promise of an easy 'catharsis'" (Calinescu 228). Kulka broadens Calinescu's historical placement to show that art made centuries ago might be considered Kitsch today. Seventeenth century Dutch still life, now thought of as classical, was culturally non-contributory (Kulka59). Kulka also inverts conceptions about Kitsch suggesting, "it is extraordinarily difficult to improve a typical kitsch picture," posing there would be unhappiness if the catharsis was removed (Kulka 75, 76). Critic Clement Greenberg, who is identified with Post-War Abstract-Expressionism disliked Kitsch, becomes a counterweight to Calinescu and Kulkas. Calinescu references Greenberg who said, "modernism in painting has been, since its inception with… impressionists, a heroic struggle against the encroachment of bad taste or kitsch in the domain of art…" (Calinescu 289). While Kulka reports, "Clement Greenberg once said that [s]elf-evidently, kitsch is academic; and conversely, all that is academic is kitsch," Kulka counters, "There is nothing academic about Donald Duck, garden gnomes, or most of the contemporary kitschy greetings cards…" (Kulka 60). Greenberg would be surprised to learn that in the Post Modern world, kitsch is studied seriously. Greenberg admits, "Nor is every single item of kitsch altogether worthless" Greenberg 11). The three provide reason to acknowledge Kitsch as having aesthetic importance, even if some consider it in bad taste.

Churchill's legacy came to fruition during the Post-World War II years when Kitsch superseded abstraction and art began to be spoken of contextually. Much of Churchill's excess wealth derived from acquaintances who had profited from increased post-war production. How were Churchill's legacy and landscapes contextually affected by

Churchilliana, produced in an economic boom, purchased as souvenirs of the man? How did Kitsch diminish his landscape as important documentation of the former British Empire?

I will argue that the broad brush of Kitsch in the Post-World War II era which was a response to increased manufacturing, adopted the ideology of cultural Marxism, a format that moved beyond the economics of production to encompass a "whole way of life" which included an awareness of capitalism as defined by the dominant Western powers, made apparent by British liberals like Raymond Williams who insisted " [cultural] growth was possible only within democratic socialist society" (Dworkin 91). Kitsch made in reference to Churchill, elevated his image into a commodity that could be cheaply bought, so his "whole way of life" could be experienced by others, albeit hallucinatory. This false appropriation of Churchill contributed to the misunderstanding of his art. (Calinescu 228; Dworkin 90; Mitchell, What 155).

Churchill began painting in the 1920s, during the waning years of Victorian art with its attention to three banded landscape that pushed viewers into the background via modulating muddy tonalities which side-lined trees keeping the viewer's eye from running off the canvas. Churchill mixed Picturesque with Cézanne's flat abstractions and complementary colors, objectifying and thus contextualizing traditional British art, with embedded themes about Empire, which was slowly declining because of twentieth century political events and their effects on English countryside, the tangible representation of Britain.

Churchill continued to paint after World War II while abstraction was finally being accepted into Britain, represented in this paper by Ben Nicholson who forged his art through

Constructivism. Churchill died in the mid-sixties when British Pop Art popularized by artist Richard Hamilton (1922-2011) high-lighted commercialism using *dayglo* colors that turned advertisements and product labels into high art. Souvenirs that advertised the fame, power and legacy of Churchill continue to be sold fifty years after his death.

According to Kulka, "Kitsch certainly *is* the cheap paintings we find in suburban stores, and art *is* the expensive stuff that hangs on the wall of the museum" (Kulka 6). That of course poses the question, do supermarkets and museum gift shops enable a product to become Kitsch? Is Kitsch different than canonized "bad or mediocre works?" (Kulka 1). When Kitsch resides on a museum wall, does it change? What about artists who deliberately make art as Kitsch for elite venues? Kulka says, "Kitsch thus cannot be in the eyes of the *beholder*; it can only be in the eyes of the *beholders*" (Kulka 3). Kitsch takes on a collective appeal and yet many, collectively dislike Kitsch.

Churchill's painting technique after World War II loosened as shapes further flattened. Retaining perspective both aerial and linear and much of Picturesque format, he did not attempt pure abstraction. Churchill's art was not Kitsch per se, but the promotion of his art in the post-World War II was used to sell magazines and greeting cards and promote the success of the Allied victors, unusual for a Victorian gentleman painter.

Some of Churchill's art was sold during his life, other pieces were given away, but he never left the category of gentleman painter and never relied on his art to make a living. Prices remain below famed artists even today. His political and literary fame which preceded any artistic recognition contributed to the increasing amounts of manufactured Kitsch. Churchill did actually sell some of his paintings, but what he really established was

marketing the Churchill brand which his family continues to sell (Coombs 12). The attention paid to his paintings piggy-back this Churchill branding for better or worse.

According to Kulka:

> The relativist objection inspired by the sociohistorical approach is, however, more radical. The relativist claims that, since kitsch (like art) is a culture-and context-dependent concept, it cannot be defined by any 'inherent' structural properties, and that its alleged aesthetic worthlessness reduces to (ethnocentric, historical, or elitist) prejudice. The relativist further maintains that values (especially aesthetic values) are relative, unjustifiable, and ultimately reducible to sociohistorical preferences. (Kulka 4)

Schlock or what is manufactured to conjure up his persona could be considered Kitsch, as the definition is vague. Some think his actual paintings are Kitschy too.

Churchill began as a professional journalist and soldier combined, often adding sketches to text. It was through his mother he learned self-advertising. Early on in his career Jennie Churchill acted as his agent. He wrote for his mother's short-lived magazine, the *Anglo-Saxon Review*, a quarterly that entailed art, literature, travel and gossip.

According to Ralph G. Martin (1920-2013):

> For a woman to organize a literary magazine, make critical judgments and business decisions, must have caused a thousand British clubmen to cringe, and curse. The kind of quarterly Jennie was considering was in itself unique,

> but her temerity in wanting to create it, to be editor and publisher was outrageous. (Martin 151)

Lacking focus the *Review*… rambled from the American Revolution, to the critiquing of snuffboxes, finally ending after ten issues (Martin 259-262). Actually it was decades in sophistication as tabloids today are expected to be potpourri. Martin continues Jennie, "was delighted… to see the disappearance of' 'the heavy uncomfortable monstrosities of the early Victorian epoch'… And it was important to England… 'that some of our best artists do not think it beneath their dignity to give designs for the homeliest objects (such as wallpapers and table linen)'" (Martin 259). Jennie's magazine reflects a desire to move beyond Victorian stodginess, thus accepting commerciality as an acceptable approach for art. Churchill's infusion of Modernism into his art and his approval of self-promotion which fetches up in Churchillian products can be traced to his mother who was happy to make money and eager to break Victorian societal rules.

The manner in which Churchill allowed his art to be exhibited reflected his approval of commerciality and consumer trends: big exhibitions that traveled worldwide, use of print and television and radio to advertise himself and his painting prowess. Are investors buying Churchill's art for aesthetic appeal and hidden content, or do they want a souvenir of the man: Churchill paperweights and t-shirts, cheaper souvenir than paintings/prints. Coombs remarks, "Why does anyone want to own or admire a painting by Sir Winston Churchill, however attractive or interesting it may be in itself? The answer is clear: because it is a genuine painting by the man himself" (Coombs 12). Churchill's art are considered souvenirs of a famous man but not contextual analysis of the former Empire.

In 1958, an international exhibition of Churchill's paintings was arranged with assistance from President Dwight Eisenhower, Joyce Hall of Hallmark cards and Alfred Frankfurter, editor of *Art News.* A television show, *Churchill the Artist* produced by Hallmark accompanied the exhibition (Coombs 202; Frankfurter 2; internet source: Larson, When You Care Enough). In 1946, Joyce Hall, co-founder of Hallmark Company met Churchill at Westminster College, Fulton Missouri for a reception following his *Sinews of Peace* speech. Hall published Churchill's landscapes on greeting cards for public sale and the Churchill's private gifting. Hall visited Chartwell and in 1961 received a CBE (Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire). Today, Hallmark has a visitor center in Kansas City and occasionally exhibits Churchill's work as well as online. (internet source: hallmark.artcollection.com/creatively-thinking/stories/Winston-Churchill/). Hall, a self-made Midwesterner bought himself a British title, with the help of Churchill who was happy to receive free publicity and make money too. Hall, a financial contributor to Churchill, was present at the opening of the posthumous Churchill exhibition at New York World's Fair, April 28, 1965. The show included Churchill paintings, medals and publications (internet source: nywf64.com; email, Richard Lee 2/3,4,9/15). Viewing paintings on a Hallmark card, a World's Fair, and international touring alters the way the art is perceived, with content being overlooked for the pageantry. Churchill's paintings may not be Kitsch but promotional events are Kitschy.

Needing a constant flow of money, Churchill was not afraid of advertising himself in spite of Victorian attitudes that discouraged relying "on their art as a source of income" (Bermingham, Drawing 130). Churchill had many sources for money: trust accounts, relatives, wealthy donors and published writing. Taking money from private and commercial

sources did not offend him. In 1921, shortly after he began painting, *Strand Magazine* paid Churchill £1000 for "two articles with pictures" and money rolling in never stopped (coombs 41). This early transaction is ignored as payment received for services and therefore considered professional.

According to Calinescu:

> there is unfortunately no single definition of kitsch that is entirely satisfactory. However, we can come close to an understanding of the phenomenon by combining (1) the *historico-sociological* approach, in which kitsch, as we use it, is typically modern and as such closely linked to cultural industrialization, commercialism, and increasing leisure in society, and (2) the aesthetic-moral approach, in which kitsch is false art, the production on a smaller or larger scale of various forms of 'aesthetic lies'. A crowd- pleasing art, often devised for mass consumption, kitsch is meant to offer instant satisfaction of the most superficial aesthetic needs or whims of a wide public. Basically, the world of kitsch is a world of aesthetic make-believe and self-deception….After all, in today's world no one is safe from kitsch, which appears as a necessary step on the path toward an ever elusive goal of fully authentic aesthetic experience. (Calinescu 261,262)

This definition allows for a broad brush when scrutinizing Churchill's art and how it was promoted and by whom. It also suggests that Kitsch as T-shirts may actually help promote Churchill's paintings by making a wider audience aware.

Available online for fifty bucks is a 'bobblehead statue' of Churchill complete with cigar; and for one hundred dollars you can purchase a Churchillian Toby-mug, a replica of an eighteenth century figurative tankard. Maybe a tankard can suggest British folklore as aficionados collect chinaware but Churchill as a plastic toy is unlikely to entice anyone to seek out a Churchill painting. Philosopher Jean Baudrillard (1929-2007) explains, "Today, the real and the imaginary are confounded in the same operational totality, and aesthetic fascination is simply everywhere" (Harrison *1900-2000*, 1019). No one would mistake lampooned Churchill for real Churchill, but the buyer might not have heard of Churchill at all if it were not for Kitsch.

Hamilton who is credited for being the first Pop artists, worked around the same time as Churchill and for that matter Ben Nicholson. His painting, *Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing?* ushered in the Pop Art movement by contextualizing Post-War consumerism in a gallery setting. Churchill never adopted Pop Art; neither did Nicholson. Both remained true to the essence of Victorian art peppered with Post Impressionism; in Nicholson's instance, the addition of Constructivism and Picasso-esque faceting. British-Nigerian artist Yinka Shonibare (b.1962) who benefitted from both Nigeria's place in Empire and its resulting independence in 1960, was allowed to study at Goldsmiths in London. Shonibare uses African cloth to dress headless mannequins that represent the impersonal of Colonial domination. His art is not considered Kitsch but it is not traditional British either. Hybrid art could be construed as Kitsch.

Churchill's paintings are not Kitsch but his essay, *Painting as a Pastime* first published by *Strand Magazine*, 1921, has been over edited, incorrectly printed and misquoted. It has become a false source about how Churchill viewed painting and thus a

form of Kitsch. After World War II when Churchill gained fame from his war record and his voluminous writing, Walter Graebner of *Time-Life* Magazine paid him whatever amount he desired for the occasional cover story in a Time/Life product. (magazine: *Life* 1/7/46).

There are more Churchill t-shirts sold than good quality Churchill art books. But would those buying shirts ever buy the art books? Does schlock diminish sales of a Churchill work? In 1958, a black/white catalogue was produced for his international exhibitions. (Frankfurter). In 1967, David Coombs produced *Churchill his Paintings* in black/white. In 1990, daughter Mary Soames wrote *Winston Churchill, His Life As A Painter* also in black and white (Soames, Winston). In 2003, Coombs produced *Sir Winston Churchill His Life and His Paintings* in color (Coombs 4, 8). Early Churchill catalogues omitted color, one of the endearing qualities of his paintings, thus dismissing meaning in his work. Recently two catalogs have been published in color: a flimsy, paperback called *The Art of Diplomacy Winston Churchill and the Pursuit of Painting* (Millennium Gate Museum) and *Winston Churchill A Passion for Painting* which was wrecked by a Kitschy cartoon centerfold of Churchill (Sandys, Edwina 10, 11). Perhaps, that's what the publishers think viewers of Churchill's paintings expect. However, Chartwell Booksellers in Midtown Manhattan which sells Churchill's publications has a tasteful black and gold Art Deco store front and is very reverent to Churchill.

The Dallas Museum of Art has recreated the Emery and Wendy Reves' villa using genuine Churchill furniture and memorabilia. Some visitors believe Churchill resided in Dallas. Blenheim, Chartwell, The Imperial War Museum, London and the Churchill Museum, Fulton Missouri sells Churchilliana: mugs, busts, cookbooks, posters, paperweights. Merchandise can be purchased through National Public Radio or Amazon

which also sells Churchill books and DVDs. Many speeches can be heard on YouTube. There is an online Churchill Centre and a National Churchill Library, DC.

In 1998, Sotheby's auctioned Churchill paintings (Coombs 8). In 2014, Sotheby's raised £15.4 for fifteen Churchill works (internet source: Telegraph, Bethan Ryder, 12/17/14). Paintings sold higher than expected but cheap in comparison to other renowned and deceased artists.

Churchill monuments are found in many countries; some become Kitsch in that they are overly melodramatic narratives, like "garden gnomes, fluffy little kittens and children in tears…" (Kulka 9). There is a Churchill statue in Parliament Square London, on Avenue Winston Churchill, Paris and one in Yalta also honoring Roosevelt and Stalin. A very rough sculpted Churchill bust that looks like he is dressed a Roman toga is in Rotterdam. The New York World's Fair 1964-1965 which displayed Churchill artwork also displayed an oversized Oscar Nemon (1906-1985) statue of the man surrounded by a trade fair. A Churchill bust now resides in the United States Capitol. There was a recent brouhaha after a bust was returned to British Embassy by the Obama administration; the White House apparently has another (Internet source: Shear, NYTimes 4/25/16). In an intersection of Kansas City Missouri, there is a statue, *Married Love*, of Churchill and his wife. At the touch of a button, joggers can hear a Churchill speech which bears no relationship to Kansas City pedestrians. Churchill believed he was half American as his mother Jennie Jerome was born in New York. In 1963, President John F. Kennedy (1917-1963) made Churchill an honorary citizen (Severance 124).

Morpeth Mansions, a London flat that Churchill leased in 1931, “became Churchill’s ‘alternative cabinet’ throughout much of the 1930s’ ” (Buczacki 180). Now called “the flat that won the war” it can be rented for £3,000 per week from RE/MAX (internet source: Vedrickas Telegraph, 7/26/2006).

Like statuary, Churchill bars and eateries abound: Churchill Arms London, Churchill Tavern, New York and Sir Winston’s on the retired ocean liner, Queen Mary, Long Beach. The Tuna Club, 1898, on Santa Catalina Island, California was an all-male drinking club for deep-sea fishing trips. Celebrity members included: Charlie Chaplin, Theodore Roosevelt, George Patton and Winston Churchill.

There was a recent Broadway play, *Audience*, starring Helen Mirren as Queen Elizabeth II and Dakin Matthews as Churchill (Playbill, Audience). Many British actors have crafted the personality of Churchill: Albert Finney, Ian Mc Neice, Bob Hoskins, Timothy Spall, Richard Burton, John Lithgow and Robert Hardy who often impersonates Churchill at conferences (internet source: IMDB.com).

Churchill loved champagne and during the war, the French vineyard, Maison Pol Roger, saw that he was adequately supplied, not an easy task in occupied France. In 1984, the company began marketing Cuvée Sir Winston Churchill. Churchill is supposed to have told them, “My tastes are simple, I am easily satisfied with the best” (internet source: Winston Churchill Design Competition). Annually, there is a competition to design a new gift box and label; judging criteria is supposed to reflect the character of Churchill. According to Pol Roger, design must demonstrate: “INSIGHT: Churchill’s brilliance was his ability to approach a multitude of tasks with interest and enthusiasm. From journalism to brick laying,

art to oratory…. Does it breathe new life into the commemoration of such a vibrant character in a way that is modern and insightful with a nod to the past and a look to the present? COMMUNICATION: 'If you have an important point to make, don't use a pile driver. Hit the point once. Then come back and hit it again. Then hit it a third time—a tremendous whack'. Churchill commanded attention, spoke with authority, and left his audiences in no doubt of his point; COMMERCIAL APPEAL: As well as paying tribute to one of the great leaders of our time, the design must also hold commercial value" (Website, Chartwell-bulletin, 1/13/2016). This advertisement speaks to how Churchill's character and accomplishments were marketed. Kitsch becomes ambiguous, questioning whether his art was affected by marketing his aura.

Today, Churchill's grandchildren promote the Churchill brand as does the National Trust that maintains Chartwell as a living trace of Churchill. In 2004 a heraldic screen using designs found on medieval weaponry was dedicated at St Paul's Cathedral, London as memorial to Churchill which could be considered Kitsch. Does Kitsch's mass appeal and easy access, promote the Churchill legacy or in the case of his landscapes detract from allowing a serious evaluation. Nicholson, the ground for this paper, was highly promoted after World War II as an abstractionist but never as a Pop Artist. The Tate Modern, London sells a Nicholson biography and prints for profit. Massed produced prints are often mistaken for real art, in the least they are viewed more frequently and could be considered Kitsch or reproduced art that can be purchased affordably.

6.2 The Social of Kitsch

Churchill's paintings are not Kitsch but commercial products that have been manufactured because of his fame are Kitschy. Does Churchill's art lose its aura when it becomes associated with manufactured souvenirs? The commercialization of Churchill is found online and at genuine Churchill venues: Blenheim, Chartwell, Imperial War Museum, Churchill Museum, Fulton, Missouri. Movies, fictional and docu-dramas, spark interest in the man but are not always accurately portrayed. As a gentleman-artist, Churchill was not supposed to take his art seriously or support himself from his work. He did in fact, sell paintings and the vast sums he received from Time/Life which included magazine articles displaying his art should be considered as deviating from the actual definition of a gentleman amateur. Did Churchill turn professional in the Post-War era and was he helped by Kitsch? Even after Hallmark commercially sold prints of his art as greeting cards, the painting side of his life remains stuck in a Victorian quagmire.

According to critic Clement Greenberg (1909-1994), "Nor is every single item of Kitsch is altogether worthless. Now and then it produces something of merit, something that has an authentic folk flavor; and these accidental and isolated instances have fooled people who should know better" (Greenberg 11). Many gift shops sell tasteful Churchill wares: tea towels, china, paperweights that can be utilized and provide income for Churchill non-profits, even if they are Kitsch. Greenberg continues, "Kitsch's enormous profits are a source of temptation to the avant-garde itself, and its members have not always resisted this temptation. Ambitious writers and artists will modify their work under the pressure of kitsch, if they do not succumb to it entirely" (Greenberg 11, 12). Artists like Jeff Koons (b.1955) have parodied Kitsch, pushing it into high art as accepted farce. Churchill's fame gave him

access to monies from those who wished to please him but his art does not reflect commercialism.

What is being bought when purchasing a Churchill wall poster or mouse pad? According to Walter Benjamin, "even the most perfect reproduction, *one* thing is lacking: the here and now of the work of art—its unique existence in a particular place. It is this unique existence—and nothing else—that bears the mark of the history to which the work has been subject" (Tanke 416). Fans want to buy Churchill's trace, yet even an over-copied photograph or an actor portraying him, lacks aura. Benjamin continues, "But the technological reproduction of artworks is something new" (Tanke 415). Today's computerized reproductions did not exist in Churchill's time, so images on mouse pads and prints of his landscapes may be copied more accurately but continue to be lacking in aura. To find aura, you must look at original landscapes, scrutinize the direction of brushstrokes, look for a thumb print as well as placement of shapes. Benjamin notes, "A person who concentrates before a work is absorbed by it; he enters into the work, just as, according to legend, a Chinese painter entered his completed painting while beholding it" (Tanke 425). Unlike a copy machine that reproduces simulacra, you stand before a Churchill work, where he stood. Churchill's paintings pull the viewer into a bygone time, provided there is an understanding of that era along with how Victorian art was painted; which is why Kitsch which requires no previous knowledge is popular.

Most aficionados cannot spend the million dollars to own a Churchill original which rarely come up for sale, anyway. Benjamin says, "The situation into which the product of technological reproduction can be brought may leave the artwork's other properties untouched, but they certainly devalue the here and now of the artwork" (Tanke 416). Today's

digitized copies may actually produce better colors than Churchill originally used; they can also compensate for fading. But a reproduction is not the real painting and not much better than an instant snapshot of an original taken at an exhibition, or a photocopy from an art book. Greenberg explains, "Because it can be turned out mechanically, Kitsch has become an integral part of our productive system in a way in which true culture could never be, except accidently" (Greenberg 11). Type Churchill into www.Amazon.com along with the name of an item: paper weight, t-shirt etc. and a vast array of products appear; ordering can be completed in seconds.

Kitsch and its accessibility appealed to even ancient cultures who produced cheap wares as Kitsch. In the twelfth century poets wanted to be like Ezra Pound and "Make it New" as they debated antique poetry versus "the *moderni"* (Calinescu 14, 15). By 1630, imitation of the ancients continued to be criticized by Western European artists who adhered to the growing "neoclassical rules" about Rationalism, Cartesianism and beauty (Calinescu 28). The term "modernism" was identified in the early eighteenth century as meaning superior to ancient traditions (Calinescu 68). Categorizing modern aesthetics as a difference from ancient cultures marks the beginning of Modernism even if not everyone considered new, better.

Seventeenth century moderns felt taste, refined with attention to "civility, mores and cultural conventions" further improved antiquities' primitive. Beauty was ideal, timeless, universal and eternal. Artists were supposed to emulate the ideal beyond anyone before (Calinescu 30-32). The study of nature, science and reason was favored while retaining theology (Calinescu 32, 33).

In the late eighteenth century Romanticism evolved as a reaction to Classicism with its ancient ideal of universal and timeless beauty (Calinescu 3, 4). Calinescu says, "Tradition is rejected with increasing violence and the artistic imagination starts priding itself on exploring and mapping the realm of the 'not yet'. Modernity has opened the path to the rebellious a*vant- gardes"* while the importance of religion diminishes (Calinescu 4, 5). According to sociologist Daniel Bell (1919-2011), "Anything permitted in art is permitted in life as well" (Calinescu 6). Modernism was synonymous with capitalism and the Protestant work ethic with its accompanying "consumption, social mobility and status seeking…" (Calinescu 6, 7). Rejecting the Enlightenment, Romantics embraced religion and modernity's ideal, including negation of taste (Calinescu 33-35). In spite of pendulum swings, money and hard work are overtaking religion and abstract thinking.

According to Calinescu, "It was during the eighteenth century that the idea of beauty began to undergo the process through which it lost its aspects of transcendence and finally became a purely historical category. The romantics were already thinking in terms of a relative and historically immanent beauty and felt that to make valid judgements of taste one was supposed to derive one's criteria from historical experience—not from a 'utopian', universal, and timeless concept of beauty. The opposition between ancient and modern played the role of shaping influence in this process" (Calinescu 36). This is imagined in Picturesque even if it is not always visible.

By the nineteenth century Romanticism, the original modern, which elevated contemporary poetry, became a reaction against neoclassical systems by artists and writers (Calinescu 37, 38).

Romantics were anti-universality as:

> the desire to make the work of art resemble as closely as possible the transcendent model of beauty, belonged to the classical past. The new type of beauty was based on the "characteristic," on the various possibilities offered by the synthesis of the "grotesque" and the "sublime," on the "interesting," and on other such related categories that had replaced the ideal of classical perfection. The pursuit of perfection came to be regarded as an attempt to escape history and the shortest way toward "academicism." (Calinescu 38)

Removing the tropes of classical art allowed Kitsch to eventually be accepted. Universalism has changed with the presence of Globalism.

Calinescu continues:

> during the first half of the nineteenth century an irreversible split occurred between modernity as a stage in the history of Western civilization—a product of scientific and technological progress, of the industrial revolution, of the sweeping economic and social changes brought about by capitalism—and modernity as an aesthetic concept. Since then, the relations between the two modernities have been irreducibly hostile, but not without allowing and even stimulating a variety of mutual influences in their rage for each other's destruction. (Calinescu 41)

The modernity of commerce with time synonymous with money was associated with the rise of the middle class and the insistence art was an autonomous activity which some

considered anti-bourgeois (Calinescu 41, 42, 45). It was the middle class with new money that desired commercial products, not always aesthetically pleasing.

For poet Baudelaire, Romanticism and Modernism were the same as they demonstrated "inventiveness, the naïveté of genius, adventurous imagination as opposed to dexterity, adroitness, craftsmanship (the latter being characteristic of the gift of imitation)" (Calinescu 48). His modernity refused to compare "the moderns and the ancients" saying "an artist cannot learn from the past" as originality was paramount (Calinescu 49). According to Calinescu, "Baudelaire's poetics of modernity can be taken as an early illustration of the revolt of the present against the past—of the fleeting instant against the steadiness of memory, of difference against repetition" (Calinescu 52). Kitsch has no scruples and borrows from both ancient and the present. Although traces of Kitsch have been accounted for in all eras, industrialization and surplus monies contributed to its appearance and acceptance.

Modernity was not a cookbook of rules. As T.J. Clark says, "Modernist painters knew the market was their element…" (Clark, Farewell 11). Not all modernist paintings were anti-bourgeois as the middle class bought much of the art. Calinescu explains, "the modern artist [was] torn between his urge to cut himself off from the past—to become completely 'modern'—and his dream to found a new *tradition*, recognizable as such by the future" (Calinescu 67). Modernism's premier trope was, "Flatness [which] was construed as a barrier put up against the viewer's normal wish to enter a picture and dream, to have it be a space apart from life in which the mind would be free to make its own connections" (Clark, Painting 13). Greenberg thought Modernism existed to "maintain the high standards of the old masters against intrusions of commercialization and corrupt market criteria" (Calinescu

290). Flatness was perfect for art's commercialization which combined cultural materialism with the classical.

The Modernist explosion contributed to the making schlock. Churchill and Nicholson never dismissed the past as Picturesque with its Victorian three horizontal bands and varying tones, but they did flatten shapes, continuing to keep the viewer from optically having an easy entry. Nicholson incorporated household objects: kitchen utensils, wrenches altering their original meaning and placement. Although not considered Kitsch, Nicholson plays with tropes common to Kitsch, forecasting Pop Art. Flat imagery helped along by the use of photographic imagery associated Modernism with Kitsch, which is why it was so readily accepted and commercialized.

In the aftermath of the French Revolution, the avant-garde focused on the present (Calinescu 96, 97,101). Avant-garde began in France of the 1870s with artists and writers who "transferred the spirit of radical critique of social forms to the domain of *artistic forms"* (Calinescu 112). Avant-garde came into its own in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as a way to overthrow a "bourgeois system of values" (Calinescu 119). According to Calinescu, "the nineteenth-century utopian reformers, socialists and anarchists called for a committed, militant, politically responsible art" (Calinescu 107). Avant-garde rejected socialist realism for, "a complex of prearranged and unchanging values" (Calinescu 129). It was elite and yet it was against other elites including artistic hierarchies and the idea of talent (Calinescu 143,144). This was seen with Bloomsbury who professed to paint social realism but in reality bended towards Post-Impressionism. But, the realization that an artist did not need talent helped dissolve the amateur-artist category, while painters like Nicholson could easily shake off classical training too.

Modern decadence originated with Romanticism and was associated with negativity towards technology and "the feeling that the nation's power and prestige in the world were declining." Imagination was no longer under the control of reason (Calinescu 161,162). British philosopher Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) wrote, *History of the French Revolution* and spoke about "those *decadent* ages in which 'no Ideal either grows or blossoms'" (Calinescu168). Art became anti-Romantic and anti-Neoclassic. Classicism however, continued to be hugely popular in France into the nineteenth century (Calinescu 156,157, 162). Decadence is aesthetic individualism, anti-hierarchical and rejection of tradition (Calinescu 170,171). By the *fin-de-siècle, Décadisme* was fading into *Symbolisme* (Calinescu 177,178). This chafing at the bit was a precursor of Kitsch.

The word decadence took on differing meanings. Russian philosopher G.V. Plekhanov (1856-1918) who wrote *Art and Social Life, 1912*, was the first Marxist to propose an art theory and denounce Western bourgeois decadence; thus displaying Russian "ambivalence to Western modernity and its artistic expressions" (Calinescu 198, 199). Decadence became propaganda against bourgeois ideology, although much anti-bourgeois sentiments were overblown (Calinescu199, 200). Marxist Communism was thought of as the "end of human alienation" against the decadence of capitalism (Calinescu 153). Change occurred with "material production" as rising classes overtake ruling classes (Calinescu 197). Marx and Engel's theories have merely been adopted by the art world. None the less, the artist is great when he goes against the "mainstream of history" which is akin to the "dialectic of content and form, implying the transformation of quantity (the means of production that developed slowly and steadily, illustrating the principle of gradual evolution) into quality (the new social structure that is brought about by revolution)" (Calinescu 197,198). Notions

of content and form as the rebel artist came to Britain with Naum Gabo which allows for consideration Nicholson as rebellious, moving beyond Formal. Churchill was rebellious by nature; he rebelled against what was proper for a gentleman painter which can be interpreted by the developing contexuality of the era. Kitsch automatically contains content and is rebellious by its own definition.

Not everyone agrees. Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) was associated with The Frankfort School, an early twentieth century think tank for social thought, who said "art (true art) and ideology are mutually exclusive concepts. But ideology can manifest itself, among other things, through art, *falsifying* it to serve the achievement of specifically ideological purposes" (Calinescu 209,210). Leo Lowenthal (1900-1993), a Frankfurt Schooler said, "In classical Marxian terms, mass culture is indeed ideology…that the mode of production manufactures not only certain commodities but also the need for precisely those commodities" (Calinescu 240,241). Those who question continue," Because of this proliferation of falsehood and the ideologically successful (mis)use of practically all known art forms, the genuine modern artist is compelled to look for new means of expression, whose novelty, according to Adorno, is measured exclusively by their negativity, by the ever more complex rejections that their choice involves" (Calinescu 210) The Frankfurt School was more interested in a "consistent theory of popular or mass culture (as related to mass society) and to elaborate on the various aspects and functions of the modern cultural market, mass cultural consumption, and what Adorno…called the 'culture industry'" (Calinescu 211). Calinescu cautions the overuse of decadence saying, "But ideological art—a characteristic of modernity insofar as modernity is an age of ideology--can be better described in terms of kitsch" (Calinescu 206). Unlike Picturesque, Kitsch employs everyday

mass appeal imagery and often verbiage to describe Ideology; but it had to evolve through art's evolution and cannot be separated from social reform.

According to Greenberg who disagrees with Calinescu, "Where there is an avant-garde, generally we also find a rearguard. True enough—simultaneously with the entrance of the avant-garde, a second new cultural phenomenon appeared in the Industrial west: the thing to which the Germans gave the wonderful name *Kitsch*….Kitsch is vicarious experience and faked sensations. Kitsch changes according to style, but remains always the same. Kitsch pretends to demand nothing of its customers except their money—not even their time" (Calinescu 223). Kitsch was elevated with Pop Art and even if found schlocky, cannot be dismissed because of its social relevance and availability.

Kitsch rose to popularity between the Wars and after World War II (Calinescu 225). Kitsch allows the bourgeois to imitate the buying patterns of the aristocracy (Calisescu 227).

Calinescu suggests:

> Value is measured directly by the demand for spurious replicas or reproductions of objects whose original aesthetic meaning consisted, or should have consisted, in being unique and therefore inimitable….In a modern democracy 'the number of consumers increases, but opulent and fastidious consumers become more scarce'. This general law explains why both the artisan and the artists are 'induced to produce with great rapidity a [large] quantity of imperfect commodities' or art objects. (Calinescu 226)

Kitsch like simulacra is more popular than what is real. Calinescu insists, "nature has little choice but to imitate mass-produced color reproductions, to be as beautiful as a picture

postcard" (Calinescu 229). Mass production has become so real that it cannot be ignored with Churchill, even though it may not help to understand his art.

After World War II, Avant-garde became "Camp." Kitsch as bad taste was in vogue. Writer Susan Sontag (1933-2004) said, "It is beautiful because it is awful" (Calinescu 229,230). Calinescu says, "kitsch cannot be defined from a single vantage point….kitsch refuses to lend itself even to a negative definition, because it simply has no single compelling, distinct counter concept" (Calinscu 232,233). Kitsch is undefinable and it has contributed to consumer globalization which has weakened certain country's Nationalism.

Mass produced Kitsch came out of the Industrial Revolution. Yet, it negates tradition as it is concerned with the present, instant beauty, immediacy in making expendable art (Calinescu 8, 9). According to Adorno, "People want to have fun. A fully concentrated and conscious experience of art is possible only to those whose lives do not put such a strain on them that in their spare time they want relief from both boredom and effort simultaneously. The whole sphere of cheap commercial entertainment reflects this dual desire. It induces relaxation because it is patterned and pre-digested" (Calinescu 242).

The Marxist view that Kitsch, "was more or less deliberately introduced by upper classes to divert the working class or the masses from their revolutionary vocation is fundamentally incorrect" (Calinescu 247, 248).

Calinescu insists:

> there is unfortunately no single definition of kitsch that is entirely satisfactory. However, we can come close to an understanding of the phenomenon by combining (1) the *historico-sociological* approach, in which kitsch, as we use

> it, is typically modern and as such closely linked to cultural industrialization, commercialism, and increasing leisure in society, and (2) the *aesthetic-moral* approach, in which kitsch is false art, the production on a smaller or larger scale of various forms of 'aesthetic lies'. A crowd- pleasing art, often devised for mass consumption, kitsch is meant to offer instant satisfaction of the most superficial aesthetic needs or whims of a wide public. (Calinescu 262)

This broad brush allows an acceptance of Churchilliana as possibly enlightening those who know nothing of the man. It is possible Kitsch helps in the continued presence of his art, it does bring in monies at Churchill memorials; although actual understanding of meanings found in his Picturesque hybridity is un likely without studying the Empire. Nicholson application of everyday objects into his work is not Kitsch because their presence signifies purposeful alternative meaning while remaining non-commercial. However buying a Nicholson print and situating it where it was not intended could be construed as Kitsch.

Calinescu continues:

> Most of the analysts of contemporary art agree that ours is a pluralistic world in which everything is permitted on principle. The old avant-garde, destructive as it was, sometimes deluded itself into believing that there were actually new paths to break open, new realities to discover, new prospects to explore. But today, when the 'historical avant-garde' has been so successful as to become the 'chronic condition' of art, both the rhetoric of destruction and that of novelty have lost any trace of heroic appeal. (Calinescu 146,147)

According to composer, Leonard Meyer (1918-2007), “Change is everywhere but we live, culturally, in a perfectly static world” (Calinescu 147). The introduction of Cultural-Marxism into art’s history not only provides content but repositioned classical themes like ideal beauty as not only coming from nature, but questioning what is in fact beautiful, again expanding notions of art and its content to include commercial Kitsch.

Churchill painted his static world in the midst of big changes, but he reluctantly recognized change was inevitable after a century of European conflicts, visually seen in his layering of Modern colors and shapes onto Picturesque, which revert back to British landscape with its insistence on retaining the past, not totally visible like tropes of Kitsch which blast their meaning. Churchill’s art was not Kitsch but the promotion of it along with the souvenirs it sparked, display Kitsch contextual tendencies and help to bring out the hidden in Picturesque.

6.3 Churchilliana as Kitsch

Historians like Greenberg view Kitsch as a negative product of Western culture and Modernism. Kitsch is associated with the rise of the middle class, “urbanization and the influx of peasant populations to the towns, the decline of aristocracy, the disintegration of folk art and folk culture, increased literacy among the proletariat, more time for leisure, mass production, and technological progress…” (Kulka 13, 14). Writer Hermann Broch (1886-1951) insisted Romanticism,“ without being kitsch itself, is the mother of kitsch and that there are moments when the child becomes so much like its mother that one cannot differentiate between them” (Kulka 14) Kulka agrees, it was Romanticism that had its

emphasis on “dramatic effects, pathos and overall sentimentality” that affected Kitsch (Kulka 15). Much of what Kitsch is associated with is considered part of the social progress of art.

According to Kulka, “the term *kitsch* has nowhere been recorded before the second half of the nineteenth century” (Kulka 14). Calinescu feels the term Kitsch surfaced in the late nineteenth century with Munich’s painters and art dealers. The English translated kitsch to mean “sketch” while the French associated kitsch with “chic” and the Germans used “*kitschen*” or “*verkitschen* (to make cheap)” (Kulka 18,19).

However, unnamed Kitsch has been around since ancient cultures as it is connected to commerce. Kulka suggests, “small Hellenistic statues that were produced in large quantities mainly for export, as well as many of the objects in Pompeii, can be seen as examples of kitsch from the distant past” (Kulka 14). Complaining about the aesthetics of Kitsch goes back centuries too. Journalist Arthur Koestler (1905-1983) claims, “when Petronius [Roman courtier 27-66AD] writing *Supper at Trimalchio* describes the bad taste of the newly established class of merchants, he is clearly referring to kitsch” (Kulka 14). Sontag claimed it was Cervantes “who makes fun of seventeenth-century chivalric romances” (Kulka 14). Today, those romances are considered classics. Kitsch is more than just a distasteful object, it can be someone’s opinion of bad taste in general.

Greenberg insists Kitsch “has been capitalized at a tremendous investment which must show commensurate returns; it is compelled to extend as well as to keep its markets” (Greenberg 11). Kulka feels, “Kitsch *as we know it* cannot be divorced from the socioeconomic conditions described by those who see this phenomenon as a product of industrial revolution” (Kulka 15). This suggests that Kitsch is a good thing as it provides

populations with needed material goods cheaply, easy to sell as everyone wants the same things.

Kitsch can be tacky or in bad taste, but at the same time it can not only produce profits, it can also define and change cultures (Kulka 16, 17). Kitsch's escapism at a reasonable price is the reason it is so prevalent. The fact that kitsch is now global has diminished local cultures. Kulka suggests that successful television like *Dallas and Dynasty,* shown worldwide reduced "differences of traditions, ideologies, religions and cultures…" (Kulka 16). Radio and television which evolved into more sophisticated electronic media has meant the desire for goods and services worldwide are more alike with costs are competitive.

Kitsch has been used for derogatory purposes. Historian Saul Friedlander (b.1932) "showed how central a role [Kitsch] played in the mobilization of the masses for Hitler's Germany" (Kulka 17). Writer Milan Kundera (b.1929) exposed "kitsch as a main instrument for the manipulation of the masses by Communist regimes…" (Kulka 17). Propaganda art is Kitschy in its ideology, flat and minimal colors; yet it becomes a trove of information as to how oppressive regimes governed while captivating. Gabo, who influenced Nicholson, left Russia because Kitsch as Social Realism became the only art form allowed. Churchill hated Communism but the contextual dialogue that came through to ideological European art, in the aftermath of political oppression, permeated the Western world elevating the way art is discussed. Kitsch becomes an example of how art can describe social upheavals.

Calinescu's and Kulka's social approach to Kitsch show that it evolved out of art's need to push art beyond a narrow classical circle into a wider arena for more to enjoy. In the process of democratizing art, it picked up social and economic aspects that are not always

pleasant, as in the case of propaganda, or not always tasteful as in the case of mass-produced schlock. Nature as something to copy and respect, also lost its appeal. Churchill's art is not Kitsch but Churchilliana sold and made into movies, keeps Churchill's name in the public eye, for those who do not read his writings or even know of his existence.

Churchill benefitted from commercialism as he received remuneration from wealthy capitalist donors. Walter Graebner (1909-1976), *Time-Life's* London representative often traveled with Churchill and provided unlimited monies; whether he received it for writings or for his art becomes blurred and immaterial. (Sandys 116, 119, 122). While Churchill is not known to have actively endorsed Kitsch, he appeared in *Time/Life* publications numerous times, agreed to have his paintings used on Hallmark cards and cooperated with a Hallmark television show about his art. Kitsch may keep Churchill's memory in the present, even if inaccurate, but does nothing for discovering the importance of his art.

***Life* Magazine, January 7, 1946:** features Churchill in his studio on the cover and other paintings within. Commercializing his art did not make the individual works, Kitsch. The act of being on the cover and in the magazine, now common for artists, was a Kitschy thing for an aristocrat to do at the time, not to mention the vast sums received. Readership of *Time/Life* was much smaller and more elite too and would have approved of Churchill in *Life*. According to Gwen Allen, "During the 1960s and 1970s magazines became an important new site of artistic practice, functioning as alternative exhibition space…" (Allen 1). Churchill was a master at selling himself and his writings; why not his artwork? *Time/Life* came into its own during World War II as it provided extensive coverage of theaters, unique at the time. Churchill in *Life* after the war was pitched to a restrictive audience, who considered him an amateur, aware of his talents.

While ***Life…*** may have made people more aware of Churchill the painter, it did not repeal his title of amateur artist; but then, he had no interest in repealing it. When Emily Post's uncle, Francis Hopkinson Smith (1838-1915) died, a newspaper recounted, "Obituaries, inevitably noting his modesty, emphasized his unusual prowess at multiple careers: engineer, artists, illustrator, and short-story writer. In spite of his considerable success with portraiture and illustration, Francis Hopkinson Smith had always insisted to be termed an amateur" (Claridge 224). Being a nineteenth century amateur was considered socially correct but did not deter from accepting remuneration.

As Burgin says:

> Images are now as much a material force in and between societies as are economic and political forces. Contemporary visual culture—the combined product of 'the media' and a variety of other spheres of image production—can no longer be seen as simply 'reflecting' or 'communicating' the world in which we live: it contributes to the making of this world. Individuals and nations act in accordance with beliefs, values, and desires that increasingly are formed and informed, inflected and refracted, through images: from television, advertising, cinema, newspapers, magazines, videotapes, CD-ROM, the Internet, and so on. (Burgin 21, 22)

Churchill recognized the value of media. During the Second World War, he used radio to inform and to arouse, moving onto television appearances. Art placed in magazines and on television contributed to eroding amateur status of the gentlemen, just as did socializing in nineteenth century art emporiums. Churchill may have been titled an amateur

but he did not mind behaving like a professional when it came to showing off his art or just himself. He continues to be thought of as an amateur because that is where the commercialized world can better market him.

The Winston Churchill Memorial Screen, St. Paul's Cathedral: is a metaphor for London's survival of the Blitz, but is it Kitsch? The screen of steel and bronze, eight meters long, spans the crypt which holds the remains of Nelson and Wellington. Incorporated into the design are "heraldic devices of the Churchill Lion, the roundels of the Order of Merit and the order of the Garter and the Warden of Cinque Ports" (internet source: Davies,Telegraph,11/30/04). Artists, James Horrobin was the son of RAF warrant officer in charge of gun repair, turned blacksmith after the war, adding context to this piece (internet source: Ezard, Guardian, 11/30/04). Churchill is not buried at St. Paul's, the site of his funeral, but the desire to keep his aura connected to this church made the screen possible.

Before examining whether this piece has Kitsch, some background is helpful.

According to historian Eric Hobsbawm (1917-2012):

> The first period, extending from the 1820s, and before, to the 1870s, is a period of ineptly managed ritual, performed in what was still preponderantly a localized, provincial, pre-industrial society. The second, beginning in 1877, when Victoria was made empress of India, and extending until the outbreak of the First World War was, in Britain as in much of Europe, the heyday of 'invented tradition', a time when old ceremonies were staged with an expertise and appeal which had been lacking before, and when new rituals were self-consciously invented to accentuate this development. Then, from

> 1918 until Queen Elizabeth's coronation in 1953 came the period in which the British persuaded themselves that they were good at ceremonial because they always had been—a belief in large part made possible because Britain's former rivals in royal ritual—Germany, Austria and Russia—had dispensed their monarchies, leaving Britain alone in the field. (Hobsbawm 108)

The British have never minded selling their royal image as Kitsch, especially the Union Jack, which has not diminished the flag flying atop government buildings.

Hobsbawm continues:

> new, consumer-oriented firms such as Rowntree, Cadbury and Oxo exploited royal events to help their advertising campaigns, and local authorities began to distribute beakers, mugs and other gifts in commemoration. In the same way, there were more private commemorative medals produced for sale for Victoria's Golden Jubilee than for the previous four great events combined, and the coronation of Edward VII was another medal-maker's paradise. In addition, in 1887, commemorative medals in the manner of campaign medals, to be worn on the left breast, were first issued, another novelty which was emulated at all subsequent coronations and jubilees in this period. So, in mugs and medals, as in music and magnificence, the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth was a golden age of 'invented traditions'…. (Hobsbawm 137,138)

Memorial Screen… can be viewed as an enlarged Churchillian campaign medal too.

Pop Art, invented in the second half of the twentieth century in Britain, produced souvenirs sold at ceremonies. But Pop Art never denied it was anything but slick works, not considered high art. Is it the admission of an artwork's genuine purpose that defuses Kitsch? In the height of Pop Art came the pageantry of Churchill's funeral which also generated more souvenirs.

According to Hobsbawm:

> the state funeral of Sir Winston Churchill in 1965, poised exactly half way between Elizabeth's coronation and the Silver Jubilee, was not only the last rites of a great man himself, but was also self-consciously recognized at the time as being the requiem for Britain as a great power. So, 'as the power of Britain waned…, pride grew in the Royal family as something which was uniquely ours and which no country could match'. Just as, in previous periods of international change, the ritual of monarchy was of importance in legitimating the novelty of former empire and in giving an impression of stability at a time of international bewilderment, so in the post-war world it has provided a comfortable palliative to the loss of world-power status. (Hobshawm 157)

There is a Kitschy feel to ***Memorial Screen…*** situated in a place of peace and meditation. The screen harkens to knights and chivalry with its verticals spears, heraldic designs and shapes resembling rifle triggers, becoming a souvenir of Churchill's funeral. Churchill had an interest in military history, having participated in many modern conflicts. After the service, his body was placed on a barge reminiscent of ancient civilization's biers.

Are ambiguous interpretations in bad taste and therefore Kitsch? According to Kulka, "Kitsch comes to support our basic sentiments and beliefs, not to disturb or question them" (Kulka 27). Here the essence of Empire is maintained through medieval symbolism.

St Paul's has a gift shop selling china and CDs too. Kitsch "has strong appeal" and provides needed funds to support upkeep of the screen and cathedral (Kulka 19). St Paul's is akin to "Fluffy little kittens" in British sentimentality (Kulka 25, 26). The gift shop demonstrates "aesthetic worthlessness has aesthetic appeal" too (Kulka 21). ***Memorial Screen…*** becomes both Kitsch in its sentimentality to a bygone era, but it is also tasteful art in a sanctified space; opinion of it depends on the viewer.

The 1964-1965 New York World's Fair: supervised by New York Parks Commissioner, Robert Moses (1888-1981) in the Flushing Meadows fairgrounds was the largest ever held in the United States. Moses was charismatic and heralded the new age of mass consumerism. In its second and final year, a Churchill exhibition was posthumously installed: Churchilliana, paintings and an Oscar Nemon statue that loomed like Michelangelo's *David* adjacent to corporate logos: Ford, DuPont and Disney. This event was Post-War, anti-Communist and Kitschy. Visitors could admire a Princess phone, eat a hotdog, drink a Coke and view Churchill's 1953 Nobel medal in one location (internet source: nywf64.com; Young, nywf64.com/fair).

Kulka says, "What do all these themes have in common? The answer is: they are all highly emotionally charged. They are charged with stock emotions that *spontaneously* trigger an unreflective emotional response" (Kulka 26). Kitsch at the ***World's Fair…*** *r*epresented the superiority of Western countries and their domination. Of note: the sculptor Nemon was a

German refugee to Britain who sculpted Realism, akin to socialist art. British abstract sculptors like Henry Moore were not asked. Was art being used for anti-Communist purposes, which could be construed as Kitschy. This fair was one of the last to display world-wide consumer goods as television and the digital age put Kitsch directly into homes.

Bottlescape*, 1926 and *Finest Hours* 2013 (Sandys, Winston 26, 27):** become a dialogue between Churchill and his granddaughter. Chuchill's ***Bottlescape… is his only painting that could be construed as Kitsch, while granddaughter Edwina's ***Finest Hours….*** is deliberately Kitsch. ***Bottlescape…*** might be considered satirical as it replaces Picturesque trees, shrubs and sunlight with liquor bottles, glassware and a lamp at center. Red boxes, used for government papers are stacked at the right like a coullis, keeping viewers focused on the lamp and surrounding liquor and glassware. Somewhat unusual for one of his pre-war works, Churchill's has no barriers in the foreground as shadows pull the viewer inward into the cocktail hour, not unfamiliar to Churchill's class who invented drinking before dinner. Painted in Victorian tonal browns and dark reds against a mustard background, the light patterns bouncing off the glass are in tonal harmony, while a touch of perspective provides a path from bottle to bottle. The tall bottle at the left could be Churchill at a gathering where the focus is on him, the politician as indicated by the boxes. The lamp is the wisdom he imparts to the throngs, aka the glassware. Kulka's *unity, complexity and intensity* are considered, but so is Kitsch as bottle labels are not removed.

Bottlescape… harkens back to Dutch paintings. T.C. Mark finds seventeenth century Dutch still life like Kitsch writing, "Such works succeeded in bringing the technique, the compositional, coloristic, and textual properties within a well-defined artistic genre and style, to aesthetic perfection without contributing anything substantially novel to that genre and

style" (Kulka 59). Mark's definition includes well painted art that lacks context. But is not that the opinion of the era it was painted? Many view Dutch still life as connected to their prosperity.

Bottlescape… plays with the format of Picturesque, using it to illustrate that "motives of temptation…are closer to Kitsch than [the representation of] mundane object" (Kulka 60). This composition might be considered more personal than his landscapes which would be a fallacy. Churchill's landscapes require some knowledge of Picturesque. The cocktail hour before dinner was a Modern custom, disdained by Victorian butlers.

Kitsch can be interchanged with any tonal coloring. ***Bottlescape…*** without it amber and burgundy tonality would not have the aura of aristocracy it holds, which challenges ideas of it being Kitsch (Kulka 73). If the red boxes were altered, the meaning of this painting would change. Although ***Bottlescape…*** plays with Picturesque as structure, it does not "*make the real environment more worthwhile*" and therefore could become Kitsch and anybody's cocktail hour (Kulka 35). Cocktails and red boxes were a large part of Churchill's life, so why not paint them? Not having a cocktail cart was considered rude. ***Bottlescape …*** as viewed today might be considered Kitsch, but in 1926 it described the normal routine of the aristocrat before dining; Kitsch can change generationally.

Sandys' ***Finest Hours…*** satirizes Churchill's various interests. The title puns one of his speeches, twisting the meaning to imply recreational pleasures: smoking, drinking, writing, painting and gardening as opposed to wartime struggles or politicking, represented by the missing red boxes in this cartoon. The recreation of Churchill at his easel, painting the actual ***Bottlescape…*** was taken from a *Life* Magazine cover. The foreground allows viewers

to enter in between liquor bottles and yellow tulips, presumably a motif to paint except, the flora does not match what is being painted. The background is faux library books with titles that index Churchill publications.

Finest Hours… becomes a "falsification of art" as it pokes fun at Churchill, with no apologies to being nothing other than Kitsch (Kulka 79). ***Finest Hours…*** also pays tribute to the passing of generational talent which should not be construed as Kitsch even if the piece is a cartoon. The true Kitsch is in printing this cartoon in an art catalog, which only diminishes the importance of Churchill's paintings.

Sir Winston's on the Queen Mary is an upscale restaurant on the Queen Mary, a retired Cunard liner residing at Long Beach, California. In World War II, she was reconfigured into a military transport; Churchill crossed the Atlantic on her numerous times. Los Angeles is the home of Hollywood, Kitsch capital. *Sir Winston's…* attempts to make diners feel Churchill's presence with monogrammed dinnerware and menu entrees like Beef Wellington and Dover Sole Meuniere. While Bird's eye maple paneling is the same, *Sir Winston's…* was formerly the ship's engineer's quarters with the piano relocated so the café has the feel of thirties' soirees and remnants of Empire. *Sir Winston's…* pretends to give the customer a bygone era on a ship that is permanently moored amongst carnival honky-tonk. According to Kulka, "when the representation leaves nothing to the imagination so that its subject matter is instantly identifiable, the result is bound to be kitsch" (Kulka 104). Food is great, strolling where Churchill walked even better, but ambience is Kitsch, which is perfectly fine, if completely understood.

Churchill Schlock is cheaply made Churchilliana: t-shirts, mouse pads, key chains, paperweights all keeping the Churchill's memory in the present. Kulka says, "Karl Marx's dictum that religion is the opiate of the people also applies to kitsch. In everyday life there may be questions and uncertainties, but with respect to guiding principles all questions and doubts are answered even before they are raised" (Kulka 97).

There are hybrids of Kitsch which straddle between art and schlock. Differing opinions also make Kitsch not so cut and dried. The Post War consumer age, speeded up by the electronic age blurred reality so what is real and what is a simulacra is often confused. Kitsch is not entirely to blame for lack of interest in Churchill's art. People who buy t-shirts at least will become acquainted with the man but might never go further, or they might. Understanding the underpinnings of a Churchill work requires knowledge of Empire as well as knowledge of how British art has been historicized. Churchill was secure enough to realize being a Pastime painter would not keep him from being a professional. After all being an aristocrat helped him attract painting advisors and wealthy friends who provided secluded locales for his easel. As long as Churchill remains a Victorian amateur painter, his art will never be completely appreciated with or without the help of Kitsch.

6.4 Conclusion to Churchill and Kitsch

Kitsch is an ideological aesthetic within Modernism that contains the Marx/Engels construct about "social material and social relations in art works…" (Williams, Sociology 22). Not always considered good taste, its availability to all classes makes it an art form of the people in ways that museum art's exclusivity does not. Churchill's art is not Kitsch, except for perhaps his painting ***Bottlescape…*** which harkens to another era and therefore its value as Kitsch today may be misleading.

Churchilliana might diminish the value of his paintings as relics of the British Empire. Kitsch is not unknown to Empire; the import of Kitsch from colonies made London companies prosper. Kulka poses, "it cannot be demonstrated that kitsch is inferior to some highly respected works of art (Kulka 45). Chinese vases were mass produced as Kitsch, some of them were exquisite, other works just made someone rich. Kulka insists that the test of good quality art is to display the attributes of *"unity, complexity and intensity"* and yet some Kitsch products also have these tropes (Kulka 46). These attributes are very hard to comprehend and return to eighteenth century themes about only a few possessing tasteful judgements. Kitsch, good or bad may display these tendencies, keep Churchill's legacy active, but not always in ways that make his art understandable.

According to Kulka, "kitsch is a flexible, context-and culture-dependent concept, the application of which changes from period to period and from culture to culture" (Kulka 38, 39). Kulka references Picasso's L*es Demoiselles d' Avignon*, 1907, which at one time was not valued as high art. Critics Frank Elgar's and Robert Mallard's opinion of *Demoiselles.*…was, " In itself the work does not bear very close scrutiny, for the drawing is hasty and the colour unpleasant, while the composition as a whole is confused and there is too much concern for effect and far too much gesticulation in the figures" (Kulka 47). This Picasso, once considered Kitsch, reveals unity in its design, complexity in its palette and intensity in the masks to a later generation, but not to original viewers. But it was made at a time classical art done in academic arenas was the acceptable norm. Today the painting, on permanent display at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, is considered a masterpiece that spectators crowd and curators analyze. Yet, many museum-goers lack art appreciation, so why do they come and see Les Demoiselles? This work resides in a major museum in the

heart of the shopping district of Midtown Manhattan. Picasso as a master of art is well known; his art has been satirized into Kitsch which has not lessened the high prices at auction for his work. Maybe Churchill's art is not valued because it is not in major museums. Perhaps the effect Churchiliana's on his art is immaterial?

Debating "*unity, complexity and intensity*" is one way to evaluate Kitsch but acquiring ideology is another (Kulka 46). According to Calinescu, "it is the basic ambiguity between science and ideology that makes Marxism such a stupendously elastic doctrine…" (Calinescu 128). Calinescu continues, "This ambiguity can explain, among other things, the appeal of Marxism to the aesthetically rebellious avant-garde from Dada and surrealism to the diverse neo-avant-garde movements of our day" (Calinescu 128). Marxism's short sentences and rousing sentiments makes its content easily transferable when interpreting art that is not necessarily deemed socially contextual. Picturesque is an example of art that was originally deemed Formal, but in recent years has been studied for its hidden undercurrents about the politics of the time and the working classes that made the actual landscape that was desired as a painting.

Calinescu suggests, " The main difference between the political and the artistic avant-gardes of the last one hundred years consists in the latter's insistence on the *independently* revolutionary potential of art, while the former tend to justify the opposite idea, namely, that art should submit itself to the requirements and needs of the political revolutionists. But both start from the same premise: life should be radically changed" (Calinescu 104). Gabo brought watered-down Constructivism's political themes and combined them with avant-garde tendencies, imposing them on Britain's stubbornly Formal art world. The fact that Churchill

recognized the need to change his version of British art, removes him from what an amateur artist drew and painted, even though the title of amateur never left him, nor did he care.

Calinescu points, “aesthetic value is never entirely determined by ideology; as a matter of fact, aesthetic value deserves its name only insofar as it transcends ideology” (Calinescu 197). This allows all art including Kitsch to be defined in terms of both form and content. Calinescu even insists that, “ ideological art—a characteristic of modernity insofar as modernity is an age of ideology—can be better described in terms of kitsch” (Calinescu 206). This suggests that Kitsch speaks to modernity regardless of its bad taste and permeates more cultural arenas than museums or gallery art.

Calinescu continues, “the genuine modern artist is compelled to look for new means of expression, whose novelty, according to Adorno, is measured exclusively by their negativity, by the ever more complex rejections that their choice involves” (Calinescu 210). Saying that Kitsch is in bad taste might elevate other art forms, but not necessarily. Mass culture and its markets which now includes the internet, becomes an area that allows artists to expand beyond traditional gallery spaces, thus changing the idea, that once an art object is placed in a gallery it automatically is considered high art. Churchill’s art get shown in less known venues which contributes to the art’s anonymity. But Churchilliana does not help get his art to a better gallery, yet it might not detract from the art either.

Incorporating unity, complexity and intensity into mass market Kitsch along with cultural-materialism becomes ever more a reality. According to Debord, “The spectacle is the moment when the commodity has attained the total occupation of social life” (Debord 42). Post-war British-Pop artists elevated Kitsch to include unity, complexity and intensity,

imparting social constructs into art, as well. ***Bottlescape…***drifts between Kitsch and non-Kitsch which makes it Modern and expands ambiguous meaning.

This chapter investigates early Kitsch, found in ancient cultures which made cheap goods for sale or trade, to the twenty-first century where importing and exporting Kitsch cheaply has defined Globalization. In the Post-World War II era commercialization boomed, as the war years had deprived civilian purchasing. Importing cheap goods from Third World countries also escalated.

Pop Art came to express commercialization and cultural ideology, much of which derived from countries like Russia which tried to explain its oppressive regimes by contextualizing its art. Critic says, "the first phase of British Pop, which lasted from 1951-1958, was characterized by an engagement with technology as exemplified by the work of Richard Hamilton…" (Bradnock 76). In the 1956, Hamilton's collage, *Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so Appealing?* was exhibited at White Chapel's exhibition, *This is Tomorrow* (Godfrey 312,313). The painting took the Ford Motor logo, a Tootsie pop and a Hoover vacuum and elevated the objects into high art with an ideological message about the middle class consumers desiring these commodities, which had been mass-produced and within reach of most consumers. Hamilton pushed mass-produced furniture and soft porn onto Victorian Britain's art establishment. According to Alloway, "Art could and should be presented in a way that allowed viewers to comprehend a specific art object as part of a larger cultural conversation" (Bradnock 2).

Williams felt Marxist Cultural theory had been reduced to "relations of production." Williams wanted cultural practices to broaden insisting, "a culture is a whole way of life, and

the arts are part of a social organization which economic change clearly radically affects" (Dworkin 90, 91). He rejected the notion of discarding the bourgeois for the proletariat as all classes contribute. Williams insisted, "[i]t represented a valuable heritage: a common property to be learned from, evaluated, criticized, and transformed, but certainly not one rejected wholesale or written off as withering away" (Dworkin 90,91). Marx's concept of ideology was initially an attack on "bourgeois ideology" in support of 'revolutionary ideology'" (Calinescu 207). Kitsch's mass consumption gets identified through an elastic cultural ideology (Calinescu 128, 262).

This allows us not only to return to Picturesque but to see that Churchill's coordination with Modernism was not only innovative to British painting having instilled Modernism in Victorian art, but also becoming familiar with British Post-war trends by using consumerism as a way to define himself as a star. Calinescu insists, "ideological art—a characteristic of modernity insofar as modernity is an age of ideology—can be better described in terms of kitsch" (Calinescu 206). While Kitsch with its mass-availability and competitive pricing contains ideology, other forms of art can also contain ideology. While Churchilliana keeps Churchill in the public arena, it does nothing for appreciating his art or extracting poignant meanings; on the other hand, it does not hurt his art either. Greenberg who applauded Abstract-Expressionism for its Formalism, disliked Kitsch announcing, "Kitsch is mass-produced…for the 'industrial masses' who have recently been transformed by 'universal literacy' into proper consumers for pseudo-art" (Mitchell, Picture 229). Mitchell interjects, "A new 'other' from the concrete, ordinary world breaks into and dominates this refined discourse--nothing less than the sort of kitsch icons Greenberg had banished from serious art" (Mitchell, Picture 237).

In the United States, Pop Art became associated with Andy Warhol whose Brillo boxes and Coca-Cola signage along with silk screens of Marilyn Monroe and Jackie Kennedy passed into the language beyond art history because of their ideology and mass-popularity. Warhol's Kitsch expressed Post-War years visually. Churchill's art speaks about the end of the British Empire but is hard to comprehend unless there is an understanding of British art.

Churchill lived into the age of Pop Art, so it is not surprising that he absorbed some of its tendencies, especially its high visibility which he used to promote himself mainly through technology. Even though his landscapes reflected Post-Impressionism, the methodology that surrounds Kitsch can be used to decipher Churchill's paintings. He did take advantage of commercial opportunities in the form of gifts: cigars, wine, press opportunities, personal appearances, vacations on yachts and villas, thanks to Post-War consumerism and his acquired fame. After his death, Churchill branding escalated. According to Burgin, "Jean Baudrillard has described the consequent tendency of historical reality to 'disappear behind the mediating 'hyperreality' of the 'simulacrum'" (Burgin 120). The myth of Churchill may have become more real through Kitschy products, reprints of his writings, colleges that have Churchill centers and Chartwell which strives to protect his aura.

The Fiftieth anniversary of his funeral created: conferences, websites, monuments, art exhibitions. Belonging to a Churchill society or attending a conference, simply means writing a check, but is makes members feel they are connected to the man. The *Havengore*, which carried the body of Churchill up the Thames continues to be used ceremonially and can be chartered. The National Railway Museum, York has refurbished the train that carried Churchill's remains from Waterloo Station to Oxfordshire. Even though Churchill is buried

at Bladon, a memorial floor-plaque was installed in Westminster Abbey as if his body lay beneath (internet source: Kennedy, Guardian, 1/30/15). Kitsch also morphs into the aura of the man, as those reading the plaque think he is actually there.

Churchilliana is ever gaudy: t-shirts, historically inaccurate movies and theatrical productions, key chains, mouse pads, expensive porcelain, coffee mugs. There are bars and restaurant bearing Churchill's name and even his image made from Legos. Many sculptures are awkward, even if considered tasteful, like Churchill in Parliament Square. Others, like "*Married Love*" in Kansas City, Missouri are clunky and misplaced. Ironically, Kitsch keeps Churchill's memory alive far better than his republished books or his paintings because it uses mass-consumerism to mass-produce Churchill. Debord says, "Separated from his product, man himself produces all the details of his world with ever increasing power, and thus finds himself ever more separated from his world. The more his life is now his product, the more he is separated from his life" (Debord 32). In the twenty-first century, we have become so accustomed to Kitsch we do not realize how it dilutes the objects or the meaning, it represents. And does anyone care?

Churchillian Kitsch is so common, it obscures the genuine art which contains contextual tropes more poignant than what is found in Kitsch (Kulka 79). According to Mitchell, "Images are not just passive entities that coexist with their human hosts, any more than microorganisms that dwell in our intestines. They change the way we think and see and dream. They refunction our memories and imaginations, bringing new criteria and new desires into the world" (Mitchell, What 92). While Churchill did not live to see all the Kitsch produced in his name, manufacturers who make this Kitsch as well as family members who

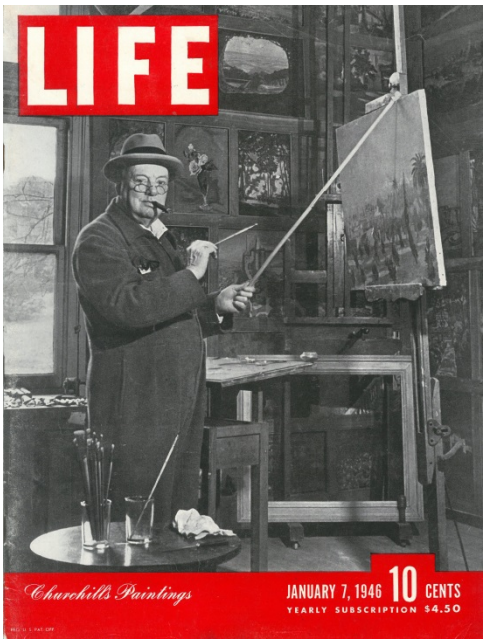
endorse it, have made careers keeping the Churchill memory alive. Kitsch's availability makes it seem more important than the Churchill landscapes.

Both Churchillian Kitsch and Churchill paintings contain similar different ideology, better understood through a Cultural-Marxian analysis. As Mitchell points, " It is the fetishism of commodities, their transformation into living images, that makes them capable of reproducing themselves in ever-increasing spirals of surplus value, accompanied…by ever-increasing social contradictions–exploitation, misery, and inequality. It is also…the commodification of images that turns pictures into fetishes, adding to them a surplus that makes them bearers of ideological fantasy" (Mitchell,What 94). Churchill's art, dismissed as merely stress relief or ignored is far more complex than Churchilliana, thanks to cultural Marxism can be analyzed as a commodity of a consumer market. Churchill's way of painting and the color and methodology he used is a far better way to understand him and his Empire.

Mitchell sharply objectifies ideology, specifically the decline of British Empire which evolved into Imperial Globalization, saying, "Empire requires and produces, in a word, objecthood, and along with it a discourse of objectivity. All these it then mobilizes around an ideal object, and objective or goal, which motivates the imperial quest, gives it a purpose and life of its own" (Mitchell, What 155). Some objects survive as remains of Empire. Mitchell says, "Objects are the way things appear to a subject—that is, with a name, an identity, a gestalt or stereotypical template, a description, a use or function, a history, a science" (Mitchell, What 155, 156). Mitchell surmises, "Objectivity is one of the most important and durable achievements of imperial civilizations (along with notions of universality and the species being of the human race) and will survive no matter how firmly we might reject the more odious features of imperialism." (Mitchell,What 157,158). Mitchell's definition of

objectivity allows for the realization that Churchillian-Kitsch will not only survive but define future understanding of the man perhaps better than the understanding of Churchill's art which holds Imperial objectivity beyond its Formalism. Kitsch is outwardly obvious in what it stands for but its inward appreciation and how it relates to the culture needs to be scrutinized as much as the underpinnings of Churchill's landscapes.

Nicholson appearing as a ground for Churchill did not gravitate to Kitsch or Post-World War II, Pop Art. Nicholson places household objects in his abstracts which might be construed as early attempts at Pop. However, Nicholson took advantage of Post-War consumerism in that the Labour government funded artists which helped circulate his works internationally. The Tate, London continues to sell Nicholson art books and prints, though not construed as Kitsch, supports the museum. Kitsch defines a culture whether it is at all tasteful and has contextual aspects that can be applied and compared to Churchill's paintings becomes the responsibility of the spectator. Whether Churchilliana takes away from a Churchill landscape is unclear.



Life Magazine cover January 7, 1946 to illustrate article “The Paintings of Winston Churchill – Life presents a great statesman’s avocation”

Churchill Memorial Screen (3.5 x 8m) at St Paul’s London (2004) by James Horrobin

Churchill Pavilion 1965 New York World’s Fair

Winston Churchill. *Bottlescape.* oil on canvas, 28 x 36 in, 1926. Chartwell

Edwina Sandys (b. 1938). *Finest Hours*, 2013. Acrylic on Canvas, 40 x 32 in., Collection of the Artist

Conclusion: Survival and Change in Churchill's Paintings

Why is Churchill's art relevant with Post-Modern Conceptualism and social media? In today's Europe with the return to Nationalism, it is important to revisit the era of Empire, why it broke apart, why there were negative consequences: unleashing poorly skilled governance, assimilation of non-white colonists into Britain, the continuation of the British to rationalize and memorialize their superiority.

Churchill's art dismissed as mere 'pastime' could be a puzzlement today. Victorian amateur artists, highly skilled, whose livelihood was not derived from art, have all but disappeared. Presently, anyone can call themselves a professional; social status is immaterial, receiving payment for work is paramount. Churchill considered himself an amateur even when he received remuneration for his work, actual sales or magazines publication of the imagery, because he did not see himself as a Modernist. Today he remains a gentleman painter who diminishes the importance of his art because the Victorian amateur definition is misunderstood.

His family only thought painting relaxed him; they failed to see his art as documentation of travel and politicking. Churchill's wife and artist-friends wanted him to paint like a Victorian using brown tones. According to Celia Sandys after his defeat as Prime Minister, "[H]is family decided he should have a painting holiday, and on 2 September…he left for Italy, where Field Marshall Alexander [1891-1969], the Supreme Allied Commander Mediterranean, had made a villa beside Lake Como available for him" (Sandys, Chasing 185). Painting was merely therapy.

But others saw Churchill as a serious practitioner. Paul Maze was a renowned Impressionist/Post-Impressionist who admired Churchill's work and often painted with him (Singer 103). In 1939, when painting with Maze at Chateau St-Georges-Môtel Churchill sighed, "This is the last picture we shall paint in peace for a very long time" (Sandys Chasing 229)" Both men survived World War I and recognized impending doom would shortly overtake their love of painting, once again. Maze flattened shapes, employed perspective, while letting his line show through quick brushstrokes and transparent washes, retaining Picturesque's three banded horizontals. His palette and retention of perspective resembles Churchill's. Maze sent Churchill new brushes insisting "you should destroy most of your old brushes which can't help you in your work" (Soames, Winston 84). He encouraged Churchill to, "Paint like you write or speak" (Soames, Winston 84). According to Soames, it was the "buccaneer" spirit, Churchill admired in Maze; it was also what Clementine disliked (Soames, Winston 84). Maze who had citizenship in France and Britain was not a Victorian painter which is why he is not considered Churchill's most influential teacher, but he should have been. In 1939, Maze and Churchill painted for the last time before World War II, together (Coombs 155). In a 1964, NBC television special on Churchill, Maze retold, "Everything he did, like his painting, was an act of love" (Singer 75). Churchill told Sir John Rothenstein (1901-1992), the director of the Tate that it was William Nicholson who taught him the most (Soames, Winston 84). Churchill may have considered himself a Victorian painter but Maze's Impressionism resembled Churchill's work the most.

On a holiday in 1948 to Aix-en-Provence when painting Mont Sainte-Victoire Churchill was heard to say, "I am not a great painter" (Sandys, Chasing 237). Those around him gasped; Sandys recounts, "For a few seconds the embarrassment was so great that

nothing was said" (Sandys, Chasing 234-237). Clearly, the guests misunderstood Churchill, who could not get past the idea of him as anything but an amateur. They failed to see that Churchill's discouragement was a recognition of Cézanne's genius as others of prominence have surmised. Martin Heidegger also made at least three pilgrimages to Aix. In 1958 lecture on Hegel and the Greeks he included his experiences visiting Bibemus Quarry, Sainte-Victoire and finding Cézanne's path retelling, "the path to which, from beginning to end, my own path as a thinker corresponds in its way" (Danchev 371, 372). Churchill's realization of Cézanne is tantamount to viewers finding his essence in a Churchill work.

Lieutenant Hakewell-Smith (1896-1986) recalled Churchill's art experiences during World War I regaling, "His headquarters was at a place called Laurence Farm, in the courtyard of which he set up his easel, having, in the months since losing office, begun to paint as an antidote to frustration. Shells exploded round about, but he carried on" (Sandys, Chasing 134,135). Churchill replied to Hakewell-Smith, "I couldn't get the shell hole right in the painting. However I did it, it looked like a mountain, but yesterday I discovered that if I put a bit of white in it, it looked like a hole after all" (Sandys, Chasing135). Being diligent is the mark of a serious painter, even more so under enemy fire. This was not what his family and friends understood.

But there were some who truly saw that Churchill's way of working was unique. Violet Bonham Carter (1887-1969), daughter of Prime Minister H.H. Asquith, a longtime friend of Churchill, saw his muse of painting as having endowed him with "a new creative act and given him new tools to work with" (Carter, Violet 381).

Bonham Carter writes:

> Watching him paint for the first time on that June morning I became suddenly aware that it was the only occupation I had ever seen him practice in silence. When golfing, bathing, rock climbing, building sand castles on the beach, even when playing bezique or bridge he talked—and thus enhanced for all the drama and excitement of these pastimes. But, he painted silently, rapt in intense appraisal, observation, assessment of the scene he meant to capture and to transfer to his canvas. (Carter, Violet 382)

Bonham Carter who was an admirer, saw there was an intensity to his involvement with paint that he carried over to his political life which also clung to the Victorian past while reconciling Modernism, propelled by war and technological advancements.

The British Empire's success at utilizing waterways to conquer territories, and acquire resources was rationalized by imparting Christianity and a strong work-ethic. This could be visibly felt in Picturesque landscapes that visualized the manicured English estates gained from profiteering both abroad and at home with the help of working class labor. Strict coding on where to plant trees and how to lead the viewer along paths and streams to the rolling hills and distant sky, using muted tones helped define the aristocratic Englishman who subscribed to, "civic humanism in terms of an opposition between the ideal, the universal, and the public, on one hand, and, on the other, the material, the individual, and the private" (Bhabha, Nation 166). Eliminating the presence of laborers who had made these pristine vistas possible was the norm. For Britons, place, became their construct whether at home or in foreign lands, evidence that the world enjoyed being British.

Just like the recent Brexit vote cannot keep Britain from ignoring Globalization, the British Empire could not survive and British painting could not remain exclusively Victorian. Cézanne, the Post-Impressionist, returned objectivity to Impressionism's transparencies, a progressive art form that had dismissed the exclusivity of classically trained artists. Just as Churchill recognized the fragility of Empire, he also saw the importance of Cézanne's bright colors and shape placement.

Twentieth century European political upheavals provided artists like Naum Gabo, opportunities to immigrate Britain, with his cultural-Marxist bent that he conjoined with Capitalism. Through his art and writings he further explained what Cézanne had originated, merging Formalism with Content, allowing painting to be internalized. Gabo's innovations influenced British painter Ben Nicholson who had experienced Continental art. The customary coding found in a Victorian work was torn apart as Modernism's flat shapes and bright colors were leaching into Picturesque.

Britain's Post war art world rebelled against representation, thought to be associated with the Nazi regime and embraced Pop Art elevated everyday objects that had ceased to be manufactured during the war years. An off –shoot of Pop was Kitsch which massed produced art objects for the common man. Churchilliana increased as a way to satirize and commemorate Churchill's legacy. It is uncertain whether Churchill Kitsch, now widely available because of internet access might diminish the importance of his art.

Churchill, The Struggle for Survival 1945-1960, written by one of his doctors, Lord Moran, who travelled with him, never mentions painting. Neither does Edmund Murray's book, *I was Churchill's Bodyguard*.

When painting is mentioned, it is often condescending or inaccurate. Artist/friend Walter Sickert tried to keep Churchill from squeezing paint before applying an under-painting and the initial drawing onto a canvas. This method, direct painting, is further indication of his gravitation to Modern techniques (Sturgis 559,560; Soames, Personal 309). Churchill never adapted Sickert's tonal colors, especially heavy black shadowing (Sturgis 441,442). Churchill's daughter, Mary Soames (1922-2013) felt her father's worked peaked in the thirties under the influence of William Nicholson (Schwartz 136,137). Churchill never adopted William Nicholson's style of black/white woodcuts or paintings done in tonal neutrals. Clementine wanted his palette to be "cool" like William Nicholson (Soames, Winston 118). Churchill's Victorian critics refused to see he wanted to be a modernist and was merging British art with Continental trends. When his artist-friends left his presence, Churchill reverted to Modernism's Complementaries without regard to naysayers.

Artist, John Lavery was an early influence on Churchill who like Maze did not just instruct him but valued him as a colleague (Coombs 26). In 1921, Churchill wrote the preface for Lavery's catalogue about work done in Morocco and Southern France, exhibited at the Alpine Club Gallery. He wrote about Lavery's, "mature handling of the brush, and his power of concentration and ability to cope with vicissitudes of nature and weather..." Churchill continued, "we are presented with the true integrity of effect. And this flash is expressed in brilliant and beautiful colour with long ease of mastery" (McConkey 152). Lavery actually painted in Victorian browns which Churchill ignores, instead suggesting he is a Modernist. I do nit think Churchill understood the meaning of Modernism even though he gravitated to its attributes. None the less, Churchill displays a firm understanding of the process of painting. Lavery's confirms Churchill's interest in Modernism saying, "I know

few amateur wielders of the brush with a keener sense of light and colour" (Soames, Winston 23).

Paul Maze wrote *A Frenchman in Khaki,* a personal account of World War I trench warfare. In the dedication Churchill wrote, "Of course he is an artist of distinction whose quick comprehension, keen eye and nimble pencil could record impressions with revealing fidelity" (Maze, Introduction; Singer 75). Architect Edwin Luytens refused to engage with Churchill aesthetically; Churchill had a reputation for wanting free advice and generated law suits (Buczacki 117).

Churchill's Victorian sphere wanted him to paint in drab colors; they misread him. According to Rose he greatly admired Manet, Monet, Cézanne and Matisse because, "They have brought back to the pictorial art a new draught of *joie de vivre…*" (Rose, Literary182). His meaning of "joie de vivre" was mistaken for frivolity; it was his code for Modernism. Churchill understood that Modernists represented needed change, just as Keats and Shelley had moved beyond eighteenth century poetry (Rose, Literary 182). Friends and family failed to see that Churchill was well read and understood connections between the arts.

Churchill could be considered a maverick. According to sociologist Howard Becker (b.1928), mavericks, "succeed, when they do, by circumventing the need for art institutions" (Becker 233,235). As an aristocrat, he was considered an amateur which did not mean he was not trained. It was common for gentleman painters to seek private lessons or join sketching clubs; many were more proficient than professionals who made a living as itinerant teachers. At Sandhurst, Churchill took required drawing and map making which provided him with a foundation to pursue his love of color, found not only on his paintings but metaphorically

peppered throughout his writings. Becker says, "Because mavericks have had training in the traditions and practices of the art world to which their work is related, and because they maintain an attenuated connection to it, it can assimilate their work, if a sufficient consensus develops among practitioners" (Becker 242). Renowned artists, respected his work. Some entered him in exhibitions, although he often showed under a pseudonym in order to be taken more seriously. Attending college for the aristocracy of his period was optional.

According to Jonathon Rose, Churchill enjoyed the "haute bohemia" of his era. At the Other Club which Churchill formed as he was considered too controversial for The Club, he hobnobbed with the avant-garde: H.G.Wells, P.G. Wodehouse, Lawrence Olivier and architect Edwin Luytens (Rose, Literary 182). According to David Coombs, "In *Art and Illusion,* historian Ernst Gombrich writes about his fascination with Churchill's approach to painting. Gombrich concludes, "No professional critic has seen the nature of this problem more clearly than a famous amateur artist who has taken up painting as a pastime. But then this is no ordinary amateur but Sir Winston Churchill…" (Gombrich 38, 39, 52; Coombs 211). Gombrich was impressed with Churchill and did not have to be; he was famous in his own right.

Churchill's celebrity status allowed his art to be noticed. He was thrilled to be included in the Tate's collection and become an honorary member of the Royal Academy (Coombs180,189). But at the same time his notoriety prevented many from taking him seriously, how he saw the Empire, its past and its inevitable changes. Coombs' comment, "Any attempt to raise Churchill's paintings to a level of 'art' such as he never intended is, in my opinion, foolish and unnecessary" (Coombs 13). This comment fails to perceive Churchill's whimsical style, found in *Painting as a Pastime,* which also detracts from the

importance of his artwork. As Rose points, “Churchill, to the end of his life, never accepted that melodrama was dead: he loved it and constantly performed it in politics” (Rose Literary 13). It is not surprising melodrama appeared into his writings including his essay ***Pastime….***

Joshua Reynolds spoke of painting as a “liberal art and ranks it as the sister of poetry” (Smith 93). The connection between drawing and writing harkens back to Aristotle. Ann Bermingham suggests, “it depends on an actual manual technique for drafting and the reduction of both drawing and writing to the simple manipulation of line” (Bermingham, Drawing 42). Looking at doodles found in Churchill’s hand written letters confirms his penmanship and drafting skills were strong. But it was his fame as author and politician that elevated his art, as well as his theatrical approach to painting on location. Becker writes about the artist who falls in between full acceptance and total rejection; “Still others carry on their activities quite alone, supported neither by an organized art world or any other organized area of social activity” (Becker 226, 227). Churchill enjoyed discussing art with established painters but he was also happy to carry on alone, self-confident in his painting.

In 1947, The Royal Academy invited Churchill to submit to their summer show where Churchill exhibited under the pseudonym, David Winter (Coombs 174). The Royal Academy had no qualms about rejecting the famous; they were formed as a buffer against the rising tide of amateurs. They acknowledged Churchill’s worth. When asking, “Why does anyone want to own or admire a painting by Sir Winston Churchill?” Coombs answers, “because it is a genuine painting by the man himself” (Coombs 12). That can be said of a lot of famous painters, especially when their art becomes an auction commodity, with little care about its aesthetic value.

Churchill came to painting in the waning years of the Victorian era, having acquired drafting skills in military college. Britain's internal changes ensued with the monied bourgeois permeating the landed-gentry, who often lacked resources and imagination to maintain their lifestyle. Sociologist Jurgen Habermas (b.1929), when musing about the relationship of aristocracy to the burgeoning bourgeois remarks, "The heirs of the humanistic-aristocratic society, in their encounter with the bourgeois intellectuals (through sociable discussions that quickly developed into public criticism), built a bridge between the remains of a collapsing form of publicity (the courtly one) and the precursor of a new one: the bourgeois public sphere" (Lymberopoulou 170). As a politician Churchill interacted with bourgeois; some of whom became best friends.

Economic and political changes to British society from the Continent and within, helped to break down barriers between amateur and professional painters beyond nineteenth century encounters at art emporiums. While Churchill has never been allowed to leave the sphere of amateur artist, his work circulated internationally after World War II, and was featured in *Life* Magazine, receiving large sums.

Churchill began painting just before World War I when British art still admired Picturesque and disliked Continental trends. In contrast to Churchill, French painter Ferdinand Leger (1881-1955) responded to political and social changes by making urban landscapes. As an architect Leger acquired an appreciation for Constructivism, although he retained color, albeit gritty (Vallye 33). Leger said, "The street is figured as spectacle…the street assumes a specific spatial organization that re-creates viewing conditions associated with theater and cinema. The speed of modern life…is so dynamic that a 'slice of life' seen from a café terrace is a spectacle" (Vallye 25). Churchill did not paint Modernism as urban.

He art remained British and rural even when painted abroad. Keeping a touch of Victorian browns, he adopted Continental Modernism's flat shapes and bright colors. Nicholson who also appreciated Constructivism through Gabo remained British and rural even when abroad. Even though he reduced color, he kept the format of the Picturesque and classical line. Both Nicholson and Churchill could not escape the confines of Empire as seen in the retention of Victorian tropes.

Travel to the Continent by the upper classes and incessant twentieth century wars that rearranged ethnicities and cultures, pushed Modernism into Britain. The Russian Revolution of 1917 that ended the regime of Czars with the hope of instilling human equality and dignity by reorganizing social spheres, permeated Europe at least in thought if not always in deed. Social theorists adapted ideologies instilling their own viewpoints, specifically art's relationship to the improvement of social injustice.

Churchill was no Communist but he lived against the backdrop of European societies that wanted to do away with dictatorial governments, for socialist regimes. Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2012) retells that Marx and Engels imagined, "a (communist) society in which 'there are no painters but at most people who engage in painting among other things', and … thanks to the development of the productive forces, the general reduction of working time (through an overall decrease and an equal distribution) allows 'everyone sufficient free time to take part in the general affairs of society—*theoretical as well as practical* " (Bourdieu 397). True, Churchill was free to paint whenever he had time. He also saw the limitations and dangers of socialist societies which could be explained with his desire to paint countryside that came about from democratic governments.

According to Andrew Hemingway:

> the left movement in the arts is not a movement in the normal sense art historians use that term, in that it cannot be defined simply in terms of a common style or iconography, although it has implications in both. Rather, it will be described here in terms of a succession of institutional initiatives, an evolving critical discourse and a range of practices that seemed to correspond to a type of political commitment in complex and varying ways. It was a movement that never had a clearly defined programme, but which did entail fundamental assumptions about the social purpose of art—even if the implications of these assumptions were variously interpreted. (Hemingway, Artists 1)

This allows taking the contextual aspects of socialist movements and applying the methodology to Victorian art which was looked upon as merely Formal.

Bloomsbury in London professed to disregard Content, just as early Constructivists did. They were aristocrats and intellectuals who "challenge[d] myths of modernism as an antirealism 'remote from the sphere of everyday practices'" (Froula 16). Paralleling these artists, Britain's post-World War II, New Left, mainly academics, defined Cultural Marxism permitting conversations about art beyond the mere Formal (Dworkin 79). Although Churchill did not paint as a cultural-Marxist, he was acquainted with those who did. Williams' "whole way of life" cultural ideology permeated Britain beyond Bloomsbury, finally surfacing in Pop Art (Higgins 63). Churchill did not make Pop Art but he did take advantage of post-World War II increased commercialism to promote his books and market

himself as a famous statesman. William's cultural ideology allows viewers to see Churchill's paintings as constructs of the former Empire regardless of what his family and peers thought.

Churchill's landscapes possess his desire to retain the British Empire or at least some elements of it, as he came to realize change was inevitable. Becker says of mavericks, "Instead they remain curiosities whose work may be revived from time to time by interested antiquarians or, alternatively, may stimulate the imagination of innovative professionals" (Becker 245). After the fiftieth anniversary of his death, Churchill and his legacy have resurfaced. He is a maverick, not only in the way antiquarians analyze him but because he broke through aristocratic nomenclature, while retaining the lifestyle of an aristocrat.

Experiencing Churchill's Empire in paint: the manicured landscape and glimpses of estates all viewed from the appropriate distance, perpetuates his Englishness, the healthy Empire that was a myth. Deviating from Victorian correctness, by moving objects and brightening color indicates Churchill knew of changes to the political scene as well as to art. Propriety was the hallmark of the British upper class. Nicholson exemplifies what Britain could produce because of a prosperous economy; the well-bred and educated who were free to travel and experiment (in Nicholson's case art) were never too far from the security of their England. Churchill and Nicholson's work help to understand a former way of life which after World War I saw rapid changes never before experienced. Churchill's art expresses the world he wished would not vanish. Nicholson responded to that vanishing world and its uncertainties by beaching boats, removing color and replacing fruit with wrenches. Present day issues can be traced back to the power of Empire and its implosion which is why Churchill's and Nicholson's artworks should be analyzed.

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