

ARTHUR DOOLEY: HIS PLACE IN  
POST-WAR  
BRITISH ART HISTORY

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## Abstract

Little has been written about the Liverpool sculptor Arthur Dooley. He was popular with the Northern working class audience of the 1960s and 70s, but is largely absent from art history.

In this thesis I have drawn upon evidence from the Arthur Dooley Archive at Liverpool John Moores University, and surviving television broadcasts, to write this first history of Dooley and his important ecclesiastical sculptures.

In Chapter 1, I show the influences of Catholicism and Communism on his major work the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64). I find new evidence that connects him with the 1960s British Catholic Left, who gathered around Terry Eagleton and the Slant group. These influences are seen in the context of developments in the Catholic Church following the Second Vatican Council and Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (1963).

Chapter 2 traces the history of the Merseyside Worker Artists Association (MWAA) which Dooley set up and led. I compare its aims and achievements with those of the Ashington Group and the Artists International Association. Using Jacques Rancière's idea of the 'distribution of the sensible,' I consider the effectiveness of the MWAA's strategies to contest discrimination against worker artists.

Chapter 3 looks more closely at Dooley's political values in order to begin to situate him within the post-war British Social Realist movement. Connections are made with the 'geometry of fear' group by way of Reg Butler's influence on Dooley, and David Hulks' new interpretations of Herbert Read's writing in this area. Tracing connections between Dooley's pronouncements on his work and texts by Marxist art historians and critics, I conclude that there is evidence that Dooley's work fits John Berger's critical criteria for Social Realism, and even for Socialist Realism.

I set this history in the wider contexts of recent renewed interest in Northern Social Realism and, more widely, the Catholic Church's current return to a concern for social justice.

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## **Notes on Referencing**

References from the Arthur Dooley Archive at Liverpool John Moores University are shown in this format (ADA/Newspapers/98).

Texts which have been sourced from the Oldham Gallery Archive, are taken from a DVD compilation which was loaned to me by Bill Longshaw, original curator of the Arthur Dooley Archive at LJMU. There is no available referencing system for these texts. I have given the text's author, title and date where possible and indicated their source as follows (Oldham Gallery Archive DVD).



## Introduction

I first saw Arthur Dooley, and his ecclesiastical sculptures, when I was a schoolboy in late 1960s. Dooley was frequently on local television news in those days, and it was my father who drew my attention to him. As far as I know, my father never went to an art gallery, or owned a piece of art. There were no art books in our house. Like many people at that time, the art he knew about came from television. He worked as a roof tiler in the construction industry, and like Dooley, he both valued the chances for creativity that his work afforded him and resented the limitations of an education that left him lacking confidence in literacy, and deemed fit for manual work alone. When Dooley appeared on television, my father told me: 'Now, that's a real artist! An ordinary working man making something we can all understand.' He went on to criticise the remote class base of art schools, and avant-garde artists making art that only 'they and their mates can understand.' This memory came back to me a couple of years ago when I was watching a 1972 film about Dooley in which he looks wistfully over the wall at the university campus in Liverpool and observed that it is a place where working class students can go, 'but they never come back to help us.'<sup>1</sup> Dooley saw only a gulf of incomprehension between his own social class and the 'effete' academic world of the middle class. In this thesis I aim to bridge that divide, by writing this first history of some of the important aspects of Dooley's artistic life and his major sculptural works.

Social class is a central concern in writing this history. As an outspoken, left wing, working class artist who challenged what he saw as the middle class control of the art scene, Dooley had novelty value in the 1960s and 70s, and made good viewing in an era of television broadcasting that had an appetite for the gritty North. However, his class-based opposition to the art establishment appears to have worked against

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<sup>1</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *One Pair of Eyes*, 1972. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=55N9VSMiOm4> accessed on 1 December 2013. The first 30 of 45 minutes are viewable here. DVD available on request from author.

critical recognition and consequently the memory of him. In art history he is barely mentioned. It is only very recently that his absence has even been noticed.<sup>2</sup>

The difficulties in writing this history lie in the paucity of academic commentary on his work, and in the apparent contradictions in his values, which complicate the contexts where he might belong. The blessings have been in the continuing visibility of his major works in the North West and the archive of his papers at Liverpool John Moores University.<sup>3</sup> He is most often described as a ‘Liverpool sculptor’ and it is true that he lived and worked in Liverpool for all of his artistic life, from the late 1950s until he died there in 1994. Dooley certainly saw himself as embedded in Liverpool, but, as he himself said, his face did not fit at the Liverpool Academy,<sup>4</sup> and he belonged to no Liverpool school. He understood Liverpool as a working class city whose working class culture and community were fracturing through de-industrialisation and interference from outsiders.<sup>5</sup> He saw the beginnings of the managed decline of Liverpool, which has lately been acknowledged.<sup>6</sup> Through his own sculptures and the promotion of Merseyside’s worker artists, he called for working class resistance to the city’s demise. His commitment to the working class and his membership of the Communist Party might serve to position him alongside other revolutionary artists,

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<sup>2</sup> Dave Beech, ‘A Blockbuster for the Left’, *Radical Philosophy*, iss. 184, March/April 2014, p.68. Beech asks why Dooley was not included in the 2013- 2014 Tate Liverpool exhibition *Art turning Left: How Values Changed Making 1789-2013*.

<sup>3</sup> The Arthur Dooley Archive is at LJMU. The website ‘The Official Arthur Dooley Archive’ at <http://www.arthurdooleyarchive.com/> is a promotional site run by Dennis Hepworth a local Art collector.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Philip Key, ‘Sculptor Opens New Gallery Under Old Name’, (ADA/Newspapers/5).

<sup>5</sup> ‘A lot has happened to Liverpool since the last war, big business and the politicians have been having a ball, but when they have finished bankrupting this city...’ Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Ibid.*, 1972.

‘..the hypocrisy of this city, the people who run it, not the people who live here. The commuters who come in and use Liverpool as a money box.’ Arthur Dooley in Peter Ferres, prod., *A Modern Passion*, BBC, circa 1965. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zf3SxOzuc8U> Accessed on 31 March 2014

<sup>6</sup> ‘Toxteth Riots: Howe Proposed ‘Managed Decline of City.’ BBC, 30 December 2011. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-merseyside-16355281> Accessed on 4 April 2014.

but his Communism was complicated by his concurrent and committed Roman Catholicism. His opposition to formalist abstraction and his commitment to narratives of hope might ally him with post-war British Realists, but his use of expressionistic metaphor might also diminish the strength of that argument.

We are familiar with the wider influences of the Cold War on the fluctuating status of realism and abstraction in post-war art. What I bring to this history is the influence of Roman Catholic theology on Dooley's work. His emergence as a serious sculptor coincides with important and far-reaching changes in Catholic social teaching to which he and early Western liberation theologians actively responded. The Catholic Church's current theological return to issues of social justice favours a timely renewed interest in Dooley's work.

The two most extensive studies of his work, each running to just a few pages, were both made as part of wider studies of art in Liverpool. The earlier study, John Willett's *Art in a City*<sup>7</sup> was made at the start of Dooley's career, and Peter Davies' *Liverpool Seen: Post-War Artists on Merseyside* was published just two years before Dooley died, but neither of these studies recognised the political significance of his religious sculptures, nor his challenges to the social class divisions in the art scene of the 1960s and 70s.<sup>8</sup>

John Willett's *Art in A City* (1967) was commissioned in 1962 by the Bluecoat Society of Arts to examine the state of the arts in Liverpool. Willett recommended what might be done to reconnect art with the citizen. He was concerned to develop a distinctive Liverpool art, which might serve to strengthen Liverpool's identity. He wrote that these recommendations would take art in Liverpool in new directions, away from the former conservative tastes of civic patrons and into the fast changing art scene led by London.<sup>9</sup> Unlike Dooley<sup>10</sup>, Willett was not averse to outside

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<sup>7</sup> John Willett, *Art in a City*, Liverpool University Press, 2007 (originally Methuen, 1967)

<sup>8</sup> Peter Davies, *Liverpool Seen: Post-War Artists on Merseyside*, Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 1992

<sup>9</sup> John Willett, *Idem.*, p.114

influences to stimulate the Liverpool art scene, even advocating the recruitment of an artist of the standing of Pablo Picasso to boost the city's artistic prestige.<sup>11</sup> But he saw little evidence of emerging local artistic talent that might achieve in Liverpool what was being achieved in London in the 1960s. Dooley vehemently disagreed with him about this.<sup>12</sup>

Tracing the early 1960s history of the Liverpool artists' self-promotion, Willett recounted how some of those efforts were grounded in a belief in art's purpose as 'a socially cohesive force.'<sup>13</sup> According to Willett, The South Liverpool Festivals of 1960 and 1961 grew out of the community building efforts of Unitarian minister Reverend J. Keir Murren of the Domestic Mission, Liverpool 8.<sup>14</sup> They showed pictures, of local people and scenes, and a selection was later exhibited by the Walker Gallery. Willett noted that Dooley strongly approved of Murren and the non-establishment collectivism of the South Liverpool Festival. Further observations were made by Willett on Dooley's approval of Liverpool's independent spirit. He wrote how Dooley had been touring the beat clubs of Liverpool meeting the young members there to explain the 'analogies between his sculptures and their own means of self expression in music and dancing.'<sup>15</sup> Willett saw the connection that Dooley made between popular music and visual art as part of the 'wider autonomous cultural life of Liverpool.'<sup>16</sup>

Willett created a somewhat exotic picture of Dooley as a remote figure, both difficult to locate and of disturbing appearance:

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<sup>10</sup> Although Dooley's rhetoric was frequently directed against the metropolitan avant-garde, I show evidence of some influence on his own work in Chapter 1.

<sup>11</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p. 243

<sup>12</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, pp.126-128

<sup>13</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.128

<sup>14</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.128

<sup>15</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.164.

<sup>16</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.164

‘A side street off Seel Street with small old specialised shops and artisan like outfits: goldbeaters across the street and a sign writer in the front room. Above the door a carved wooden sign saying; ARTHUR DOOLEY SCULPTOR.’<sup>17</sup>

There are anecdotes in *Art in a City* about Dooley’s physical toughness and size. When Willett finally found and entered his studio, and spied his enormous empty bed, ‘taking up quite a slice of the room,’ we have almost arrived in a children’s fable.<sup>18</sup> There is a sense of unease in Willett’s account of these encounters, which I suggest arises from Willett’s transgression of a social barrier, into the ‘other Liverpool’. Elsewhere, Tony Lane, a former merchant seaman turned Reader in Sociology at the University of Liverpool, wrote of the ‘other Liverpool,’ the dockland districts beneath the sandstone ridge, the plane that continues to the dockside.<sup>19</sup> He described this area in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as ‘a city within a city’, where there was ‘a rough and ready egalitarianism and a widely shared distrust of any of the agents sent into their domain’ from outside.<sup>20</sup> Dooley went to a slum school in this area, wrote Willett, adding that it had still not improved.<sup>21</sup>

From Willett’s conversations with Dooley, he learned of his obsession with art education.<sup>22</sup> At school, Dooley’s art education was virtually non-existent, there was no art teacher. In Dooley’s opinion, children’s natural creativity is stifled in school, and art colleges favour ‘doctors’ daughters’ over working class boys.<sup>23</sup> He was also critical of art schools for creating commercial artists and yet more art teachers. His criticism extended to secondary education in general for its failure to educate students to think for themselves.<sup>24</sup> The ability, or inability, to think for oneself is a frequent theme in Dooley’s pronouncements on education and in his political thought, as I will show in Chapters 1 and 2. In his conversation with Willett, Dooley laid the

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<sup>17</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.173

<sup>18</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.173

<sup>19</sup> Tony Lane, *Liverpool City of the Sea*, Liverpool University Press, 1997,p.61

<sup>20</sup> Tony Lane, *Ibid.*, p.61

<sup>21</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p. 175

<sup>22</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 174-175

<sup>23</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.173

<sup>24</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.174

blame for educational underachievement on schoolteachers' low aspirations for working class children: 'Well it doesn't matter. He's only a docker's son.'<sup>25</sup>

Dooley explained that art might well provide solutions to many of these ills, and Willett could see that becoming a sculptor had been 'immensely liberating' for Dooley, and had 'enormously stimulated his ideas on all kinds of subjects.'<sup>26</sup> He wrote of Dooley's turn to art in response to the social injustices he witnessed while serving in the army in the Middle East.<sup>27</sup> He made the connection between Dooley becoming an artist and his other responses to social injustice- his involvement with both Catholic charity and with the Communist Party. He identified Dooley's favouring of John Berger's television broadcasts, but did not say which broadcasts Dooley had seen.<sup>28</sup> The interview took place long before 1972 when Berger notably broadcast *Ways of Seeing*, Willett is probably referring to Berger's television documentary series *Drawn from Life* which was broadcast between 1961 and 1962. *Drawn from Life* 'tested art against experience through conversations with 'ordinary' people about the relation of paintings to their lives.'<sup>29</sup>

Willett admired the quality of Dooley's *Stations of the Cross* at St Mary's Church in Leyland, which was still work in progress at the time of his research, and Dooley's success at working in bronze where 'his figures of men and animals, at once religious and revolutionary in conception, have considerable strength and feeling for their material, and belong in their clumsier way to the same tradition as Henry Moore.'<sup>30</sup> He found Dooley to be 'genuine and likeable in his complaints against our society and in his sense that social and artistic activities must be linked,' but he doubted his sculpture was strong enough to bring about any changes for Liverpool, although he implied that he might bring change about by other means.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p. 175

<sup>26</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p. 175

<sup>27</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p. 176

<sup>28</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p. 174

<sup>29</sup> 'John Berger: Here is Where We Meet- Film and Television Retrospective,' National Film Theatre, 2005. Retrieved from <http://www.johnberger.org/films.htm> Accessed 4 April 2014

<sup>30</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p. 173

<sup>31</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.174

In spite of his doubts about Dooley's artistic ability (Willett thought that Dooley cut corners in his work)<sup>32</sup> he included him in his proposal for an exhibition about Liverpool and its artists.<sup>33</sup> He recommended that this exhibition should be organised by the Walker Gallery and that it should tour Britain. It would compliment his other proposed exhibition about public art. Willett's doubt about the quality of Dooley's work was linked to his overall doubts about the available talent in Liverpool and he looked to London and abroad for inspirational artists to lift Liverpool out of its art problems. In this he was at odds with Dooley's campaigns against the invasion of London art into Liverpool via the John Moores painting competition, which I will discuss in Chapter 2.

Considering the generally negative impression of Dooley that Willett made in *Art in a City*, it is interesting to note Dooley's similarly unfavourable impression of Willett's exhibition *Art in A City: the Liverpool Look* at the ICA, which was put on to tie in with the book's launch in 1967. Dooley complained about the display of his statues, obscured by the drinks bar. Willett invited Dooley to speak at the ICA about his work, but I have no evidence to confirm whether or not the offer was accepted.<sup>34</sup>

Peter Davies' *Liverpool Seen: Post-War Artists on Merseyside* 1992 is, a more sympathetic account of Dooley's work and aims.<sup>35</sup> Davies' work came some 25 years after Willett's, when Dooley was in his early sixties, and more concerned with reconciliation than with revolution.<sup>36</sup> Davies began his account of Dooley's turn to sculpture (during his time in military prison in Egypt) when he began sculpting in sand

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<sup>32</sup> Willett does not give an example of how he thought Dooley 'cut corners.' My own examination of the fourteenth *Station of the Cross* (1962-64) at St Mary's Church, Leyland shows an interesting dual use of the uprights of the three crosses at the top of the sculpture becoming the bars of the tomb at the middle section, However, the alignment of one of the bars is out of true and so the effect is somewhat lost. See [fig. 12a].

<sup>33</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 272 & 275

<sup>34</sup> John Willett, Letter to Arthur Dooley, 25 June 1967, (ADA/Letters/W/78)

<sup>35</sup> Peter Davies, *Ibid.*, 1992

<sup>36</sup> Dooley's Windsor Castle exhibition, titled *Reconciliation* had been held two years earlier.

to pass the time-‘a four foot sphinx modelled from memory.’<sup>37</sup> He then led on to the important time Dooley spent at St. Martin’s School of Art as a janitor, in the mid 1950s sweeping up in the sculpture room, at the suggestion of his art teacher at a drawing class at the Whitechapel Gallery. I am interested to discover that Dooley went to drawing class, as he did not work from drawings for his statues. The couple of sketches I have found that he made for monumental works are very rudimentary. [fig. 1] His former apprentice Stephen Broadbent told me that Dooley preferred not to work from a plan, but to let the work evolve as it was made.<sup>38</sup>

Davies acknowledges the developments in sculpture taking place under Anthony Caro at St. Martin’s at that time. However, I will show how Dooley preferred not to follow this trend. Davies wrote that Dooley was directly influenced by Reg Butler’s early use of welding and construction, a technique that Butler had developed in advance of Caro.<sup>39</sup>

He wrote that Dooley met Butler after he gave a lecture at Liverpool University: ‘They had a stimulating discussion after the talk, during which Dooley took the opportunity to acknowledge his debt to Butler. He spoke of the tower concept employing open space as a part of the displaced volume, the linear structure as if conducting a latent power, and the symbolism of dwarfed figures at the mercy of imposing and impersonal structures, as being the qualities that most impressed him. These qualities were derived from the alienated and pent up figures of Giacometti, forever fragile and vulnerable to the enormity of surrounding space.’<sup>40</sup>

Davies gave an account of Dooley’s time as a teenaged apprentice welder at the shipyards in Birkenhead as his real art training. But whereas Dooley saw that as a positive experience: ‘I have been privileged in missing the art schools,’<sup>41</sup> Davies

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<sup>37</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, 1992, p.136. Dooley was in the army as a volunteer soldier from 1945, aged 16, until about 1954. While serving in Palestine, he went AWOL and allegedly defected to the Palestinian cause. He gave himself up and was sentenced to at least a year in military prison according to an undated prison letter home, see Chapter 1 *Arthur Dooley’s formative experiences in the British Army*.

<sup>38</sup> Author’s conversation with Stephen Broadbent, 27 November 2013

<sup>39</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, 1992, p.136

<sup>40</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, 1992, pp.136-7.

<sup>41</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, p.137



interpreted it as anti-intellectualism, and added to it Dooley's tirade against Clement Greenberg's promotion of post-painterly abstraction at the John Moores painting exhibition as more evidence of this, describing Dooley's objections as *less eloquent*, but every bit as vitriolic as the attacks he [i.e. Greenberg] would later receive from Patrick Heron.<sup>42</sup> To this Davies added the often repeated story of the fist-fight with Liverpool painter and art school teacher Arthur Ballard, compounding a pejorative picture.<sup>43</sup>

Davies gave some insight into Dooley's working methods for the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64) with his description of the casting process: 'The figures were built up in wax of the kind produced by melting down pieces of wax chalk.'<sup>44</sup> Dooley had become familiar with wax chalk from his work at Dunlop's rubber tyre factory, and it was there that he thought of using it as modelling material. Here Davies helpfully reveals another skill that Dooley was able to transfer from industrial work into sculpting, as he also did with welding. Davies described the limitations of the two piece sand box casting technique where molten bronze is poured into each half of a sand embedded image, which made for a simplification of the figures of the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64). He thereby accounted for the simplification of the figures in terms of technique rather than aesthetic decision. Again, I detect in Davies another negative opinion of Dooley's technical limitations. In spite of this, he admired the positive and physical reality of the materials themselves as shown in their execution.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, Willett thought Dooley's figures had 'considerable strength and feeling for their material.'<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, p. 137 (emphasis added) Clement Greenberg was a juror at the John Moores Painting Prize in 1965

<sup>43</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, p.137

<sup>44</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, p. 138

<sup>45</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, p.138 I am grateful to Stephen Broadbent, Dooley's apprentice in the late 1980s for sharing his knowledge about Dooley's bronze casting technique for the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64). 'Bagnall's was an industrial foundry, that used sand moulds rather than the lost wax process which is commonly used by art foundry's. (sic) Therefore Arthur's patterns had to be made to suit that process, and the development of his style was therefore a direct result. Arthur also received rough cast patterns which he metal finished himself, often finishing the design work and adding distinctive features at this stage. They were also solid bronze

Davies gives us helpful information from the catalogue to Dooley's early exhibition at St Martin's (1962). On the one hand, the St. Martin's catalogue said that Dooley 'feels deeply about the social problems of our day,' but it also said that the sculptures have 'no literary content whatsoever' and were 'in the mainstream of formalism of the kind advocated by Fry and Bell.'<sup>47</sup> Given what we know from Davies about Dooley's vitriolic objections to Greenbergian abstraction and his subsequent frequent pronouncements against formalism, this comes as some surprise, and it is hard to know what to make of it. Davies continues:

'By describing the creative act as "letting the materials themselves take over" the St. Martin's catalogue describes the artist engaged on an adventure with unforeseen and fortuitous plastic problems to solve on the way, however perennial or unlimited the themes actively pursued may on the face of things appear.'<sup>48</sup>

What I detect here is St. Martin's playing down the social content in Dooley's work as superficial and secondary to the problems of form. It might even be evidence of a form of editing out by St. Martin's whereby they fail to see the important literary content of Dooley's work because it does not fit with the modernist agendas of Fry and Bell to which they were bound. Davies himself steers us to see Dooley's work as humanistic 'monuments of hope or solace in a frequently troubled and fast changing world,' which is a central quality of his work that I will demonstrate in this thesis.<sup>49</sup>

Understanding Dooley's major sculptures as 'monuments of hope or solace in a frequently troubled and fast changing world' has been a guiding principle in navigating a course through the collection of some 6000 of his papers which are at

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so therefore designs developed in a more slender fashion.' E-mail message from Stephen Broadbent to author, 27 March 2014.

<sup>46</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.173

<sup>47</sup>St. Martin's catalogue to Dooley's 1962 exhibition, quoted in Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, p.139. I have been unable to trace the original St. Martin's catalogue

<sup>48</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, p.139

<sup>49</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, p.139

the Arthur Dooley Archive at Liverpool John Moores University. It is a collection of personal documents, together with many local newspaper cuttings about his work. These are mostly letters concerning public and private commissions, invitations to speak about art and politics at Church meetings, in schools, at political rallies and art conferences. There is fan mail from his appreciative working class audience, along with newspaper cuttings and memorabilia associated with his exhibitions. The archive was put together in 2007 in order to publicise and gain recognition for his art and work. I have also made extensive use of Margery Baker's 1970 broadcast, and the four films that Dooley made for television between 1965 and 1972, which were made available to me by Bill Longshaw, curator of the Arthur Dooley Archive.<sup>50</sup>

In examining this material I have kept in mind the following hypothesis about Dooley and his work, that he was a sculptor who intended his work to 'speak in the language of the working class,' with something hopeful to say about the working class condition and to promote working class claims to intellectual and cultural equality.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Margery Baker, dir., *This is Your Life: Arthur Dooley*, Thames Television, 1970. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y2a0l11EuBA> Accessed on 4 April 2014

Eric Davidson, dir., *One Pair of Eyes*, 1972. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=55N9VSMiOm4> accessed on 1 December 2013. The first 30 of 45 minutes are viewable here. DVD available on request from author.

Eric Davidson, dir., *Joseph and Child*, BBC, 1980. DVD available on request from author

Peter Ferres, prod., *A Modern Passion*, BBC, circa 1965. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zf3SxOzuc8U> Accessed 4 April 2014. DVD available on request from author.

Peter Ferres, prod., *Viewpoint: Arthur Dooley's Resurrection*, BBC, 1971 (DVD available from author)

<sup>51</sup> Dave Beech, 'A Blockbuster for the Left', *Radical Philosophy*, iss. 184, March/April 2014, p.68

In Chapter 1 I look at the conjunction of Catholicism and Communism in Dooley's *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64). I find evidence in his involvement with Terry Eagleton's Slant Group of Catholic Marxists to locate this work in the context of an early emergent Western urban liberation theology, which preceded the better-known liberation theology as experienced later in Latin America.<sup>52</sup> In that Chapter, I also show how changes in the Catholic Church's social teaching under Pope John XXIII connect with aspects of the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64). I suggest that the Roman Catholic Church's current return to the tradition of the emancipation of the poor might afford a renewed attention to Dooley's work.

In Chapter 2 I look at the work of the Merseyside Worker Artists Association which Dooley founded in 1969, and through which Dooley contested what he perceived as the middle class bias against worker artists, like himself and his associates. I compare and contrast the aims of Dooley's MWAA with those of similar early 20th century groups, namely the Ashington Group and the Artists International Association. Thereby demonstrating Dooley's and the MWAA's concern for independent working class self help, and the nature of their challenge to the established social order of the Liverpool art scene. I employ Jacques Rancière's concept of the divided aesthetic world, and the political contesting of it to show that Dooley's and the MWAA's aims were to secure a bigger division for themselves, rather than a more widely shared one in common with other social classes.

The above critical studies of Dooley's work by Willett and Davies do not place him as part of a movement or a school, but I suggest in Chapter 3 that he might belong to the British Social Realist movement, which was neglected in art history before the 1980s and is still recovering its status. I examine the evidence that might qualify Dooley as a Social Realist under John Berger's terms, i.e. that Dooley's work 'encourage(s) men to know and claim their social rights.'<sup>53</sup> For Berger, Social Realism was less about the faithful replication of appearances than a look to the future, to a better future. Throughout the 1950s Berger campaigned for such an art but, as far as

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<sup>52</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, p.138

<sup>53</sup> John Berger, *Permanent Red*, London: Writers & Readers Publishing Cooperative Ltd, 1960, p.15

I know, he did not encounter Dooley and his work, which I propose would have met Berger's critical criteria for Social Realism. I weigh this against other evidence that connects Dooley with Reg Butler and, by association, the 'geometry of fear' group, or more widely, that middle generation of British sculptors between Moore and Caro.

My father was one of many who recognised Dooley's refusal to conform to the given social order and the given artistic values of his time. To contest the erasure of Dooley's remembrance, I bring his story across the boundary from popular memory and into art history.

## Chapter I

### Arthur Dooley: Catholicism and Communism

In this chapter I discuss Dooley's conversion to Roman Catholicism and I explain the important changes brought about in Roman Catholic social teaching in the 1960s. I go on to consider how these influenced Dooley's spiritual and political values, including his membership of the Communist Party, which he joined soon after becoming a Catholic. His *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64) at St. Mary's Church, Leyland will be used to show how he combined his Roman Catholicism with his Marxism in what I will argue is an example of sculpture informed by an early western liberation theology movement. I go on to report, for the first time, on Dooley's connections with Terry Eagleton's Slant<sup>54</sup> group of Catholic Marxist intellectuals at Cambridge University, and with the wider European Catholic left as seen in Pier Paolo Passolini's controversial *Film The Gospel According to St Matthew* (1964).

When Pope John XXIII opened the Second Vatican Council in 1962 to realign the Catholic Church with the problems of the modern world, and published the encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (Peace on Earth) in 1963, he moved the Church away from a contemplative theology to one that was socially engaged. It was a move that created the conditions for the emergence of liberation theologies.<sup>55</sup> In *Pacem in Terris* he sought dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and all others who sought peace through social justice. This included dialogue with non-Catholics and non-Christians.<sup>56</sup> John XXIII's vision was that of a social justice which included a fairer sharing of both economic wealth *and* cultural wealth. I will draw some connections

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<sup>54</sup> *Slant* journal was launched in 1964 by Cambridge University students, including Eagleton. The group aimed to further radicalise the Catholic Church following Second Vatican Council reforms under Pope John XXIII. See James Smith, *Terry Eagleton: A Critical Introduction*, Cambridge: Polity, pp.9-19.

<sup>55</sup> Christopher Rowland, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Liberation Theology*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.5.

<sup>56</sup> Pope John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, 11 April 1963, (157). Retrieved from [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_xxiii/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_j-xxiii\\_enc\\_11041963\\_pacem\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_11041963_pacem_en.html) Accessed on 4 April 2014.

between his vision of the Church's role in the modern world and Dooley's intentions as a working class artist whose work carried a social and political message. Pope John XXIII created the conditions for liberation theology to emerge and aspects of that theology can be seen in Dooley's ecclesial sculptures. Both Dooley and Pope John campaigned for their respective disciplines to engage with contemporary social problems and both played a part in an emerging liberation theology in the 1960s. Both wanted a fairer access for all to cultural life.

### **Arthur Dooley's formative experiences in the British Army.**

In 1945, aged 16, Dooley volunteered to join the Irish Guards, and was sent to serve in British Mandate Palestine. He continued serving in the British Army until he bought himself out in 1954 at the age of 25. During his army service he was imprisoned in a military prison at Acre in Egypt, where he passed the time sculpting in sand, reportedly a sculpture of the Sphinx, made from memory.<sup>57</sup> The reasons for his detention are unclear, his letter sent from prison to his family in Liverpool, makes no reference to the nature of his offence.<sup>58</sup> There are, however, clues to understanding this episode. As noted in my Introduction, John Willett has acknowledged Dooley's outrage at witnessing the poor conditions in which the Palestinians lived,<sup>59</sup> and there is oral history by his friend and fellow Liverpool artist Brian Burgess that he had gone AWOL from the army and defected to the Palestinian side, supplying weapons.<sup>60</sup> When the story of his time in military prison was brought up, by host Eamonn Andrews, on the television show *This is Your Life*, Dooley was noticeably reticent and would not be drawn to comment.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Peter Davies, *Liverpool Scene: Post War Artists on Merseyside*, Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 1992, p.136.

<sup>58</sup> Arthur Dooley, Air mail letter to family, undated, (ADA/ Box 10, envelope "DooleyArmy").

<sup>59</sup> John Willett, *Art in a City*, Liverpool University Press, 2007, (originally Methuen 1967) p. 176.

<sup>60</sup> Brian Burgess, (ADA/Oral History/Brian Burgess CD).

<sup>61</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Margery Baker, dir., *This is Your Life: Arthur Dooley*, Thames Television, 1970. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y2a0I11EuBA> Accessed 4 April 2014.

Three significant experiences stand out in Dooley's army career. Firstly, he was moved to respond to the social injustice he witnessed in Palestine. Secondly, he felt the force of the British class system as represented in the form of military discipline: 'the army crystalises the class system into a set of disciplinary rituals (...) to remind the soldier of his status.'<sup>62</sup> Thirdly, he met and befriended the army chaplain Fr. Casey. Dooley described Fr. Casey as 'the first professional man who talked to me as an equal. All at once I received a sense of my own dignity as a human being.'<sup>63</sup> Casey introduced him to Catholic social teaching through which he sought solutions to the social injustices he was witnessing.<sup>64</sup> He subsequently converted to Catholicism while in the army. After his early release from prison he became involved with the work of the army Catholic chaplaincy and was promoted to Sergeant in that capacity. Casey described Dooley's approach to Christianity as 'unconventional, but intelligent, honest and deeply sincere, and as sound as could be on the things in Christianity that really matter.'<sup>65</sup>

Although Dooley acknowledged Fr. Casey and Catholic social teaching as major influences on his developing social and political values, he also went on to join the Communist Party, saying that he saw little difference between the two:

'[Fr. Casey] introduced me to the Catholic Church's social teaching. I started to read books and get really interested in social problems. Then I became interested in Communism. I found a great similarity in the social teachings of the Church and Communism.'<sup>66</sup>

This might seem surprising, given that in the 1950s Catholic social teaching was dominated by Pope Leo XIII's 1891 papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (literally 'Of New Things', also translated as 'Of Revolution' or 'Rights and Duties of Capital and

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<sup>62</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anthony Everitt, 'Scouse Sculptor', Birmingham Post, 18 March 1971, (ADA/Newspapers/88).

<sup>63</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anthony Everitt, *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> John Willett, *Ibid.*, p.176.

<sup>65</sup> Fr. Michael Casey, in Margery Baker, dir., *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in William Keenan, 'London? It's on the make says rebel Dooley', *Sunday Express*, 23 July 1967, (ADA/Newspapers/2).



Labour') which recognised the distressed condition of industrial workers, but excluded socialism as its remedy, advocating co-operation instead of working class struggle.<sup>67</sup> In the post-war period Pope Pius XII (1876-1958) strongly opposed Communism, and threatened excommunication for Catholics who might vote Communist. If official Church social doctrine was becoming anachronistic, Fr. Casey seems to have anticipated Pope John XXIII's recognition of the signs of the times, and the demand for equalities in wider spheres of life, as detailed in *Pacem in Terris*, the influence of which can be traced in Dooley's ecclesial sculpture and in his Christian Marxism.

The extent of Dooley's commitment to Catholicism can be seen in a letter he wrote, while still serving in the army in Germany, to the *Catholic Herald* in 1953, about a Forces Brotherhood of Lay Apostles he was organising in order to improve the attendance at Sunday Mass by lax Catholic servicemen. His letter was sent in response to previous letters by Catholic servicemen complaining about the obstacles to Roman Catholic practice in the armed forces. The complaints aired in the *Catholic Herald* talk of a barrack room atmosphere of intimidation, mockery towards the devout, and the temptations of pornography and alcohol. Senior officers' attitudes were negative. Either the Catholic serviceman was considered to be shirking by asking for time off for mass, or he was decried as cowardly for not requesting time off. My reading of these letters is that to be a practising Roman Catholic in the armed services in the 1950s was to be in a class apart, possibly even an underclass. For Dooley to take a prominent stance in supporting Catholic servicemen would have been to have gone against the grain of the military culture in which he was living. Dooley concluded his letter:

'I hope that this chance to do something concrete will discourage the negative and ineffectual letters that some misinformed contributors have been sending in to this column. Catholic Servicemen need something more to help them

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<sup>67</sup> See Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of The Social Doctrine of The Church*. which notes the prominence of Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* 1891, prior to *Pacem in Terris* in 1963. Retrieved from [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/pontifical\\_councils/justpeace/documents/rc\\_pc\\_justpeace\\_doc\\_20060526\\_compendio-dott-soc\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/justpeace/documents/rc_pc_justpeace_doc_20060526_compendio-dott-soc_en.html) Accessed 4 April 2014.

than the insipid letters that have been printed in the newspapers. *The call is for deeds.*<sup>68</sup>

The theme of the insipid and ineffectual versus decisive action in Dooley's language is repeated later on as a theme in both his sculpture and in his efforts at promoting independent working class action in art and politics.<sup>69</sup> In Dooley's philosophy, the status quo, was supported by the Church's traditional ineffectual images of 'gentle Jesus meek and mild,' and the negative images of Christ crucified,<sup>70</sup> which amounted to 'a waste of time' without the resurrection.<sup>71</sup> 'The call is for deeds,' he wrote, somewhat prophetically in the light of his subsequent insistence on the revolutionary significance of the resurrection of Christ, and in the light of his campaigns for workers' art.

### **Arthur Dooley and the 1960s Art Scene**

Soon after he left the army in 1954 Dooley was working as a janitor at St. Martin's, during Anthony Caro's time there in the sculpture department.<sup>72</sup> There Dooley began to form his stance against what he saw as the emptiness of modernist art, where he witnessed what he later described as the 'hollow'<sup>73</sup> art made by 'debutantes and middle class wasters with nothing to say that was worth knowing.'<sup>74</sup> For Dooley, there were two aspects of 'emptiness' in post-war British art. There was the emptiness as a result of its production by a complacent middle class, with nothing challenging to say,

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<sup>68</sup> Sgt. Arthur Dooley, 'Catholics in The Forces', *Catholic Herald*, 10 July 1953, p.2 (emphasis added). Retrieved from <http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/page/10th-july-1953/2> Accessed 4 April 2014.

<sup>69</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>70</sup> Arthur Dooley in Eric Davidson, dir., *One Pair of Eyes*, BBC, 1972. The first 30 minutes are viewable at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=55N9VSMiOm4> Accessed on 1 December 2013.

<sup>71</sup> Arthur Dooley in Peter Ferres, prod., *A Modern Passion*, BBC, circa 1965 retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zf3SxOzuc8U> Accessed on 31 March 2014.

<sup>72</sup> Peter Davies, *Ibid.*, 1992, p.136.

<sup>73</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in William Keenan, *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Margery Baker, dir., *This is Your Life: Arthur Dooley*, Thames Television, 1970. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y2a0I11EuBA> Accessed 4 April 2014

and an 'emptiness' as a result of the increasing influence of formalist abstraction, such as he might have seen in the development of Caro's sculpture.<sup>75</sup>

'There was nothing there [at St. Martin's]. I thought, if these are the top guys, I don't want to know. Their values seemed pretty nonexistent to me. The state uses colleges of this kind as a way of subsidising the middle classes. These tame, amateur artists, are not likely to challenge the system.'<sup>76</sup>

He compared his work as a teenage apprentice welder in the shipyard with the work of the art students at St Martin's, for its professionalism and its benefit to society. For Dooley, the shipyard workers were 'the real artists of the nation, they create the wealth and make the dilettantes and the art students look like amateurs.'<sup>77</sup> In Dooley's value system, the industrial working class created the urban environment, but had been denied access to its artistic culture, an art world left to the middle classes had become a self-perpetuating system where art students became art teachers, and the galleries only showed the work of 'the odd individual, the odd kept man, the odd big name.'<sup>78</sup> The 'odd kept man' being the so-called 'professional artist,' an artist who could afford not to labour for a living. This is an issue to which Dooley frequently returned in his pronouncements on the unequal access to art, and which I explore further in Chapter 2. He saw a contradiction in the term 'professional artist' when the artist does not 'earn his bread' from his art, but lives off the wealth created by the working class. He saw nothing 'professional' about that kind of artist, but did see professionalism in the work skills of the industrial working class, who might also become artists.<sup>79</sup>

Stanley Reynolds, interviewing Dooley in 1968, reported that:

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<sup>75</sup> The class base of avant-garde art and the Dooley's opposition to formalist modernism are further explored in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively.

<sup>76</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anthony Everitt, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>77</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, *Ibid.* 1972.

<sup>78</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, *Op. Cit.*, 1972.

<sup>79</sup> See Chapter 2.

'What is perhaps not realised is the existence of an artistic slum in Britain – there is a large body of working class artists in Britain who go ignored because everyone assumes the artistic NHS is taking care of the needy. The art school, especially for a boy, is hardly a magnet for the working class. But working class artists do exist in spite of the lack of training and encouragement. They are a sort of artistic lumpen proletariat.'<sup>80</sup>

To better understand the idea of an artistic 'lumpen proletariat,' with no affinity for the existing, potentially enabling, art institutions let us look at a 1970 study of the 'culture of poverty' as found by Ken Coates and Richard Silburn in the impoverished Saint Anne's district of Nottingham:

'In nearly every interview we undertook, we detected a sense of hopelessness, or powerlessness, underlying, and at the same time reinforced by people's fatalistic acceptance of their situation'... 'there are very few people (even among the young) who express unqualified self confidence or optimism.(...) The overwhelming majority fail to have any broad social expectations, almost as if they have learned that such expectations are beyond their reach or control.'(...) 'Many of those interviewed were only too conscious of their discomforts and deprivations, but this consciousness did not generally find a purposive expression.'<sup>81</sup>

Coates & Silburn's point here is that impoverishment engenders a hopelessness which itself becomes a barrier to potential help. The analogy I make here is that, as Reynolds observed, there existed an 'artistic slum in Britain' that, for reasons of their demoralised class position, remained beyond the reach of help brought about by improved access to further education and to art training in. Reynolds went on to report that the 'artistic slum' might actually be very widespread:

'There can also be little doubt that the great mass of people feel removed from the world of art, in spite of the increased coverage which the arts are given in the press and on television. One is even inclined to think that mass exposure has seemed to alienate more people from contemporary art.'<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Stanley Reynolds, 'Public Hangings', *The Guardian*, 6 April 1968, p.4 (ADA/Newspapers/88).

<sup>81</sup> Ken Coates & Richard Silburn, *Poverty: The Forgotten Englishmen*, Nottingham: Spokesman, 1983, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., p.149.

<sup>82</sup> Stanley Reynolds, *Ibid.*

In the same article by Reynolds, Dooley points out some of the reasons he sees for contemporary art's increased alienation:

'There is no real contact between the artist and the ordinary people.(...) Art has become a middle class substitute for religion. In the end it has no meaning.'<sup>83</sup>

Dooley's opinions here accord with aspects of Pope John XXIII's vision for the Church in Vatican 2 and in *Pacem in Terris*. For Pope John, the Church needed to engage with everyday peoples' lives, working for social justice; for Dooley, art needed to do the same.

### **Arthur Dooley and *Pacem in Terris***

Pope John's *Pacem in Terris* is remembered now mainly as a response to the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, but a closer reading of it shows a wide ranging concern with what he termed 'the common good,' and which included dialogue between Catholics and non believers, and a call for fairer sharing in the cultural world. *Pacem in Terris* has been described as an event equal to the events in Paris of May 1968.<sup>84</sup> It was debated at the United Nations, and welcomed in the European Communist press. In Britain it was reported in the *Catholic Herald*, a newspaper with which Dooley was well acquainted, and in which he had already written and would later regularly feature with his outspoken opinions on Catholicism and Communism.<sup>85</sup> The *Catholic Herald* immediately saw in *Pacem in Terris* a possibility for dialogue between Catholics and Communists, in Pope John's exhortation for Catholics to co-

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<sup>83</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Stanley Reynolds, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>84</sup> J.J. Ziegler, 'Pacem in Terris at 50', *The Catholic World Report*, 14 June 2013. Retrieved from

[http://www.catholicworldreport.com/Item/2329/iPacem\\_in\\_Terris\\_at\\_50.aspx#.Uu15PXA4m\\_E](http://www.catholicworldreport.com/Item/2329/iPacem_in_Terris_at_50.aspx#.Uu15PXA4m_E) Accessed 4 April 2014.

<sup>85</sup> Sgt. Arthur Dooley, 'Catholics in The Forces', *Catholic Herald*, 10 July 1953, p.2. Retrieved from <http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/10th-july-1953/2/catholics-in-the-forces> Accessed 4 April 2014.

operate with non-believers working towards the common good.<sup>86</sup> This was at a time when Dooley found his Communist Party membership was compromising his standing in the Church: 'I never left the Church, I was told I was out because I'm a practising member of the Communist Party.'<sup>87</sup>

In *Pacem in Terris*, Pope John XXIII recognised that the working classes, like Dooley, were now claiming their rights not only in the economic sphere but also in the social and cultural. He wrote:

'The longstanding inferiority complex of certain classes because of their economic and social status, sex, or position in the State, and the corresponding superiority complex of other classes, is rapidly becoming a thing of the past.'<sup>88</sup>

Economic, social and cultural justice, were to be understood as factors in the building and maintenance of peace. Pope John XXIII wrote:

'[Man] has the natural right to share in the benefits of culture"... "The government (...) must ensure that everyone has the means and opportunity of sharing as far as possible in cultural benefits.'<sup>89</sup>

This was to become a major concern for Dooley when he set about promoting local worker artists through the Merseyside Worker Artists Association. I explore this further in Chapter 2.

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<sup>86</sup> Anon. 'Pacem in Terris', *Catholic Herald*, 19 April 1963, p.6. Retrieved from <http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/19th-april-1963/6/pacem-in-terris> Accessed 4 April 2014.

<sup>87</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Ann Kimmel, 'Sculptor Sees 15<sup>th</sup> Station As The Resurrection', *Catholic Herald*, 7 January 1966, p.14. Retrieved from <http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/7th-january-1966/14/sculptor-sees-15th-station-as-the-resurrection> Accessed 4 April 2014.

<sup>88</sup> Pope John XXIII, *Ibid.*, 1963, (42-43).

<sup>89</sup> Pope John XXIII, *Op. Cit.*, 1963, (64).

## **From factory worker to sculpting the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64)**

Dooley describes the lived experience of the troubled interface of politics and religion in the work place and the consolations of art making, in this interview in the Catholic Herald:

‘Guys were getting the push for being late two or three times, guys who were too old and had worked there too long to get the push. And they wouldn’t hire anybody over 25. There was obviously no sense of justice. They only wanted to make profits.’

All the Catholics he knew ‘took the side of the bosses.’ Communists seemed the only ones concerned for the workers. Mr Dooley began going to their meetings and soon became a party member.

During an engineers strike at the factory, he complained that managers had made an unfair deal with the ‘scabs’ who broke picket lines.

‘So the factory pushed me into isolation, giving me a job shovelling carbon. It was bloody boring, I was just a unit, clocking on and off. After 18 months I left.’ That was three and a half years ago, he stayed at home and began to make bronze crucifixes.’<sup>90</sup>

Dooley described his decision to leave Dunlop’s in 1962, aged 33 to work full time as an artist, as an epiphany ‘which came to him early one morning waiting for a bus to take him to work- that he wanted to be a sculptor had the suddenness and dramatic fatalism of a religious conviction.’<sup>91</sup> A major factor in his decision to leave Dunlop’s and become a full time sculptor was being offered the commission for the *Stations of the Cross* at St. Mary’s Church Leyland.<sup>92</sup>

Dooley winning that commission can be seen as a combination of chance and his ability to transgress class boundaries, entering the world of university students, architects and the Roman Catholic clergy. The 1960s saw a surge in the construction of new Catholic churches. Much of it was of a geometric simplicity, with scope for more eye-catching statuary. In 1961 a commission for the Stations of the Cross at the new St. Mary’s Church in Leyland was originally offered to Henry Moore, who

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<sup>90</sup> Ann Kimmel, *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, 1992, p.138.

<sup>92</sup> Author’s conversation with Stephen Broadbent, 27 November 2013.

allegedly turned it down on account of an overfull schedule.<sup>93</sup> Meanwhile, Dooley had been associating with radical Liverpool University architecture students who, like himself, opposed the Graham Shankland City Centre Plan to clear Liverpool of much of its working class housing. These students arranged an exhibition of Dooley's work at the Students Union, where he met the architecture lecturers who introduced him to George Fazinski, the architect working on the new St Mary's Church. This led to the subsequent commissioning of the fourteen figures in the *Stations of the Cross* 1962-64).<sup>94</sup> Dooley had been contriving to draw attention to his work in Liverpool. At his first exhibition at the Blue Angel Café in 1961 he set up a spoof piece of 'modern art' - a fourteen-foot beam with a drainpipe attached to it, to be smashed by an art student whom Dooley then physically threw out of the show. The ruse drew the attention of the local press. By 1962 he was appearing on television with prominent broadcaster Cliff Mitchelmore, who dubbed him 'a sculptural Brendan Behan.'<sup>95</sup> The television show promoted public interest in his 1962 single artist exhibition at St. Martin's whose catalogue notes describe him as a sculptor who 'feels deeply about the social problems of our day.'<sup>96</sup>

Dooley's concern with social issues might warrant positioning him in the post-war British Social Realist movement, as championed by John Berger in the face of encroaching American Abstract Expressionism.<sup>97</sup> Berger's definition of Social Realism as an art that helps one to know and claim one's social rights stood in opposition to Greenbergian abstraction and its association with an ahistoric individualistic contemplation. This resonates with themes in *Pacem in Terris*, and John XXIII's endeavour to move the Catholic Church away from an inward looking contemplative theology to one that engages with the world's social and political problems, and set it on the road to the liberation theology of the 1960s and 70s.

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<sup>93</sup> Nuala Parsons, 'A Young Dooley Fighting to Get Out', *Catholic Pictorial*, 27 April 1986 (ADA/Project/Dooley/86).

<sup>94</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.*, 1992, p.137.

<sup>95</sup> Cliff Mitchelmore, in Margery Baker, dir., *Op. Cit.*

<sup>96</sup> Peter Davies, *Op. Cit.* 1992, pp.138 -139.

<sup>97</sup> See Chapter 3.



A picture begins to emerge of Dooley's complex personality, Catholic and Communist, rebellious against the art establishment, an outsider with a close up view of the epicentre of British sculpture and skilled at courting the media. He probably represented something of a risky commission for Fr. FitzSimmons and for St. Mary's Church. Although somewhat remote in Leyland Lancashire, a traditional Catholic enclave, St. Mary's was a blueprint for the forthcoming Roman Catholic Cathedral of Christ the King in Liverpool. Yet Fr. FitzSimmons' subsequent appraisal spoke of Dooley as much more than 'that awful man who appears on television,' but rather, 'a genius whose name will go down as one of the great artists of the twentieth century.'<sup>98</sup> The *Catholic Herald* described him as an agnostic Communist sculptor working for the Church,<sup>99</sup> but elsewhere Dooley describes his time working on the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64) as the time when he became a disciple of Christ.<sup>100</sup> Dooley finds a resolution of the Catholicism/Communism dilemma in the image of Christ resurrected, and Dooley's journey through the making of the *Stations of the Cross* is the journey towards that resolution.

### **The New Catholic Left**

In *Pacem in Terris*, Pope John XXIII created the conditions for a Catholic-Communist dialogue that eventually produced the more fully developed liberation theology seen in South America in the 1970s and 1980s. In the course of its development, the early British Catholic Left and Dooley's *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64) can be seen to have played a part.

In his examination of the perpetual allure of the Bible for Marxists, Roland Boer notes an emerging liberation theology in 1960s urban Western centres of poverty,

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<sup>98</sup> Fr. FitzSimmons, in Margery Baker, dir., *Op. Cit.*

<sup>99</sup> Donald Musgrave, 'A Communist who works for the Church,' *Catholic Herald*, 2 October 1964, p.7. Retrieved from <http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/2nd-october-1964/7/light-on-an-ill-starred> Accessed 4 April 2014. Please note that the Catholic Herald referencing for this article is slightly inaccurate, but the link leads to page 7.

<sup>100</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Anon., Promotional booklet to celebrate St Mary's Church Leyland, circa 1964, (ADA/Project/Stations of the Cross/Leyland/51)

where Christ is seen as a political operator challenging the Roman Imperial order on behalf of the powerless, whose resurrection symbolises insurrection and a source of hope for class struggle.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, Christopher Rowland sees a long line of liberationist perspectives in Christian theology which have arisen ‘wherever the rebuilding of shattered lives takes place.’<sup>102</sup> Such a perspective can also be seen in the work of Rev. Keir Murren in 1950s Liverpool. As we have already seen, in my Introduction, Dooley approved of Murren’s work.<sup>103</sup> Rev. Donald May, who commissioned Dooley’s *Resurrection of Christ* (1969), wrote of Murren’s vision and persistence that:

‘It was the likes of Keir Murren who made the theological breakthrough: people need the church, not to make them holy, but to affirm and support them in their struggle.’<sup>104</sup>

The imminent publication of *Slant Manifesto: Catholics and the Left* by Terry Eagleton et al. drew the attention of the *Catholic Herald* in 1966, to the Slant group of Cambridge intellectuals, who since 1963 had been writing their ideas for a radical British Catholicism which they saw was losing its way since Pope John XXIII’s Second Vatican Council’s commitment to engage the Church more practically with everyday life.<sup>105</sup> Eagleton and his associates argued that preaching alone would not bring about global brotherly unity, but rather organised Marxist inspired political action. The Slant group drew parallels between Adam’s fall from grace and the Marxist notion of the alienation of industrial workers. They were aware of Dooley and

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<sup>101</sup> Roland Boer, ‘The Perpetual Allure of The Bible for Marxism’, *Historical Materialism*, iss.15, 2007, pp. 53-77.

<sup>102</sup> Christopher Rowland, in Christopher Rowland, ed., *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>103</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.174.

<sup>104</sup> Rev. Donald May in Don May and Margaret Simey ‘The Servant Church in Granby’ Retrieved from <http://togetherforthecommongood.co.uk/case-studies/articles/the-servant-church-in-granby.html> Accessed 17 February 2014.

<sup>105</sup> John O’Keeffe, ‘The brains behind Britain’s new Catholic left’, *Catholic Herald*, 27 May 1966, p.5. Retrieved from <http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/27th-may-1966/5/the-brains-behind-britains-new-catholic-left> accessed 4 April 2014.

evidently interested to meet him. A series of letters, between late 1966 and early 1967 between Jack Dunman; Gerry Cohen, Secretary of the Liverpool Communist Party; James Klugman, editor of *Marxism Today*; and Frank Hendry, artist and tutor at Liverpool School of Art and close friend of Dooley, proposed a public discussion between Catholics and Communists at a Liverpool venue.<sup>106</sup> Dooley's suggestion of a 3-a -side debate was realised in July 1967 at a public discussion at the Liverpool University Catholic Chaplaincy. The audience of 300 included priests, nuns, trades union officers, shop stewards, workers straight from work, and housewives, and sought to continue to find common ground. In the course of arranging the event Dunman wrote to Cohen that he would discuss the planning with the Slant group: Dunman adds:

‘They know the sculptor lad but did not seem to think he was so anti- them (on middle class grounds) as I had been led to believe.’<sup>107</sup>

In these letters we see Dooley centrally involved in the early Catholic- Communist dialogue. In October 1967, the Catholic news weekly *The Tablet* reported on some of these early meetings in Britain between Christians and Marxists, and identified a May 1966 meeting in Ilford as ‘the first public dialogue between Christians and Communists’, and an October 1967 meeting in Stepney London as ‘the first formal Christian Communist dialogue.’<sup>108</sup> These dates help us to calculate that Dooley was in fact involved in such a dialogue at the time of its very beginnings in Britain. It appears that Dooley's connection with Eagleton was still strong in 1973. A reminder

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<sup>106</sup> This correspondence is at Labour History Archive and Study Centre, Manchester, in the Christian-Marxist Dialogue file, ref. (CP/CENT/SUBJ/01/06 1960s-70s).

<sup>107</sup> Jack Dunman, letter to Jerry Cohen, 16 February 1967. Labour History Archive and Study Centre, Manchester, in the Christian-Marxist Dialogue file, ref. (CP/CENT/SUBJ/01/06 1960s-70s).

<sup>108</sup> Anon., ‘Dialogue with the Marxists’, *The Tablet* 14 October 1967, pp.18-19. Retrieved from <http://archive.thetablet.co.uk/article/14th-october-1967/18/dialogue-with-the-marxists> Accessed 4 April 2014.

letter from Eagleton to Dooley asked if Dooley might speak at the 'December Group'<sup>109</sup>

The popular film *The Gospel According to St Matthew* by Italian Marxist film-maker Pier Paolo Pasolini was on general cinema release in 1964, the year Dooley's *Stations of the Cross* was completed. It portrayed Christ as 'a fiercely virile and political figure whose attacks on hypocrisy and social injustice guarantee him an early death.'<sup>110</sup> Cohen's correspondence about Catholic Communist dialogue includes this:

'One final point. I was very excited to see extracts from the film *The Gospel according to St Matthew* by Passalenni (sic) and have suggested that we have a showing of this at the Philharmonic Hall here followed by a discussion. Frank Hendry and Father McGoldrick are both very much in agreement with this proposition.

Do you think it would be possible for the Party to raise with the Italian Party the possibility of asking Passalenni to visit Liverpool to talk about his film?'<sup>111</sup>

Although *Slant* journal and Pasolini's film come a year or two after Dooley began work on the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64), they can all be seen as part of a movement of theology and cultural production that follow on from Pope John XXIII's messages in *Pacem in Terris* for 'all men of goodwill' to work together towards a socially and culturally just peace, and are present in the Dooley's novel iconography in the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64), and a driving force behind its conception.

There is evidence that Dooley was well aware of *Pacem in Terris* and its central messages of the dignity and equality of all men, and the call for dialogue with 'all men

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<sup>109</sup> Terry Eagleton, Letter to Arthur Dooley, 19 September 1973, (ADA/Letters/W5). The December Group began around 1960/61 to discuss social problems from a Catholic point of view, and later became a group for *Slant* sympathisers. See Adrian Cunningham, 'The December Group: Terry Eagleton and the New Left Church', *The Year's Work in Critical and Cultural Theory* 1:1, 1991, pp. 210-215. Retrieved from <http://ywccct.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy.mmu.ac.uk/content/1/1/210.full.pdf> Accessed 2 April 2014

<sup>110</sup> Tony Rayns, Press Release, British Film Institute, March 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.bfi.org.uk/sites/bfi.org.uk/files/downloads/bfi-press-release-the-gospel-according-to-matthew-2013-02-01.pdf> Accessed 16 October 2013

<sup>111</sup> Gerry Cohen, Letter to James Klugman, 11 July 1967, Christian-Marxist Dialogue file, ref. CP/CENT/SUBJ/01/06 *1960s-70s*, Labour History Archive and Study Centre, Manchester. Frank Hendry was a close friend of Dooley.

of goodwill' including Communists. He gave a paper to the BBC Advisory Council in 1977, where he emphasised the need for continuing effective dialogue between Christians and Communists. He reminded the Council that 'Pope John set this in motion more than 15 years ago,'<sup>112</sup> I have also found what appears to be the first page of a draft of that *Catholic Herald* article. The two texts together include more evidence to indicate Dooley's knowledge of papal encyclicals and their social relevance, and his part in the developing liberation theology movement in Liverpool. The initial draft reads:

'Following Pope John's call for dialogue with Communists, we in Liverpool had a series of meetings and dialogues between Christians and Marxists as long ago as 1967- there have been similar movements in other parts of Europe- indeed a development of Christian-Marxist groups pledged to common programmes of social reform within the frameworks of religious faith. Latin-America (sic) has become a central part of this development....'<sup>113</sup>

The corresponding *Catholic Herald* article reported on Dooley's presentation of his paper in which he reminded the BBC that although Pope John set in motion Christian-Marxists dialogue in 1963<sup>114</sup> there is little evidence of this dialogue in BBC broadcasting. He went on in his paper to criticise the BBC's religious broadcasting for this oversight and for perpetuating what he described as an 'establishment' version of Christianity which

'never comes to grips with the alienation of the worker or the need to reconcile and convince at least half the human race that Christianity is something more universal than Western liberal capitalism at prayer.'<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anon. 'BBC Programmes Criticised', *Catholic Herald*, 4 February 1977, p. 2. Retrieved from <http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/4th-february-1977/2/bbc-programmes-criticised> Accessed 4 April 2014.

<sup>113</sup> Arthur Dooley, Draft document, (ADA/Project/Politics/7).

<sup>114</sup> The year of *Pacem in Terris*.

<sup>115</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anon 'BBC Programmes Criticised', *Catholic Herald*, 4 February 1977, p. 2 retrieved from <http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/4th-february-1977/2/bbc-programmes-criticised> Accessed 4 April 2014.

Here, I see Dooley's familiarity with that tenet of liberation theology which understands sin in terms of workers' alienation, and which I examine below. His reference to 'half the human race' meant the extent of the world's population living in Communist countries. He continued by recounting the success of those early Catholic and Communist meetings at the Liverpool University Catholic chaplaincy in 1967, to which I referred above, and he added that:

'These attracted tremendous interest. We based the discussions on Pope Paul's *Populorum Progressio*<sup>116</sup>- which the Communist members of the dialogue were very surprised to learn contained a great deal to which they subscribed themselves.

One of the purposes of the dialogue- and to my mind it is more important than the ecumenical dialogue -is to show these broad bases of agreement, and to remove the natural hostility and suspicion that the Communist world holds for Western Christianity as being part of capitalist society.'<sup>117</sup>

### **Liberation theology**

Martin Redfern's essay in *Slant Manifesto* sets out plainly that a contemporary Christianity is only intelligible in theologically radical terms involving the understanding and acceptance of the ideas and policies of the political and cultural left.<sup>118</sup> He finds the parallelism of self-understanding, commitment and objectives between radical Christianity and radical socialism to be so close that only an organic connection can explain it. Parallels are made between sin and alienation, and between salvation and the achievement of a socialist society, where we repent the basic division and alienation of man in his work, and through work in all its social relations. Redfern looks to the eradication of all divisions in society by way of the emancipation of the exploited class of the workers. He squares all this with Marx's critique of religion as the opiate of the people, by explaining that Marx was not

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<sup>116</sup> Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, 26 March 1967. Retrieved from [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/paul\\_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-vi\\_enc\\_26031967\\_populorum\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_26031967_populorum_en.html) Accessed 2 April 2014.

<sup>117</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anon. *Ibid.*, 1977, p. 2.

<sup>118</sup> Martin Redfern, 'The Church, Sacrament of a Socialist Society', in Adrian Cunningham et al., *Slant Manifesto: Catholics and the Left*, London: Sheed & Ward, 1966, pp.148-9.

advocating atheism, but was critiquing a Christianity that withdrew from the real world into an escape world, which would well describe the Catholic Church before the Second Vatican Council, and before *Pacem in Terris*.

Redfern's parallels between Christianity and Marxism never extend as far as Dooley's parallel between resurrection and revolution. But Redfern and Dooley were operating at different levels in an embryonic liberation theology as outlined by Leonardo and Clovis Boff.<sup>119</sup> These early liberation theologians identified three levels of liberation theology all working in the same direction: to juxtapose Christian faith with the situation of the poor. From professional theologians like Gustavo Gutierrez, through to the thinking of the ordained bishops and nuns, and down to the liberating ideas of the Christian base groups who, like Dooley, were more dramatic and confrontational in the exposition of their theology:

'When I went to school, the images I got of Christ were of gentle Jesus meek and mild, burning like a pure clear light, or else he was dead, crucified. Now I reject both of these images. I believe that the real Christ was a revolutionary, that this son of a carpenter, who in spite of the crucifixion, in spite of being entombed, walked out alive and well. *He's hammered them*. And this is the message that has been suppressed. You see the central point in my religion is that we can win now, we don't have to wait for the next world the resurrection is now, and the spirit of the resurrection is you and me, who reflects Christ, realising that he/we can win today as well as in the next world, if there is one. Christianity is dead without the resurrection.'<sup>120</sup>

### **The Stations of The Cross (1962-64)**

Dooley's *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64) is a series of fourteen bronze statues, each one installed in the crux of the fourteen v-shaped columns encircling the altar in St. Mary's Church in Leyland. They follow the traditional ordering from Christ condemned by Pilate to the placing of the body in the tomb, but Dooley's treatment of the traditional stages in the story of Christ's journey appropriates the imagery of contemporary industry and Liverpool working class street life. Parallels are drawn between the persecution and sacrifices of both Christ and of the contemporary

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<sup>119</sup> Leonardo Boff & Clovis Boff, translated by Paul Burns, *Introducing Liberation Theology*, Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 1987.

<sup>120</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.*, 1972,

Liverpool working class. It is both a Social Realist treatment of the Stations of the Cross, and an early example of an artwork influenced by an emerging liberation theology. As Fr. Simon Blake's commentary in *A Modern Passion*, the award winning documentary film about the work, describes the sculptures:

'the holy has invaded the secular, has become one with it...we don't come here to lose ourselves in an escapist pantomime of unliveable otherworldliness, but to look compassionately at man of today, in the light of Christ's significant suffering.'<sup>121</sup>

Dooley summed up his intentions in the fourteen statues: 'I tried to bring everything of today's world into them, to show that all of us here are responsible for the Crucifixion. Especially the leaders of society who stand by letting other people be crucified, like families in the slums of Brazil whose children haven't a chance to survive.'<sup>122</sup>

The commentary on the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64), in the documentary film *A Modern Passion*, uses the alternating narratives of Dooley and Fr. Blake.<sup>123</sup> Blake is credited as research and script associate. I have drawn on this commentary for Dooley's explanations of his work, in my analysis of some of the individual sculptures. In the documentary film, Dooley explains the sculpture representing the first station of the cross, 'Christ is Condemned.' [fig.2] He says that Christ, portrayed in chains represents human freedom chained by the fascist concept of the subjugation of the personality represented by the faceless Roman soldier. The soldiers, he explains, are faceless because they are unable to think for themselves.<sup>124</sup> The chains upon Christ show how we are similarly still bound and subjugated, he explains, 'and as the Communists tell us – we have nothing to lose but our chains'. He goes on, pointing to the figure of Christ: 'All these protesters always finish up in jail and getting chopped or hung or crucified.'

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<sup>121</sup> Gary Watson, narrator, in Peter Ferres, prod., *Ibid.*, circa 1965. The film credits Fr. Simon Blake as Research and Script Associate.

<sup>122</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Ann Kimmel. *Op. Cit.*

<sup>123</sup> Peter Ferres, prod., *Op. Cit.* circa 1965.

<sup>124</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Peter Ferres, prod., *Op. Cit.* circa 1965.



Speaking elsewhere of the pier like structures upon which this and all fourteen of the scenes take place, Dooley says 'Christ is standing on a political platform, of the kind seen at Pier Head.'<sup>125</sup> Dooley's use of 'platform' as both the physical base of the sculptures and their political message is more evidence of the work's Social Realist content. The scene takes place on a platform with an encrusted, possibly barnacled surface, and I interpret this feature as suggesting the dilapidated state of the declining Liverpool dock industry.

In the second station, Christ takes up his cross. He is depicted wearing a coal heaver's sack on his back, and is accompanied by the tiny figure of a starving child with a bloated stomach, who stares at his own diminutive cross. [fig.3] I read this as a comment on the Church's failures to alleviate poverty, a hint that other forms of political organisation, like Dooley joining the Communist Party soon after he converted to Catholicism, are also necessary. The film's narrative invokes Matthew 25:40 - 'Truly, I say to you, as you did it to one of the least of these my brothers, you did it to me,' a passage the early liberation theologians frequently invoked to indicate equivalences between the Bible and contemporary issues.

Commenting on the third station where Christ falls for the first time, the narrator of *A Modern Passion* likens Christ's lunging posture to a heroic athlete bursting out of the starting blocks. Bursting forth into the world would become a frequent trope in Dooley's subsequent major religious statues, and might equate with Pope John XXIII taking the Church back into the real world, away from the escapist world where it had previously languished in a growing state of irrelevance to modern life.<sup>126</sup>

Dooley says of the figure of Mary, in the fourth station [fig.4] where Christ greets his mother, that he depicted her as an old woman 'because most of our mothers *are* old.'<sup>127</sup> Dooley's mother was only 22 when he was born, and in her mid fifties when he made the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64), so in some ways this does not add up.

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<sup>125</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anon. 'Advanced Design of New Church' *The Guardian* 3 April 1964, (ADA/Newspapers/80).

<sup>126</sup> See Dooley's sculpture: *The Resurrection of Christ* (1969) [fig.14]. It also features in the sculpture *Joseph and Child* (1980) where Joseph is lifting the infant Jesus up into the air, see Eric Davidson, dir., *Joseph and Child*, BBC, 1980.

<sup>127</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Peter Ferres, prod., *Op. Cit.*, circa 1965.

One way to understand it might be to consider much of Dooley's work as harking back to an earlier Liverpool working class culture, which was in retreat by the 1960s in the face of the new mass culture in the form of Beatlemania, which broke out while Dooley was working on the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64). Although Dooley claims his imagery as contemporary, his female figures are clothed in what could be taken for a generic middle-eastern costume, or even the woollen shawl as still worn by some Lancashire women until the mid 1950s. [fig.5]

For the fifth station, Dooley explains that the figure of Simon of Cyrene helping Christ to carry the cross is modelled on a foreman he used to work with, note the flat cap. [fig.6] With this device he clearly located the action in the contemporary industrial scene. The gestures of Simon and Christ are those of workmen skilfully handling heavy material, and pre-figure another of Dooley's later arguments, the equal value of the divisions of manual and cerebral labour, and the equal value of manual labour and artistic production. But the weight of the cross remains on Christ's shoulders. The foreman is merely guiding the cross. The petit bourgeois is of little help to the manual worker.

In a strikingly successful image, later much reproduced by him for private commissions, Dooley has the imprint of Christ's face transformed into a street poster on a brick wall, in the sixth station of the cross where St. Veronica wipes the face of Christ. [fig.7] The narrator of *A Modern Passion* describes Veronica's clothing as a shawl and likens her wiping Christ's face to the practice of Liverpool working class mothers wiping their children's faces in the street. Dooley's commentary from a later 1972 documentary describes the image of Christ's face as 'a photograph.'<sup>128</sup> While it cannot be accurately described as a photograph, the miraculous imprint of Christ's face on Veronica's garment clearly shares some of the indexical characteristics of a photograph. More speculatively, by 1972, one of the most reproduced photographs in the world was Alberto Korda's *Heroic Guerrilla* photograph of Che Guevara. Although we know that Dooley admired Guevara (a poem written about Guevara's death is

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<sup>128</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.*, 1972.

amongst the papers collected from his studio)<sup>129</sup> he could not have known the Korda image at the time of the making of the *Stations of the Cross*, as it did not leave Cuba until 1967, and yet it is interesting to speculate that Dooley might have made such a connection by 1972. Guevara, the epitome of the 'new man', the protagonist of his own history, or as Dooley might have it, 'able to think for himself,' is picked out by founding liberation theologian, Gustavo Gutierrez for his vision of economic, social and political independence which must be 'undertaken by the oppressed people themselves and so must stem from the values proper to these people.'<sup>130</sup>

For the seventh station, Dooley explains how he transposed the traditional scene of Christ greeting the women of Jerusalem into the contemporary street politics of Liverpool: 'women standing on the steps, talking when demos go by, demonstrations and things, 'cos it's the same pattern.'<sup>131</sup> [fig.8] Christ's greeting/blessing to the women is given with a confidently raised left hand, unlike the traditional blessing offered with the right hand as still practiced by all Popes. Although it is not a clenched left fist, the sign of left wing solidarity and resistance, it is unusual in religious iconography. Included in the scene is a Liverpool Echo newspaper boy with a newsheet.<sup>132</sup> [fig.9] Another parallel is made between working class community and struggle, specifically in Liverpool, and the story of Christ's sacrifice. The doorsteps on which the figures of the women stand recall those of the working class communities of the Toxteth area of Liverpool, which were subjected to clearance in the 1960s. This scene of the women on the doorsteps was successfully recycled as *Liverpool Steps*, and prefigures Dooley's Beatles statue *Four Lads Who Shook The World* (1974) on Matthew Street in Liverpool, where a Madonna figure works as a metaphor for the city of Liverpool. [fig.10] The sacred and the secular continue to intertwine throughout the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64) as they do throughout *Pacem in Terris*. The most obvious reference in the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64) to Pope

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<sup>129</sup> Arthur Dooley, Poem, 'To the Memory of Senor Che Guevara', (ADA/Projects/Politics/10).

<sup>130</sup> Gustavo Gutierrez, translated by Sister Caridad Inda & John Eagleson, *A Theology of Liberation*, London: SCM Press, version 1988, p.91.

<sup>131</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Peter Ferres, prod., *Op. Cit.* circa 1965.

<sup>132</sup> Dooley refers to this figure as 'the Echo boy' in Peter Ferres, prod., *Op. Cit.*, circa 1965.

John's encyclical can be read in the Echo headlines: '*Christ Dies. John calls for Peace.*' Dooley explains that this John could be anybody, it could be Pope John, or the ordinary guy in the street, and adds: 'I like to think that it's all of us, in a way,'<sup>133</sup> or, I suggest, as Pope John might have it: 'all men of goodwill.' But in the sculpture, Christ evidently is not dead yet, he remains on his journey, with a confident posture and gesture. The media anticipate the demise of an overconfident working class, but the working class women on the steps anticipate continual birth. The figure of the younger woman cradles an infant, and the figure of the older woman appears to be pregnant. The women's own sacrifices might be signified by the cruciform shapes of the broken step rails behind them. [fig.11]

The Roman soldier stripping Christ carries a shield on his back. Amongst the insignia of Roman authority, the eagle and the rods and axes, Dooley has included a Spanish coin bearing the head of General Francisco Franco. It was a bold gesture to equate the fascist Catholic dictator with the antithesis of Christianity.

The twelfth station includes another convincing reference to Pope John's encyclical *Pacem in Terris*. A 'Peace' banner at the top of the cross stands in place of the traditional notice, 'Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews.' [fig.12]

For the last of the traditional stations, where Christ is laid in the tomb, Dooley has crafted the tomb as a prison cell with a barred window, and the shroud is womb like. Elements of his own experience of prison and his re- birth there as an artist might be read into this. [fig.12a]

### **Arthur Dooley and The Resurrection**

In the documentary film *A Modern Passion* Dooley modestly points out the 2000 year neglect of the image of the resurrection in the Stations of the Cross.<sup>134</sup> Referring to St. Paul (1 Corinthians 15) Dooley agrees that if there is no resurrection, 'then it's all been a waste of time. We want a resurrection, now.'<sup>135</sup> The film ends without Dooley's resurrection statue, which he was later permitted to make and display.

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<sup>133</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Peter Ferres, prod., *Op. Cit.*, circa 1965.

<sup>134</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Peter Ferres, prod. *Op. Cit.* circa 1965.

<sup>135</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Peter Ferres, prod. *Op. Cit.* circa 1965.

Called *The Risen Christ* (circa 1964) [fig.13], it stands in a side chapel within St. Mary's Church, Leyland. In a 1972 interview Dooley explained:

'If I was going to be a good communist (..) I would have left it at fourteen, with Christ dead and buried. But that way it made it miserable for people coming into the church, looking for a ray of hope, so I did a fifteenth showing Christ risen.'<sup>136</sup>

But there is a complication here in Dooley's picturing of the risen Christ. Throughout the series of the fourteen stations we have seen Christ portrayed as the everyday working man- the coal heaver's sack, his mother on the Liverpool steps- but in the resurrection he is a ghostly figure, still wearing the burial shroud, no longer recognisable from his facial features. It is a modest image of Christ walking away from the cross, with outstretched hands revealing the stigmata of the crucifixion, and contrasts with his later notorious *Resurrection of Christ* (1969) at Princes Park Methodist Church, Toxteth. [fig.14]

Methodist minister Rev. Donald May commissioned the *Resurrection of Christ* (1969) to go on the outside wall of the Methodist church, overlooking Princes Road, a main thoroughfare. May asked for a theme of unity suitable for the multi-racial community of Toxteth. The making, unveiling and critical reception of the *Resurrection of Christ*, also popularly known as *Black Christ*, is documented in Peter Ferres' BBC Viewpoint film, titled *Arthur Dooley's 'Resurrection'*.<sup>137</sup> In the film, Dooley reflects on the paucity of images of the resurrection in Christian iconography. He acknowledges Piero della Francesca's *The Resurrection* (1463-65), but considers it to be a weak image on account of Christ depicted with one foot still in the tomb, and the flag of St George which he carries, or as Dooley puts it: 'A little Tory flag.'<sup>138</sup> Dooley's *Resurrection of Christ* (1969) has a starved black Christ with an oriental headband, and multi-racial facial features leaping off the cross into the air, and bursting through the shroud at the same time, fragments of shroud stream from his fingers. There is nothing meek or gracious about it.

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<sup>136</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Donald Musgrave, *Ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>137</sup> Peter Ferres, prod., *Viewpoint: Arthur Dooley's Resurrection*, circa 1969.

<sup>138</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Peter Ferres, prod., *Ibid.*, circa 1969.

'In fact the Resurrection is a symbol of man taking over. It's a message for the young today that they can win, the established religions give lip service to the idea- but at the bottom of the page and in the small print.'<sup>139</sup>

Rev. Donald May said Dooley had created a suitably disturbing Christ, as disturbing as the New Testament's account of Christ, and as disturbing as Dooley himself, in the way it works to rouse us into concern for contemporary social problems.<sup>140</sup> Defending his work in the light of its mixed reception, Dooley pointed to the wider community beyond the Toxteth parish, to world famine, the slave history of Liverpool, as well as the struggle of the local working class to break out of an economic system where outsiders to the local community reap profit from local workers and against which local government provides no protection: common struggles for people of all eras and locations who have been treated in a dehumanising way, and from which they aspire to break free, like Christ breaking out of the shroud and the tomb, and which he says can be read into the resurrection statue.<sup>141</sup> Similarly, in *Pacem in Terris*, Pope John XXIII insisted on the common humanity of all peoples, and our shared responsibility for world famine; and in an earlier encyclical of 1961, he warned of the impoverishing effects of an aggressive capitalism that had given rise to a great accumulation of wealth, and, in the process, concentrated a despotic economic power in the hands of a few

'who for the most part are not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds, which they administer at their own good pleasure.[...] As a consequence, even the public authority was becoming the tool of plutocracy, which was thus gaining a stranglehold on the entire world.'<sup>142</sup>

In 1972 Dooley presented *A Catholic Manifesto for Communists and Catholics* to Cardinal Heenan requesting that the Church live up to Papal and Second Vatican

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<sup>139</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Anthony Everitt, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>140</sup> Rev. Donald May, in Peter Ferres, prod., *Op. Cit.*, circa 1969.

<sup>141</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Peter Ferres, prod., *Op. Cit.*, circa 1969.

<sup>142</sup> Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, 15 May 1961, (35 -36). Retrieved from [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_xxiii/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_j-xxiii\\_enc\\_15051961\\_mater\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_15051961_mater_en.html) Accessed on 4 April 2014.

Council pronouncements on social and economic justice, and recognize the working class struggle for social rights :

'The Church must realize that she has a moral obligation to support the workers. The fold is too comfortable, and instead of the shepherds trying to bring the workers back to the fold they should get out and join them in a fight for human rights and decency.'<sup>143</sup>

His call found a positive response from Reverend Canon Hunter, Advisor in Mission to the Archbishop of York, in a private letter to Dooley:

'From the report it seems to me that your concern for the Christian Faith to be interpreted in a way that the workers can understand and make their own, involving a clear call by the Church in the name of Jesus to fight for human rights and decency is close to my own concept of Mission. Perhaps we might meet to talk about it?'<sup>144</sup>

The extant literature from the liberation theology movement is the literature of Catholic academics. Unlike the *Slant Manifesto* by Eagleton et al., I have found no trace of Dooley's manifesto. When Dooley chose sculpture over writing, and put flesh on his ideas, and cast them in bronze he raised a small monument to the ideas that John XXIII had set in motion and might now be due for their own resurrection. That is, the parallelism of the secular and the divine, that found its strongest expression in liberation theology. Besides the canonization of John XXIII, Pope Francis is also currently facilitating the canonization process of martyred liberation theologian Archbishop Oscar Romero, having removed Pope Benedict XVI's objection to the process out of concern that Romero had been co-opted by the left. Dooley's work remains outside the canon of modern British sculpture, but his ecclesiastical statuary remains a testament to a theology that might soon be set to return.

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<sup>143</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Bart Harrison, 'Cardinal To Get Manifesto From Communists', *Catholic Herald*, 22 December 1972, p.1 retrieved from <http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/22nd-december-1972/1/cardinal-to-get-manifesto-from-communists> accessed 4 April 2014

<sup>144</sup> Rev. Canon J.C. Hunter, Letter to Arthur Dooley, 27 December 1972 (ADA/Letters/H58)

## Chapter 2

### Arthur Dooley and the Worker Artists

Dooley was not only engaged with class issues within his own work, he also set out to promote the art of worker artists in a Liverpool art scene that seemed, to him, to favour the art of bourgeois London, over that of local working class artists (what Dooley called ‘the Hampstead mob’ taking over the Walker Gallery via the John Moores Painting Competition).<sup>145</sup> In this chapter I will look at the background to Dooley’s founding of the Merseyside Worker Artists Association in 1969, and compare it with two other prominent 20<sup>th</sup> century British examples of the promotion of workers art: namely the Artists’ International Association and the Ashington Group, popularly known as The Pitmen Painters. What I think emerges is the following picture: the AIA looks like a middle class philanthropic institution that set out to emulate developments in art in the USSR, but whose original intention to democratise the arts was sidelined by the war on fascism, and never really recovered its original mission. The Ashington Group shows itself to be an ‘outsider’ working class group beloved of middle class art institutions, as long as they remained in their allotted place, which was always where the Ashington Group preferred to be. However, the archival evidence shows the MWAA to have been a working class group who, with the political support of the Labour Party and the trade unions, pitted themselves against what they saw as the middle class art institutions, in order to gain access to Liverpool’s ‘cathedral of art’, The Walker Art Gallery. They embarked upon on a mission for the separate development of working class art, which they hoped would re-invigorate art itself and rescue it from the moribund grip of the middle class, as Dooley saw it. I draw parallels between the MWAA and the proletarian poet and philosopher in Jacques Rancière’s *Proletarian Nights: The Workers’ Dream in*

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<sup>145</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anon. ‘Dooley in the Saddle for Artists Protest’ (ADA/Newspapers/90)



*Nineteenth Century France*, for a consideration of the degree to which the MWAA displaced or reinforced their working class identity.<sup>146</sup>

It was Dooley's belief in independent working class action that marked out both him and the MWAA as different from the Artists' International Association, and different from the Ashington Group with their reliance upon middle class philanthropy. Dooley's opening commentary to Eric Davidson's 1972 film *One Pair of Eyes*, reads like a pronouncement of the independent potential of the working class. Davidson's film about Dooley's work and politics is aptly subtitled 'We're coming into our own.'<sup>147</sup> His voice-over introduction reinforces the idea of an independent working class response to the degradation of the city's economy and its working class culture:

'A lot has happened to Liverpool since the war, big business and the politicians have been having a ball, but when they have finished bankrupting this city, the people must organise, *and come into their own*.'<sup>148</sup>

Throughout the film Dooley goes around Liverpool showing us examples of working class people independently pursuing art practices, journalism, celebrating neighbourliness and dreaming of the city's further cultural redevelopment around the disused Albert Dock. He shows us, for example, Chrissie Maher working out of her home on the UK's first community newspaper, as well as other workers' projects,

'breaking down the barriers-it's the people doing it for themselves [...] without the crutches of the state, the grammar schools, the O-levels, the handouts, and all the rest of it.'<sup>149</sup>

It is interesting to speculate what 'all the rest of it' might include, or rather exclude. There is no mention of the Communist Party in this film, and the Catholic Church is not called upon to support his arguments but instead comes in for criticism for the

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<sup>146</sup> Jacques Rancière, translated by John Drury, *Proletarian Nights: The Workers' Dream in Nineteenth Century France*, London, New York: Verso, 2012.

<sup>147</sup> Eric Davidson, dir., *One Pair of Eyes*, BBC, 1972.

<sup>148</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, *Ibid.* 1972.

<sup>149</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, *Op. Cit.*, 1972

physical orientation of the recently opened Metropolitan Cathedral of Christ the King in Liverpool; in so much as it opens its front to the tourist area but turns its back on the social housing close by. Dooley's opening commentary reads like a pronouncement of the independent potential of the working class. It is Dooley's belief in independent working class action that marks out Dooley and the MWAA as different from the Artists' International Association, and the Ashington Group with their issues of middle class dependence.

### **Arthur Dooley and the Merseyside Worker Artists Association**

In 1968, with the aid of an Arts Council grant Dooley bought the former Black Horse pub in Woolton, Liverpool, in which to base his own arts centre. Jennie Lee, formerly Britain's first Arts Minister, and by 1968, Labour's Minister of State for Education and Science supported the project.<sup>150</sup> The following year, he formed the Merseyside Worker Artists Association for local working class artists, with the Black Horse as its headquarters.<sup>151</sup> A third project, The Unity of Arts Society also commenced in December 1969, and Dooley was invited to speak at its opening conference in Manchester. All three projects were concerned with taking action to promote working class art, and appear to complement each other.

In 1960 the Trades Union Congress had passed Resolution 42, put forward by the Association of Cinematic and Allied Technicians. This recognised the importance of the arts in workers' lives, especially since winning shorter working hours. It noted the hitherto minor role of trade union promotion of the arts, and it called for greater participation by the trade union movement in all cultural activities. This was in response to pressure from playwright Arnold Wesker, who had 'been appealing for a new approach to theatre from trade union branches and political groups,' (...) and wanted

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<sup>150</sup> Jennie Lee, Letter to Arthur Dooley, 16 May 1968, (ADA/Project/BlackHorse/32).

<sup>151</sup> As early as 1964, Dooley had considered setting up an arts centre in Liverpool, with Rev. Keir Murren and members of the Labour council to be called 'Set North.' See Arthur Dooley, Letter to Rev. Murren, 29 September 1964, (ADA/Project/BlackHorse/64).

'these and similar organisations to become the theatrical sponsors of the 1960s, backing with their resources and potential audiences adventurous productions of all kinds'<sup>152</sup>

Wesker argued that if the Trades Unions had had some success in redistributing the nation's economic wealth, then why not do the same for its cultural riches, by '*knocking down that barrier* between the worker and the artist that breaks us all.'<sup>153</sup> Knocking down the barriers that restrict working class people to full participation in cultural life was a recurrent theme for Dooley, as was seen by his entry into St. Martin's and as we shall also see in his demands for worker artists' access to Liverpool's cultural institutions.

In 1969 the Merseyside Worker Artists Association, a collaboration between artists and trade unionists, was conceived in the spirit of resolution 42, which stated:

'Congress recognizes the importance of the arts in the life of the community especially now when many Unions are securing a shorter working week and greater leisure time for their members. It notes that the Trade Union movement has participated to only a small extent in the direct promotion and encouragement of plays, films, music, literature and other forms of expression including those of value to its beliefs and principles. Congress considers that much more could be done and accordingly requests the General Council to conduct a special examination and to make proposals to a future Congress to ensure a greater participation by the Trade union movement in all cultural activities.'<sup>154</sup>

By 1961 Wesker had established Centre 42, an arts centre, with the aim of breaking artists 'out of the role of romantic outsider' 'whose works could only be understood and appreciated by an exclusive upper middle class minority,' and reconnecting

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<sup>152</sup> Yorkshire Evening Post, 28 April 1960 cited in 'Arnold Wesker: A Preliminary Inventory of His Collection at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre' at Scope and Contents, Series III. Retrieved from <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/uthrc/00243/hrc-00243p1.html#series3> Accessed 4 April 2014.

<sup>153</sup> Arnold Wesker, *Ibid.*, p. 67. (emphasis added).

<sup>154</sup> Ron Deller, 'Centre 42,' *New Left Review* 1/11, September-October 1961, p.60. Retrieved from <http://newleftreview.org.ezproxy.mmu.ac.uk/1/11/ron-deller-centre-42> Accessed 4 April 2014.

working people with the arts.<sup>155</sup> Ron Deller, writing about this in *New Left Review* saw the resolution and Centre 42 as an effort to stop us all 'dying from TV',<sup>156</sup> in what Wesker had earlier termed 'this dead behind the eyes society.'<sup>157</sup> Of significance here is Centre 42's vision of artists finding new audiences, presumably the working class television audience, rather than encouraging artists from new constituencies, particularly from the working class, which I will show was a large part of the MWAA's aims.

The minutes of the Merseyside Worker Artists Association inaugural meeting in 1969 outlined their views on the problem of worker artists' exclusion from the art scene, and the consequent need to set up a separate working class art scene, with the support of the trade unions. The minutes open:

'The above association came into being following a meeting of Merseyside artists and trade unionists who are concerned with the attitude of the establishment to the artist with a working class background. Artists from working class backgrounds and trade unionists who find a lack of opportunity in Liverpool to display their work.'<sup>158</sup>

Dooley's concern was with the erosion of Merseyside working class culture, elsewhere he wrote:

'When I got back to Liverpool and saw the state it was in and the way things were developing, I was seeing my own culture attacked and I decided to do something about it. To watch something being destroyed, that hurt me. I knew I had to make some contribution, make some kind of stand. I had to make a platform.'<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Ron Deller, *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> Ron Deller, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>157</sup> Arnold Wesker 'Trade Unions and the Arts,' *New Left Review*, 1/5 Sept-Oct 1960, p.67. Retrieved from <http://newleftreview.org.ezproxy.mmu.ac.uk/1/5/arnold-wesker-trade-unions-and-the-arts> Accessed 4 April 2014

<sup>158</sup> MWAA inaugural meeting, 1969, (ADA/ Project/BlackHorse/22).

<sup>159</sup> Arthur Dooley in Eric Davidson, *Arthur's Way: A Proposal for a Biography of Arthur Dooley- Sculptor*, 1991, unpublished, (ADA/Project/Dooley/159).

The destruction to which he refers included the clearance of working class neighbourhoods as a feature of 1960's planning, against which he campaigned. He viewed the established art scene's blindness to working class art as another front in the overall destruction and denigration of working class culture. The MWAA appears to have set itself up for the sole benefit of the working class artist as a counterpoint to the 'closed shop' of the established art scene:

'As the control of Art establishments is in the hands of the middle and business classes who reject working class terms of reference, the participation of Trade Unions in Art is essential to the involvement of the mass of people in cultural affairs. [...] By limiting membership to Trade Union card holder, we recognize that we will draw criticism by making a class organization, but we are only doing for the working class what the middle have always done- that is- excluding those they do not want for whatever reason.'<sup>160</sup>

It was a move in line with AIA member and art historian Anthony Blunt's recommendation three decades earlier:

'artists are now aware that though they once spent their energy in proving that they were better than the ordinary worker, it is now their only hope to show that they are essentially workers and to build up an organisation on the lines of an ordinary trades union.'<sup>161</sup>

One of the reasons for the middle class excluding working class artists, which was identified in the 1969 MWAA minutes, was what they saw as a class based conflict over art's worth and purpose, and a prejudice for abstract art whenever selections were made for exhibitions:

'It was agreed that because works of art from working class people were subject to vetting from people with a different social background whose valuation of the merits of submitted work was so much at variance with working class opinion generally, that something must be done to bring about a return of confidence in the worth of working class art.'<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> MWAA, Inaugural meeting, 1969 (ADA/Project/Black Horse/22)

<sup>161</sup> Anthony Blunt, quoted in Lynda Morris, 'Realism: the Thirties Argument,' *Art Monthly*, no. 35, April 1980, p.5

<sup>162</sup> MWAA inaugural meeting, 1969 (ADA/Project/Black Horse/22.)

It became clearer what these problems of class based variance in art appreciation consisted of:

‘Although it was obvious from the discussion that the term working class culture meant different things to different people, it was agreed that to re-establish a vital movement in working class art it was necessary to encourage attention to *personal experience, environment and humanity rather than to abstraction which is a reflection of the dehumanising process at work in society.*’<sup>163</sup>

Dooley saw social class as a factor in the Realism versus Abstraction battle in the 1970s, which I will explore in Chapter 3. His commentary for the Oldham Art Gallery’s publication *Oldham Two Views: Photographs by Ron McCormick and Kevin Keegan* clearly shows his approval of the Social Realist style for its reinforcement of working class culture, and his disdain for an abstract treatment of the same subject, i.e. views of Oldham. The two photographers have contrasting styles: McCormick’s black and white photographs of pigeon lofts, brass bands and the like are the sole focus of Dooley’s commentary, overlooking Keegan’s semi-abstract treatment of the same urban landscape:

‘Harry and the dog are what it’s about...they look like Northerners...I’m glad that it looks like a hundred years ago...we have got a history....it’s in ourselves, in our blood stream, it’s in our families, it’s in our communities... this wants reinforcing...this is what we are .. we don’t want this destroyed and scattered so that nobody has any value any more, and the only thing that matters is design...the contents of Oldham are its people not its bloody buildings.’<sup>164</sup>

This scattergun commentary from 1973 is peppered with the artistic values and concerns that Dooley espoused and which appear in the MWAA minutes. The anxiety around the disruption of established working class communities is mitigated by the picturing of that culture, because, picturing it reinforces its worth. By contrast,

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<sup>163</sup> MWAA inaugural meeting, 1969 (ADA/Project/Black Horse/22) (emphasis added).

<sup>164</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Ron McCormick, Kevin Keegan, *Oldham Two Views*, Oldham Public Libraries, Art Galleries and Museums, 1973, unpaginated.

Keegan's abstract formalism is the visual language of the class enemy, as Dooley saw it. We can think of Dooley's perspective on social class and art movements as seeing abstract formalism as bourgeois design, whereas figuration and Social Realism equate to working class humanity.

The MWAA minutes finished with a concrete goal to challenge the established local cultural institutions to create some space for them:

'It was therefore agreed discussions continue with a view to holding exhibitions. The Walker Art Gallery and the Bluecoat Society of Art which exist on public funds should be asked to provide rooms for such exhibitions in the belief that it is the duty of those institutions to foster working class art which has not been done to any significant degree to date.'<sup>165</sup>

The extent of the discrimination against local artists at the John Moores painting exhibition, showed biannually at the Walker Gallery, was documented by Willett in his survey of the Liverpool art scene:

'Liverpool's own artists are hardly prominent in the Moores exhibitions, though of course they are well placed to compete. Only four have been included in more than a single show; only nineteen have ever reached this stage at all (...) the Gallery is indeed determined not to lower its carefully built up standards just in order to give encouragement to local art, which the director feels is not part of its job, though it has a nucleus of works by leading Liverpool artists of the past, which it will occasionally add to; (...).'<sup>166</sup>

For the previous two years Dooley had been protesting about the lack of access to the Walker and the Bluecoat galleries for local artists. His protest outside the Bluecoat Gallery, in March 1968, against the prohibitively high fees (£60 a fortnight according to Dooley) charged by the gallery to show there, led to Dooley's formation of the Railings Union which, with the support of Eric Heffer M.P. and Rev. Donald May of Toxteth Methodist Church, won the right for artists to show their work for free, on the railings at the front of the Bluecoat, two days a week. Dooley celebrated this achievement in the documentary film *One Pair of Eyes*, saying:

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<sup>165</sup> MWAA, Inaugural meeting, 1969, (ADA/Project/Black Horse/22).

<sup>166</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 77-78.

'We got permission to use the railings for free instead. The street is our art gallery. There's a market atmosphere here when people get together to haggle and bargain and this is what we want. It's all happening now, our own newspapers, [he is referring to Chrissie Maher and the independent community newspaper the Tuebrook Bugle] and our own art. *We're coming into our own. We're teaching ourselves.*'<sup>167</sup>

This was 1968, and he had taken unknown local working class artists as far as the railings of one of the local citadels of art, a stage in his vision of the independent promotion of an independent working class art. Celebrating the achievements of Dooley's Railings Union for the promotion of 'left wing art,' Guardian reporter Stanley Reynolds hailed it as a 'small breakthrough.'<sup>168</sup>

In December 1969, a spectacular stunt by Dooley and two associates saw the Merseyside Worker Artists riding on horseback up the steps of the Walker Gallery to picket what they termed the invasion of art from the 'Hampstead mob.' Richard Hamilton and Mary Martin were joint winners of the John Moores painting prize that year, with a screen print of an electric toaster and an abstract cross respectively. At the picket line on the steps, Dooley invited the visiting public to an alternative show by the MWAA, at their new arts centre at The Black Horse. The MWAA show was of work by plumbers and bricklayers:

'our own people, not the toffee nosed twits. (...) We don't see why Liverpool people should be expected to worship, in our own gallery, this abstract stuff from the Hampstead mob.'<sup>169</sup>

In another newspaper interview, just prior to the stunt, he expanded on his themes:

'The Walker is our high altar. Why are we expected to go there to worship this abstract stuff, put on by a lower middle class group who are inventing their own peculiar culture. It's design without humanity, and that's fascism. I think

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<sup>167</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.*, 1972.

<sup>168</sup> Stanley Reynolds, 'Public Hangings,' *The Guardian*, 6 April 1968, p.4, (ADA/Newspapers/88).

<sup>169</sup> Anon., 'Artists Cavalry Canters In,' *The Guardian*, 19 December 1969a, p.18, (ADA/Newspapers/105).



it's downright dangerous that Liverpool kids should be taken to see it, they could be inculcated with the idea that this is art. And it isn't! The John Moores was a good idea to begin with but its gone wrong since the London lot muscled in. We want at least two rooms in the Gallery to be set aside for Merseyside art by Merseyside artists.<sup>170</sup>

This carnivalesque stunt, they were dressed as quasi Mexican bandits, carried out (once again) at the physical site of the barrier between the street, and the 'temple' of art appears as a dramatisation of Jacques Rancière's notion of the political dangerousness of those workers who refused to know their place, 'and who moved on the boundaries between the classes.'<sup>171</sup> But Dooley's presence on that boundary, sat on a horse on the steps of the Walker, might be seen as another kind of policing which renders the John Moores exhibition as unintelligible and unviewable for working class spectators.

Rancière's work contests the 'implicit estimation of what [different social classes] are capable of.'<sup>172</sup> He explains that this is achieved by reconfiguring the established divisions in the perceptible world which determine who has the space and the time to be seen, heard and understood; and who does not. In his histories of workers in 19<sup>th</sup> century France he shows how they challenged those perceptual divisions, by refusing to conform to social expectations to only appear and behave within prescribed boundaries. By pursuing the arts, at night, he argues that the workers presented a more dangerous threat to the existing ideological order, than those workers whose revolutionary cries merely affirmed their disadvantaged social position.<sup>173</sup> For Rancière, the established divisions in the perceptible world, or what he terms the 'distribution of the sensible' are

'the system of *a priori* forms determining what presents itself to sense experience. It is a delimitation of spaces and times, of the visible and the

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<sup>170</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anon. 'Dooley in the Saddle for Artists' Protest', circa 19 December 1969b, (ADA//Newspapers/90).

<sup>171</sup> Jacques Rancière, translated by David Fernbach, *Staging the People: the Proletarian and his Double*, London, New York: Verso, 2011, p.181.

<sup>172</sup> Joseph J. Tanke, *Jacques Rancière: An Introduction- Philosophy, Politics, Aesthetics*, London, New York: Continuum, 2011, p. 2.

<sup>173</sup> Jacques Rancière, translated by David Fernbach, *Ibid.*, 2011, p. 181.

invisible, of speech and noise (..) Politics revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and what can be said about it (...).<sup>174</sup>

By picketing the John Moores exhibition from the steps of the Walker Gallery, demanding access to it but meanwhile re-directing gallery goers to their own MWAA exhibition elsewhere, Dooley and the MWAA were seeking to influence who saw what and where, but in doing so were setting up a new divided order of the perceptible, which said 'don't look at their work, look at ours instead.' In Rancière's terms it is a political dissent against the given 'distribution of the sensible' but it only works divisively. It does not work towards a common, shared perceptual world. There being no forthcoming worker artists exhibition at the Walker, the MWAA held their inaugural exhibition at the Black Horse for one week in June 1969, a surviving programme lists 140 works for sale by dozens of artists, none by Dooley himself.<sup>175</sup>

By April 1970 the MWAA were able to put on a month long exhibition at Oldham Gallery under gallery director James Carter. Dooley enjoyed a long and supportive working relationship with Carter, who, earlier in 1967, had been approached by Studio International to send in a picture of Dooley and some of his works.<sup>176</sup> Carter previewed the April 1970 MWAA exhibition in an Oldham Evening Chronicle article, titled 'Art for all is Arthur's Call':

'Arthur has formed a working group of people interested in art. They are ordinary men and women who meet regularly in his pub, the Black Horse in Woolton. They will be coming with him to the exhibition and will talk about their work. Some of Arthur's work will be on show too. Arthur feels that art galleries have got rather out of touch with the ordinary man, and I share his view. He hopes to demonstrate that art is something with which the working classes can identify themselves.'<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Jacques Rancière, translated by Gabriel Rockhill, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*, London, New York, Continuum, 2006, p.13.

<sup>175</sup> MWAA, Worker Artists Association inaugural exhibition catalogue, (ADA/Project/Black Horse/96.)

<sup>176</sup> Jim Carter, letter to Arthur Dooley, 12 October 1967 (ADA/Oldham/7). I can find no trace of an article on Dooley in Studio International.

<sup>177</sup> James Carter, quote in Anon 'Art for All is Arthur's Call', *Oldham Evening Chronicle*, 23 February 1970, (Oldham Gallery Archive DVD).

In this exhibition, I see the MWAA demonstrating that the working class identification with art is not only as its subjects and spectators, but also as its producers. A report of the opening night told of Dooley's speech with its themes of the lack of humanity in modern art, the problems of a London centred art scene, and his belief that the working class will be the saving of modern art because of its 'tremendous vitality.'<sup>178</sup> From Dooley's perspective, a working class presence in the art scene was an invigorating force.

Dooley became more combative when interviewed at the opening of the June 1970 MWAA exhibition in a school on a local housing estate showing the work of plumbers, bricklayers, taxi drivers and other workers from Merseyside. He reiterated the prejudice against worker artists in the established art scene:

'The powers that be, [Dooley] maintained, held the view that such were only amateurs and should get back to the factory bench where they belonged, because they considered themselves to be the professionals.'<sup>179</sup>

He continued his argument, which I read as an argument for the equal intelligence and creativity of manual workers, an equality denied in the class structured division of manual and intellectual labour, but which might be reclaimed when the workers who laboured on the housing estate's construction, also become its artists:

'We are the professionals ... the people who built this estate and laid the bricks but have no say in the design of these things. This is the division of labour. This is the way it has been carved up. We should have a say in this because we can push the stuff around, and we can build and we can organise, and when the worker starts organising, we can take over.'<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in R.L. Keogh, 'Dooley Dominates A Workers' Art Show', *Oldham Evening Chronicle*, 23 April 1970, (Oldham Gallery Archive DVD).

<sup>179</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anon. *Weekly News*, 'Working Class Artists the Real Professionals', 4 June 1970, (ADA/Newspapers/67g).

<sup>180</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anon. 'Working class artists the Real Professionals', *Weekly News*, 4 June 1970, (ADA/Newspapers/67g).

This article, titled 'Working Class Artists The Real Professionals' reads like Bertholdt Brecht's poem *Questions From a Worker Who Reads History-*

Who built the seven gates of Thebes?  
The books are filled with names of kings.  
Was it the kings who hauled the craggy blocks of stone?<sup>181</sup>

From Dooley's point of view, the given order of the division of labour between manual and intellectual work reflects the prevailing estimations of the essential capacities of the labouring classes and the intellectual classes, and where they are allowed to appear, in the factory and the gallery respectively. I equate Dooley's analysis of these divisions with Rancière's idea of 'the distribution of the sensible,' which has restricted the visibility of art by worker artists, and reduced the interpretation of their artwork to the visual equivalent of noise rather than intelligible speech.<sup>182</sup> What is being promoted here by Dooley, with his insistence on the professionalism of the worker artist, is the professional status of the manual worker. A 'professional proletarian,'<sup>183</sup> a worker who 'benefits society'<sup>184</sup> and also makes art, is in Dooley's eyes the real professional, not the artist who can afford not to work and so devote himself to art as a 'professional artist' and in so doing distinguish himself as one who has a right to the time and spaces that differentiate the intellectual from the labourer. Rancière reminded us that

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<sup>181</sup> Bertholdt Brecht, *Questions From A Worker Who Reads History*, 1936. Retrieved from <http://www.marxists.org/subject/art/literature/brecht/> Accessed 4 April 2014

<sup>182</sup> Jacques Rancière, *Ibid.*, 2006, p. 13

<sup>183</sup> The term 'professional proletarian' is used by Ben Highmore to denote the declaration of the membership of a collective. Originating from Louis Auguste Blanqui's description of himself at his 1832 trial, Benmore uses it to describe the 'professionalism' of the Ashington Group of pitmen painters. See Ben Highmore, 'Out of Place,' in Paul Bowman & Richard Stamp, eds., *Reading Rancière*, London, New York: Continuum, 2011, pp.105-106.

<sup>184</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.*, 1972.

‘the hierarchy separating the liberal arts from the mechanical ones was not predicated on the intrinsic quality of these arts but on the quality of the people who practised them as their activity or their entertainment.’<sup>185</sup>

The April 1970 television broadcast of *This is Your Life* guest starred Dooley, and opened with a shot of him and two artists arriving at the House of Commons, accompanied by Eric Ogden MP (and former miner), to discuss a forthcoming (May 1970) MWAA exhibition. During the programme, we are introduced to three MWAA artists who show their work to the studio audience. Eric Ogden MP describes the exhibition thus:

‘This is to show that Liverpool is not only a great city and a great port but to show that it has artists and sculptors and painters equal if not better than any in the land. This is the Merseyside Worker Artists Association...very successful on Merseyside, and now we have brought it to the home of the workers, the palace of Westminster... to show what workers really can do.’<sup>186</sup>

As the broadcast continued, MWAA artist Alan Jones explained: ‘I am a dustman, I have been painting for about six years and no success whatsoever, ‘til I met Arthur. Since then I can honestly say I sell at least one painting a week.’ In less than a year the MWAA was benefiting from prime time national television publicity and the support of Labour MPs. Dooley frequently said that with a television audience of millions, who needs art galleries?<sup>187</sup> And yet the campaign to access the Walker continued.

In June 1970, Dooley applied for the post of Gallery Director at The Walker Gallery.<sup>188</sup> In a newspaper interview he laid out his manifesto:

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<sup>185</sup> Jacques Rancière, lecture, *Modernity Revisited*, University College London, 6 March 2012, retrieved from <http://backdoorbroadcasting.net/2012/03/jacques-ranciere-modernity-revisited> (at - 53.00)

<sup>186</sup> Eric Ogden MP, in Margery Baker, dir., *Op. Cit.*

<sup>187</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Anon., ‘The Sculptor Turned Faith Healer: Dooley Designs for Peace,’ *Liverpool Echo*, 15 April 1982, (ADA/Newspapers/94).

<sup>188</sup> Anon., ‘Dooley Bids For The Walker,’ *Liverpool Echo*, 1 June 1970, (Oldham Gallery Archive DVD).

'I think the arts should be integrated into the community. I should work with the museum man- with Mr Hume- to set up workshops in the Gallery with proper courses in sculptor (sic) and painting, not for the teachers, because they're past it, but for the kids. I should have a permanent exhibition of Liverpool artists, the working class, the people who paint because they love it. I'm finding these people all over, there's lots of talent in the city. Then, the people who come to the Liverpool gallery should know that they are in Liverpool. All these galleries are the same: you wouldn't know where you are. I'm not knocking the good stuff that's in there, the historical gear, but you ought to know this is Liverpool. And you want more humanity. There's been too much of this pure design stuff.'<sup>189</sup>

A return here to the issue of the lack of visibility of the work of local working class artists is linked again to the privileging of non-figurative work over Social Realism.

In 1971 the MWAA exhibited twice at the Bulls Eye Gallery, Lichfield, and exhibition that also toured to Hereford, Worcester and Birmingham. The flyer for this exhibition described it as a West Midlands Arts Association production. Clearly the MWAA were not operating in an artistic vacuum, and within two years had spread their reach beyond the North West.

The MWAA is not acknowledged on a 1971 flyer, promoting a Glasgow exhibition by Dooley and four other prominent MWAA artists, Frank Hendry, Allen Curran, Peter Shaw and Alan Jones. However, the purpose of the exhibition was not to promote the MWAA but rather to raise money for the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders fighting fund. The UCS workers had taken over the shipyards, in defiance of new anti-union laws, in July 1971. The action was an unpaid work-in, rather than a sit-in, to demonstrate to the Edward Heath government that the shipyard was viable. The work-in lasted 15 months under the direction of Communist trade unionists Jimmy Reid and Jimmy Airlie. It drew widespread support from other trade unions and the public, and was an inspiration for the 1972 workers occupation of the Fisher-Bendix factory in Kirby, which Dooley also supported and which is discussed below.

In 1973, a letter, sent from Dooley at the Black Horse to Liverpool City Council asked for workers of the city to be given the right to their own annual art exhibition in the Walker Gallery, arguing that it would be great for the city, and pointing out that

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<sup>189</sup> Anon. 'Dooley Bids For The Walker,' Liverpool Echo, 1 June 1970 (Oldham Gallery Archive DVD).

trade unionists pay a lot in rates to the Walker Art Gallery and the arts in general. He suggested that the MWAA, SLADE <sup>190</sup>, and Liverpool Trades Council collectively organise the exhibition with the support of Liverpool City Council, and that 'the workers of Liverpool will be the selection committee'.<sup>191</sup> The letter was circulated to Eric Heffer local MP. Another campaign and another angle to release what Dooley perceived as the middle class stranglehold on the Liverpool art scene. By placing the workers of Liverpool as the arbiters of what could and could not be seen as art at the Walker Gallery, Dooley and the MWAA were bidding to position themselves as the ones who effect the divisions in the perceptible world, as I previously described. I will look at this again later, using Jacques Rancière's notion of the 'division of the sensible' as a strategy to consider its effectiveness.

By 1978 the MWAA were exhibiting again at the House of Commons. A surviving programme contains the following text focussing on sympathy and love as values in working class art, which are frequently dismissed as sentimentality.

'An artist's social thinking is different from that of a historian, the economist or sociologist. The artist's comprehension of life was, and remains, his heightened capacity for sympathy, fellow feeling, kindness and love of his fellow men. The student artist stands on two levels. One, he is enmeshed in the confines of the mundane. On the other he reaches out for the divine.

The strength of the working class artist lies in his devotion to the working class and the civilised values of all mankind. He must strike a balance between the narrow interests of the individual and the broad interests of society.

There is a tendency in art to make so much of the objective portrayal of reality, to carry rationalism to such an extreme that the least show of emotions, like kindness and humanity are promptly dubbed sentiment-ality (sic), conformism or something equally offensive. In the final analysis, the value of a work of art depends on the individuality of the artist. It comes to life when the artist shows himself capable of embracing and coming to grips with life. Handling the greatest themes, the artist will leave the spectator unmoved unless he brings to it elements of human interest, portrays credible human beings and life as it recognisably is.'<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Society of Lithographic Artists, Engravers and Process Workers,

<sup>191</sup> Arthur Dooley, Letter to Dear Councillor, 4 April 1973 (ADA/Project/Black Horse/9).

<sup>192</sup> 'MWAA, programme, *MWAA Present An Exhibition of Work in House of Commons*, 24 May to 26 May 1978, (ADA/Projects/Black Horse/1).

The idea of love runs through this 1978 MWAA programme text, which challenges the disavowal of love in contemporary art discourse, and promotes the value of emotion in art to move the spectator. I will look at more closely at the theme of love, in Dooley's work, in the next chapter, using Herbert Read's ideas on 'the geometry of fear,' which I will show equate with themes of resilience and hope. The above MWAA text, which bears the hallmark of Dooley's thinking, challenges the dominant privileging of the rational over the emotional, which dismissed the popular taste for affection in art as offensively sentimental. Dooley hints at another aspect of love and the working class elsewhere. Describing the phenomenon of the atmosphere in the kop at Liverpool football club as 'a tremendous feeling of family and neighbour celebrating on a Saturday afternoon,' he says that

'some sociologist from university could write a thesis about it, on the need for an outlet for the masses. But there's something beyond that, something the effete sociologist won't know about, because it's outside his terms of reference. There's a great feeling of togetherness, which materialises on the kop. It's a fact that there is a great love and unity in this city. It's not just going there to watch a football match, it's really a form of worship. Worship of a great city by the people.'<sup>193</sup>

Dooley's point here, and, I think, in the MWAA text above is that there is a belittling of sentiment in art that reflects a denigration of neighbourly love as part of the social glue in working class communities. This is the point he is making when he despairs of the modernist design of the new high-rise flats in Speke: 'This is for me the very antithesis of Christianity. It's the opposite of love thy neighbour.'<sup>194</sup> The dismissal of emotion in art as mere sentimentality, the failure to recognise it as a feature of intelligible communication, amounts to a further example of what Rancière has written of as the unjust division of the perceptible world. Ben Highmore hints at this problem of the discrimination of proper and improper expressions of emotion when he writes:

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<sup>193</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.*, 1972.

<sup>194</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.*, 1972.



'It is the sensual, material realm that demarcates what is visible and what remains invisible, what gets heard as speech and what remains as noise (who is heard and who is not). On another register (one less explored by Rancière) it parcels out the whole realm of sensuous, passionate life: proper and improper emotional responses, the allocation of disgust and delight to smells and sights and so on.; (...) here, in this place, at this time, you will count as a problem to be solved; but at another time and place you will just be invisible.'<sup>195</sup>

I relate this to some similar themes in Clement Greenberg's essay *Avant-Garde and Kitsch* (1939) in which he states that the recently literate proletariat's taste for kitsch, with its effortless readability and sensationalism, reveals them as less cultured than the aficionados of avant-garde culture with the leisure and comfort to train themselves for its enjoyment.<sup>196</sup> In *Avant-Garde and Kitsch*, Greenberg appears to favour the rational over the emotional as a mark of social distinction, the distinction of those with time as opposed to those without. The ready emotionalism of popular art becomes a problem for Greenberg, his solution is to make it disappear from high culture, by equating it with backwardness, belatedness.<sup>197</sup>

In 1980 two further MWAA exhibitions were planned. Dooley and Frank Hendry accepted MP Eric Ogden's invitation to show again at the House of Commons.<sup>198</sup> This would be for the same purpose as the MWAA's May 1980 exhibition at the European Parliament building in Strasbourg, which was to draw political attention to Merseyside's economic needs. Dooley wanted the second House of Commons exhibition to be a shared event with contributions from the arts department of the Liverpool Polytechnic, the Liverpool Academy and the MWAA. What is to be understood by this sharing gesture from Dooley? The Liverpool Academy had been

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<sup>195</sup> Ben Highmore, 'Out of Place,' in Paul Bowman & Richard Stamp, eds., *Reading Rancière*, London New York: Continuum, p. 97.

<sup>196</sup> Clement Greenberg, 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch', in *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* Boston: Beacon Press, 1961, pp. 3-21

<sup>197</sup> I draw here on Rancière's ideas about Greenberg's 'Avant- Garde and Kitsch' in his lecture *Modernity Revisited*, University College of London, 6 March 2012. Retrieved from <http://backdoorbroadcasting.net/2012/03/jacques-ranciere-modernity-revisited> (at -52 to -49). Accessed 4April 2014.

<sup>198</sup> Anon, 'People and Places,' *Liverpool Echo*, 27 March 1980 (ADA/Newspapers /113)

described 13 years earlier by John Willett as ‘one of the most flourishing provincial societies of *professional artists*’ although he feared it was threatened by the ‘rising tide of amateurism.’<sup>199</sup> At some point in 1980-81 it collapsed, allegedly as a consequence of ‘maladministration’ only to be resurrected eight years later by Dooley himself.<sup>200</sup> At the reopening, Dooley explained that he had never been elected into the Liverpool Academy in its earlier manifestation, ‘Because my face didn’t fit.’<sup>201</sup> This sharing gesture towards the type of institutions he had previously spurned might be seen as a sign of the increased confidence of the MWAA to share a platform with the ‘kept men’ and the sons and daughters of the middle classes.

Another aspect of the MWAA’s work was their involvement with the local Dingle Vale Secondary Modern School to provide art training for pupils at The Black Horse arts centre. Their pamphlet titled *The Black Horse Centre for Developing Art and Education*<sup>202</sup> described Dingle Vale Secondary Modern as a participating school, with 4 boys doing 4 weeks full time. A section of the pamphlet titled *Observations on the course* notes that:

‘They were involved and effort was directed to the creation of ideas that were personal and social, recognizable and with identity to themselves and the environment. They produced 40 paintings and sculptures. Future prospects. We will continue along these lines. We will extend tuition to adults. There will be discussions on subjects that bear upon social attitudes.’<sup>203</sup>

This work followed on from the earlier success that Dooley had working at Whitworth County Secondary Modern School in 1966<sup>204</sup> and whose work was subsequently exhibited with that of Dooley and L.S. Lowry at the opening of the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Liverpool in May 1967. Whitworth School headmaster Jack

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<sup>199</sup> John Willett, *Ibid.*, p.78

<sup>200</sup> Bryan Biggs & Julie Sheldon, eds., *Art in a City Revisited*, Liverpool University Press, 2009, p.32

<sup>201</sup> Philip Key, ‘Sculptor opens new gallery with old name.’ (ADA/Newspapers/5)

<sup>202</sup> MWAA, *The Black Horse Centre for Developing Art and Education* (ADA/Project/Black Horse/43)

<sup>203</sup> MWAA, *The Black Horse Centre for Developing Art and Education* (ADA/ Project/Black Horse/43)

<sup>204</sup> Eric Ogden MP in Margery Baker, dir., *Op. Cit.*

Featherstone attested to Dooley early success as an art teacher in his tribute to *This is Your Life*, when he had inspired pupils to attend during school holidays, even until 11pm.<sup>205</sup>

### **Arthur Dooley and The Unity Of Arts Society**

The report on the Unity of Arts Society conference, held in Salford, November 1969, stated its aim: 'To bring Labour, Trade unions, Students and Co-Operative movements into dialogue with all artists to help each other in the spirit of Resolution 42.'<sup>206</sup> Dooley spoke at the conference:

'Arthur Dooley, sculptor, in a provocative speech, said we should be satisfied with nothing less than the working class control of the arts, the communications, media and education. He decried the notion that middle class well-wishers could bring culture to the masses. Indeed the arts, all construction, machinery, ships, houses, were produced by working men.'

The report continued: 'Brian Simon, Professor of Education at Leicester University agreed with Dooley *but warned against cutting off from other strata of society*.'<sup>207</sup> Here Dooley continued to make his bid for workers control of the art scene. Again this went beyond a bid for equal access to the arts. It challenged the given order, but reinforced division and exclusion: similar order, different people excluded. But this was 1969 and Dooley still had a predominantly challenging rather than reconciliatory outlook.

The Unity of Arts produced a pamphlet (circa 1969) outlining its intentions, with supporting messages from trade union leaders, the Communist Party of Great Britain, Labour MPs.<sup>208</sup> The pamphlet lists the sponsorship of many others, including radical figures from the performing arts- Arnold Wesker, Ewan McColl, Peggy Seeger, and poet Adrian Mitchell. The pamphlet's cover illustration shows a man in worker's

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<sup>205</sup> Jack Featherstone, in Margery Baker, dir., *Op. Cit.*,

<sup>206</sup> Anon., Unity of Arts Conference, report, Salford, 12 December 1969c, (ADA/Project/Politics/68).

<sup>207</sup> Anon., Unity of Arts Conference report, Salford, 12 December 1969c (ADA/Project/Politics/68) (emphasis added)

<sup>208</sup> Anon., Unity of Arts pamphlet, circa 1969d, (ADA/Project/Politics/60)

overalls and boots sat among paint tins and a pail, holding up the figure of a horse, executed in the style of Dooley's animal figures and which the seated worker appears to have modelled with a knife held in the other hand. [fig.15] The image reads like a snapshot of Dooley's time as janitor at St. Martin's (see Chapter 1) stealing time from the working day in order to make art. The pamphlet's first inside page announces:

'It is the intention of this Association, namely Unity of Arts, to gather together in membership, those progressively minded people, irrespective of Race, Colour or Creed (sic), who want to practise or take part in whatever way they wish in the Arts, namely, painting, sculpture, drama, music, poetry, etc. We aim not only to practise and improve our art but to help others, learn from each other and take art to the people by way of exhibitions, performing plays, reading poetry, choir and folk singing through Trade Union Branches, political meetings, peace organisations, and other meetings of such character. We hope to recruit from these meetings members who wish to participate in some form of the arts but have not been able to do so hitherto.'<sup>209</sup>

This was a call for left wing artists to come together to bring art to similarly 'progressively minded' audiences and to encourage participation. It reads like a similar mission to that of MWAA, encouraging the previously excluded, but whereas the MWAA was concerned with protecting and encouraging a working class culture, Unity of Arts, as seen below, wanted to co-opt that culture to argue the socialist case, to make the art practice of 'progressively minded people' a weapon in the struggle towards socialism. Unity of Arts, as its name implies, is more concerned with uniting the disparate groups who are working towards socialism, whereas MWAA appears to want to reinforce one of those specific groups, unionised working class artists. It is difficult to know how Dooley would have considered Unity of Arts invitation to students, given his known criticism of art students for their class background and what he saw as their passive assimilation into the 'hollowness' of the modernist art scene. In the same pamphlet, Unity of Arts Society president Ben Ainsley puts it more directly:

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<sup>209</sup> Anon., Unity of Arts pamphlet, circa 1969d, (ADA/Project/Politics/60)

'We aim to encourage Art in all its forms, and to bring it to the Trade Union and Labour movement. Art is never neutral, it is always inspired by the feelings and aspirations of those who practise it, and in these stirring times Art can be a weapon and a banner in the hands of those fighting for human rights, for liberty, for the dignity of man, for Socialism. [...] To bring the Labour, Trade union and Co-operative movement to the point where they can use the rich wealth of art and craft, drama and song in their own ranks, for their own inspiration in struggle and their own enjoyment, this is the aim of the Unity of Arts Society.'<sup>210</sup>

Unity of Arts' message of access to the arts for workers to use in political struggle as well as for recreational enjoyment, seems borne out in Dooley's artistic intervention at the 1972 Fisher-Bendix strike and occupation in Kirkby.

### **Arthur Dooley and the Fisher-Bendix Occupation (1972)**

The workers occupation of the Fisher-Bendix factory in early 1972 can be read as a workers' independent political intervention. The dispute arose when the Thorn Group, who had taken over Fisher-Bendix in 1971, with an already reduced work force, set out to close the factory and move production to Madrid. This was in the setting of above national average unemployment on Merseyside and a recent round of over 3,000 redundancies at local firms.<sup>211</sup> In spite of a lack of support from trade union leaders, rank and file shop floor workers, faced with imminent plans for closure, took guidance from workers who had been involved in the successful Upper Clyde Shipbuilders occupation of 1971 (which, as I showed earlier, Dooley had supported), and somewhat spontaneously marched into the boardroom and declared the factory occupied. During the five weeks occupation, there was a supportive response from local artists. The Everyman Theatre gave a special performance in the works canteen, Adrian Henri and Arthur Dooley put on an exhibition there.

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<sup>210</sup> Ben Ainsley, in Anon., Unity of Arts pamphlet, circa 1969, (ADA/Project/Politics/60)

<sup>211</sup> Malcolm Marks, 'The Battle at Fisher-Bendix,' in *International Socialism*, Dec 1974 retrieved from <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/isj/1974/no073/marks.htm> accessed 4 April 2014

Dooley also created the Fisher-Bendix medallions, to be sold at £2 each. They were both a commemoration of the occupation, and a fundraiser for the strikers. One such medallion was welded onto the locked factory gates.<sup>212</sup> The Fisher-Bendix medallion is clearly fish shaped and works as both a Christian symbol, and a visual pun on the name of the firm. The inscription on the medallion reads 'Workers Control of Fisher-Bendix / Kikby / Jan 1972.' The impact of the occupation was felt throughout Merseyside and the rest of Britain. The occupation was co-ordinated with Liverpool dockworkers who refused to handle Thorn products, and it was linked in with an unofficial national dock strike and miners strike.<sup>213</sup> Following the example of the Fisher-Bendix occupation, a further 30 occupations took place in UK factories in 1972.<sup>214</sup>

To commemorate the occupation Oldham Art Gallery commissioned Dooley to make the 20 foot tall *Fisher-Bendix Tree* (1972) with the intention that it would be put on permanent display in the local shopping precinct after exhibition at the gallery. The tree, constructed of angle iron painted red, was adorned with radiators (one of the products at the factory), a workers occupation medallion, and a spanner 'which was thrown in the works'.<sup>215</sup> Ten years later, the same newspaper reported that Oldham Gallery had been unable to secure permission to move it to the local shopping precinct, and it lay rusting in the gallery's back yard, as forgotten as the Fisher-Bendix dispute. While on show in the gallery in 1972, the tree attracted public criticisms and gallery director James Carter had commented that 'I do not regard this as a great sculpture – and neither, I am sure, does Arthur Dooley. It is designed as a laugh.'<sup>216</sup>

Designing the sculpture 'as a laugh' rather than a 'great sculpture,' might be read less negatively than it appears. An irreverent streak can be discerned in Dooley's

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<sup>212</sup> Author's telephone conversation with wife of Fisher-Bendix striker, 1 May 2013

<sup>213</sup> Dave Sherry, *Occupy!: A Short History of Workers' Occupations*, London: bookmarks publications, 2010, pp.120-121

<sup>214</sup> Dave Sherry, *Ibid.*, p. 122

<sup>215</sup> John D. Huxley, 'Shops precinct to get radiator tree: town adds to Dooley works' *Oldham Chronicle* (?), 13 March 1972., (Oldham Gallery Archive DVD).

<sup>216</sup> James Carter, quoted in 'Ten years later the Dooley Tree still rusts on dustbins', *Oldham Evening Chronicle*, 23 June 1982, (Oldham Gallery Archive DVD).

Beatles monument (*Four Lads Who Shook the World*, 1974) [fig. 10] near the Cavern Club, Matthew Street, Liverpool. The figures representing the Beatles as infants cradled in the arms of their mother city, are plastic dolls from the local Woolworth store. The angle iron geometric tree, which forms the core of the *Fisher-Bendix Tree*, is reminiscent of the abstract sculpture Dooley opposed. But more importantly, James Carter may be missing the purpose of the sculpture, which was created as a collective exercise by Dooley and the strikers, inside the occupied factory with what was available on the shop floor. The more politically important issue might be in the process, the way it was made, rather than the finished product.

### **Artists' International Association**

A review, by theatre and television critic T.C. Worsley, in the *Financial Times*, of *One Pair of Eyes* makes the telling observation that Dooley 'is in love with the working class in the same starry eyed way we bourgeois used to be in the Thirties.'<sup>217</sup> Worsley, harking back to his time in the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil war was typical of the middle class base of much of the 1930's anti-fascist front. The Artists' International Association notably formed a part of that front, which grew out of an earlier focus on promoting working class artists, a philanthropic gesture that was only partly realised. But when Dooley set up the Merseyside Worker Artists Association in the 1960s he created an altogether different organisation, one that was run by working class artists for working class artists and as such presented a militant challenge to the cultural predominance of the local middle class. And, as noted above, at the Unity of Arts conference: 'He decried the notion that middle class well-wishers could bring culture to the masses.'<sup>218</sup>

Tony Rickaby's analysis of the AIA, describes its several stages of development, its intentions, and ultimate failures.<sup>219</sup> Originating from initial concerns to secure patronage for underemployed artists during the economic depression of the 1930s,

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<sup>217</sup> T.C. Worsley, 'People Participation,' *Financial Times*, 23 August 1972, (ADA/Project/Dooley/64).

<sup>218</sup> Anon., Unity of Arts Conference report, Salford, 12 December 1969, (ADA/Project/Politics/68).

<sup>219</sup> Tony Rickaby, 'The Artists International', *Block*, iss. 1, February 1979, pp. 5-14.

and inspired by the revolutionary patronage for the arts they had seen in Moscow, Clifford Rowe and Misha Black set up the Artists' International (later renamed the Artists' International Association). Along with other commercial artists, they sought to find commissions of work to produce propagandistic art to oppose war, especially war on the Soviet Union. They also opposed colonial and imperialist wars, as well as opposing fascism. Rickaby saw them as an essentially middle class organisation, which sought '*direct contact with the masses*' but never really achieved it.<sup>220</sup> Early plans to call itself the International Association of Artists for Revolutionary Proletarian Art suggest an early orientation towards the issue of working class art, but, according to Rickaby, actual working class membership and contacts were always disappointingly low. Although they declared themselves to be '*on the side of the working class against the capitalist class*,'<sup>221</sup> they were never really *of* the working class, and this is echoed by Robert Radford in his study of the AIA.<sup>222</sup> A contemporary article in *Left Review* tells of a similar failing:

'These artists have come fairly recently to realise that politics are of dominating importance to them in their work, fairly recently have decided to put their service at the service of the of the working class movement'

but

'their work shows more real acquaintance with the working class political movement than with the working class itself.'<sup>223</sup>

The article says that the AIA artists are trying to get into line with workers but it is very much an outsiders' view that they have:

'There is a clear need for these artists to get closer to the working class, move inside the class struggle, if they are to do the work they can do.'<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Tony Rickaby, *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>221</sup> Foreword to *The Social Scene* exhibition catalogue quoted in Tony Rickaby, *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>222</sup> Robert Radford, *Art for a Purpose: The Artists International Association 1933-1953*, Winchester: Winchester School of Art Press, 1987.

<sup>223</sup> T.H. Wintringham, 'Artists International,' *Left Review*, no. 2, October 1934, pp. 40-41.



The first AI exhibition, *The Social Scene*, depicted the harsh realities of 1930s working class life, poverty and poor working conditions. However, by 1935 the AI had turned its attention away from a narrow focus on working class life, to wider concerns of peace and anti-fascism. Similarly, changing its name from Artists' International, to Artists' International Association in 1935, gave it less of a Communist connotation. Its new strategy was to widen its appeal as part of the Popular Front against rising fascism, welcoming anti-fascists of all types.

With the outbreak of war, the government became a major patron for artists in both morale-raising propaganda work, and in creating types of camouflage. The AIA now found themselves working for the government rather than against it, and from then on never really regained their radical stance.

After the war the AIA's *Everyman Prints* scheme, sold cheap prints made by AIA artists at affordable prices to working class buyers. But, as Rickaby noted, this attempt at democratising art consumption was a far cry from their original purpose of fighting for the proletariat. Rickaby blames the rigid class structure of the time in Britain for the failure to connect with the working class, coupled with trade union antipathy to any organisation with Communist connections.<sup>225</sup>

As I discussed earlier, there was an altogether different set of conditions for the MWAA in the 1960s and 1970s: a strong Communist influence in trade unions and a growing wider cultural interest in working class life.

### **Pitmen Painters: The Ashington Group**

William Feaver has documented how the Ashington Group came about under the guidance of artist and tutor Robert Lyon. Lyon taught the Workers Educational Association art appreciation class at Ashington mining settlement from 1934 to 1942, and continued to support them afterwards.<sup>226</sup> The class consisted of a regular group of WEA attendees who had been meeting for some years and who knew each other

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<sup>224</sup> T.H. Wintringham, *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>225</sup> Tony Rickaby, *Op. Cit.*, p. 8, note 39.

<sup>226</sup> William Feaver, *Pitmen Painters: The Ashington Group 1934-1984*, Northumberland: Ashington Group Trustees, 2011.

outside the class, which may well account for the group's subsequent cohesion and endurance.

Following an unenthusiastic response from the class of local colliery workmen to his film slides of classical art, Lyon switched from the contemplation of art to teaching art appreciation through art practice. The pitmen began making linocuts of mining scenes, and then paintings as exercises to appreciate the technical problems tackled by professional artists. Lyon saw the whole exercise as his experiment in art appreciation, learning by doing. For Lyon, this was essentially fieldwork for his forthcoming MA thesis.<sup>227</sup> He was quite clear that his intention was not to teach the pitmen to become artists themselves:

'The programme was not in any sense of the word an adaptation of the normal course followed in a school of Art, or that of the training of an artist, but one which, it was hoped, would provide the class with a creative experience, and so help them to appreciate better the creative experience in others.'<sup>228</sup>

The pictures were surprisingly good observations of daily working life, drawn as they were from lived experience. The pitmen's enthusiasm for newly found creativity is expressed here in a group member's radio interview:

'When I paint as we do in our Group, I have a feeling of freedom: here I have an outlet for other things than earning my living; there is a feeling of being my own boss for a change and it comes with a sense of freedom.'<sup>229</sup>

It is a sentiment that Dooley often acknowledged for himself.<sup>230</sup>

Feaver points out Lyon's unease at the prospect of a working class challenge to his professional artist status from these 'unprofessionals', 'artists from nowhere-

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<sup>227</sup> Robert Lyon, 'The Appreciation of Art Through the Visual and Practical Approach', (Newcastle, 1942). See William Feaver, *Ibid.*, p.173, note 3.

<sup>228</sup> Robert Lyon, 'An Experiment in Art Appreciation,' *The Listener*, 29 May 1935, reproduced in William Feaver, *Op. Cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>229</sup> Harry Wilson, quoted in William Feaver, *Op. Cit.*, p 28.

<sup>230</sup> Anon., 'The Sculptor Turned Faith Healer: Dooley Designs for Peace,' *Liverpool Echo*, 15 April 1982, (ADA/Newspapers/94)

getting ideas above and beyond their class status,<sup>231</sup> and so Lyon set the rule that 'exercises in technique were not to be considered as picture making in the permanent or exhibition sense of the words.'<sup>232</sup> Lyon's concerns (according to Feaver) regarding amateurism and professionalism, in 1934, mirror those of Dooley in 1970, which I reported previously:

'The powers that be, [Dooley] maintained, held the view that such were only amateurs and should get back to the factory where they belonged, because they considered themselves the professionals.'<sup>233</sup>

The Ashington Group's first exhibition was held at Durham University where Lyon was a lecturer. He selected the paintings himself, favouring the more naïve: 'no threat to his hard won professionalism.'<sup>234</sup>

However, outside attitudes to their work appear to have been of little concern to the Ashington painters. Writing for *The Listener*, Janet Adam Smith, interviewed members of the group in 1937 for their views on what they were doing. She reported on the group's attitude of independence. What was important for some was the sociability of the group, for others an escape from squalor, but all

'insist their work is a special affair, done to please themselves [...] They are shy of outsiders seeing it and criticising it as they would criticise the work of full-time artists. They don't want to become full-time painters. They don't want to send in work to the Royal Academy or the London Group. They don't want to be looked on as curiosities, publicised by dealers as 'Miner Painters' and made a collectors fashion. Their only motive in selling pictures (at a pound or thirty shillings) is to get money for painting materials and their only reason for exhibiting them now is to stimulate other tutorial classes to try the same experiment.'<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> William Feaver, *Op. Cit.*, p. 22

<sup>232</sup> Robert Lyon, 1971, quoted in William Feaver, *Op. Cit.*, p. 22

<sup>233</sup> Anon., 'Working Class Artists the Real Professionals', *Weekly News*, 4 June 1970, (ADA/Newspapers/67g)

<sup>234</sup> William Feaver, *Op. Cit.*, p. 46

<sup>235</sup> Janet Adam Smith, in William Feaver, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 69-70

As Feaver wrote, 'By 1938 the Ashington Group was becoming aware that it was unlike any other, that organisations like the AIA or the British Institute of Adult Education had greater need for them, as a phenomenon, than they had of any outsiders.'<sup>236</sup> The idea that the group painted just for themselves is repeated in this reaction by group member Leslie Brownrigg, to their recent London exhibition which was broadcast on BBC radio in 1939:

'It must be very difficult for people seeing the show to understand what we are getting at, and what we get out of it anyway. The atmosphere of an exhibition is all so different from the hut in which we meet, and the talk and discussion which goes on there. I don't rightly know, but it seems to me that to look at a painting by Jimmy Floyd without watching Jimmy at work on it, or knowing something about Jimmy himself, as we all do in the class, must mean that the painting loses a lot of its point.'<sup>237</sup>

The *point*, being that the value of their art was that it is by them for them, and remained local. It took them beyond a life of manual work only, and into creativity. But it was not intended as a vehicle for any aspirations beyond that. Although the Ashington Group do not set out to make a political challenge to the given social order, which other groups discussed here appear to do, they might still be seen as unknowingly dissenting against that order by virtue of their succeeding in forging that other life beyond manual labour alone. I discuss this further below, via Ben Highmore's Rancièrien analysis of an episode in the life of the Ashington Group. Brownrigg's comments compare well to Dooley's clear statement at the beginning of *One Pair of Eyes*:

'My name is Arthur Dooley, and I earn my living as a sculptor. I do all my work here in Liverpool where I was born. I believe that living in a place where you earn your bread means something. Everything that happens to it is a part of you, and everything that you do becomes a part of it.'<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> William Feaver, *Op. Cit.*, p.71

<sup>237</sup> Leslie Brownrigg, quoted in William Feaver, *Op. Cit.*, pp.106-107

<sup>238</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.*, 1972.

For Dooley and for the Ashington Group, their artwork is about their sense of home, and community, their identities affirmed within their social network. Their difference is in the way the MWAA demanded to be seen within the established art institutions, on their own terms, whereas the Ashington Group were seen there on the terms of the art scene.

When Percy Horton of the AIA turned his attention to worker artist's groups, he warned that:

'The upholders of the present social system have not been slow to recognise the value of encouraging workers to occupy their leisure in such an innocuous activity as painting. [...] If the type of art produced makes no demands upon the intelligence, so much the better. Absorbed in what Cézanne called 'sa petite sensation' and oblivious to the social questions agitating his fellow men.'<sup>239</sup>

The Ashington Group of pitmen painters might be seen as representative of the political shortcomings of workers' art of which Horton warned. AIA Surrealist artist Julian Trevelyan was drawn to the pitmen painters on account of their directness of style, in the setting of avant-garde fascination with the naïve and primitive.<sup>240</sup> Trevelyan teamed up with Tom Harrison of Mass Observation to observe the group in 1938, which led to a touring exhibition called *Unprofessional Painting*, and a series of discussions on the theme of 'Anyone can Paint'.

Ben Highmore's Rancièrian analysis of this episode, an encounter between the pitmen (documenting their working lives through painting) and an avant-garde curiosity about them, shows up the problems of the position of worker artists.<sup>241</sup> Highmore argues that on the one hand, one reading of the encounter might say that the miners' work belongs to what Rancière calls 'the aesthetic regime of art' where

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<sup>239</sup> Percy Horton, quoted in Robert Radford, *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>240</sup> Robert Radford, *Op. Cit.*, p.79

<sup>241</sup> Ben Highmore, 'Out of Place: Unprofessional Painting, Jacques Rancière and the Distribution of the Sensible,' in Paul Bowman & Richard Stamp, eds., *Reading Rancière*, London, New York: Continuum, 2011, pp. 95-110.

there is a democratic, non-hierarchical equality of subject matters and media, suggesting a more democratic and shared social world.<sup>242</sup> Another reading of the encounter might argue that from the avant-garde's perspective the pitmen painters remain marginal on account of their *naïve* untutored style and use of inartistic materials, rather than the knowing displays of painterly awkwardness and celebration of the insignificant favoured by the metropolitan avant-garde. It might appear that the pitmen painters remained just that, not painters in a common sensorium with the avant-garde, but *pitmen* painters, their working class identity affirmed, rather than displaced. This certainly appears to be the case with their submissions to the exhibition at the First British Artists Congress organised in 1937 by the AIA, where submissions by Léger, Nicholson, Moholy-Nagy, Dali, Picasso and Magritte were given prominence but the Ashington Group's work was displayed in the 'Working Men's Groups' section on the third floor.<sup>243</sup>

Highmore's discussion of this encounter, prompts us to ask if the MWAA, by setting itself up as separate from the metropolitan avant-garde, jeopardised its chances of disrupting their allotted place in the given order, and similarly merely *reaffirmed* their identity as worker artists.

### **Jacques Rancière, the 'distribution of the sensible', and the MWAA's separate visibility.**

It has been said that Rancière's work is addressed to those disadvantaged by the given social arrangement, and is an incitement to them to disrupt that social order by independent action, to seize their equality, rather than wait for it to be bestowed upon them.<sup>244</sup> This approach by Rancière lends itself well to understanding Dooley's work at the Black Horse and with the MWAA, which I have previously described as an attempt to create some space in the art scene where they can be seen as (at least)

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<sup>242</sup> Ben Highmore, *Ibid.*, p.103, and See Jacques Rancière, translated by Gabriel Rockhill, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*, London, New York: Continuum, 2006, p. 81.

<sup>243</sup> William Feaver, *Op. Cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>244</sup> Oliver Davies (reviewing Todd May's work on Rancière), in Oliver Davies, *Jacques Rancière*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010, p. 93.

as equally intelligible as the established avant-garde. Dooley and the MWAA demonstrated their intellectual equality, and demanded the, thus far denied, institutional openings to make it visible. Jacques Rancière's *Proletarian Nights: The Workers' Dream in Nineteenth-Century France* showed how French nineteenth century workers not only demanded intellectual equality but realized it themselves, and

'wrenched themselves out of an identity formed by domination, and asserted themselves as inhabitants with full rights of a common world, capable of all the refinement or all the asceticism that had previously been reserved for those classes relieved of the daily cares of work and bread.'<sup>245</sup>

For Rancière, workers' struggle for social justice is not driven by strikes, occupations and picket lines alone, but also by workers' cultural production, by making art which, as Dooley also argued, refutes the artificial division between manual and intellectual labour. When Dooley argued that 'we are the real professionals,' he was pointing out that Merseyside workers were not merely manual labourers, but also have other, intellectual lives, as artists.

In Part 1 of *Proletarian Nights*, Rancière gives a history of a nineteenth century worker, Gabriel Gauny, a floor layer, who wrote poetry and liked to philosophise. Weary of his allotted place in the given social order, he actualised his dream of his share in another way of living, beyond mere manual labour. By 'stealing time' (pursuing his intellectual life by night, in place of sleeping to refresh for the next day's labour) he seized a creative and intellectual life that was previously deemed to be the preserve of the bourgeois. Gauny cuts a similar figure to that of Dooley as the janitor at St. Martin's (see Chapter 1). Dooley's role at St. Martin's was allotted as proletarian, with no part in the bourgeois art world there:

'It wasn't for me to decide what I did (...) that was only for a special breed. I just went to the labour exchange and hoped there would be a job.'<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Jacques Rancière, *Ibid.*, 2012, p. ix.

<sup>246</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anthony Everitt, 'Scouse Sculptor,' *Birmingham Post*, 18 March, 1971, (ADA/Newspapers/13).

But by stealing time during his night shift to weld sculptures from the sweepings up in the sculpture room he displaced his identity as a worker only. In Rancièrian terms he transgressed the political order by demonstrating that the division of labour between those who think and those who work manually, or as Dooley might have it – those who design and those who push the stuff around- is arbitrary and therefore changeable. It may even be a myth, the Platonic myth of the essentialist characteristics of thinkers and workers, which Rancière challenges in *Proletarian Nights*.<sup>247</sup>

Disruptively migrating across barriers, as we have seen Dooley incite other working class artists to do, becomes for Rancière a way to challenge the ‘distribution of the sensible,’ which is the current established and enforced ordering of who is deemed perceptible and intelligible, and who is not. For Dooley and the MWAA, the ‘division of the sensible’ was enforced through their lack of access to the Bluecoat and the Walker galleries, and in their anxieties that their work was dubbed sentimental, and that their status as artists was ‘unprofessional.’

But Dooley’s challenges to the given order of the art scene were not straightforwardly ‘Rancièrien.’ In Chapter 1 we saw his *Stations of the Cross* (1969) as a didactic exercise demonstrating workers sacrifice and revolutionary potential. From another Rancièrien perspective, this explicatory art might be seen as less revolutionary than Dooley intended.<sup>248</sup> It can be said to subordinate the spectators’ intelligence to Dooley’s masterly insight. Rancière’s thinking might therefore suggest that Dooley’s didactic work merely replicates the subordination of the working class intellectual capacity. Dooley’s didactic work appears to be doing the thinking for the working class audience instead of allowing the audience to think for themselves.

The MWAA, by setting itself up as a ‘closed shop’ organisation and thus denying middle class access is an attempt to disrupt the ‘distribution of the sensible,’ but it

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<sup>247</sup> Jacques Rancière, *Op. Cit.*, 2012, p. x

<sup>248</sup> Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, London: Verso. 2009, Chapters 2 & 3. Following on from his earlier work *The Ignorant School Master: Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation*, California: Stanford University Press, 1991, Rancière shows how non-explicatory art might be more emancipating than the stultifying effects of didactic art.



thereby reinforces a new division. It does not seem to point to a shared aesthetic world. A series of exclusionary demands by the MWAA would seem to work in the same way. Liverpool galleries for Liverpool artists and workers vetting submissions might open the art scene to the previously excluded but at the cost of continuing division. One 'police order' is to be replaced with another, more favourable to the worker artist but which still assigns titles and roles, competencies and perceptibilities by way of acts of inclusion and exclusion.<sup>249</sup> In Dooley's envisaged scenario, there might be more space, more visibility for worker artists who previously had none, but the barriers between the contesting parties are reinforced. There is no reconciliation in this scheme.

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<sup>249</sup> Jacques Rancière, translated by Gabriel Rockhill, *Ibid.*, 2006, p. 89

## Chapter 3

### Arthur Dooley and Post-war Realism

In Chapter 1 I looked at Dooley's connections with the new left Catholic Church of the 1960s, an early form of western liberation theology. Chapter 2 looked at his work alongside other 20<sup>th</sup> century worker artist groups. In this chapter I look at where to situate Dooley into other art historical contexts. My starting point is the two regional studies of Liverpool art by Willett and Davies first considered in the introduction.

Willett attempted to connect Dooley with the British modernism of Henry Moore, and Davies attempted to connect him with the European modernism of Alberto Giacometti and Germaine Richier, but neither did so convincingly. Dooley had a strong connection with Reg Butler, and so I consider a wider connection with Herbert Read's 'geometry of fear' sculptors because Dooley's work appears to share the simultaneous characteristics of both destruction *and* hope that more recent writers have seen in the 'geometry of fear' group. I go on to look at connections between Dooley's work and some of the texts by Marxist writer Francis Klingender, Catholic Marxist Eric Gill and independent Marxist John Berger. Each of these writers share similar values with those seen in Dooley's work. Berger in particular appeared to be searching for a British form of Socialist Realism whose critical criteria can be seen in Dooley's work. These are new connections that I will be making.

Willett writes that Dooley's figures 'in their clumsier way belong to the same tradition as those of Henry Moore,' without justifying the comparison.<sup>250</sup> Willett's comparison of Dooley to Moore is interesting for its attempt to place Dooley within British modernism, although, as I will demonstrate, Dooley's style has more in common with the sculptors who came between Henry Moore and Anthony Caro. It is difficult to justify Willett's claim that Dooley's work is in the tradition of Henry Moore. Willett himself noted Dooley's dislike for Moore's work.<sup>251</sup> Dooley debunked Moore's

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<sup>250</sup> John Willett, *Art in a City*, Liverpool University Press, 2007, p.173 (originally London: Methuen, 1967)

<sup>251</sup> John Willett, *Ibid.*, p.173.

modernist works,<sup>252</sup> and a 1970 letter to Dooley invited him to contribute to an exhibition in Leeds to be called *The Best Artists in The World*, as a counter to ‘the Heron, Caulfield, Frink, Moore, Jones, Riley, Hockney set!’<sup>253</sup> Clearly this curator considered Dooley’s work to be in some ways very different to that of Moore and other contemporary British modernists.

Earlier I reported on Willett’s more productive observation that while Dooley was in the Middle East in the army, he responded to the appalling living conditions of the Arabs by turning to the charity he found in Roman Catholicism.<sup>254</sup> Willett reports that Dooley had tried writing about these issues, but found he expressed his ideas about these things better by making sculptures. Willett showing Dooley as an artist whose work is concerned with social justice, might suggest that he should be situated within the post-war Social Realist movement. Describing Dooley’s bronze figures as ‘at once religious and revolutionary,’ but without expanding on this theme, Willett acknowledges, but does not develop, what we have seen as the driving ideas behind Dooley’s work: politics and religion, Communism and Catholicism.<sup>255</sup>

Davies had earlier acknowledged Dooley’s presence in the Northern art scene in his 1989 study of Northern realist artists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>256</sup> He situates Dooley firmly on the sidelines, not really a part of the Northern school. He went against Willett’s likening of Dooley to Moore: ‘the Leyland figures, wrapped in taught linear clothing remind one more of Giacometti or Richier than of the voluminous Moore.’<sup>257</sup> Davies, like Willett, was also looking for some modernist connection for Dooley. But I think that Davies has short-circuited something here. Giacometti’s characteristically diminutive elongated figures set on monumental platforms, date from 1947, and appear to more directly influence Reg Butler’s work, for example Butler’s maquette for the *Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner* (1951). If Giacometti is an

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<sup>252</sup> Nuala Parsons, ‘A Young Dooley Fighting to Get Out’, *Catholic Pictorial*, 27 April 1986, p.22 (ADA/Project/Dooley/86).

<sup>253</sup> Eric Gillespie, letter to Arthur Dooley, 29 July 1970 (ADA/Letters/G19)

<sup>254</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.176.

<sup>255</sup> John Willett, *Op. Cit.*, p.173.

<sup>256</sup> Peter Davies, *A Northern school: Lancashire Artists of the Twentieth Century*, Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 1989.

<sup>257</sup> Peter Davies, *Ibid*, 1989, p. 21.

influence on Dooley, then I think it is more likely that it was by way of Reg Butler, whose influence I will consider below.

The artists whom Davies examines alongside Dooley, in *Liverpool Seen*, do not amount to a school. As George Melly explains in Davies' preface: 'the Liverpudlians are too anarchic (their strength and weakness) to cohere.'<sup>258</sup> Dooley then, in Davies' analysis, is portrayed as a self taught, independent artist. He does not exactly say that Dooley is an outsider, but neither does he consider him to be aligned with anyone else, and he acknowledges that Dooley's independence from other influences has enabled him 'to fall back on his own creative instincts.'<sup>259</sup> An aspect of Dooley's unconventional sculptural style is stated in his own comments on his move from cast and welded bronze in the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64) to the use of resin on draped cheesecloth and fibreglass for the *Resurrection of Christ* (1969), saying that he was not aware of any other figurative artist using those materials.<sup>260</sup> Reverend Donald May, who commissioned the *Resurrection of Christ* (1969) commented during its making that Dooley did not fully know how he was going to work out its construction, being an artist who 'lets a piece develop as he's doing it.'<sup>261</sup>

The Walker Gallery currently displays only one small statue by Dooley, in an obscure corner of the children's section. There is scant mention of Dooley in the catalogue to the 2007 Tate Liverpool exhibition *Centre of the creative universe: Liverpool & the avant-garde*, a study of the how the city of Liverpool has inspired a wide range of visual artists. It describes Liverpool as 'the world's outsider.'<sup>262</sup> Thus far, Dooley appears as the outsider artist in the outsider city, on the margin of the margins, with some clues, in his concerns for social justice, as to a possible Social or Socialist Realist leaning.

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<sup>258</sup> George Melly, in Peter Davies, *Liverpool Seen, Post-war artists on Merseyside*, Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 1992, p. vii .

<sup>259</sup> Peter Davies, *Ibid.*, 1992, p.136.

<sup>260</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Peter Ferres, prod., *Viewpoint: Arthur Dooley's 'Resurrection'* BBC, circa 1969.

<sup>261</sup> Rev. Donald May, in Peter Ferres, prod., *Ibid.*, circa 1969.

<sup>262</sup> Robert Knifton and Christoph Grunenberg, *Centre of the Creative Universe: Liverpool & the Avant-Garde*, Liverpool University Press, 2007, p.25.

Working from the connections I have already made between Dooley's work and Reg Butler's metal sculptures, I go on to find connections between Dooley and the 'geometry of fear' group of sculptors. Because Dooley was a Catholic Communist, I consider his work in the light of Eric Gill and Francis Klingender's writing on art, religion and politics. We know that Dooley followed Berger's television broadcasts and had access to some of his writing, and we know that Dooley found in sculpture a way to speak about the social injustices he had witnessed.<sup>263</sup> I find connections between Dooley's work and John Berger's writing on Social Realism in the 1950s and 60s.

### **Arthur Dooley and the Geometry of Fear**

The *New Aspects of British Sculpture* exhibition at the British Pavilion of the 1952 Venice Biennale, which drew international critical acclaim, raised the prestige of British sculpture and generated popular debate about modern art in Britain.<sup>264</sup> Reg Butler, who, as Davies showed above, was a major influence on Dooley, was prominent in the 1952 *New Aspects* exhibition. I argue that Dooley's connection to Reg Butler's work can be extended to connect Dooley's sculpture with the sculptural work of the 'geometry of fear' group, both in appearance and in emotional response to the traumas of the Holocaust and nuclear war.

The catalogue to the *New Aspects* exhibition of works by eight sculptors, included Herbert Read's essay in which he famously wrote:

'These new images belong to the iconography of despair, or of defiance; and the more innocent the artist, the more effectively he transmits the collective guilt. Here are images of flight, of ragged claws, 'scuttling across silent seas', of excoriated flesh, frustrated sex, the 'geometry of fear.'<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> See Introduction, p.6

<sup>264</sup> Polly Bielecka, *Exorcising The Fear: British Sculpture from the 50s and 60s*, Pangolin: London, 2012, p.4

<sup>265</sup> Herbert Read, 'New Aspects of British Sculpture' reproduced from the *British Pavilion catalogue for the XXVI Venice Biennale, 1952* in Polly Bielecka, *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

In situating Dooley under the broad umbrella of 'geometry of fear' artists, I point to Margaret Garlake's note that the 'geometry of fear' label was applied to lots of 1950s visual art before the arrival of Caro's painted steel, and became synonymous with sculpture of that period.<sup>266</sup> The 'geometry of fear' group form part of the a middle generation between the earlier Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth, who both shone at the 1948 Venice Biennale, and Anthony Caro who came to prominence in the early 1960s. Dooley emerged as a sculptor on the cusp of Caro's change of direction in British sculpture towards abstraction, but refused to follow that developing trend, and so appears as something of a belated 'middle generation' sculptor, or more generously a kind of fifth columnist figurational sculptor resisting Caro's influence towards abstraction.

Dooley's major work started in 1962, about ten years after the *New Aspects* exhibition, and is notably more realistic than the more mutated figures of Butler and the others, but some similarities can be found. A look at the sculptures of the 'geometry of fear' group shows up some visual resemblances with Dooley's works. Metal castings, facelessness, attenuated limbs, and encrusted surfaces are common to both. We know that Dooley was influenced by Reg Butler's work, and, according to Davies, had met him at a lecture in Liverpool. Davies gave no date to this meeting, but I see that Butler's *Creative Developments: Five Lectures to Art Students* was published in 1962, so I wonder if his lecture at Liverpool (he usually worked at Slade School of Art) might have coincided with its publication, and would have happened just as Dooley was embarking on his two year project making the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64). Butler's ideas in his lectures probably met with Dooley's agreement. Take this for instance:

'art schools do not produce better artists, they only produce a different kind of artist, and the subjects I propose we discuss are as relevant to a young man setting out to discover whether or not he has talent, while working in an office

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<sup>266</sup> Margaret Garlake, 'Revisiting the Geometry of Fear' in Michael Paraskos, ed., *Re-Reading Read: New Views on Herbert Read*, London: Freedom Press, 2007, p.135.

or a factory, as to a pampered and oversupported student working in an organization wholly dedicated to his welfare'<sup>267</sup>

Dooley and Butler both missed art school training, and shared a scepticism of its worth in producing practising sculptors. The student artist, says Butler,

'will do well to examine with deep suspicion any systems of thought or action which may be offered to him.'<sup>268</sup>

Compare this with Dooley's idea about the necessity for students, artists, everyone, to 'think for themselves.'<sup>269</sup> Other advice from Butler, was to learn to weld, cast in bronze or make sand castings, and take pleasure in the manual labour of it. All of this advice appears to have been pursued by Dooley. In fact, for Dooley, Butler might have appeared as a role model. Butler, like Dooley came to sculpture from industry, not art school, having earlier worked on pylon design. A conscientious objector, he spent the Second World War working as a blacksmith.

Linking Dooley's work with Read's notion of the 'geometry of fear' might at first seem counter intuitive given Dooley's fearless challenges to social injustice. Indeed Dooley and his work might appear to be more fearsome than fearing. However, I will demonstrate that new understanding of Read's essay looks at the attendant hope inherent in the work of the 'geometry of fear' group. Giving the spectator something hopeful was an early concern in Dooley's work, when he insisted on including the image of the resurrection [fig.13] into the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64).<sup>270</sup>

Contemporary, and subsequent, readings of Read's essay for *New Aspects of British Sculpture* and the group's work, made connections with the widespread anxieties of the Cold War era, following hard on the traumas of the Holocaust and Hiroshima. It is worth remembering that the 1952 Venice Biennale was held during the Korean War, just a year after the USA had tested a hydrogen bomb. In 1952,

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<sup>267</sup> Reg Butler, *Creative Development: Five Lectures to Art Students*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962, p. 2.

<sup>268</sup> Reg Butler, *Ibid.* p. 4.

<sup>269</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in John Willett, *Op. Cit.* p. 174. And frequently in the films *One Pair of Eyes* and *A Modern Passion*.

<sup>270</sup> See Arthur Dooley, in Peter Ferres, prod., *A Modern Passion*, BBC, circa 1965

Dooley was still a volunteer soldier in the British Army and liable for service in Korea. Fears of nuclear annihilation and genetic mutation from radiation were popularly held. It is possible that Dooley's idea of the mutated human figure was as driven by those direct fears as much as by fears mediated through contemporary sculpture.

Writing in the *Marxist Quarterly* in 1955, graphic artist Paul Hogarth saw the 'geometry of fear' group as failing to withstand the anxieties of the times, and wrongly turning to introspection and despair in a socially irresponsible way.<sup>271</sup> However, David Hulks's recent reading of Read's *New Aspects* essay reveals a more optimistic inflection.<sup>272</sup> Following clues in Read's *Philosophy of Modern Art* (1964) that art should react against the prevailing mood of fear with something more optimistic, Hulks shows that Read drew on the 1950s psychoanalytical theories of Melanie Klein, to make the 'geometry of fear' a galvanising experience rather than simply a depressing one.<sup>273</sup> Hulks notes that sculptor Kenneth Armitage's work for *New Aspects* seems to oscillate between sinister mutational fear and happy scenes connoting cheerfulness and perhaps defiance.<sup>274</sup> He also points to Alfred H. Barr's similar observations about the *New Aspects* sculptors. Barr saw stoicism, bravery and affirmation derived from deeply regressive processes.<sup>275</sup> Hulks summarises Read's 'geometry of fear' as being about both disintegration, and recovery and renewal.<sup>276</sup>

Following Melanie Klein's psychoanalytical theories of the 1950s, Hulks finds a more balanced emotional content in the work of the 'geometry of fear' group. Psychoanalysis was frequently employed in the 1950s to analyse artworks in the

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<sup>271</sup> Paul Hogarth, quoted in Gillian Whiteley, 'Re-presenting Reality, Recovering the Social: The Poetics and Politics of Social Realism and Visual Art' in David Tucker, ed., *British Social Realism in the Arts Since 1940*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p.147.

<sup>272</sup> David Hulks, 'Despair, or Defiance: The Double Inflection in Herbert Read's Geometry of Fear,' in Michael Paraskos, ed., *Re-Reading Read: New Views on Herbert Read*, London: Freedom Press, 2007, pp.144-151.

<sup>273</sup> David Hulks, *Ibid.*, pp.145-146.

<sup>274</sup> David Hulks, *Op. Cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>275</sup> David Hulks, *Op. Cit.*, p.150.

<sup>276</sup> David Hulks, *Op. Cit.*, pp.150-151.



search for their inner meanings. Klein's work on the 'paranoid-schizoid position' shows the interdependence of fear and love. Hulks argues that love is as present in the sculptures of this group as is fear. He follows Klein's theory of infant psychological development to demonstrate that in order to cope with fears of imminent annihilation, a healthy ego coping mechanism of 'splitting' occurs, whereby the threatened subject maintains self esteem by projecting all negative feelings onto the life threatening agent, and associating all positive feelings with the self. According to Klein this is a normal and psychologically healthy process, and the splitting, can later be reintegrated into a wholesome, healthy personality.

Hulks makes a the connection between Klein's infant's fear of annihilation and the Cold War fear of nuclear destruction. He says that when Read talks of 'images of flight' and 'psychic dispersal' in his *New Aspects* essay, he is recognizing the 'paranoid-schizoid' position, the fears of annihilation, in the sculptures of the 'geometry of fear' group, and in 1950's British society. The 'geometry of fear' equates with the 'paranoid-schizoid' position, but also has within it the capacity for love allowing reintegration, a positive reaction to negative conditions. So Hulks' new reading of Read would seem to suggest that Read saw both introspective despair *and* something affirmative in the 'geometry of fear.' Some hope that all will be well again. This accords with the mood and themes in Dooley's *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64). Those welded platforms looking like old timbers in the dockside, under the pier, revealed by an outgoing tide, also have 'something of the ocean bottom about them,' like Bernard Meadow's *Black Crab* (1951-52) 'scuttling across the floors of silent seas.'<sup>277</sup> There is something quite unhomely and fearful, about the platforms in the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64). The platform beams look as if they might collapse under the next tide. It is not only the crucifixion that is imminent but the annihilation of the world's flimsy foundations also looms. In spite of the threats of disintegration, Christ's nonchalant wave to the women of Jerusalem affirms that community life and neighbourly love will endure. [fig.8] Where the condemned Christ greets the women of Jerusalem, depicted as working class women on the steps of a Liverpool 8 terraced house, we see that one woman is pregnant. [fig.11] There is a

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<sup>277</sup> Herbert Read, *Ibid.*, 1952.

balancing of emotional content between desperation and hope, even promise.

Hulks concludes that the 'geometry of fear' sculptors turned despair at the prospect of annihilation into a more affirmative direction, towards recovery and renewal. Similarly, Dooley's *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64) and his *Dachau Christ* (1967) [fig.16], which I consider below, not only chart traumatic loss, but also ultimate recovery and renewal, in the story of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection, and, by analogy, workers' sacrifice and ultimate political victory.

### **Arthur Dooley and Social Realism**

Concerning himself with the everyday of working class life and its attendant issues of striving for social justice, might favour situating Dooley as a post-war British Social Realist. Positioned somewhere between the 'kitchen sink' movement and a more militant Socialist Realist like Renato Guttuso, persevering into the 1960s and 70s, after British Social Realism's 'golden moment' in the 1950s.<sup>278</sup> Objection could be made to any claims for realism in Dooley's work on the grounds of its pre-occupation with the miraculous resurrection of Christ. But I am working from Berger's description of Realist artists as not concerned with photographic naturalism, but who have a concern with what they 'know to be true.'<sup>279</sup> Following this understanding of Realism, I see in Dooley's work a concern with the truth. Take for example the *Resurrection of Christ* (1969) [fig.14] at Princes Road Methodist Church. At first sight, a starved black Christ with multi-racial features leaping off the cross might appear fantastical, but the truth that Dooley has deduced in this image is the truth of Toxteth's troubled multi-racial community, the truth of world starvation and the truth, Dooley himself believed, of Christ as the 'resurrection (...) now, and the spirit of the resurrection is you and me

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<sup>278</sup> Deborah Cherry and Juliet Steyn, 'The Moment of Realism: 1952-1956', *Artscribe*, no. 35, June 1982, pp. 44-49. David Sylvester pejoratively dubbed the young Social Realist artists John Bratby and Jack Smith and their kind as a 'kitchen sink school' for their focus on working class domestic interiors. See David Sylvester, 'The Kitchen Sink,' *Encounter*, December 1954, pp.61-63. Retrieved from <http://www.unz.org/Pub/Encounter-1954dec-00061> Accessed 4 April 2014.

<sup>279</sup> John Berger, 'Social Realism and the Young', *The New Statesman and Nation*, vol. 50, no. 1273, 30 July 1955a, p.133.

(..) realising that he/we can win today as well as in the next world.'<sup>280</sup> My examination of texts by Francis Klingender, Eric Gill and John Berger on Social Realism shows links with Dooley's work. This, coupled with his own commentary on his work, offers more evidence to understand his work as predominantly that of a Social Realist.

### **Arthur Dooley and Francis Klingender**

Francis Klingender (1907-1955) was a Marxist art historian and sociologist. He was also an early member of the Artists' International Association. I have chosen to look to some of his writing for help in situating Dooley's work because of his early concern with the links between art and industry in *Art and the Industrial Revolution*.<sup>281</sup> As I have noted previously in Chapter 2, Dooley saw the manual workers of the shipyards as 'the real artists of the nation.'<sup>282</sup> He was sceptical of the benefits of the division between mental and physical labour:

'From my experience, any fool with a pencil and paper can design anything and it is usually the man on the shop floor who has to correct the fool's mistakes.'

writes Dooley.<sup>283</sup> In a similar vein, Klingender bemoans the erosion of the artisan's creativity under the division of labour in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Staffordshire pottery and Sheffield cutlery industries:

'Once design became self conscious, through being made the specialized task of the 'artist,' who did not himself actually work at the wheel or bench or lathe, the spontaneous taste of the craftsman was inevitably undermined.'<sup>284</sup>

Klingender enthused over a 19<sup>th</sup> century biography of the railway pioneer George Stephenson for its radical acknowledgement of 'how many key inventions came from

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<sup>280</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Ibid.*, 1972.

<sup>281</sup> Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, London: Noel Carrington, 1947.

<sup>282</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.* 1972.

<sup>283</sup> Arthur Dooley, in MWAA, Merseyside Worker Artist Association Aims, (ADA/Project/Black Horse/23).

<sup>284</sup> Francis Klingender, *Ibid.*, 1947, pp. 39-40.

the workshop, and not from the study (...).<sup>285</sup> Klingender also shows the pictures made by British worker artists of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He recounts the heroic story of the blacksmith and self taught artist James Sharples and the creation of his masterpiece *The Forge* (1849-1852) an oil painting created in his spare time over about three years. He even worked on it while in the forge waiting for the furnace to heat up. Sharples' interest in drawing grew from his aptitude at chalking out the designs of boilers on the workshop floor for the foreman. The story reminds us of Dooley's acquisition of transferable craft skills from shipyard welder to welding sculpture, and of his time at St. Martin's as janitor, when he made time for sculpting during his night shifts.

Written for the AIA in 1934, Klingender's *The Crucifix: A Symbol of Mediaeval Class Struggle* gives an account of the historical development of the image of the crucifixion as it relates to changing political circumstances.<sup>286</sup> It is an analysis which can be related to Dooley's treatment of the crucifixion in his *Dachau Christ* (1967) [fig.16] and also with Berger's 1950s' understanding of Social Realism as art that helps one to claim one's social rights.

Klingender's argument has it that Christianity was the ideological battleground for class struggle for 1500 years, where each stage in the battle was reflected in the changing form of the image of the crucifix. His account of Christianity is of it originating in the longing for emancipation from the Roman Empire, but morphing into the ideology of class rule. At which point Christ the revolutionary became the mystical Lord before whom one must bow, the Lord of the feudal hierarchy. This corresponds with Dooley's complaint, in *One Pair of Eyes*, about the suppression of the revolutionary message of Christianity.<sup>287</sup> A consequence of this suppression, according to Dooley, is that that the revolutionary Jesus has been replaced with the current impotent image of 'gentle Jesus meek and mild, or else dead.'<sup>288</sup> Dooley

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<sup>285</sup> Francis Klingender, *Op. Cit.*, 1947, p.135.

<sup>286</sup> F.D. Klingender, 'The Crucifix: A Symbol of Mediaeval Class Struggle,' *Left Review*, vol. 2, no. 4, January 1936, pp. 167-173.

<sup>287</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.*, 1972.

<sup>288</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.*, 1972.

might be seen as transforming the ubiquitous insipid images of Christ as a pacified figure into new images of both intolerable suffering and political resurgence.

Klingender charts a resurgence of the original Christian revolutionary fervour in mediaeval revolutionary movements, and with them a re-conceiving of the image of Christ crucified to represent the revolutionary intent of the advancing class, and the wretched state of the body of Christ signifying the sufferings of their exploitation. He sees the culmination of this political use of the crucifix image in the Matthias Grünewald *Isenheim Altarpiece* (completed about 1515), which, he reckons, coincided with the German Peasant War, Europe's largest popular uprising before the French Revolution.<sup>289</sup> With the Grünewald crucifix,

'salvation was stripped of its mystic, transcendental cloak- it was now solely the problem of earthly emancipation from class suppression, its achievement was the task of the suppressed masses themselves.'<sup>290</sup>

His point, like Dooley's treatment of the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64), is that the crucifix has long signified the suffering of the oppressed, and, as in Dooley's resurrection statues, their corresponding hopes.<sup>291</sup> Atheist Klingender was no liberation theologian, his relevance here to my argument is that, like Dooley, he recognised a political purpose in traditional religious iconography, to hold a revolutionary message, an exhortation to claim one's social rights. Klingender's interpretation of the Grünewald crucifixion sits comfortably with Dooley's two works *Dachau Christ* (1967) [fig.16] and *The Resurrection of Christ* (1969) [fig.14] at Princes Road Methodist Church.

Dooley's *Dachau Christ* (1967) [fig.16] is a sculpture of the excoriated body of Christ. It is a picture of abjection with its faceless downcast gaze and hollowed out torso. This is a dead Christ, cadaverous and piteous. And yet in Dooley's

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<sup>289</sup> However, the completion of the altarpiece precedes the peasant war by 9 years. For an analysis of the Klingender text, see Anthony Shuttleworth, ed., *And in Our Time: Vision, Revision, and British Writing of the 1930s*, Lewisberg Philadelphia: Bucknell University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 2002, pp.32-33.

<sup>290</sup> F.D. Klingender, *Ibid.*, January 1936, p. 173.

<sup>291</sup> See Anthony Shuttleworth, ed., *Ibid.*

construction, the body is shot through with metal rods. [fig.17] This is a body that looks like it has the potential to rise again. The dripping effect, done with resin over rags, also gives an impression of a body rising from water. The transverse beam of the cross, a complex construction of wire, metal bars, and rags, combined with the illusion of rising from water, takes on the appearance of a ship being lifted up on the shoulders of Christ. [fig.18] One might speculate on the significance of the ship motif in this sculpture. It could be read as a riposte to Jacob Epstein's *Liverpool Resurgent* (1956), sited above the entrance to Lewis's stores in Liverpool. Epstein's statue was commissioned by Lewis's, for its 1947 store, in the spirit of the city's post-war re-birth. But as we know, Dooley had seen the other reality of Liverpool's post-war condition: 'A lot has happened to Liverpool since the last war, big business and the politicians have been having a ball, but when they have finished bankrupting this city, (...)'<sup>292</sup> I have found no critical comments on *Dachau Christ* (1967). There is only its title to explain intended meaning. The title, the barbed wire and torn effects in the sculpture clearly suggest the Holocaust. But, following the example of Klingender's analysis of the Grünewald crucifix, I suggest that Dooley might be conflating several themes at once: Nazi persecution, the economic demise of Liverpool and its shipping industry, working class struggle, sacrifice, and resurgence. *Dachau Christ* (1967) could just as well stand for a figure caught on the barbed wire of a factory gate, which was my first impression when I saw it.

Klingender was a contributor to the 1935 collection of essays *5 on Revolutionary Art* which debates the forms that revolutionary art might take, ranging from the abstract (Herbert Read's argument) the Roman Catholic (according to Eric Gill) and Klingender's own argument that art must be 'inseparable from, the society in which it flourishes.'<sup>293</sup> In *5 on Revolutionary Art* Klingender develops his view that art is a form of social consciousness, that is, art concerns itself with social problems; not merely reflecting social injustice but also acting as revolutionary agent for society's

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<sup>292</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.* 1972.

<sup>293</sup> Betty Rea, ed., *5 on Revolutionary Art*, London: Wishart, 1935, Foreword, unpaginated

transformation.<sup>294</sup> This is what Dooley wanted his art to be, as I have indicated previously.

Klingender maintained the idea that, in a class divided society, there must inevitably be class specific esthetic (sic) standards.<sup>295</sup>

‘Each class will judge the *content* of art according to the profundity with which its own outlook is embedded in it, and its *form* according to the intelligibility, the force of conviction, the propaganda appeal with which that outlook is advocated.’<sup>296</sup>

Dooley’s outlook was that of the militant working class of Liverpool, and it can be seen embodied in the content of his work. The form of his major church commissions is the encrusted, ragged texture, use of found industrial iron work (chains, found metal,) combined with the formal developments acquired from 1950s British figurative sculpture, especially Butler, as considered above in this chapter. More than that, it is a form that ‘speak[s] in the language of the working class.’<sup>297</sup> Dooley, like Klingender vehemently opposed what he saw as the bourgeois formalism of abstraction, which he recognised as the aesthetic of the dominant class.

Klingender’s position regarding the relationship between form and content in art is explained in a letter he wrote to *Left Review* criticising the sculpture of Soviet Social Realist Dimiitri Tsapline as proletarian in content only, but bourgeois in its form. He explains that the *content* of a work of art is to be judged by ‘the profundity of its social experience, and its *form* by the degree to which it succeeds in transmitting *the inspiring message* of that experience to the working class and its allies.’<sup>298</sup> This relates to Dooley’s ideas of communicating a message to the working class about their own experiences, and communicating the hope and inspiration for change, and

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<sup>294</sup> F.D. Klingender, ‘Content and Form in Art’ in Betty Rea, ed., *Ibid.*, 1935, pp. 26-27

<sup>295</sup> F. D. Klingender, *Ibid.*, in Betty Rea, *Op. Cit.*, p. 29

<sup>296</sup> F.D. Klingender, *Op. Cit.*, in Betty Rea, *Op. Cit.*, p. 29

<sup>297</sup> Dave Beech, ‘A Blockbuster for the Left’, *Radical Philosophy*, iss. 184, March/April 2014, p.68

<sup>298</sup> F.D Klingender, *Left Review*, no. 8, May 1935, pp. 328-9.

to Dave Beech's observation above that Dooley's work spoke in the language of the working class.<sup>299</sup>

Themes in Klingender's *Marxism and Modern Art: An Approach to Social Realism*, accord with Dooley's views on arts purpose to describe workers' shared experiences in comprehensible and emotive language and to provoke social change.<sup>300</sup>

Klingender opens his essay *Marxism and Modern Art* with a reference to the experience of the German bombing of London in 1940-41. Importantly, it was a shared experience for artists and for their public. Consequently, the picturing of it was enthusiastically received by the British public. Klingender names no names, but inevitably Moore's bomb shelter pictures come to mind. Klingender's point here is the importance of the artists' enforced integration into the community of their spectators, which as I show below, Berger repeats in his critical criteria for committed art, and Dooley's values in *One Pair of Eyes* when he states: 'Living in the place where you earn your bread means something. Everything that happens to it is a part of you and everything that you do becomes a part of it.'<sup>301</sup>

Klingender sees a long and continuous tradition of Realism, which he predicts is set to continue. He attests to the enduring popularity of Realism for its connection with social reality and social problems: 'It reflects the outlook of those men and women who produce the means of life.'<sup>302</sup> His implication is that forms of realism endure because of their relevance to workers' lives. Throughout the text of *Marxism and Modern Art*, he builds up a series of critical criteria for a revolutionary art that matches with Dooley's own ideas. Klingender quotes Clara Zetkin:

'Art belongs to the people. Its roots should penetrate deeply into the very thick of the masses of the people. It should be comprehensible to these masses and loved by them. It should unite the emotions, the thoughts and the will of these masses and raise them to a higher level. It should awaken artists in these masses and foster their development.'<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> Dave Beech, *Ibid.*

<sup>300</sup> F.D. Klingender, *Marxism and Modern Art: An Approach to Social Realism*, London: Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., 1943.

<sup>301</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.*, 1972.

<sup>302</sup> F.D. Klingender, *Ibid.*, 1943, p. 48.

<sup>303</sup> F.D. Klingender, *Op. Cit.*, 1943, p. 49.



This reads like much of Dooley's ideas at the MWAA, with their demands for the recognition of worker artists and an art that is relevant to workers lives, as was written in the Merseyside Worker Artist Association minutes, and which I analysed in Chapter 2, and recall here:

'..it was agreed that to re-establish a vital movement in working class art it was necessary to encourage attention to *personal experience, environment and humanity rather than to abstraction which is a reflection of the dehumanising process at work in society.*'<sup>304</sup>

Klingender quoted Maxim Gorky:

'To invent, means to extract from the sum of a given reality its cardinal idea and embody it in imagery- that is how we got realism. But if to the idea extracted from the given reality we add ...the desired, the possible, and thus supplement the image, we obtain that romanticism which is ...highly beneficial in that it tends to provoke a revolutionary attitude to reality, an attitude that changes the world in a practical way.'<sup>305</sup>

His chosen quotation reads like Berger's idea of Social Realism not merely reflecting reality but also looking forward to the possible; and in so doing, 'encourage men to claim to know and claim their social rights,' and which 'promises in some way or another the possibility of an increase, an improvement.'<sup>306</sup> What I am proposing here is a series of overlapping similarities between Klingender, Berger and Dooley. All in their way appear to favour an art whose purpose is social change. The route to social change by way of art is to extend art's constituency, readability, its agency for collective action through affective imagery that carries through into activism. Put simply, all three are saying that realism in art can be used to help workers to change their lives.

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<sup>304</sup> MWAA, Inaugural meeting, 1969, (ADA/ Project/Black Horse/22).

<sup>305</sup> Maxim Gorky, quoted in F.D. Klingender, *Op. Cit.*, 1943, p.37.

<sup>306</sup> John Berger, *Permanent Red*, London: Writers and Reader Publishing Cooperative, 1960, p.15 & p.17.

Like Dooley, Klingender recognised the importance of emotional content in a work if it is to catalyse the viewer. Klingender wrote:

'A work of art which carries its message straight into the feelings and emotions of men by virtue of its vivid, concrete imagery, has a greater value than one which lacks this vital power, even though the intellectual content of the former work may be less profound, less comprehensive and more encumbered with illusions.'<sup>307</sup>

Here Klingender values affective content, chiming with Dooley at the MWAAs when he argued for the value of the emotive:

'There is a tendency in art to make so much of the objective portrayal of reality, to carry rationalism to such an extreme that the least show of emotion, like kindness and humanity are promptly dubbed sentimentality (sic), conformism or something equally offensive. Handling the greatest themes, the artist will leave the spectator unmoved unless he brings to it elements of human interest, portrays credible human beings and life as it recognisably is.'<sup>308</sup>

### **The Moment of Social Realism**

In 1980 Lynda Morris brought attention to a Modernist bias in art history that had overlooked many 20<sup>th</sup> century social realist artists.<sup>309</sup> More recently, Tate Britain's 2013 exhibition *Lowry and the Painting of Modern Life* brought L.S. Lowry's work from the North and into the metropolitan gaze. The panel discussion with curators T.J. Clarke and Anne M. Wagner concluded with comments by Lisa Tickner, stating that this exhibition might renew interest in other British artists who have painted aspects of everyday modern life. She cited the AIA and 'the kitchen sink' artist John Bratby as examples of similar artists long overdue more attention.<sup>310</sup> In a similar vein,

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<sup>307</sup> F.D. Klingender, *Op. Cit.*, 1943 p. 45.

<sup>308</sup> MWAAs, *MWAAs Present An Exhibition of Work in House of Commons*, 24-28 May 1978, (ADA/ Projects/ Black Horse/1).

<sup>309</sup> Lynda Morris, 'Realism: The Thirties Argument, Blunt and The Spectator,' *Art Monthly*, no. 35, 1980, p.3.

<sup>310</sup> Lisa Tickner, in *Lowry: The Painting of Modern Life*, Tate Channel, 10 October 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/audio/lowry-painting-modern-life-britain> Accessed 4 April 2014

Deborah Cherry and Juliet Steyn's 1982 essay *The Moment of Realism: 1952-1956* tells of the necessity of realism as a socially responsible art to contest eras of economic austerity. Recalling Georg Lukac's urgent demand in 1950 for a revival of Realism, they make links with the same need in 'the chilly winter of the Tory government of 1982.'<sup>311</sup> For Cherry and Steyn, the 'moment of realism' was a moment when the 'kitchen sink' artists moved art forward from the abstract and existential fears of the 'geometry of fear' group to specific social concerns: 'the shoddy character of domestic life as most of us in this country are compelled to live it.'<sup>312</sup> Their essay traces two of the competing strands of Realism in the 1950s. According to Cherry and Steyn, David Sylvester championed Francis Bacon for his emotive and introspective pictures of the 'angst, the solitariness of man; the imminence of violence and disaster.'<sup>313</sup> They contrasted this view of Bacon with John Berger's 'kitchen sink' artists and their less subjective view of the world and more objectively accurate interpretations of the shared experiences of post-war austerity.<sup>314</sup> According to Cherry and Steyn, it was Berger who favoured those artists who had turned their attentions to the actual material conditions of contemporary life rather than the artist's inner torment. Their essay traces Berger's journey towards a definition of Social Realism. The essay follows a line from his 1952 exhibition *Looking Forward* with its inclusion of artists for their preferred emphasis on what they defined as an objective look at social conditions, over their inner emotional responses; to his 1955 article '*Socialism and the Young*' where he arrived at his definitions of Realism, Social Realism, and Socialist Realism; and then beyond to his 1959 retreat from the 'battle for realism.'

A closer look at Berger's writing on Realism and other contemporary art movements in *The New Statesman and Nation* in this period, highlights clear similarities between his thoughts on the social purpose of art and Dooley's own artistic values. Writing in 1952 about the fourth annual exhibition of *Young*

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<sup>311</sup> Deborah Cherry & Juliet Steyn, *Ibid.*, pp. 44-49.

<sup>312</sup> *The Times*, 17 July 1956, quoted in Deborah Cherry & Juliet Steyn, *Op. Cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>313</sup> David Sylvester, quoted in Deborah Cherry & Juliet Steyn, *Op Cit.*, p.47.

<sup>314</sup> Deborah Cherry & Juliet Steyn, *Op Cit.* p.47.

*Contemporaries* at London's RBA Galleries, featuring the emergent Derrick Greaves (who would go on to represent Britain at the 1956 Venice Biennale with others of the 'kitchen sink' group) Berger's praise was for their focus on the everyday and for communicating shared experience, leaving the viewer 'conscious of being less alone.'<sup>315</sup> He contrasted this with the concurrent exhibition of *16 Young Sculptors* at the ICA, which he considered to be 'working in roughly the opposite direction'.<sup>316</sup> These included Reg Butler, Kenneth Armitage and William Turnbull who would be dubbed the 'geometry of fear' group' later that year (1952). Berger found their work to be remote and arid, what interest they aroused was 'because of their power of *vague* associations'<sup>317</sup> Dooley's sculpture, I think, might share some of the attributes of both of these contrasting movements. His *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64) has something of the 'kitchen sink' group about it in the way it draws upon the everyday imagery of working class communities, where sacrifice becomes a shared experience. The parallels between Christ's crucifixion and real contemporary events such as workers' sacrifice share similar themes in 'kitchen sink' Social Realism. At the same time, their expressionist style and the use of the unhomely, unstable platforms with their low tide patina of decay have something of the 'geometry of fear' about them as I have previously discussed in this chapter. When Dooley made these associations in his sculptures, between the story of Christ and the class politics of the time, they were clearly readable, unlike the vague sort of associations that Berger found only remotely interesting in the work of the 'geometry of fear' sculptors.

In working towards definitions of categories of Realism, Berger stated plainly that Realism is not about photographic naturalism, but about a deep feeling for the everyday that is not overpowered by the artists own inner emotions, and whose motives are 'not (..) directly social or political.'<sup>318</sup> A social or political implication in the work, he said, was what made it Social Realist:

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<sup>315</sup> John Berger, 'For the Future,' *The New Statesman and Nation*, vol. 43, no. 1089, 19 January 1952, p.66.

<sup>316</sup> John Berger, *Ibid.*, 1952.

<sup>317</sup> John Berger, *Op. Cit.*, 1952. (emphasis added)

<sup>318</sup> John Berger, *Ibid.*, 1955a, p.133.

'And for a Social Realist work to become Socialist Realist, the artist must also be militantly aware of the social implications of what he is doing (...) his attitude will then be active instead of passive and the ideas of striving and achievement will be more stressed in his work.'<sup>319</sup>

He goes on to say that at that time (1955), it was premature of him to expect that Greaves, Middleditch and the others of the 'kitchen sink' group should have a militant political awareness. He sees a danger that their art might become propaganda if an unauthentic theoretical militancy were imposed. In spite of this, he sees something prophetic in their attention in their work to the resilience of the underprivileged.

However, by 1959 Berger considered that any prophecies he had made that these artists might develop into Socialist Realists, as he had seen achieved in 1950s literature and theatre, remained unfulfilled. His explanations for this failure lay in the predominance of new media (cinema, television and radio) over painting and sculpture, and 'the continuing total dependence of the artist on the bourgeoisie.'<sup>320</sup> For these reasons he believed he had been wrong 'to demand or expect artists to produce direct, urgent social comment.'<sup>321</sup>

However, Dooley's ecclesiastical sculptures with their direct, urgent social comments begin to look like the art that Berger had hoped for. Dooley's political militancy, from his experiences as a worker at Dunlop, supporting the Upper Clyde Ship Builders' occupation and work-in, and the occupation at Fisher-Bendix were lived, not theoretical. Striving *and* achievement, or at least its potential, are seen in Dooley's images of the resurrection. Dooley made a living out of the bourgeois art market, but recognised it as a dead end:

'I've been a hack for 30 years and I don't want to do any more ornaments for the bourgeoisie. Otherwise I'll have wasted my life. (...) The trouble with this kind of work is it never moves an inch, it says nothing.'<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> John Berger, *Op. Cit.*, 1955a, p. 134.

<sup>320</sup> John Berger, 'Staying Socialist,' *New Statesman and Nation*, vol. 58, no. 1494, 31 October 1959, p.576.

<sup>321</sup> John Berger, *Ibid.*, 1959, p. 576.

<sup>322</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Nuala Parsons, *Ibid.*, p.22, (ADA/Project/Dooley86).

But the works he really cared about were his church commissions. By stepping outside the constraints of the bourgeois art market and into the patronage of the new left Catholic Church of the early 1960s Dooley found the right conditions in which to actualise the kind of hopeful, forward looking, socialist art that Berger had prophesied but had not seen materialise by 1959. With his frequent television and radio appearances, Dooley successfully embraced the new media which Berger had blamed for Socialist Realist art's non arrival: 'With a million viewers who, needs galleries?'<sup>323</sup>

The question that remains is this: according to Berger's critical criteria, would he have recognised Dooley as a *Social* or a *Socialist* Realist artist? Socialist Realism gathered negative connotations under the heavy hand of Soviet bureaucratic arts management and has become known for what Berger acknowledged as the uncritical and sentimental celebration of workers' triumphs. In '*Soviet Aesthetic*' Berger observes that Socialist Realism had become too focussed on optimistic celebration at the expense of 'the desire for something better.'<sup>324</sup> Dooley's work leans more towards 'the *desire* for something better' than any celebration of its actualisation. It also occupies a place somewhere beyond the merely sympathetic. In Dooley's work the images of the resurrection are signifiers for the improved social conditions to come when workers 'come into their own.'<sup>325</sup> For Dooley in 1960s and 70s Liverpool, socialism was still awaited, and the consequent tension and conflict, qualities that Berger found lacking in Soviet Socialist Realism's self satisfaction, are evident in his work.<sup>326</sup> His sculptures' distressed expressionistic surfaces and their unstable platforms create tense images. The ambiguity of the meaning of the cross in *Dachau Christ* (1967) [fig16] which I discussed above, and the sculpture's entire shocking impact, work to depict a spectrum of conflict from the overt (the Holocaust) to my own interpretation of industrial strife. Berger thought that Soviet Socialist Realism would

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<sup>323</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Anon., 'The Sculptor Turned Faith Healer: Dooley Designs for Peace,' *Liverpool Echo*, 15 April 1982 (ADA/Newspapers/94).

<sup>324</sup> John Berger, 'Soviet Aesthetic,' *The New Statesman and Nation*, vol. 47, no. 1196, 6 February 1954, p.158

<sup>325</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit.*, 1972.

<sup>326</sup> John Berger, *Ibid.*, 1954, p.158.

go on to develop into an art that would 'be an inspiration to life' rather than a mere consolation as it had become in the West.<sup>327</sup> It appears that, for Berger, the difference between Social and Socialist Realisms are of degrees of militancy and the inspiration for social change. The 'kitchen sink' painters acknowledged social problems sympathetically, with their depictions of shoddy domestic interiors, but offered little inspiration for their radical resolution. Dooley's work does both, as is seen in the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64) with its depiction of Liverpool 8 street scenes (the women of Jerusalem on the steps of Toxteth) and the unusual addition of the image of Christ's resurrection as the fifteenth station. Similarly his *Dachau Christ* (1962-64) is a mixture of the abject tortured body plus its resilient inner construction of rods of steel together with its rising effect.

The heroic depiction of workers is a well-known feature of Soviet Socialist Realism's celebration of national achievements, and one that Berger recognised had become trite and banal.<sup>328</sup> However, Italian painter Renato Guttuso was repeatedly lauded by Berger, as an exemplary Socialist Realist. Unlike the British artists of the 'kitchen sink' group Guttuso was a Communist Party member, a militant. As with the Soviet Socialist Realists he also tended to the celebratory in some of his depictions of Italian working class life, but it is a heroification of the working class that Berger admired for its clever use of art historical references. His painting *The Beach* (1959) was reviewed by Berger in the journal *Realism*, and praised for its suitably heroic depiction of workers relaxing at the seaside, and for drawing upon figurative conventions, from History Painting to Paul Gauguin, to ennoble the communal experience of the beach.<sup>329</sup> Work like this by Guttuso does seem more celebratory than striving. His working class appear to be having a much better time than those at

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<sup>327</sup> John Berger, *Op. Cit.*, 1954, p.159.

<sup>328</sup> John Berger, *Op. Cit.*, 1954, p.158.

<sup>329</sup> John Berger, 'The Beach,' *Realism*, no. 6, Nov- Dec 1956, p.3. The short lived journal *Realism*, started in 1955 by The Communist Party Artists' Group, was critical of Soviet Socialist Realism. *Realism* is available at Labour History Archive and Study Centre as part of the Artists' Group file, ref. 5/2- 5/7. See Gillian Whiteley, 'Re-Presenting Reality, Recovering the Social: The Poetics and Politics of Social Realism and Visual Art,' in David Tucker, ed., *British Social Realism in the Arts Since 1940*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p.165, note 36.

the kitchen sink in 1950s Britain, or Dooley's working class in the *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64)! I would compare Guttuso's approach to celebratory heroification with Dooley's statue celebrating the success of pop culture heroes The Beatles. Dooley's work appears more mournful than celebratory, with a ghostly madonna figure representing the city of Liverpool somewhat at odds with The Beatles' own commercial image of themselves. [fig.10]. However, like Guttuso, Dooley also brings elements of high art into conjunction with the visual culture of everyday working class life. In Dooley's Beatles monument, references to the sacred and to Byzantine art are juxtaposed with a Liverpool Corporation street sign, and with painted domestic brickwork as was traditionally done for commemorative street parties.<sup>330</sup> The title of the piece *Four Lads Who Shook the World* (1974) seems to be a take on Sergei Eisenstein's 1928 film *October: Ten Days That Shook The World*, with an implication that working class creativity might be as revolutionary as violent revolution itself.

Berger saw Guttuso as practising long standing socialist theories of art in depicting the heroic struggle of the working class.<sup>331</sup> One struggles to find any straightforward heroism in most of Dooley's imagery. The work that most clearly looks suitably heroic is his monument to the British volunteers who fought against Franco in the Spanish Civil War. *La Pasionaria* (1974-75) is an over life-sized statue of Dolores Ibàrruri Gómez, orator and leader of Republican Spain during the civil war. [fig.19] Her dynamic posture, moving forward with her clothing flowing behind is more reminiscent of the heroic Soviet Union statuary commemorating space flights rather than anything in his other figurative work. Dooley drew some attention from the Soviet Union for a while, as I outline below. He had designed the (now removed) Tatlinesque *Speakers Platform* in 1974 at the Pier Head [fig.20] and an early semi-abstract piece *Splitting the Atom* (1971) [fig.21] bears some comparison with to El Lissitsky's *Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge* (1920). But these pieces are atypical of the bulk of his major works.

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<sup>330</sup> Anon., 'Commemorative Plaque to The Beatles', 1974, (ADA/BeatlesStreet/46).

<sup>331</sup> John Berger & Benedict Nicholson, 'Guttuso: A Conversation,' *The New Statesman and Nation*, vol. 49, no 1254, 19 March 1955, p. 384.



There is, however, a mood of quiet satisfaction about one of his last church statues, *Joseph and Child* (1980). Commissioned for Joseph the Worker Roman Catholic Church in Kirby, its making was documented in Eric Davidson's short 1980 film *Joseph and Child*.<sup>332</sup> In the film, Dooley's overt concern is to give Joseph more prominence in the story of Christ's birth and education than is generally acknowledged. The historical marginalisation of Joseph had found a parallel in Dooley's personal life by 1980. A series of personal set backs had taken him out of the public gaze. *Joseph and Child* (1980) was made jointly with Dooley's young apprentice Stephen Broadbent. Broadbent is now a successful sculptor of public art. Some evidence of a line of continuation from Dooley's work to Broadbent's can be read in the descriptions of Broadbent as a Christian artist whose street sculptures work towards the resolution of social conflicts.<sup>333</sup> The unspoken story in Davidson's film is the quasi father-son relationship between Dooley and Broadbent. Dooley's evident admiration for the achievements of Joseph as a good father, is mirrored in Davidson's quiet shots of Dooley's paternal guidance of his apprentice. If there is a quiet hero in Davidson's film it is Dooley as much as it is Joseph. When, in the final frame Dooley gazes up at the *Joseph and Child* (1980) statue, his commentary, under Davidson's direction, begins to sound like Dooley's own epitaph:

'Joseph has been waiting for his place in society, his courage and the role that he filled is a great example to me of a father. This man out of history, who is not so big, but you find that the more you look into him the bigger he gets, and the more important that he becomes.'<sup>334</sup>

### **Arthur Dooley and Eric Gill**

Sculptor and Catholic radical Eric Gill was an early member of the AIA and frequent contributor to *Left Review* in the 1930s, when it was effectively the AIA's journal. Dooley was probably aware of Eric Gill and his writing. Both had written for

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<sup>332</sup> Eric Davidson, dir., *Joseph and Child*, BBC, 1980.

<sup>333</sup> Anon., *Stephen Broadbent: Sculptor*, Guy Woodland: Wirral, circa 1997.

<sup>334</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Idem.*, 1980.

the *Catholic Herald*, albeit three decades apart, and a handwritten booklist in Dooley's notebook includes: 'Eric Gill- Art Nonsense.'<sup>335</sup> Gill's *Art-Nonsense and Other Essays* repeatedly insists that 'art is simply the well-making of what needs making'<sup>336</sup> This idea of art as 'a good job well done' also runs through Dooley's work. In the 1972 broadcast *One Pair of Eyes*, Dooley talks disparagingly of the poor craftsmanship and materials seen in the St. Martin's art students' work. In his main essay *Art-Nonsense* (1929), Gill reasons that if art is the skill of making, then making any object is an art (a proposition which fellow AIA writer Klingender pursues in 'Art and the Industrial Revolution') i.e. artists are simply responsible workmen. This idea chimes with Dooley when he makes the equivalence between sculpting and shipbuilding:

'The workers of Merseyside- these are the artists of the nation (...) these are the men who make the dilettantes and the art students look like amateurs. Take any one ship, it's worth infinitely more than anything that's being done in all the art schools and galleries put together.'<sup>337</sup>

Gill, Klingender and Dooley appear to all be pointing in the same direction, a direction which Gill clarified simply when he wrote:

'We should perhaps get the picture painters and sculptors, musicians and architects off their pedestals, and on the other hand, raise the engineers and crossing-sweepers and dentists to a higher level of respect.'<sup>338</sup>

If anything, Gill was more even minded than Dooley about fine art and utilitarian art, asking that we scrap the distinction and judge each category on how well made it is. Whereas Dooley tended to insist on a distinction by insisting on the superiority of working class practices: manual labour over intellectual labour ('any fool with a pencil and paper can design anything and it is usually the man on the shop floor who has to

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<sup>335</sup> Arthur Dooley, handwritten note, Arthur Dooley Archive, (ADA/Box 9, miscellaneous, uncatalogued – notebook).

<sup>336</sup> Eric Gill, *Art-Nonsense and Other Essays*, London: Cassell, 1934, p. v.

<sup>337</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson, dir., *Op. Cit*, 1972.

<sup>338</sup> Eric Gill, *Ibid.*, 1934, p. 321.

correct the fool's mistakes')<sup>339</sup> utilitarian objects over aesthetic objects ('any one ship, it's worth infinitely more than anything that's being done in all the art schools and galleries put together').<sup>340</sup> But unlike Klingender and Dooley, Gill, in his essay 'Art-Nonsense' says that art has no business in social reform, this is best left to those with a better understanding of the nature and destiny of man.<sup>341</sup> However, he says that in a non-religious world we have become uncertain what that nature and destiny is, the gap has been filled by novelists and salesmen, who are merely pushing their own interests.<sup>342</sup> However, a year later, Gill, as a Catholic, found nothing to object to in the AIA's first exhibition *The Social Scene*, which he defended in *Left Review* following a viewer's complaint that it was not art but communist propaganda.<sup>343</sup> It looked like a change in his relationship to art with a social purpose, when he responded to the complainant that 'art is always propaganda' and any that is not propaganda is just self-worship, without charity, love of God or neighbour.<sup>344</sup> This looks nearer to Dooley's understanding of what has become of art that has no political message:

'because of this lack of reality, art has become a middle-class substitute for religion; with art, they can have ritual without the real obligations involved in a real religion.'<sup>345</sup>

Gill's short essay 'All Art is Propaganda,' attempted to cut through some of the contemporary debates about the relation between art and life, to insist that

'all art is politically significant (...); and so, of course, all art is propaganda because, whether the artists is conscious of it or not, there is nothing he can do but must have propaganda value, that is to say value for or against one cause or another.'<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>339</sup> Arthur Dooley, MWAA draft document, (ADA/Project/Black Horse/23)

<sup>340</sup> Arthur Dooley, in Eric Davidson (dir.), *Op. Cit.*, 1972.

<sup>341</sup> Eric Gill, *Op. Cit.*, 1934, p. 315.

<sup>342</sup> Eric Gill, *Op. Cit.*, 1934, p. 315.

<sup>343</sup> Eric Gill, 'Art and Propaganda', *Left Review*, vol. 1, no.9, June 1935, pp.341-342

<sup>344</sup> Eric Gill, *Ibid.*, 1935, p.341.

<sup>345</sup> Arthur Dooley, quoted in Stanley Reynolds, 'Public Hangings', *The Guardian*, 6 April 1968, p.7, (ADA/Newspapers/88).

<sup>346</sup> Eric Gill, 'All Art is Propaganda,' in Betty Rea, *Op. Cit.*, p.47.

Dooley recognised himself as 'a propaganda agent' for his social class.<sup>347</sup> Whenever an artist shows his work publicly said Gill, 'he becomes a responsible propagandist for the values, the ethos expressed in his work and therefore promoted by it.'<sup>348</sup> Gill continued:

'It is not only necessary to recognize the fact, it is specially necessary to-day because both the critics, at one end of the pole, and the complacent bourgeoisie, at the other, are united in trying to make art meaningless, to keep the artist in the studio, to regard him simply as an entertainer'<sup>349</sup>

His sentiments are echoed in Berger's *New Statesman* article of 1956, when he writes of

'the shameful public role that the artist is forced to play in our society: the role of a huckster amusing that small sophisticated section of the public who are queuing up in their own furry night for their own personal salvation via Culture.'<sup>350</sup>

Similarly, Dooley regretted his commercial work, making 'ornaments for the bourgeoisie.' Gill appeals to Catholic artists not to support the bourgeois nexus of 'buyers and sellers, the founders of the modern world, in which all things are merchandise, money is the ruling power and all things are made for the profit of investors.'<sup>351</sup> His message to the Catholic artist is an appeal for militant propaganda to contest social injustice.

### **Arthur Dooley and Ernst Neizvestny**

In the Arthur Dooley archive at LJMU, there is a black and white photograph of a ship sailing through ice. On the reverse side it reads:

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<sup>347</sup> Arthur Dooley, 'Arthur Battles the Twits,' 18 August 1972, (ADA/Project/87).

<sup>348</sup> Eric Gill, 'All Art is Propaganda,' pp. 48.

<sup>349</sup> Eric Gill, 'All Art is Propaganda,' p.48.

<sup>350</sup> John Berger, 'Exit and Credo' *New Statesman and Nation*, vol. 52, no 1333, 22 September 1956, p. 372.

<sup>351</sup> Eric Gill, 'All Art is Propaganda,' p. 49

'Dear Arthur and Linda Dooley, Thank you very much for the English scon (sic) and for the gifts for my daughter. My very best wishes. From Leningrad I well (sic) send you a picture of Mayakovsky and a Neizvestny and a reproduction of icons by Anrey Ruller.'<sup>352</sup>

The photo is signed with a difficult to read signature, possibly that of Evgeny Vinogradov. John Berger's *Art and Revolution* is a 1960's study of the Soviet sculptor Ernst Neizvestny. In it Berger creates an impression of a Dooleyesque artist courageously withstanding Krushchev's pressures to conform to Socialist Realism. There are curious similarities between the lives and political orientations of both sculptors. Both had traumatic experiences in military service, confrontations with their respective art establishments, and both were engaged in workers' struggles. Yet important differences can also be revealed so that their work might be seen as complementing each other. There is no direct evidence that they knew of each other's work. Dooley was familiar with Berger's writing and had read *Permanent Red*, which examines the sculpture of Ossip Zadkine whose work Berger later likens to Neizvestny's.<sup>353</sup> Given that one of Neizvestny's complaints is that the USSR did not allow access to western art, it is unlikely that he would have heard of Dooley, although there is evidence that Dooley was featured in Pravda in 1974 after he had been interviewed in Britain by G.Vasilou.<sup>354</sup>

Berger sees a theme of courageous endurance in Neivestny's work. For Berger the work represents a modern form of courage: not the courage of a handful of heroes who choose to fight and even die, but the uncelebrated courage of the half of the world who are the victims of social injustice. Berger quotes Che Guevara's observation, that before revolution there must first of all be endurance, survival.<sup>355</sup> He continues:

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<sup>352</sup> Evgeny Vinogradov(?), photograph sent to Arthur Dooley, (ADA/Banana Box 3).

<sup>353</sup> John Berger, *Art and Revolution: Ernst Neizvestny and the Role of the Artist in the USSR*, London: Granta, 1969, pp.135-137

<sup>354</sup> G. Vasilou, letter to Arthur Dooley, 18 June 1979, (ADA/Project/Politics/90). Vasilou wrote: 'in the nearest future will send the remaining materials you have given to me. Hope to use them for your story in Pravda on your art.'

<sup>355</sup> John Berger, *Ibid.*, 1969, pp.131-2.

'Courage becomes the obstinacy of victims who resist their victimization: it becomes their ability to endure until they can put an end to their suffering.'<sup>356</sup>

While Neizvestny's work represents the endurance of victims of social injustice, Dooley's can be said to look beyond endurance, and to represent the following phase of rebellion, and ultimate triumph.

During his wartime military service Neizvestny was gravely wounded and left for dead, but survived. His close encounter with death made for his clear understanding of it. Berger states that (for Neizvestny): 'Life can include death but not vice versa.'<sup>357</sup> But I propose the opposite for Dooley, that death can include life, by way of the resurrection and worker's revolution. Dooley's radicalism was in his rejection of the individualistic art of modernist formalism and his commitment to Social/Socialist Realisms, for their revolutionary potential. Neizvestny's radicalism was in his defiance of Soviet Socialist Realism and in his striving for individualistic artistic expression. Dooley died in 1994, but Neizvestny lives on, and is officially recognised by the post-communist Russian state. He accepted the Order of Honor from Vladimir Putin in 2000 and his crucifix statues were collected by the anti-communist and anti-liberation theologian Pope John Paul II. I am currently searching for the Pravda article to discover what Dooley's reception was in USSR.

This chapter has considered some similarities of appearance and emotional content between Dooley's *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64) and the work of the 'geometry of fear' group, particularly Reg Butler. A stronger connection can be seen between Dooley's work (including his own work ideas about his work) and Berger's critical criteria for Social Realism, and there is more evidence of Dooley's awareness of Berger's ideas. Comparing Dooley's *Dachau Christ* (1967) with Francis Klingender's analysis of the Matthias Grünewald *Isenheim Altarpiece* (circa 1515) shows Dooley's use of revolutionary message within traditional Christian imagery, as belonging to a longstanding early practice that has more recently been lost. Klingender's valuing of the use of Christian imagery as a vehicle for revolutionary propaganda compliments Berger's valuing of militant artists whose work looks

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<sup>356</sup> John Berger, *Op. Cit.*, 1969, pp.130-131.

<sup>357</sup> John Berger, *Op. Cit.*, 1969, p.101.

forward to a socially just future. Similarly, Gill recognises the value of art as propaganda, an opinion echoed in Dooley's own pronouncements. The work of Niezvestny, as reported by Berger, provides an interesting counterpoint to Dooley's Social Realism.

## Conclusion

This thesis is a first history of Arthur Dooley's major ecclesiastical sculptures and his attempts to democratise the Liverpool art scene in the 1960s and 70s. In bridging a gap between popular memory and academic history it serves to rectify a gulf of misunderstanding that Dooley recognised when he gazed at the Liverpool University campus from the 'wrong side' of the fence and asked why there was so little academic support for artists of his social class. This is a timely exercise in relocating Dooley from the footnotes of art history and into the main text because present conditions now favour a renewed interest in his work. Tate Britain's recent review of the work of L.S. Lowry threw up once more the question why so few Social Realist depictions of modern life have been given critical attention. Recent changes in the Catholic Church's approach to the poor have brought Catholic social teaching back into the news. The return to a Church of the poor, and the rehabilitation of key liberation theology figure Archbishop Oscar Romero by Pope Francis are contexts in which Dooley's work from the 1960s and 70s might be brought back into the here and now.

I have shown how the apparent contradiction of belonging to both the Catholic Church and the Communist Party was, for Dooley, a union of compatible beliefs. By demonstrating Dooley's awareness of the new Catholic teaching brought about by Pope John XXIII, I have been able to show its influence on his *Stations of the Cross* (1962-64). And in particular, I have found evidence of his strong and lasting connection with the new Catholic left of the mid 1960s, who gathered around Terry Eagleton and the Slant group of prominent radical Catholic academics. This was in addition to Dooley's central involvement in organising some of the first formal public meetings between Christians and Communists in Britain. These are new connections that bring new understanding to what previously appeared to be a puzzling contradiction.

I have gone on to consider how these radical influences, seen in his major ecclesial sculptures, might be a factor in beginning to situate his work into the context of British post-war Social Realism, as promoted by Berger in the 1950s.



Furthermore I have found clear similarities between Berger's critical criteria for Social Realism and Dooley's own political orientation, his preference for figuration over abstraction, and his use of sculpture to work towards a more socially just future. These connections serve to more firmly situate him as a Social Realist.

I have looked at Dooley's work with the MWAA to promote worker artists by way of Rancière's ideas on the political significance of workers challenges to what he has termed the 'distribution of the sensible.' Although Dooley's efforts in this area are not straightforward, this form of analysis brings his political thought into circulation with prominent contemporary philosophical ideas about the politics of art.

The Arthur Dooley Archive is a rich and extensive collection of material associated with Dooley's life and work as it connected with religion and politics. Evidence of his impact, from the cultural life of Merseyside to as far away as the Soviet Union, is there. There are areas of his life and work which warrant further attention, and which the limits of the scope of this thesis have prevented.

The influence of Liverpool itself, as a city out of kilter with the rest of Britain is worthy of further investigation in view of Dooley's solid identification with it. Tony Lane's study of the character of Liverpool shows it as a city of 'natural democrats,' a trait which was accentuated in the Bluecoat's 2011 exhibition *Democratic Parade*, and which featured contemporary responses to Dooley's *Speaker's Platform* (1974) [fig.24]. Similarly, John Belchem and Bryan Biggs' *Liverpool: City of Radicals* makes a link between the city's character, its radicalism and its creativity, and Bryan Biggs picks out Dooley's Railings Union, which I discussed in Chapter 2, as a typical example of this.<sup>358</sup>

The prominent part that Dooley played in the phenomenon of arts television in Britain in the 1960s and 70s needs further study. John A. Walker has outlined this aspect of art history, and Dooley is absent from it.<sup>359</sup> The Arthur Dooley Archive shows evidence, in payment receipts, of his multiple radio and television

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<sup>358</sup> Bryan Biggs, in John Belchem & Bryan Biggs, eds., *Liverpool: City of Radicals*, Liverpool University Press, 2011, p.74

<sup>359</sup> John A. Walker, *Arts TV: A History of Arts Television in Britain*, London: John Libbey, 1993

appearances, but I have found only the five surviving broadcasts which I have examined in this thesis. In these recordings, Dooley is given free rein to expound his views on art and politics, unchallenged, whereas on other arts programmes he would have had to defend his work before other panellists. There is anecdotal evidence that the BBC might still hold these recordings, but so far, I have been unable to access them.<sup>360</sup>

Dooley's connection with the Soviet Union also warrants further research. As I noted in Chapter 2, he drew some attention from two Soviet researchers, and an article was to be written about him in Pravda, but so far I have been unable to find it. This might yield information about his critical reception in the Soviet Union at a time when Socialist Realism prevailed. Similarly his oblique connection with Soviet era, rebel sculptor Ernst Neizvestny, would be interesting to research for any critical responses from Neizvestny, who currently lives in New York.

Eagleton has been reluctant to revisit his involvement with the new Catholic left of the 1960's, although he recently acknowledged increasing academic interest in his activities of that period.<sup>361</sup> I would be interested to link with other researchers in this area in order to look further into the Slant group for their reactions to Dooley and his ecclesiastical sculpture.

Dooley's work with the MWAA to support and promote worker artists was an independent working class venture that found support from left wing MPs in the Harold Wilson era Labour party. Labour's arts policy documents are among Dooley's papers at the archive. The connection between the influence of the Labour movements cultural policy, the MWAA and Dooley's Black Horse arts centre would benefit from further analysis. Related to this is the amateurism versus professionalism debate that threads through Dooley's pronouncements, and also forms part of the wider picture of a Labour's post-war cultural hegemony, which has only been hinted at in this thesis.

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<sup>360</sup> Author's conversation with Stephen Broadbent, 27 November 2013

<sup>361</sup> 'Nowadays people write the odd doctoral thesis on the Catholic Left which I suppose is one up from oblivion.' Terry Eagleton, quoted in James Smith, *Terry Eagleton: A Critical Introduction*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008, p. 28

As I stated in the introduction, the Arthur Dooley Archive holds many personal letters to Dooley from appreciative spectators of his works, including those, like my father, who only knew his work from television broadcasts. These letters, appreciating his promotion of working class culture, form another history of his work, 'in the language of the working class,' and whose future documentation might make for a more democratic history than I have produced here.

In 1988 Dooley helped to resurrect the lifeless Liverpool Academy. Renamed the Liverpool Academy of Arts, it aimed to support and promote local artists. It now faces the prospect of closure as a consequence of plans to redevelop Seel Street in keeping with the recently built Liverpool One shopping centre. Dooley's former studio nearby is similarly affected. Fifty years after Dooley's campaigns against the clearance of sites of working class culture, such clearances continue. One potential impact of the research in this thesis might be its mobilisation to contest that threatened erasure of working class history. I am currently in contact with the Liverpool Academy of Arts to review what steps can be taken in this direction. As Dooley himself stated in what was probably his first ever campaign: 'The call is for deeds.'<sup>362</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> Sgt. Arthur Dooley, 'Catholics in The Forces', *Catholic Herald*, 10 July 1953, p.2. Retrieved from <http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/10th-july-1953/2/catholics-in-the-forces> Accessed 4 April 2014

Figures

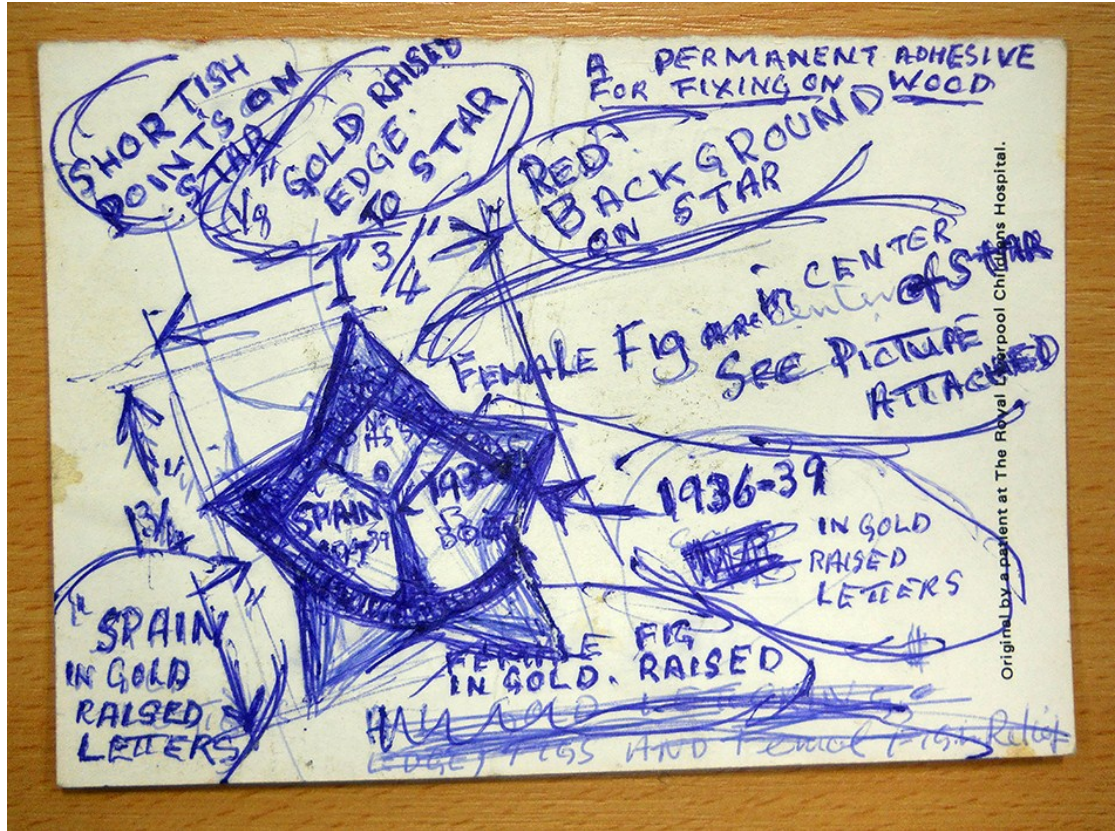


Figure 1 Arthur Dooley, sketch for *La Passionara*, (1974-75). (Arthur Dooley Archive). Robert Gaunt 2014.





*Figure 2* Arthur Dooley, *Christ condemned by Pilate*, (1962-64). St Mary's Church. Leyland. Robert Gaunt 2014.



*Figure 3* Arthur Dooley, *Christ takes up his cross* (detail), (1962-64). St Mary's Church. Leyland. Robert Gaunt 2014.





*Figure 4* Arthur Dooley, *Christ greets his mother*, (1962-64). St Mary's Church, Leyland. Robert Gaunt 2014.





*Figure 5* Arthur Dooley, *Christ greets the women of Jerusalem* (detail), (1962-64). St Mary's Church. Leyland. Robert Gaunt 2014.





*Figure 6* Arthur Dooley, *Simon of Cyrene helps Christ to carry the cross*, (1962-64). St Mary's Church. Leyland. Robert Gaunt 2014.





Figure 7 Arthur Dooley, *Veronica wipes the face of Christ*, (1962-64). St Mary's Church. Leyland. Robert Gaunt 2014.





Figure 8 Arthur Dooley, *Christ greets the women of Jerusalem*, (1962-64). St Mary's Church. Leyland. Robert Gaunt 2014.





*Figure 9* Arthur Dooley, *Christ greets the women of Jerusalem* (detail), (1962-64). St Mary's Church. Leyland. Robert Gaunt 2014.





Figure 10 Arthur Dooley, *Four lads who shook the world*, (1974) Matthew Street, Liverpool. Robert Gaunt 2014





Figure 11 Arthur Dooley, *Christ greets the women of Jerusalem* (detail), (1962-64). St Mary's Church. Leyland. Robert Gaunt 2014.





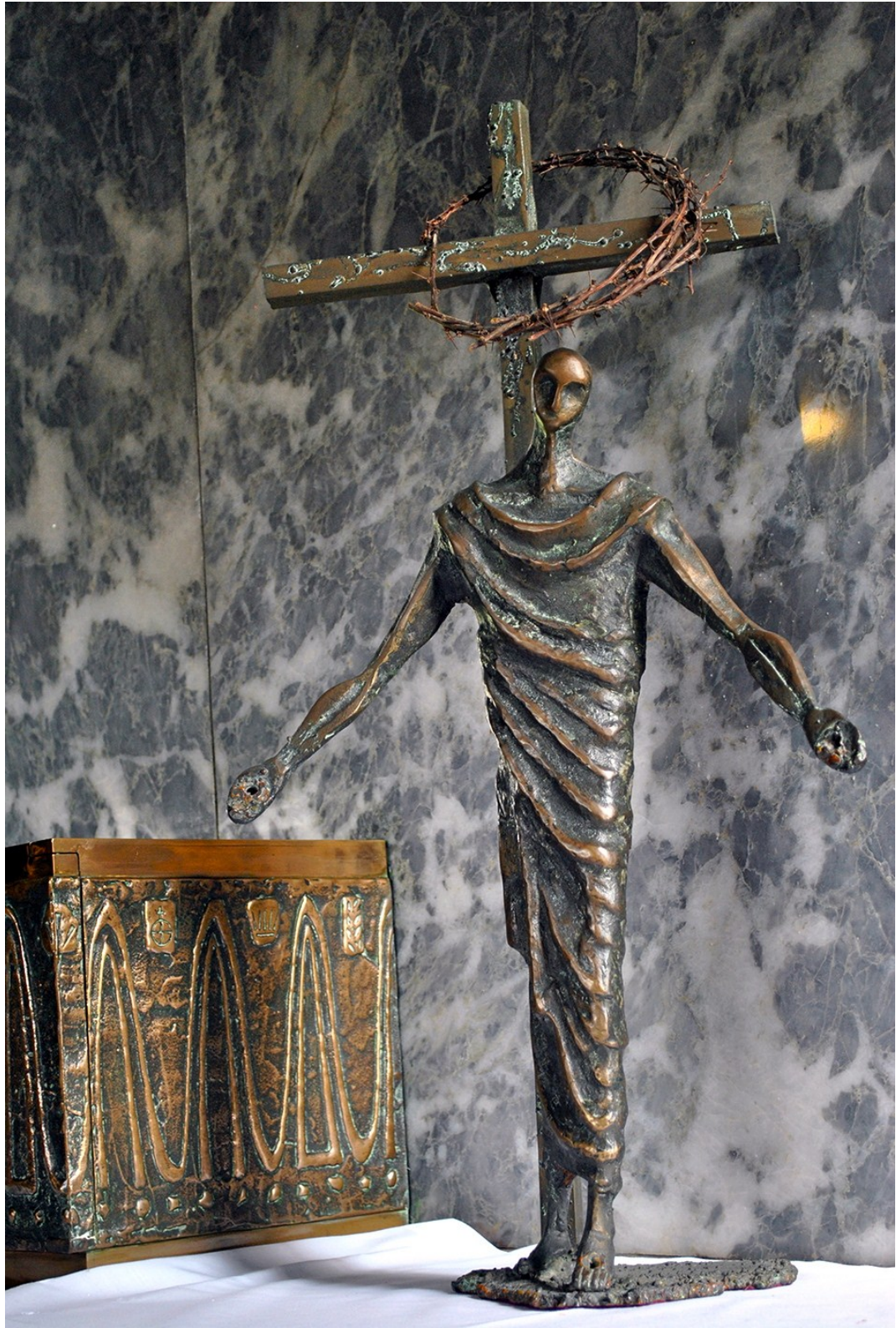
Figure 12 Arthur Dooley, *Christ dies on the cross*, (1962-64). St Mary's Church, Leyland. Robert Gaunt 2014.





Figure 12a Arthur Dooley, *Christ is laid in the tomb*, (1962-64). St Mary's Church. Leyland. Robert Gaunt 2014.





*Figure 13* Arthur Dooley, *Risen Christ*, circa 1964. St Mary's Church. Leyland. Robert Gaunt 2014.





*Figure 14* Arthur Dooley, *Resurrection of Christ*, (1969). Princes Road Methodist Church, Toxteth. Robert Gaunt 2014



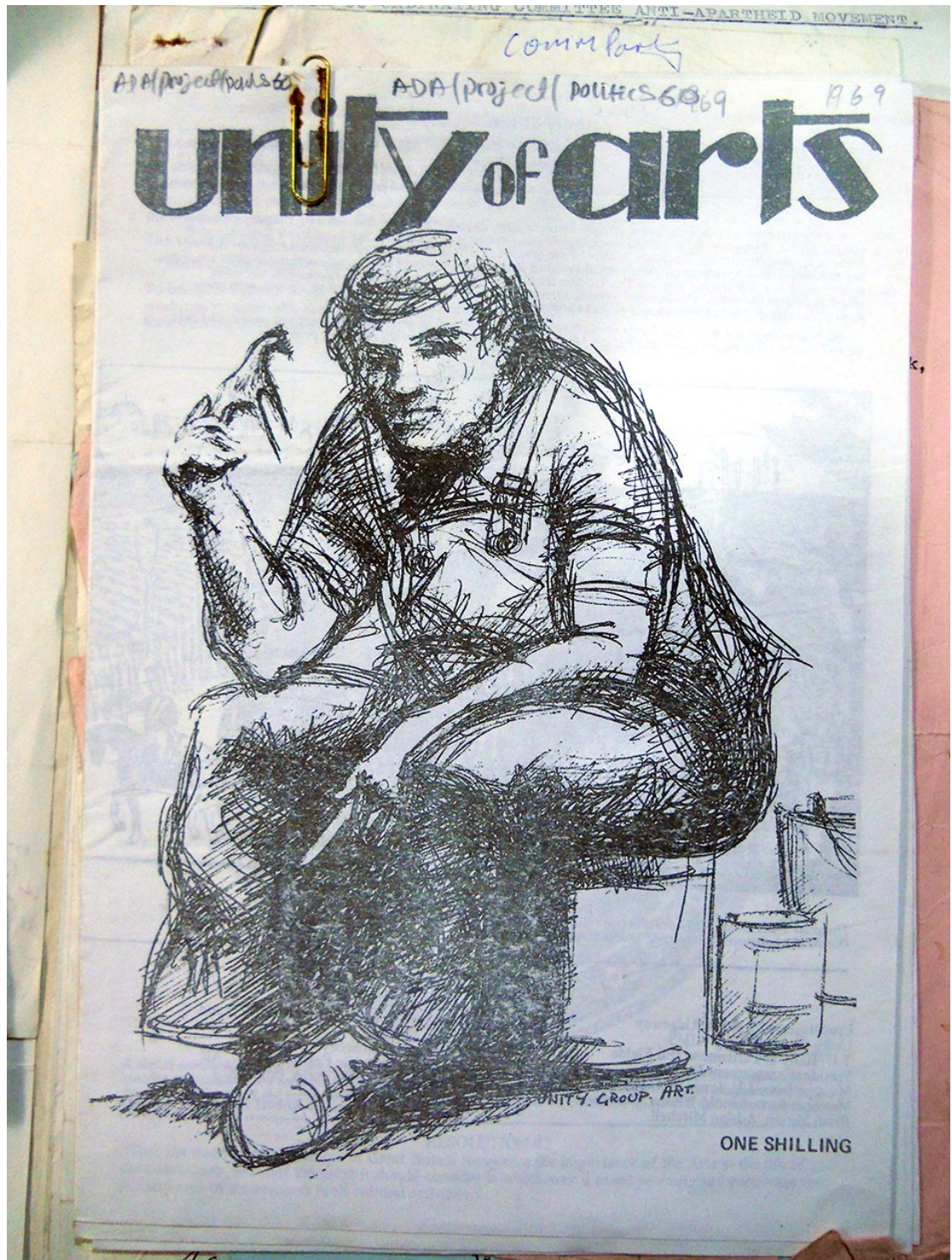


Figure 15 Anon, Unity of Arts pamphlet, (circa 1969). (Arthur Dooley Archive). Robert Gaunt 2014





Figure 16 Arthur Dooley, *Dachau Christ*, (1967). St Ann's Church, Royton, Oldham. Robert Gaunt 2014



Figure 17 Arthur Dooley, *Dachau Christ*, (detail) (1967). St Ann's Church, Royton, Oldham. Robert Gaunt 2014





*Figure 18* Arthur Dooley, *Dachau Christ*, (detail) (1967). St Ann's Church, Royton, Oldham. Robert Gaunt 2014



*Figure 19* Photograph of Arthur Dooley's statue *La Pasionaria* (1974-75) in Arthur Dooley's studio. (Arthur Dooley Archive). Original photographer unknown. Robert Gaunt 2014.





*Figure 20* Photograph of Arthur Dooley's *Speaker's Platform*, (1974). Pier Head, Liverpool. (Arthur Dooley Archive). Original photographer unknown. Robert Gaunt 2014.





*Figure 21* Photograph of Arthur Dooley's *Splitting the Atom*, (1971) Daresbury Laboratory (formerly Daresbury Nuclear Physics Laboratory), Daresbury, Cheshire. (Arthur Dooley Archive). Original photographer unknown. Robert Gaunt 2014.

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