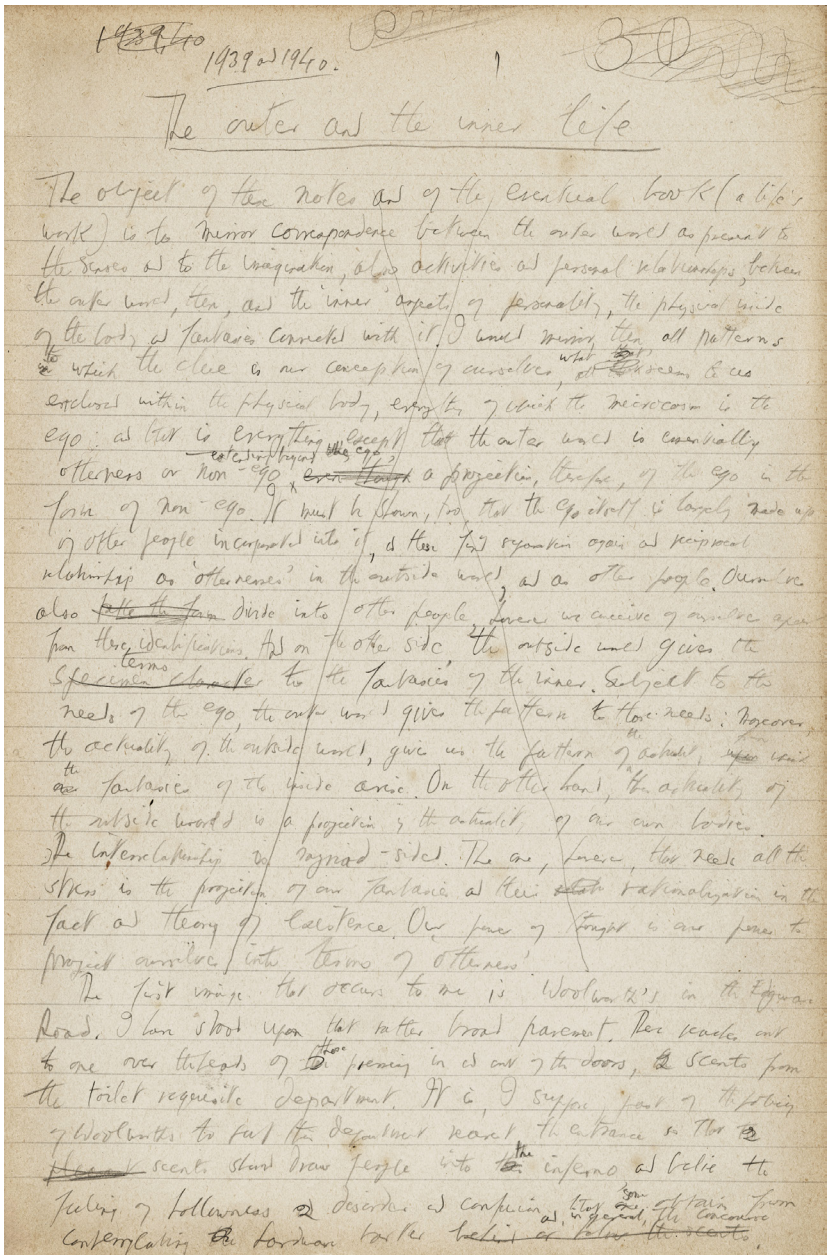


1939 and 1940.

The outer and the inner life

The object of these notes and of the essential work (a life's work) is to mirror correspondence between the outer world as present to the senses and to the imagination, also activities and personal relationships, between the outer world, then, and the inner aspects of personality, the physical inside of the body and fantasies connected with it. I would mirror then all patterns which the clues in our conception of ourselves, of the cosmos & ours enclosed within the physical body, except by which the microcosm is the ego: as that is everything except that the outer world is essentially otherness or non-ego, a projection, therefore, of the ego in the form of non-ego. It must be shown, too, that the ego itself is largely made up of other people incorporated into it, & that full separation again & reciprocal relationship as 'otherness' in the outside world, as other people. Ours is also divide into other people, hence we conceive of ourselves apart from these identifications. But on the other side the outside world gives the specific terms to the fantasies of the inner. Subject to the needs of the ego, the outer world gives the pattern to those needs: moreover the actuality of the outside world, gives us the pattern of actuality, upon which the fantasies of the inside arise. On the other hand, the actuality of the outside world is a projection of the actuality of our own bodies. The interrelationship of inward-outward. The one, hence, that reads all the stress in the projection of our fantasies as their rationalization in the fact & theory of existence. Our power of thought is our power to project ourselves into terms of 'otherness'.

The first image that occurs to me is Woolworth's in the Tottenham Road. I am about upon that rather broad pavement. Rare vacancy, and to one over the heads of the persons in & out of the doors, & scents from the toilet requisite department. It is, I suppose, part of the fetish of Woolworths to put the department nearest the entrance so that the scents shall draw people into the inferno of cellic the feeling of hollowness & desolation & confusion as, [illegible] in general, the concourse confronting the harbour [illegible] behind or below the scents.

Figure 8
Adrian Stokes,
Autograph manuscript,
The Outer and the Inner Life
(1939-44), first side. Pencil

I. "The object of these notes" 1939

[f. 2*r*][a] The object of these notes **[fig. 8]** and of the eventual book (a life's work) is to mirror correspondence between the outer world as present to the senses and to the imagination, also activities and personal relationships, between the outer world, then, and the inner aspects of personality, the physical inside of the body, and fantasies connected with it. I would mirror then, all patterns to which[b] the clue is our conception of ourselves, what seems[c] to us enclosed within the physical body, everything of which the microcosm is the ego: and that is everything except that the outer world is essentially otherness or non-ego extending beyond the ego, a projection,[d] therefore, of the ego in the form of non-ego. It must be shown, too, that the ego itself is largely made up of other people incorporated into it, and these find separation again and reciprocal relationship as 'otherness' in the outside world and as other people. Ourselves also divide[e] into other people, however we conceive of ourselves apart from these identifications.[1] And on the other side, the outside world gives the

a [f. 1*r* and 1*v* blank; f. 2*r* numbered top right] 1 [headed] The outer and the inner life [later inscribed top left] <1939, 40> 1939 and 1940 [doodles, top centre and right, cancelled]

b *patterns to which*: patterns <w> {to} which

c *ourselves, what seems*: ourselves, <all that {that}> {what} seems

d *non-ego extending beyond the ego, a projection*: non-ego {extending beyond the ego,} <even though> a projection

e *also divide*: also <take the form> divide

terms[a] to the fantasies of the inner. Subject to the needs of the ego, the outer world gives the pattern to those needs. Moreover, the actuality of the outside world gives us the pattern of the actuality upon which the fantasies[b] of the inner arise. On the other hand, the actuality of the outside world is a projection of the actuality of our own bodies. The interrelationship is myriad-sided. The one, however, that needs all the stress is the projection of our fantasies and their rationalization[c] in the fact and theory of existence. Our power of thought is our power to project ourselves into terms of otherness.[d|2]

The first image that occurs to me is Woolworth's in the Edgware Road.[3] I have stood upon that rather broad pavement.[4] There reaches out to one over the heads of those pressing in and out[e] of the doors, scents[f] from the toilet requisite department. It is, I suppose, part of the policy of Woolworth's[g] to put this department nearest the entrance so that scents should draw people into the inferno[h] and belie the feeling of hollowness, disorder[i] and confusion that some obtain[j] from contemplating hardware barter and, in general, the concourse[k] [f. 8*r*][l] and confusion of gleaming objects. Such a noise, such a wrench throughout! Yet there[m] upon the pavement, over people supposedly polyglot,[n] over the stridency, there are the louder scents, so that all this activity may seem wholesome, and expenditure,[o] as of healthy physical energy, should be economic and sound.[p] For we fear greatly inner disorder above all. The Woolworth turmoil[q] is an inevitable image of the inner physical processes as considered by the fantasies,[r] and so vast is the plan of

a *the terms*: the <specimen character> {terms}

b *pattern of the actuality upon which the fantasies*: pattern of {the} actuality <upon> {from} which <are> {the} fantasies

c *their rationalization*: their <relati> rationalization

d *The object of these notes* […] *terms of otherness*: [entire passage cancelled in pencil]

e *of those pressing in and out*: of <their> {those} pressing in and out

f *doors, scents*: doors, <the> scents

g *Woolworth's*: Woolworths

h *so that scents should draw people into the inferno*: so that <the pleasant> scents should draw people into <this> {the} inferno

i *hollowness, disorder*: hollowness <and> disorder

j *that some obtain*: that <one> {some} obtains

k *contemplating hardware barter and, in general, the concourse*: contemplating <the> hardware barter <behind or below the scents.> {and, in general, the concourse}

l [f. 2*v* blank except for large 'X' in pencil centre right; ff. 3-7 removed; f. 8*r* numbered top right] 2

m *such a wrench throughout! Yet there*: such a <wrench> wrench<,>! <y>Yet there [TS] such a wrench! Yet there

n *over people supposedly polyglot*: [TS] <over people supposedly polyglot>

o *and expenditure*: and <that> expenditure

p *economic and sound*: economic and <sound> sound

q *For we fear greatly inner disorder above all. The Woolworth turmoil*: For we fear greatly <inner disorder> inner disorder above all: <the inside of the shop is our inside> The Woolworth <fer> turmoil

r *fantasies*: [TS] <p>{f}hantasy [corrected in pen]

money digested[a] in this shop while so various the food, the goods and the bads, that the fantasy[b] will accept this good odour as reassuring, this good odour upon the pavement. A cheap odour, certainly, but gay in a vulgar manner, at any rate alive; and that is the most[c] we can hope of our insides.[5]

And we ourselves try[d] to put our goods, our odorous[e] goods, in the shop window; but it is happiest done[f] when but an earnest of activity, some of it bad, maybe, but active. We must not be hollow: our goodness, our wholesomeness, is limited. Sometimes we have stolen it from others, sometimes others shoplift from us; or, so we fear.[6]

The progression[g] from infancy to complete adultness is the perfection of our awareness of otherness.[h|7] This awareness is difficult, almost impossible, to keep at an absolute and consistent level. The existence of other people with the existence of all their needs divergent from our own, in conflict with our own, is never admitted consistently. They are not all the time as real to us as we ourselves are. In working out[i] our lives in the relationship of outer and inner, we employ also the power to disconnect. On the other hand the "progression from infancy to complete adultness[j] is the perfection of our awareness of otherness".[k] And in this progression, we deny ourselves, deny the inner world, temper ourselves with the aspect of facts, drown fantasy[l] with a hard-and-fast otherness.[8] The outside world, however, is but an escape into a larger prison, a vast and confused prison. At last[m] we take our fill of it: we find but ourselves again on the borders of this world: and thus, fantasy emasculated by fact throughout our being, we are ready to die.[n] The constant interchange between inner and outer has become [f. 10*r*][o] fixed: the ego appears only at the extremities of the outside world: or, conversely, the whole world closes in so that the area around our suffering is small and infused with it. We die. The interchange between inner and outer, so largely fixed in its broader principles in child-hood has

a *plan of money digested*: plan of <digestive mone> money digested

b *fantasy*: [TS] <p>{f}hantasy [corrected in pen]

c *at any rate alive; and that is the most*: at any rate alive: and that is the most

d *we ourselves try*: we <oursel> ourselves <d>tr y

e *odorous*: [corrected from *odours*?]

f i*n the shop window; but it is happiest done*: in the shop window: but it is happiest Done

g *The progression*: The <projecti> progression

h *the perfection of our awareness of otherness*: the <development of> perfection of our <feeling> {awareness} of otherness

i *as we ourselves are. In working out*: as we ourselves are. <In employing all the time, i>In working out

j *adultness*: [TS] adult<ness>hood [corrected in pen]

k *'progression* […] *otherness'*: [TS] progression […] otherness

l *fantasy*: [TS] <ph>fantasy

m *At last*: <When the> At last

n *throughout our being, we are ready to die*: throughout our being we are we {are ready to} die

o [f. 8*v* blank; f. 9 removed; f. 10*r* numbered top right] 3

become an unchanging pattern: every curve was long ago filled in.[a] The pull within, the pull without, have lost their power. No, not the pull within. It now consumes: the outer world is lost, it no longer exists (as in earliest infancy), and we are dead.

There are as many things inside as there are outside. That is why we are appalled very often by the immensity and confusion of the outside world. That is also why we are reassured by the outside world's beauty and order,[9] and project happiness into our surroundings. The more 'other' appear these surroundings, the more independence and strength they afford to the inside. Hence the great reassurance and stimulus to art of a Mediterranean environment. There are some environments whose 'otherness' is comparatively tenuous.[b] Here in Cornwall, for instance, I often have the feeling that what I see out of my eyes is literally a projection of pictures[c] in my head, as if I were a cinematographic film,[d] and the outside world were but a screen on which this film is projected,[e] put in movement and enlarged.[10] We summon the past to reinforce[f] so tenuous a present reality.

It is the artist's great pleasure and his inspiration to contemplate 'otherness'. It is he, as much as the scientist in his different way, who gives[g] full value to the otherness of the outside world. Here, as an independent and more lasting[h] structure, as soundly related forms,[i] are the basic inside figures and motive powers both physical and mental. The emphasis, however, is upon the otherness of these[j] forms and their structure,[k] upon their independence of us, at least in the greatest art. The artist wills to get behind both immediate appearance and immediate fantasy[l] or image that may be thrust upon the appearance.[11] So-called ordinary people rarely contemplate in the artist's fashion.[m] They cannot sufficiently disconnect appearance[n] from present circumstance. It is said [f. 11*r*][o] that the drowning man sees his life outside him as he dies.[12] Similarly, all of us have felt that we have seen an environment as it is only

a *every curve was long ago filled in*: every <letter> {curve} was long ago filled in [TS] <every curve was long ago filled in>

b *There are some environments whose 'otherness' is comparatively tenuous*: <They> {There} are <others, on the other hand,> {some environments} whose 'otherness' is <very tenuous> {comparatively} tenuous

c *projection of pictures*: projection of <fi> pictures

d *cinematographic film*: cinema{to}graphic film

e *this film is projected*: this film is <enlar> projected

f *to reinforce*: to <reinforce> reinforce

g *as the scientist in his different way, who gives*: as the scientist<s> in <their> {his} different way, <to> {who} gives [corrected from "give"]

h *more lasting*: more <indestructible> {lasting}

i *forms*: [TS] form

j *these*: [corrected from "this"]

k *and their structure*: and {of} their structure

l *fantasy*: fantasy<,> [TS] phantasy

m *the artist's fashion*: the <true> artist's fashion

n *disconnect appearance*: disconnect <the outside> appearance

o [f. 10*v* blank; f. 11*r* numbered top right] 4

when under sentence to leave it, when it is no longer part of our concern, a house or a room no less than a view. Previously, our thoughts about it have been tinged with anxiety,[a] and practical issues. When we first arrive, still more when we leave, are the times when we really 'see' the place in which we live.[13] Waiting for the taxi to the station after ten years' residence,[b] with nothing to do at all except to wait, we see the room, and we may feel upon us all that has happened there: nevertheless 'we see'[c] the room coolly,[d] as something independent, which no longer waits[e] upon our action. A row of tulips outside, is no longer[f] a cycle of the cares of cultivation in any sort of way.[g] We note the intervals and the rhythm of position in a manner more intense than has been possible before, and it is in these wider, more generalized, perceptions,[h] in terms of their calm length and their duration and their cycle, that we may view our life in that place.[i] Thus, deeper trends become apparent for us in the aspect of the outside world, owing to the latter's increased clarity for us. Such contemplation is near to the artist's contemplation. We see ourselves, between two courses of action, rooted in the soil of our lives, as the tulips are rooted in their soil.[14] Such long-range identification of ourselves and of the outside world is probably more fructifying than are those moments[j] in which we are astounded by the otherness of nature, contemplating,[k] maybe,[l] the fury of the sea upon the rocks. I am always particularly impressed by the action of submerged rocks, free to the air between two waves, for ever and ever in that brief moment throwing off the maximum water before the return of the wave.[15] But here, surely, as in all the sensations of vastness and of superhuman force and rhythm which this scene gives[m] to all the senses, we attend a parable[n] of inner economy and of those forces within us, seemingly foreign to us. We look upon Nature but at the same time we look upon a clearer distribution

a *with anxiety*: with <worry> {anxiety}

b *ten years' residence*; ten years residence [TS, corrected in pen] <residence> {stay}

c *'we see'*: [TS] we see.

d *coolly*: <coolly> coolly

e *which no longer waits*: {which} no longer wait<ing>s

f *is no longer*: [TS, corrected in pen] is no{t} <longer> {at all}

g *cultivation in any sort of way*: [TS] cultivation <in any sort of way>

h *wider*, more *generalized, perceptions*: wider, more generalized, <feat> perceptions

i *in that place*: in that place<, and in contrast to it>

j *Such long-range identification of ourselves and of the outside world is probably more fructifying than are those moments*: Such <perception of objectivity> {long-range <perception> {identification} of ourselves and of the outside world} is <proba> probably more <pure> {<intense> {fructifying}} than {are} those moments ["identification" and "fructifying" written on opposite verso]

k *contemplating*: [corrected from "contemplative"]

l *maybe*: may be

m *this scene gives*: <this scene presents> {this scene gives}

n *attend a parable*: attend <th> a parable [TS] attend the parable



Figure 9 Unidentified photographer, *Little Park Owles, Carbis Bay, Cornwall*. Early 1940s

of forces within ourselves, a [f. 12*r*][a] clearer interaction, one more Homeric,[b] more in style and therefore more disinterested, than is the case. We would that inner conflict were thus wind-swept, and that visitation of the deeper caverns of the mind were subject to such causes as those that govern tides.[c|16] And indeed they are, though it would take each of us all our years to trace such tidal movements in emotion, such governance[d] by the few essentials. And is it not a reminder of this in terms of breadth and space and freedom which bestows for us such grandeur in the scene?[17]

I mean this to be a journal[e] and that I should write in it every day[18] and thereby strike eventually the scheme and formula for a book. And if it is necessary to write something every day, few pages will have a direct relevance to my theme, the theme for which at present I am but groping. At present I have found neither the theme[f] nor its presentation. I possess only the general intention. From the beginning I hope that there will proceed a life's work. At least I shall sit at this desk every day for at least an hour. Unfortunately, at the moment, the moment of marriage, of owning a beautiful house **[fig. 9]**, of retirement, a final retirement, to the country,[19] my horizon has narrowed as never before. Finding a good deal of satisfaction within, the without as testing ground and as alternative void that may be filled, has greatly diminished in importance. Also I have reached an age———.[20] Ecstatic or even, perhaps, mystical contemplation, seems to have left me altogether. And I need this, I need it very badly for this work. For the moment, marriage, intimacy and happiness of a kind I have never known before, make this impossible, or so it seems.[g] And then I do not seem to have any memory store to draw upon. I cannot undo these tight rolls: I remember nothing.[21] And now I very much want [f. 13*r*][h] all the figures and the scenes of the past to visit me. And again, to the detriment of contemplation and of memory, I am not free, am still under the compulsion[i] to be effecting something, too frightened of failure and of loss of power; and of my present disconnection as a sign[j] of it. I feel no vision at all. Hitherto it has accompanied me. But if I sit here long enough, something will crowd near me again. The voice is naked at the moment. But I cannot let it be so. I have changed much,[22] much more than is possible for more than a few in history. But I cannot thus become bereft of vision. I will yet be free.

But when the world narrows thus, what is one to think? I was once an 'extraordinary' person, now, as a result of analysis, I am an 'ordinary' person? The world quite naturally contracts to the care of garden, say, as well

a [f. 11*v* blank; f. 12*r* headed] <Castelfranco> [and numbered top right] 5

b *Homeric*: [TS, corrected in pen] <h>{H}omeric

c *such causes as those that govern tides*: such <logic as the sea> {causes as those} <of the tides> that govern tides

d *governance*: [TS, corrected in pen] governan<ts>{ce}

e *a journal*: {a} journal

f *the theme*: the <theme> theme

g *it seems*: it <seem> seems

h [f. 12*v* blank; f. 13*r* numbered top right] 6

i *am not free, am still under the compulsion*: am not free, {am} still under the compulsion

j *and of my present disconnection as a sign*: and <that> {of} my present disconnection as [corrected from "is"] a sign

as a wife? Ineradicable genius could not thus be finally contracted. Does it depend upon the type of neurosis, apart from its cure? I shall now fetch down a volume of Keats and read some lines. But it is absurd: there is no hurry. I must just sit here long enough and not mind, not worry and doubt. Something will come though it may be of no value. The point is to become on good terms with myself. At present I am not.

I feel I own too clean a sheet.[23] I am sure of nothing, and wonder at everything and at nothing. I am interested in everything. Where is one to start to create? Perhaps I must find a more concise subject. I have never truly thought of others except philosophically. Perhaps I must write this while I study definite subjects,[a] write definite books. What I have to show, the phenomena I have to produce, must go to illustrate the yet wider theme of value or significance, which seems to be always connected with the expression of one thing in terms of another.[24] Sublimation, in fact, is the very heart of value in living.[25] That is really my theme.[b|26] The naked facts of life are few, little in themselves.[c] The thing-in-itself is always [f. 14*r*][d] cold and abstract.[27] Values spring[e] primarily in their relation[f] with one another, and thence, from their expression[g] in terms of one another, from the mingling of all classes of image, from sublimation, from the expression of the inner in terms of the outer, and of the outer in terms of the inner.[28] The supreme symbol, of course, of value viewed thus, is the work of art.

Can I bring multiform images of the x into relation with[h] manifold states of mind? Bitsey Grant,[29] all bits, small obstinate and all tricks, but with a young carrot swollen near the root to get hold of, tapering to a whip-tail, large, white, succulent: catch his power, take his central bit; lift it, make it show sinews. Now we have all the flopping of his hot hair as a white and swelling sinew. Or else this white carrot is long and weltering or like a thong nodding to the floor. This cannot be allowed: by pressure of the hand we shall lengthen it[i] and redden it and raise it horizontal, parallel with the floor and then it will raise many an inverted bow beseeching more pleasure with no longer a whip tail but a raw head, no longer its white dangling elastic carrot in some way debonair, challenging one very evident pervert to eat it. We prefer to eat this whole of Bitsey in the carrot stage and yet I don't know:[j] when eaten it is bits, no longer tender, white and flopping, potential and elastic in growth.[k]

a *study definite subjects*: study <[?a]> definite subjects

b *I mean this to be a journal* […] *really my theme*: [whole passage excluded from TS; in MS preceded and followed by "x"]

c *few, little in themselves*: few, <and> little in themselves

d [f. 13*v* blank; f. 14*r* numbered top right] 7

e *Values spring*: Values [corrected from "Value"] spring<s>

f *primarily in their relation*: [TS, corrected in pen] primarily <from> {in} their relation

g *from their expression*: <to> {from} their expression

h *into relation with*: <with states of> {into relation} with

i *lengthen it*: lenghen it

j *I don't know*: I dont know

k *Can I bring multiform images* […] *elastic in growth*: [whole passage excluded from TS; in MS preceded and followed by "x"]

Letter in New Statesman June 10 1939 headed Arachnophobia[a|30]

Sir, May I suggest that the dislike or fear[b] of spiders need not arise from some form of neurosis or psychological kink, but may merely be due to the startling celerity[c] with which a spider suddenly moves and drops – where, one knows not? That he has vanished with lightning speed, and may be climbing up or down one, causes momentary horror or disgust. This swift and sudden movement is also responsible for the alarm the mouse produces upon nervous people – their instinct is to jump on chairs to be out of the way. If spiders and mouse moved no faster than caterpillars, it is improbable that they would cause much dislike, still less fear! Melicent[d] Norris.

I find this a very interesting argument, just because it demonstrates a typical way of explanation,[e] applied to most of the difficulties in [f. 15*r*][f] life. You say the spider is frightening because spiders do such and such; and if they didn't do such and such they would not be frightening. Incidentally, they would not be spiders also.[g] In other words spiders would not be frightening if they were not spiders. This does not advance the argument as to why the particular activities[h] of spiders should frighten. It is not perhaps quite as stupid as that, since it is the shape[i] and appearance of the spider in relation to its quick fall which catches the imagination. But inasmuch[j] as the spider is perfectly harmless, fear of spiders must be founded on some particular set of frightening images[k] that its appearance and behaviour in relation suggest. Such an equation,[l] of course, is the characteristic and, probably, provides the only definition of neurotic fear.[m]

What are the psychological essentials on which the ordinary man subsists?[31] I mean, when one looks at some dirty town, featureless, gaunt, how does this prospect[n] feed its people; how does each environment find a place in people's lives? For here, sure enough, is nourishment for the basic images and their interplay.[32] No great poem or saga seems to have been written about the basic figures in men's lives. About this or that activity, about love, hate and death, retribution, but nothing that calmly reviews those

a *1939 headed Arachnophobia*: [TS, corrected in pen] 1939, headed Arachnophobia,

b *dislike or fear*: dislike of fear [corrected in TS]

c *celerity*: [TS] alacrity

d *Melicent*: [TS] Mellicent

e *explanation*: <explainat> explanation

f [f. 14*v* blank except for rectilinear doodle top right; f. 15*r* numbered top right] 8

g *frightening. Incidentally, they would not be spiders also*: frightening: <also> {incidentally} they would not be spiders also

h *why the particular activities*: why <they frighten> the particular activities

i *it is the shape*: it the shape [TS] it is the shape

j *But inasmuch*: {But} Inasmuch

k *set of frightening images*: set of <images> frightenng images

l *Such an equation*: <This> {Such an} equation

m *provides the only definition of neurotic fear*: {provides} the <only [illegible]> {<[illegible]> the} only definition, of neurotic fear

n *how does this prospect*: how <are> does this prospect



Figure 10
Unidentified photographer, *Carbis Bay from the Garden of Little Park Owles*. Early 1940s

things[a] that make life the same everywhere, that make it possible for men to find variants[b] upon the same images in any environment, and, hence, to make any environment habitable. It is not necessary, as it has been in all great literature,[c] to find exhaltation[d] upon the dramatic or exceptional, or even intense, plane. The great poem of the future will not be so: and this is where Eliot[e] is so old fashioned with his cold despair, his Graeco-Christian Eumenides.[33] So far as[f] people are concerned, some go better, some go worse: but all go the same way.[g] The father images, the mother images, the fact[h] of being alive and of ultimate death, are enough to explain all human activity. Outside us there is nothing beyond us: nothing except the outside world and its population.[i] All else that seems beyond us and outside us,[j] is within us. Oh the thin edge within upon which the sharpest mysteries blaze out upon the firmament, oh the immensity [f. 16*r*][k] of living feeling and probing thought, oh[l] the universal torment of heightened sensation and intuitive perception in a maze of mixed tendencies, oh[m] the singleness of desire amid the hidden forests. The process of projection is the life-blood of living. The motive forces are few,[n] few the plants of all[o] this confused foliage reaching out and above the very sky, foliage of contradictory, yet complementary colour.[34] Such mysticism and such poetry as Rilke's[35] is like the twitching legs of a dying animal, the convulsive and electric sum and total of a history in movement and animation, now paralyzed,[p] staccato and concentrated, short-hand, in decease:[q] the end-result of what was once in early child-hood a simple ferment.[36] In life, we repeat, we magnify, we complicate, we repeat; until the whole world is subsumed (child-hood's world

a *that calmly reviews those things*: that <[illegible]> calmly reviews those things [TS, corrected in pen] that calmly reviews {together} those things

b *variants*: [TS] variance

c *as it has been in all great literature*: <as [corrected from "to"?]> {as it} has been <the case of> {in} all great literature

d *to find exhaltation*: to find <its> exhaltation [TS, corrected in pen] to find <exultation> {exhaltation}

e *will not be so; and this is where Eliot*: will not be so: and this is where Eliot [TS, corrected in pen] El<l>iot

f *So far as*: [TS] As far as

g *some go worse; but all go the same way*: some go worse: but all go the same way

h *fact*: fact<s> [TS] fact

i *the outside world and its population*: the outside world<.> {and its population}

j *beyond us and outside us*: beyond us {and} outside us

k [f. 15*v* blank; f. 16*r* numbered top right] 9

l *oh*: [TS, corrected in pen] o<n>h

m *oh*: [TS, corrected in pen] <on> {oh}

n *The motive forces are few*: The <staple facets> {motive forces} are few [TS] The motivating forces are few

o *of all*: of <this> all

p *paralyzed*: <paralyzed> paral<i>yzed

q *short-hand, in decease*: [TS, corrected in pen] short-hand<,> in <disease> {decease}

was small) now distantly as befits an immeasurable physical world.[a] In the course of life we embrace more and more the character of the outside world, giving ourselves to it, taking it within us. In the moment of death we and it are indistinguishable.[b|37]

The waves on the beach beyond my room[38] **[fig. 10]** turn: not my thoughts but their rhythm, their resurgence,[c] turn them into their own beauty. This motif,[d] then, becomes deep as the sea and as restless, yet with pointed recurrence breaking upon a silence[e] under the wide[f] sky. My hot thoughts, then, are cool: their heat is now the vast[g] motion of wave slowly toppling upon the myriad sand. But whereas I reach out, the waves reach further, drowning my thought. Upon the sea ships float. Thus my thoughts float upon the unplumbed depths, rich[h] in animal life, within.[39] The sea is below my garden: the sea wets the land. It is not my thought, but I have taken it within me.[i] It is not my thought. Perhaps it is the condition of my thought: I[j] do not know it without my thought.[40] Rilke's Angels are [f. 17*r*][k] within.[41] Their origin no doubt was humble as were the figures of all religions.

An old-fashioned smithy was worked by an old-fashioned and even prosperous smith.[42] But what was really remarkable was his having six good-looking, strong and tall sons, all smiths, all working there. And how does the roof look when you have six strong sons working under it? It does not look the same, nor do the trees that stand in the middle distance from the window.

The central point about human beings (in contrast perhaps with animals) is that so often their feelings are evoked[l] indirectly. That is to say, when a particular object passes out of ken, it is evoked continuously, not only out of direct substitute objects[m] (such as a nurse or wife for a mother-figure) but from circumstances well removed (scientifically speaking from the nature of the first object), particularly things,[n] particularly states

a *now distantly as befits an immeasurable physical world*: <as> now distantly as befits <an immense> {an} immeasurable {physical} world, <under our pressing desires, conflict and anxiety>

b *indistinguishable*: indistinguishable. <to the true observer>

c *resurgence*: resurgance; [TS, corrected in pen] resurg<e>{a}nce

d *motif*: <note> motif

e *yet with pointed recurrence breaking upon a silence*: yet <as> with pointed recurrence breaking <up a> upon a silence

f *wide*: [corrected from "wider"?]

g *vast*: [TS, corrected in pen] <l>{v}ast

h *rich*: [TS, corrected in pen] <reach> {rich}

i *taken it within me*: [TS] taken it as a figure within me

j *my thought. Perhaps it is the condition of my thought: I*: my thought: perhaps it is the condition of my thought: but I [TS, corrected in pen] my thought: perhaps it is the condition of my thought: <but> I

k [f. 16*v* blank; f. 17*r* numbered top right] 10

l *evoked*: [TS] evoked

m *out of direct substitute objects*: out of {direct} substitute objects

n *well removed (scientifically speaking from the nature of the first object), particularly things*: well removed (scientifically speaking<)> from the nature of the first object) particularly things [TS, corrected in pen] well removed {,} <(scientifically speaking from the nature of the first object),> particlarly things

of the outside world. Thus, after child-hood, it may be that the deeper funds of emotion may only be stirred again when reflected back through images of exterior objects (not persons). Gigli singing the Neapolitan song, Santa Lucia,[a|43] evokes warmth and clarity of southern landscape, an ample life, fearless; and again,[b] in these terms, it may be that I experience warmth and security[c] much more poignantly than is possible in a way more direct. Thus, in men, images of the external world tend to take[d] the place of those objects of which they are the images.[e] This is our romanticism. We have ways and means of keeping things alive: we forget nothing; and the deeper sources[f] of our feeling are tapped by our environment, by external material objects, more easily and perhaps more loudly, than by[g] the human objects with whom[h] we repeat original relationships. The external world is the instigator of memory: the external world reflects every facet of the past – it is the past; for without[i] this mode of sublimation, much more of the deeper life[j] would remain pre-conscious and hardly ever stirred. Sublimation, then, continuous and various sublimation, is the best [f. 18*r*][k] distinguishing characteristic of man.[44] The chief characteristic it seems to me of this power of sublimation is its large dependence upon the external world. It would probably[l] not be psychologically true to say that our conception of the external world[m] is anterior to our conception[n] of ourselves. Nevertheless, it may be that this first conception,[o] taking mankind as a whole, has largely determined the latter. The two are, of course, interdependent. Temporally[p] speaking, of course, conception of ourselves comes first, not so much with reference to the inanimate[q] as to other people. I need to

a *Santa Lucia*: [TS] "Santa Lucia"

b *fearless; and again*: fearless: and again

c *I experience warmth and security*: I experience <the> warmth and security <of mother love>

d *tend to take*: [TS, corrected in pen] <tend to> {can} take

e *the images*: the <objects> {images}

f *romanticism. We have ways and means of keeping things alive: we forget nothing; and the deeper sources*: romanticism: we have ways and means of keeping things alive: we forget nothing: and the deeper sources

g *more easily, and perhaps more loudly, than by*: more easily and perhaps more loudly, than by [TS, corrected in pen] <lively> {loudly}

h *objects with whom*: objects <on> {with} whom [TS] objects with whom

i *of the past – it is the past; for without*: of the past: it is the past, for without

j *for without this mode of sublimation, much more of the deeper life*: for without <it we would not remember in the way> this mode of sublimation, much {more} of the deeper life

k [f. 17*v* blank; f. 18*r* has rectilinear doodle top right, numbered top centre] 11

l *It would probably not be*: [TS, corrected in pen] It would <probably> not be

m *our conception of the external world*: our <attitude to> {conception of} the external world

n *our conception*: our <att idea> conception

o *first conception*: [TS] former conception

p *Temporally*: [TS, corrected in pen] Tempor<arily>{ally}

q *to the inanimate*: to <the external objects> {the inanimate}

investigate all that I can find out about the infant's first perception of otherness and of itself. That the distinction does not exist in the first place is very significant.[45] In the course of life the distinction becomes clearer: only to fade again. The otherness of the external world is most vivid in the first full flush[a] of adult power. This clear apprehension and the sharp sublimations to which it then may lend itself is the fount of art, which, in turn, reproduces the equation[b] in terms of the adjustment between form and content and their mutual aid.[c] That is the basis of art and it is thus that it is the highest reflector[d] of the whole process of human living.[46]

The external world is co-extensive[e] with consciousness. For consciousness[f] is largely made up of impressions from the external world and the power to order them. Thought processes, unconscious per se, obtain entry to consciousness via the function of speech.[47] Symbolic substitution, even without speech, is as natural to the child as to anyone. It is fundamental:[g] an inherited thought-disposition. The basis of speech is substitution, the basis of all projection of the 'everything' that we carry about in the unconscious. All creation is substitution. Consciousness is made up of reality sensations and of substitutions, of reality and of the image. Man is alive twice over: he has this power both to live and to enlarge upon it.[h] He is alive in reality and in image.[48] This duality corresponds with the dual development[i] – up to 5[j] and again at puberty, a latency period[49] [f. 19*r*][k] lying between, one of the most suggestive[l] physical distinctions from animals.

Our projections are distortions: taken all together,[m] however, not so much distortion as infinite ramification from[n] the interplay of a few themes. We can only look upon the truth within in terms of the outside ramification, taking for our arrangement the exquisite arrangement of space.[50] The appearance, then, of the outside world may be our most profound apprehension of truth. We cannot probe the unconscious directly, and if we are to elucidate truth, even in the smallest matter, from what science has learnt of the unconscious, any worthy dissertation[o] will

a *the first full flush*: the {first} full flush ["first" added on verso opposite] [TS] the first full flush

b *reproduces the equation*: reproduces <this> {the} equation

c *between form and content and their mutual aid*: between form and content {and} their mutual aid

d *reflector*: [corrected from "reflection"?]

e *co-extensive*: {co-}extensive

f *with consciousness. For consciousness*: with consciousness: for consciousness

g *as to anyone. It is fundamental*: as to anyone: it is fundamental

h *this power both to live and to enlarge upon it*: this <to> power both to live and to <reflect> {enlarge} upon it

i *corresponds with the dual development*: corresponds with the <dual [?repeated]> {dual} development

j *up to 5*: [TS] up to the age of five

k [f. 18*v* blank; f. 19*r* numbered top right] 12

l *the most suggestive*: the most <sug> suggestive

m *taken all together*: [TS] taken altogether

n *ramification from*: ramification <made> from [TS] ramification grown from

o *any worthy dissertation*: any dissertation worthy [last word repositioned to before "dissertation" by an arrow]



Figure 11 Jean Valjean (Fredric March) in the Paris sewers. Screen capture from *Les Misérables*, directed by Richard Boleslawski (1935)

be so complicated, so full of reservations in the tracing of distortion, in sorting out the different layers of the mind, that[a] we can arrive at no kind of general apprehension. Speculative psycho-analysis is bound to become even more complicated than the old metaphysics. Our whole creativeness goes into distortion. It is therefore infinitely multiple: it cannot be cleared away; and were we ever able[b] to clasp the things-in-themselves, they would seem a nothingness.[c|51] We can best witness this very process of distortion and that which is distorted upon the screen of the outside world.[52] Every state, every distortion, every motive power, every phase of the remembered, the half-remembered and the forgotten is experienced by us in terms of our apprehension of the outside world. Poetry cannot articulate the truth about ourselves directly, but it may do so, in terms of the not-self, in terms of otherness.[53]

Consciousness is a brisk dream of all that is not conscious; the dream of utmost distortion.[d] But it is a dream made vivid, made real, by continuous contact with the actuality of the not-self; and in this way differs from the real dream-state.[e|54]

All the same, it would not be true to say that the world as presented to consciousness was a diffused reality. Indeed, there is an [f. 20*r*][f] element of exaggeration[g] that is well reflected also in the nature of art. Vast spaces, the outside world in all its immensity, is informed with our feeling, with images, maybe,[h] of our own insides. In a Victor Hugo film **[fig. 11]** one was shown once more the sewers of Paris. The hero, pursued, squanders his failing strength, carrying his girl,[i] foundering amid the subterranean mud and cataracts, amid the slipping, silky waters of dirt. Many the dangers in this tomb of suffocating, purposeful yet silent water; his head submerges. This vast under-water-way, which has such a firm hold on the imagination, with its occasional arches and dim lights from above, is most directly a magnification, indeed an intensification of images concerned with the inside of the body.[55]

The hot children of the street – the rustling nodding of poplar trees,[j] a green summer version of the heads, faces and hats of a crowd, the bivouacked skies of July in London.[56] The poplar trees[k] are tremulous with the greenness of the summer day.[l] Shouting, populous trees

a *of the mind, that*: of the mind that

b *goes into distortion. It is therefore infinitely multiple: it cannot be cleared away; and were we ever able*: goes into distortion: it is therefore infinitely multiple: it cannot be cleared away: and were we ever able

c *they would seem a nothingness*: <a nothingness would> {they would} seem a nothingness

d *Consciousness is a brisk dream of all that is not conscious; the dream of utmost distortion*: Consciousness is a {brisk} dream of all that is not conscious; <a> {the} dream of <much> {utmost} distortion

e *the real dream-state*: the {real} dream-state

f [f. 19*v* blank; f. 20*r* numbered top right] 13

g *element of exaggeration*: [TS, corrected in pen] element of {emphatic} exaggeration

h *with images, maybe*: with <pictures> images, may be

i *squanders his failing strength, carrying his girl*: [TS, corrected in pen] squanders his failing strength<,> carrying his girl

j *of poplar trees*: of <plane> {poplar} trees [TS, corrected in pen] of <P>{p}oplar trees

k *The poplar trees*: The <plane> {poplar} trees [TS, corrected in pen] The <P>{p}oplar trees

l *the summer day*: the <day> summer day

habituated to the crowds whose messages they emit to the sky like pigeons that carry[a] the latest score to Yorkshire. Yes, and isn't there a character to places that transcends their actual presentation to the eye, that through different circumstances and different ages, contrives thereby a variation on a theme? I feel thus about Lord's[b] and about cricket in general.[57] One could have found their counterparts in Marylebone even in the middle ages. The key is the summer sky of London, the particular sail[c] of the cumulus clouds.

Here, in St Ives in the season, the evening, as in Venice,[d] becomes corporeal with the strolling tourists. In a crowd thus taking its ease in the open,[e] the contemplation of a material object,[f] a patch of water, a breakwater, the side of a house,[g] includes one's longest questioning and ultimate hope; and these[h] are dramatized by the scene as by music. It is then[i] that I drop my thought into the uninhabited water. The delving into one's own being is upheld upon a light cord[j] amid the ease of the evening crowd. The deep things [f. 21*r*][k] sink out of sight yet belong to the scene[l] as might an amiable dog,[m] fathomless of course in animality,[n] yet genial in its possession of a master strolling on the front,[58] a part of the present crowd,[o] alive at this same moment before the world retires to bed.

The Wrinkled Hide-Out[59] (1939-40?)

Delicate and sure, tender swivel, coiling loosened wrinkled or else on leash before the inert body, waves of strict, tight feeling[p] telling to their tower. A head that raises, a neck that prolongs, rotunds.[q] The body asleep,

a *pigeons that carry*: pigeons {that} carry

b *Lord's*: Lords

c *sail*: [TS, corrected in pen] <sale> {sail}

d *the evening, as in Venice*: the evening, <air> as in Venice

e *In a crowd thus taking its ease in the open*: In a <crowded> crowd thus taking its ease {in the open}

f *a material object*; an immaterial object [TS, corrected in pen] a<n> <im>material object

g *a house*: [TS, corrected in pen] <the> {a}

h *ultimate hope; and these*: ultimate hope: and these

i *by music. It is then*: by music: It is then

j *a light cord*: a light chord [TS] a light cord

k [f. 20*v* blank; f. 21*r* numbered top right] 14

l *belong to the scene*: belong to <this> {the} scene

m *as might an amiable dog*: [TS] as much an amiable dog

n *in animality*: [TS, corrected in pen] in <an> animality

o *the present crowd*: the <crow> present crowd

p *waves of strict, tight feeling*: waves of <feeling> strict, tight feeling

q *a neck that prolongs, rotunds*: a neck that prolongs, <and swells> {rotunds}

recumbent, a sprawling stretch (in hot weather) of loose kidney. He moves within the shell, thinning, plastic. This is what can be formed with such delight, blind, pendant, waving, flopping up, all-over with movement yet with violent or soft glistening friction a strict cylinder that nods up and up upon the air, risen to the near-bursting of the seam; even so,[a] at the top padded sponge.[b] One that grows if swiftly struck, reaching out and over, a pulsating standard[c] of the body. One who, if held at the nose, grows and billows in face to such a pitch that finally every expletive falls and he falls down, notch by notch to droop of unknown size, filling what space of air. Sitting, red lips at the [instant?], like a cat sitting, encased, close to itself, an unused live wire cased in silk, a receiving station with unseen feelers, a strawberry with petals like a flower. A creamy soft and tallowed silence, allusive clots that delight in masking to make one coagulated risen length, a length that peers right beyond this agency with power to ram you with soft probe. The whiskered chaplet passes from the pit of the body,[d] round below on the swan-proud, purse-proud[e] swelling basket of pure layered flesh, soft, then, shifting wall of the two nested eggs.[f]

[f. 4*r*] Base and insolent[g] as weapon, now shrivelling, lolling empty, potentially fibrous, filling and dropping a little grapelike, in the recumbent body always moving, lengthening or broadening, or shortening and thinning, with each change, an alteration of angle. Sometimes[h] the shortening means a raising like the final receding word flung over the shoulder. When long yet loose curving over the laden purse, a conduit, a bridge, passing sensation or current on flesh. When [dangled?] a mushroom of the night. A gap between constriction and mere lengthening.[i]

Softer yet more dynamic ripple with voluble neck mounting from the store of wealth. Alive on its own, or else the reflector of all feeling.[j] An asparagus, rich and juicy, and dangled above the upraised mouth[k] it swells and elongates and tightens on its root.

A group of kidneys flung in port. Shrunken to a drop. A pouch of skins, yet the centre. A knob in the package. A red Indian's frayed and dirty wallet swinging beneath pomposity and on the whitest skin. An ant's nest with giant queen knob at the middle of a civilized being. Fried-looking. A numb and flabby dumb-bell hanging by threads, pulped. From this vegetable and insect mess the writhing worm may raise its head and dibble the air.

a *the near-bursting of the seam; even so*: the <b> near-bursting of the seam: even so

b *at the top padded sponge*: at the top <soft rubbered> {padded} sponge

c *a pulsating standard*: a pulsating <flag> standard

d *The whiskered chaplet passes from the pit of the body*: <Cha> The whiskered chaplet <that> passes from the pit of the body

e *round below on the swan-proud, purse-proud*: round below on the <swollen> swan-proud, purse-proud [corrected from another word beginning with "f"?]

f *the two nested eggs*: the {two} nested eggs

g *Base and insolent*: base and insolent

h *alteration of angle. Sometimes*: alteration of angle Sometimes

i *and mere lengthening.*: and mere lenghening

j *the reflector of all feeling*: the <toke> reflector of all feeling

k *and dangled above the upraised mouth*: and dangled <before> {above} the upraised mouth

Precious lumps in the stew of a starving man. A puncture and an enormous blind head[a] from the ruffed collar. This well-oiled piston, both bolt and case, when dry, dwindles to mere skins. Press[b] upon them and strength returns,[c] first as a steely suspension of eager steel over a chasm. A lowly bulb with a **[f. 5*r*]** long and heavy necked flower. In repose, a barbarian sleeping at full length before two cavernous chests[d] or huddled in cold. A worm on the nest that feeds from its eggs, or clasps them. This worm has swallowed the mother-bird who sticks in his throat. A cowardly yet forward mass of sponge grown upon the long irritation of a pin-prick. A crimson nonsense cleaving to the skin and the centre of the body. I flung him up and I flung him off, the gigantic farce.

a *A puncture and an enormous blind head*: A <small fish mouth and> {puncture [corrected from "punctured"?]} an enormous blind head

b *dwindles to mere skins. Press*: dwindle to mere skins: press

c *and strength returns*: and strengh returns

d *two cavernous chests*: two cavernnous chests



Figure 12 Adrian Stokes, *Near Zennor, Cornwall, Winter*. 1936-37?. Oil on canvas

Background I

OIL was begun in 1939 and almost certainly at Little Park Owles (LPO),[60] which AS had purchased on 7 March[61] and into which his wife MM and he had moved on 3 April.[62] Already indeed in the manuscript's fifth paragraph we find the phrase "Here in Cornwall […]".[63] Referential clues aside, however, the outline of an ambitious new literary project ("a life's work") with which it opens (and which had clearly prompted re-use of a large and still mostly blank notebook)[64] seems symptomatic of the changed life to which AS soon after alludes.[65] This first portion of *OIL* was at any rate drafted before the outbreak of the Second World War (WWII) in September 1939: close to the start of the ensuing portion is a retrospective reference to that critical turn of events.[66]

MM had been born in China to the Scottish missionaries David Barclay Mellis (DM) (1885-1961) and his wife Margaret ("Maisie") Blaikie Mackenzie (MMM) (1889-1970). After the outbreak of the First World War (WWI) the family had returned to Scotland so that DM could enlist.[67] By 1938 he had been ordained within the Church of Scotland and was Minister at Arngask in Perthshire. At fifteen MM had begun to study painting at the Edinburgh College of Art (where she later considered herself to have been Samuel Peploe's "best pupil").[68] She had met AS in September 1936 at the Cézanne exhibition then being held at the Musée de l'Orangerie in Paris, while on a travelling scholarship and studying with the painter André Lhote (1885-1962).[69] She had seen him again in the spring of 1937 in London and the following September at Sanary-sur-Mer in Provence,[70] where he had been painting at the villa owned by the writer Aldous Huxley (1894-1963) (he had begun to paint in the early months of 1936[71] while working on *C&F*). MM had then won a two-year fellowship which – "determined to see [AS] again"[72] – she had taken up in London, where he had returned earlier than planned because his brother, Geoffrey Durham Stokes (1900-37), a retired Lieutenant Commander of the Royal Navy, was critically ill (Philip, the eldest of the three Stokes brothers had been killed in action in 1917). Geoffrey had died in Eastbourne on 18 September.[73]

Following the publication meanwhile of *C&F* and MM's arrival in London on 1 October,[74] they had both begun attending the School of Drawing and Painting which had opened a few days later at 12, Fitzroy Street – where AS was now living, at no. 6[75] – and which, after its move to larger premises in February of the following year, would become known as the Euston Road School.[76] They had married on 14 July 1938, having become engaged only the previous month.[77] MM had thus been obliged to give up her scholarship.[78] The couple had honeymooned in Rapallo;[79] and on their return to England had set about house-hunting.

Even before the Munich Agreement (29-30 September 1939) – in response no doubt to a prevalent "feeling of doom"[80] – they had resolved to leave London for the country. The search for a house had first taken them to St Ives. It may have been here that in 1936 AS had started to paint.[81] He had returned there the following winter and, as he later recalled, had gone on "painting expeditions" with the young Peter Lanyon (1918-1964). The landscapes *Near Zennor,*

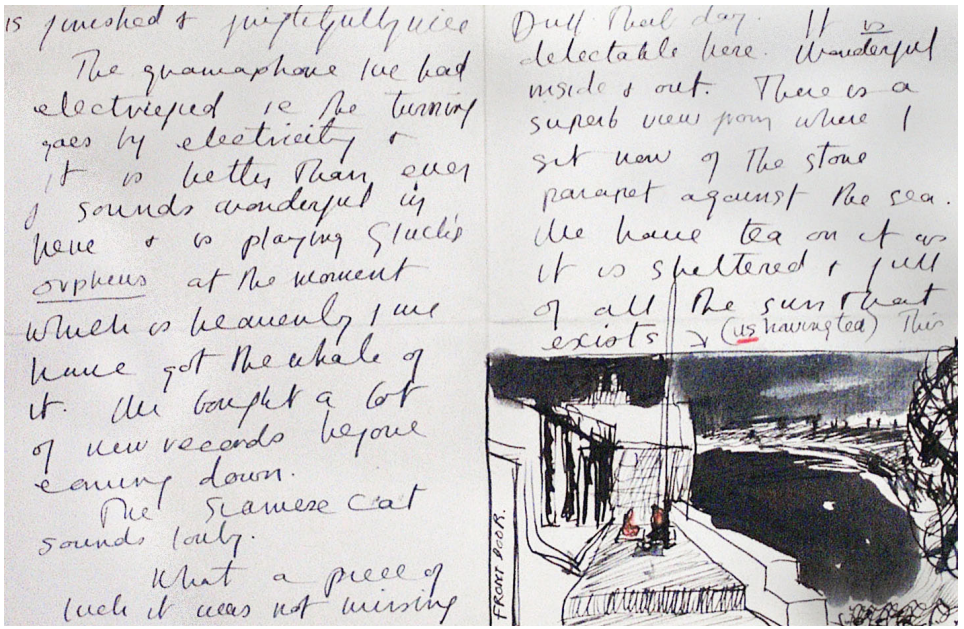


Figure 13
Margaret Mellis,
Autograph letter to her parents
n.d. [April 1939], with sketch
of Carbis Bay from the terrace
at Little Park Owles

Cornwall, Winter **[fig. 12]** and *Landscape, West Penwith Moor*[82] may date from this time.[83] In a letter written during his second stay he had professed his love of Cornwall to his friend the travel author and architectural critic Robert Byron (1905-1941) (RB).[84] He found it "very much like being abroad" and announced (in language pre-echoing *OIL*'s)[85] that he had "retired, possibly rather ignominiously" there.[86] Moreover, as MM would later recall, the presence of an established painters' colony had meant that, should war break out, a supply of paint was guaranteed.[87]

Among "improbable houses" then inspected had been a "beastly" one about two miles from St Ives and near Zennor, at Towednack,[88] above which AS had also considered having a home especially built, for the sake of "the best view of Cornwall".[89] He had asked ESW if "Paul" – probably the architect Geddes ("Paul") Hyslop (1901-1988) – might design one for him.[90] It seems he had even inquired whether Eagle's Nest, near Zennor, the home of the artist and author William Edward Arnold-Foster (1886-1951), "would what the agents call 'come on the market'".[91] Yet on a walk from St Ives towards Carbis Bay, MM and he had come on and both liked LPO, a "granite house" which, learning it was for sale, they had begun "nibbling after".[92] The "other possibility", AS had told ESW, was "the East Coast, Suffolk",[93] to which they had

accordingly gone on from Cornwall. Here they had thought of settling in Walberswick, which AS knew from before they had met. This plan however had come to nothing.[94]

LPO – its name no "Adrianism", as their friend Anne Olivier Popham (1916-2018) (AOP) would wryly suppose[95] – was in AS' view the "the nicest house in those parts"[96] and their efforts had now centred on it. Made of "honey coloured granite with a white limewashed roof",[97] it was discreetly finished with small ovoid finials and a lantern with copper-clad spire curving up to a ball and weathervane – the "central slatted feature" his first sight of which had aroused in AS a decisive "quick hallucination".[98] George Kennedy (1881-1954), a painter and architect with local connections,[99] had converted and enlarged what had been an outhouse, comprising garage and cottage, of the neighbouring property, Tremorna.[100]

LPO (mainly) comprises two floors, the upper slightly recessed at the front and in the centre so as to form a terrace bounded by a low wall (and in the 1930s at least commanding a view of the bay to beyond Hayle, as far as Godrevy lighthouse **[fig. 13]**).[101] Though regular in aspect, as if formed of a central body flanked by two small wings, the house is asymmetrical in plan and elevation, owing to its insertion in ground sloping down from above it to the lane at its back and, beyond that and more precipitously, to the railway line and the shore below. Levels are confused. The upper floor at the west end, coming flush with the drive leading from front gate to back,[102] doubles as ground. Indeed, located at this level, left of centre so as to leave room for the terrace and row of wall dormers behind it, is the front door, approached up an incline branching off from the drive **[fig. 14]**.[103] The lower and true ground floor, opening onto the garden in front, resembles an extended basement or cellar; except that, at the east or sea end, the house lies high enough above the lane to accommodate an actual cellar beneath it **[fig. 15]**. LPO perhaps reminded AS, in miniature and quiet calm, of the shuffling of aspects, "a-jostle at all angles", afforded by clamorous passage through steep-stacked Genoa, "the pleasure of [whose] house-tops and the different levels" he had so vividly evoked in *QC*, commending the city as "your best introduction to space, to the distant brought near".[104]

LPO is still set in extensive grounds, a walled courtyard on its north side and a long piece of land stretching south beyond the garden terraces to what would later be called Pannier Lane. In all, the property put up for sale in 1938 consisted of around four and a half acres.[105] This included a field (or fields) of one and a quarter acres with frontage on the main (St Ives-Lelant) road and a smaller field of a quarter-acre above the house which AS did not purchase.[106]

Negotiations had been complex and protracted. AS had dealt with the owner, Gwladys Lewis-Thomas (1876-1967?),[107] through two auctioneer-estate agents: James Lanham Ltd of St Ives, who had advertised the property in the *St Ives Times* the previous May **[fig. 16]**, and E. Mitchell & Sons of Penzance. Already in early September he had been prepared to offer £3000, which the Penzance agent had evidently understood to be the price asked, while yet considering it too high, since it "apparently exclude[d] the new garage and part of the grounds at the front entrance".[108] And the offer seems not actually to have been made until mid-October, through



Figure 14
Unidentified photographer,
Little Park Owles,
Carbis Bay, Cornwall.
Before 1939?



Figure 15 Paul Tucker, *Little Park Owles, Carbis Bay, Cornwall* (sea end). 2011

James Lanham Ltd.

have been favoured with instructions from Mrs. Lewis Thomas to offer for sale by public auction at an early date (unless previously disposed of by private treaty) all that

Granite build Freehold Residential Property

standing in its own extensive grounds known as

Little Park Owles, Carbis Bay

The house is luxuriously equipped and comprises 3 reception rooms, 4 bedrooms, dressing room, 3 bathrooms, kitchen and usual offices Garage for 3 cars.

Together with a FIELD of approximately 1½ acres with frontage on the main road, capable of development as building sites and a building plot of approximately ½ acre.

To view and for further particulars, apply to the Auctioneers

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Figure 16 Notice of the sale of Little Park Owles, Carbis Bay. *St Ives Times*, 13 May 1938



nber 7, 1939

BLACK-OUT

Margaret Mellis and one of her paintings

GAVE UP FELLOWSHIP TO MARRY

Artists in Cornwall No. 41

MARGARET MELLIS, gifted young artist, gave up a special painting Fellowship to marry Adrian Stokes, the painter and author. The young couple have bought a charming house at St. Ives, and mean to live "happy ever after" in Cornwall.

Mrs. Stokes has dark hair and a pair of blue eyes that sparkle with fun.

"I was tremendously thrilled at winning the Fellowship but I didn't mind giving it up to marry Adrian," she said. "It was my winning a travelling scholarship that brought us together in the first place.

"I met my husband at an art exhibition in Paris in 1937. We started talking about painting, and went on . . . and on.

"He was about to write his book on painting, and we found we had lots of ideas in common.

"We talked art for two days. Then I had to go back to England as my scholarship had run out."

HONEYMOON IN ITALY

The young couple did not meet again for a long time. Meanwhile she had been working very hard.

"Then I won a special two-year Fellowship for painting," she continued. "This gave me a chance to go to the South of France. I met Adrian Stokes again, and later we were fellow students at the Euston Road School of Painting.

"We went to Italy for our honeymoon. At one place where we stayed I painted out of one window and my husband from the other."

Mrs. Stokes studied painting first at Edinburgh Art School. She has won three painting scholarships and has exhibited regularly at the Royal Scottish Academy and the Scottish Society of Artists.

Figure 17 "Artists in Cornwall no. 41" [Margaret Mellis]. *News Chronicle*, [7 December?] 1939

Lanham's. AS had then learned that Mrs Thomas actually demanded £5000 for the whole estate, but was willing to accept less for diversely delimited portions of it.[109] A final agreement had not been reached for another six months and seems to have entailed the payment of £3,300 for the entire property less one of three garages and the field(s).[110] Within days of the German invasion of Czechoslovakia (16 March) and of the warning issued by the Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940), to the German Chancellor, that "any attempt to dominate the world by force would be resisted" by Britain,[111] they had packed up and left London.

AS considered LPO "well separated in its parts", so "good for work and staying in".[112] Around a dozen rooms, not counting the three bathrooms, were more or less equally distributed 'upstairs' and 'down'. The front door opened on a small hall, off which, towards the back of the house, was the kitchen, with, to its left, a walk-in larder. In the opposite, south-west corner of this 'wing' was the sitting-room, where they hung a white relief by their friend, soon to be their house guest, the painter Ben Nicholson (1894-1982) (BN).[113] By all accounts, however, what dominated the room was the gramophone, with its "enormous speaker".[114] Between the two corner rooms was one initially used as the dining-room. In AS' view it had the only wall in the house suitable for the hanging of pictures, because not facing a window.[115] In their first summer this wall was almost entirely taken up by another work by BN, *June 1937*,[116] a large abstract painting which he had lent them "to get it out of London".[117] This would later be moved to one of the garages, probably when the dining-room was turned into a studio – eventually MM's – and they began to eat in the hall.[118] Also on display in these rooms may have been a work aesthetically opposed to *June 1937*, GB's *Thomasson Park, Bolton* (1938),[119] which the artist had given to AS and MM as a wedding present, and which AS would later characterize, to GB himself, as "extremely true to appearance, at the same time poetic and monumental".[120]

To the right of the hall, beyond the stairs leading to the lower floor was a passage lit by the wall-dormers, off which were a bedroom, toilet and bathroom. At the east end of the house, at the front, was the large bedroom initially shared by AS and MM, with access to another room behind it. MM would later recall how in the passages and bedrooms they hung paintings by Alfred Wallis (1855-1942) (AW),[121] the former mariner and retired marine scrap merchant then still living in St Ives who had been 'discovered' by BN and the painter Christopher Wood (1901-1930) in 1928. AS had got to know of AW through BN and at different times acquired "a good many" of his paintings.[122] In 1939 these would already have included *Voyage to Labrador* **[fig. 18]**, which had been purchased from the artist in St Ives in December 1936[123] and discussed in *C&F* (in what was the first published critical account of AW's work).[124]

Downstairs, immediately below the main upper bedroom was AS' room: his study and later also his bedroom.[125] This had a shallow bay window at the garden end, whose grid of white cames at that time enclosed a small round light. A painting of the view out through this window must have been among the first made by MM at LPO: she is seen standing before it in the photograph illustrating an article published by the *News Chronicle* in early December as part of its series on "Artists in Cornwall" **[fig. 17]**.

The room AS came to use as his studio was behind his study towards the back of the house.[126] His bathroom was in the corner diametrically opposite this. Beyond the stairs and also towards the back was a small room at a slightly lower level, entered down some steps. Known as the "cellar" (it probably housed their stock of wine),[127] it would soon serve as an air-raid shelter.[128] Between the stairs and AS' room was the "granite passage", probably so-called from the two stone piers marking its inner side. From here a door opened onto the garden.[129]

AS had initially intended to let this to a market gardener, who might also "pick the flowers".[130] In the event, perhaps because of MM's active (and in her own estimation knowledgeable) interest in it, and with the help of "a book called a real ABC of Gardening" and William, "an angelic gardeners boy",[131] flowers, fruit and vegetables were cultivated in abundance.

After less than a month's residence, AS was able to report to BN,

> We are more or less settled in now and it is really a very lovely place and house and I feel highly satisfied. But I have gone on from that to try and find out how it can be kept so. This has entailed lawyers and a very stubborn retired schoolmaster to whom I was going to sell a garage. There is, I believe, a good tennis club here, and the local paper says I have come to St Ives to compete for a place in the town's cricket team.[132]

The house in order and the garden in hand, there began a routine, games of tennis and perhaps cricket aside, of writing and painting. AM later recalled that when she first visited LPO that summer the paintings AS and MM were producing strongly resembled one another: pale still lives of which *Banquet* **[fig. 19]** may be an example.[133] They occasionally also drew from the model at Arnold-Foster's.[134]

The routine was punctuated by outings to the cinema – a favourite pastime throughout this period[135] – and by visits from relatives and friends. MM's family were there repeatedly and in varying combinations.[136] And staying at St Ives from just after their arrival in Cornwall was AS' "oldest friend" (as MM explained to her parents),[137] Adrian Arnold Kent (1903-1977) (AK), known to his friends as "Curly".[138] In the late 1920s AS and he had spent much time together in Italy, when they are said to have become lovers.[139]

AK had entered Bradby House at Rugby School in 1917, little more than a year after AS. He had left early to study painting and had attended the Camberwell and Slade schools in London.[140] This no doubt fitted him to offer technical advice when AS first attempted to paint, in the early months of 1936, possibly at St Ives,[141] more certainly at Dartington Hall in Devon,[142] where, since 1932, AK had participated in the utopian experiment in rural regeneration and progressive education pursued by the philanthropists Dorothy Payne Whitney (1887-1968) and her second husband, Leonard Elmhirst (1893-1974). AK had there become especially close to the English potter Bernard Leach (1887-1979) (BL) and the American painter Mark Tobey (1890-1976), with whom he had shared an exhibition in the Dance School in June 1933, before holding one of his own in the Barn Studio in March 1937.[143]



Figure 18 Alfred Wallis, *Voyage to Labrador.* 1936 or before. Oil on wood



Figure 19 Margaret Mellis, *Banquet*. 1939. Oil on canvas

AK had moved to Dartington together with Katherine Mair ("Kay") Facey (1903-1955), whom he had married on 26 March 1930 **[fig. 20]**;[144] and the couple's first child, Virginia, had been born there in December 1935 **[fig. 21]**. Until her resignation in November 1934, Kay had been the School Secretary and secretary to the recently appointed headmaster, William B. Curry. AK had been employed as an art educator and consultant on the Dartington Estate and as an art master at the school.[145] He had given talks and led discussions on art at the Hall and in 1934, he and Bernard Forrester (1908-1990)[146] had taken the Estate classes in art and pottery while Tobey and BL were travelling in Asia. In 1938 AK had moved with his family from Dartington to London, where in September he had started teaching at Marylebone Grammar School.[147]

During the Easter break of 1939 the Kents were staying at The Wharf on the harbour front at St Ives,[148] and they saw AS and MM on several occasions in the month of April.[149] They would have been visiting Kay's sister Elizabeth and her husband, the potter David Leach (1911-2005), BL's son and now manager of the Pottery his father had established at St Ives two decades earlier.[150] "They make lovely dark green, buff, honey, grey etc crockery", MM wrote to her parents, adding proudly that they had eaten off it the night before, when AK and Kay had come to supper.[151] And she would later remember how they used "a lot of Leach pottery in the house and Adrian asked Bernard to make us both a tea bowl; these were glazed pale green inside and out and one was fluted".[152] BL also "modelled a horse **[fig. 22]** for Stokes to place on his roof as an emblem of good luck".[153]

After hosting friends from the Euston Road School in June[154] AS and MM stayed with his parents at Pangbourne, near Reading. From here, cricket, an exhibition of French art at the Lefevre Gallery and, above all, the ballet (Wassily de Basil's Covent Garden season was underway[155]) would take them to London.

This apparently idyllic existence was threaded by anxiety, provoked not just by the deep personal misgivings privately examined in *OIL*,[156] but by the encroaching "prospect of war". "Throughout the first summer at tea-time", in AS' later recollection, this prospect "opposed the green-yellow of saffron cake".[157] In his own interview for the *News Chronicle* **[fig. 23]**, seemingly given after MM's, he told the reporter, "we are not allowing anything to interfere with our work […] we are painting hard".[158]

The first in a series of crises came only a week after their arrival at St Ives. News reached them over Easter of Italy's invasion of Albania on Good Friday (7 April). This immediately prompted a letter to GB in which AS declared, "We are ready for Olivia [AOP][159] and you at a moment's notice, should the need arise" and referring to this ominous development as "the moment I have long been dreading". "I am deeply affected by Italian behaviour", he explained,

> being so fond of Italians and Italy. "Fond" is not a good word because I have drawn everything from there. Consequently, I have felt uprooted all these last few years of fascism.[160]



Figure 20
Unidentified photographer, *Adrian and Kay Kent with Bernard Forrester, Dartington Hall*. After 1932?



Figure 21
Unidentified photographer,
Adrian Kent with His Daughter Virginia. 1936

Though GB, a "militant leftist" and vehement anti-fascist,[161] was perhaps unaware of this, AS' letter implicitly acknowledged that fascism had earlier attracted him. Ten years previously he had stated in a letter to RG, that it was "the only hope for peace in Europe".[162] And in an essay on Giorgione published in *The Criterion* the following year he had allowed himself to exclaim, "Not again until Fascism was the Italian standpoint so definite".[163] What he now rather understated to GB was his persistent unwillingness, despite the war of aggression against Ethiopia (1935-37), to renounce the 'pleasure' he had derived from Italian fascism. As recently as 1937, during the Spanish Civil War, this lingering sense of a cultural debt and irrational fear of being denied access to Italy had led him first to qualify and finally to withdraw a public statement rejecting fascism in general.[164]

So far as Italy in particular was concerned,[165] a turning-point seems to have come during the honeymoon spent there in August 1938. If not the actual promulgation of the fascist government's first racial laws (on 5 and 7 September), AS would have witnessed the social and political climate that fostered them, perhaps heard them discussed by his former mentor, the poet Ezra Pound (1885-1972) (EP), whom MM and he visited while in Rapallo, along with insistent talk of "the boss" (Mussolini) and Douglas Credit.[166] The possibility is suggested by a passage in a notebook probably drafted by AS on their return to England (it is dated "Sept. 1938"):

> One renounces the misguided heroic cause, Fascism for instance, not because there is anything more stirring today or tomorrow, but because to renounce it, and all the strength and discipline it may afford, is the first and weary step to a heroism less misguided, less destructive. You read on the walls of Italy "All national supremacy has had to be fought for" […] Ezra [EP] cannot wait, cannot make the one important renunciation of today, belief in the devil as well as of God. For him, bankers and Jews are the devil. And so he ends up thus, an intellectual if you please[,] crying "The 'reds' (in Spain) are bankers and Jews" or "Bankers and Jews are 'reds'".[167]

However ambivalent AS may have been about his part-Jewish origins, and even though from a legal point of view he would not have been targeted as a non-Italian Jew, having only one Jewish parent,[168] the legitimization of anti-Semitism in fascist Italy that autumn must have been a shock to him personally,[169] all the more so given what Italy signified for him, which was in turn what motivated his fear of being denied entry if identified as an anti-fascist. In a subsequent portion of *OIL* he would reflect on the "horrible reality" and "white menace" which the "clean-cut, clear world" epitomized by Italy might become, once apparently infected with "virulent poisons which are themselves fed with light", should we "get on bad terms with this world".[170]

Not long after moving into LPO and hoping to persuade them to visit, MM had written to her parents, "We dont think there will be a war until August unless in the next week".[171] And so it turned



Figure 22 Andrew Lanyon, *Horse by Bernard Leach on the Roof at Little Park Owles*. 1979

out. On 24 August, the day Parliament passed the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, she wrote in her desk diary:

> Lovely sunny weather terrible day listening to news. Bill marching up & down & round clasping his head in mortal terror. Every now & then a wry joke coming out. Nancy not upset. just waiting. I don't feel the horror yet either. Adrian calm. A drove them back. Waited for Eddy. Never came. Telegram Ben & Barbara. On the way.[172]

"Eddy" was ESW, "Bill" the painter William Coldstream (1908-1987) (WC), founder with Victor Pasmore (1908-1998) (VP) and Claude Rogers (1907-1979) of the Euston Road School, now in Cornwall with his wife, the painter Nancy Sharp (1909-2001), staying with her mother at Bude.[173] "Ben" and "Barbara" were BN and his wife, the sculptor Barbara Hepworth (1903-1975) (BH), with whom it had been arranged that, as soon as war seemed inevitable, they should leave London with their young family for the safety of St Ives. So on 25 August, around a week in advance of Germany's invasion of Poland on 1 September and of the arrival in Cornwall that same day of almost five thousand government evacuees,[174] as well as of Britain's declaration of war two days later, BN and BH and "their cargo of five" – the four-year-old triplets, Simon, Rachel and Sarah, their nurse and their cook – arrived at LPO by car.[175] They would stay until just after Christmas.

Means To Paint Cornwall As It Is

ARTISTS IN CORNWALL No. 40

ADRIAN STOKES, much-discussed modern painter, and his young wife, who is also an artist, are now living in St. Ives, in a lovely house that looks right out across the bay. There is a sun-dial in the garden and tall trees at the end of the lawn.

"We are enchanted with Cornwall and our new home," Mr. Stokes told a News Chronicle representative, "but we are not allowing anything to interfere with our work . . . we are painting hard."

I found them in their temporary studio. Mr. Stokes is preparing for his exhibition at the Lefevre Galleries. Mrs. Stokes, dark-haired with laughing blue eyes, and looking very charming in terracotta coloured trousers and jumper, was also busy painting.

They are very amused at being labelled modern painters.

"We are—and we are not," said Mr. Stokes.

"We like all painting that is good of its kind. We loathe the sort of pictures popularly known as modern —those dreadful things in blatant colours that seem to hit you in the eye.

"I want to paint landscape that is typical of Cornwall—the gaunt old mine stacks and the moors around Land's End."

Mr. Stokes first made his name with books on the Russian Ballet and Italian painting. He took up painting seriously six years ago. He studied drawing at the Slade and later went to Euston Road School of Drawing and Painting.

He has had work in the London Group Exhibition and the Artists' International, as well as art exhibitions abroad.



Adrian Stokes off for a bathe

Figure 23 "Artists in Cornwall no. 40" [Adrian Stokes]. *News Chronicle*, [before 7 December?] 1939

Notes

1 Cf. *IA* (Stokes 1978, III, 265): "It is a commonplace to say that we are partly made up of others and they of us. Viewed by psycho-analysis, however, the interchange can have the precision of a timetable and of formidable engines enacting it".

2 See "Background III", 136, for AS' exclusion of this opening paragraph from the TS of *OIL* and *OIL* IV, f. 45*r*, 149, for criticism of the general approach it epitomizes. See also the "Introduction", 11-15.

3 The Woolworth's chain of department stores formed the British division of the American F.W. Woolworth Company. The store on the Edgware Road in London had opened in 1914. Not long before the time of writing, it had been extended, acquiring a new Art Deco façade.

4 The Edgware Road was not far from AS' childhood home in Tyburnia (see Kite 2009, 9-34).

5 Cf. "Writing", f. 18*r*, 294: "One must understand […] to keep inside riches somehow". Cf. also Klein [1935] 1998, 266, on the ego's anxiety lest internalized good objects die: "Both in children and adults suffering from depression I have discovered the dread of harbouring dead or dying objects (especially the parents) inside one and an identification of the ego with the objects in this condition". For a more positive appraisal of the "produce of Woolworth's" cf. Stokes 1934a, 27: "millions of new cheap things that are not tawdry; bright nails, bright tacks, well-designed enamelled hooks, simple gleaming objects by the thousand within the reach of each stretching hand, balls of every texture, new as paint. They are not baubles or tawdry knick-knacks. Since they are serviceable the gaiety of these things lies with their simplicity and their newness".

6 Cf. Klein, Riviere [1937] 1998, 27-8: "One great reason why a *loss* of any kind is so painful is that unconsciously it represents the converse idea, that we are being exposed as *unworthy* of good things, and so our deepest fears are realized. When a person, whose sense of security is largely based on his greed – on the feeling that he has, or can get, as much as he needs of good things – sees that someone else has more than he, it upsets this self-protective edifice of security; he feels reduced to poverty, as if he had little – 'too little good' – in him. Not only has his unconscious protective defence vanished, but he feels in phantasy as if the others who have more must actually have *robbed* him of what had made him feel secure, which now is gone".

7 On the theme of "otherness" see the "Introduction", 15-17.

8 Cf. IS, 212-13: "It has needed […] science, prose".

9 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 159): "To fantasy, there are as many things inside as outside. It is one reason, surely, why we are often appalled by a casual or callous aspect; why we are reassured by the beauty and order of things".

10 Cf. f. 19*r*, 56 ("We can best witness […] outside world") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 159: "A contemplative mood in some surroundings discovers an otherness that is tenuous compared to the Mediterranean. Here in Cornwall, for instance, I sometimes have the feeling that what I see out of my eyes is a projection of pictures in my head […] and enlarged"). See *OIL* IV, 149, for criticism of this remark.

11 Cf. "Writing", f. 18*r*, 294: "Artists at any rate […] a desolating otherness". See the "Introduction", 27-8.

12 AS would later write to HR, "Your book [Read 1940] really does me good, weeks afterwards too. I am conscious of having had what is sometimes described as an 'experience': it is a long time since I had that from reading. I suppose that phrase means that a kind of telescopic sequence remains for ever pictured in the mind and symbolizes all experience as <does> {do} the visions of a drowning man" (AS to HR 10 January [1941?], HRP, SC MLUV).

13 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 27*r*, 96: "The well-known place […] nor so objective".

14 Cf. *OIL* VII, f. 55*r*, 254 ("Last night […] below, is seen together!") and NBA, f. 15*r*, 264 ("A man is the sum […] encourage such detachment"). Cf. also "On Resignation" (Stokes 1973, 71): "We shall have found that a beloved place never looked so beautiful as at the moment we had to leave it, probably for ever. The house is sold, furniture removed, luggage packed; we sit in a silent house awaiting a taxi for our own removal, a situation of no more care, involvement, responsibility. To gaze at the garden is no longer to include in the impression our concern: the moment has come when the struggling flower or weed demonstrates fully a singular peace. All perfection is close to death: there abides no further call for attack, gainfulness, and reparation: the mother is complete; we have ceased to try and restore her; instead we contemplate. It appears now that she was always whole as well as untidy and in pieces". These passages recall Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, in the middle section of which the Ramsays' now deserted house takes on an "air of pure integrity", a compound of "loveliness and stillness […] a form from which life had parted" (Woolf [1927] 1970, 147-8).

15 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 31*r*, 99: "We note the rebutment of the sea by the rocks".

16 These observations find an echo in *IA* (1965), where in reference to the relation to landscape AS remarks "the need of the psyche to project into surroundings a history of its development, to receive from this projection an image of the psyche's architecture constructed upon firm and ancient foundations" (Stokes 1978, III, 295).

17 The whole of this passage ("It is the artist's […] in the scene?") is reworked in *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 160-2).

18 Cf. ASP, TGA 8816.136, an earlier notebook inscribed on its first recto "Note-book of Adrian Stokes: it is intended that at least something will be written henceforward every day. This is also a scrap-book. December 30th 1937".

19 See "Background I", 62.

20 At the time of writing (spring or early summer, 1939) Stokes was thirty-six; see Background II, 61-3.

21 AS may have felt he had regressed to a position pre-dating his analysis with MK and the completion of *QC* (Stokes 1932), when his work was still "in a horrible muddle" and he had written to the poet Ezra Pound's mistress, the American violinist Olga Rudge (1895-1996) (OR), that he felt "completely undone – by England and my family. It's like losing my memory. Lost all touch with reality" (AS to OR n.d. [before 5 September

1927] and 5 September 1927, Olga Rudge Papers (ORP), Beinecke Rare Books and Music Library (BRBML), YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2125). The symptom is reflected in a passage in ASP, TGA 8816.15, dating from around this time and quoted in fn. 24 (142). It also formed the subject of a session with MK in April 1931 (ASP, TGA 8816.71): "Talked about bad memory after knocking on the door. S suggests more afraid of flow of words, of flow, of [?u], even than f perhaps. Also, unconscious brought up to c, because I don't avoid the inner difficulty altogether, but when the anxiety can't be dealt with, it is plainly forgotten. I pointed out that I forget happy and helpful states too – complete dissassociation [*sic*] – dream-state – waiting for things to happen, to change, to come alive as [O?] waits for them to die".

22 Cf. *OIL* III, f. 39*r*, 125 ("How I have changed").

23 Cf. "Listening to Clichés and Individual Words" (Stokes 1973, 17) on the 'neatness' of the phrase "to start with a clean sheet" as meaning to disown.

24 Cf. CAM, 296 ("The expression of one thing […] a paramount characteristic of the mental life") and see the "Introduction", 17-20. Cf. also *TA* (Stokes 1925, 64): "we can gather no *meaning* from any one conception".

25 Cf. ASP, TGA 8816.3: "Living is substitution, good living substitution as an art. The work of art has a certain (perhaps indefinable) validity".

26 See the "Introduction", 17-18.

27 An allusion to the Kantian concept of the *Ding an sich*. Cf. f. 19*r*, 56 ("were we ever able […] a nothingness") and ASP, TGA 8816.159 (a TS of notes dated 1947-49): "Reality, like death, has no corresponding 'feel' to it; whereas the pursuit of science, the contemplation of what science reveals, has a strong emotional side, truth itself resembles numbers to which, were it possible, no association and no images are attached. In attempting to grasp what is real, we are unable altogether to disentangle emotion. This consideration must be the modern version of appearance and the ding-an-sich".

28 Cf. NBA, f. 12*r*, 262 ("It will always come back […] of correlation and distortion").

29 Bryan Morel ("Bitsy") Grant Jr (1909-1986) was an American amateur tennis champion who had been a quarterfinalist at Wimbledon in 1936 and 1937. His slight build (5' 4", 54 kg) and prowess earned him the nickname "Itsy Bitsy the Giant Killer". Friends and relatives of AS – e.g. the engineer and conscientious objector Peter Freeman (1915-1994) (PF) in Freeman 1973 and AM and Telfer Stokes (TrS) in personal conversations – have commented on his fondness for nicknames, abundantly confirmed in his correspondence. In the present instance the appropriated "Bitsey Grant" is clearly phallic in reference. To exemplify the inner-outer interchange in this way may suggest persistence of the penis fixation analysed by MK, in her study of his clinical alter-ego "Mr B" (see Read 2002, 193-214; Sayers [2015] 2018, 63-74), as "the basis of his homosexual position" and as symptomatic of his inability to "restore [his mother] in the sexual act" (Klein [1932] 1997, 270). Erotically engaged but at the same time mock-heroically detached and dismissive, it is hard, however, to gauge the temper and function of this brief masturbatory and oral fantasy and verbal experiment, whether consoling, liberating or sublimating, and what light it casts on AS' marital intimacy at the time. A more elaborate experiment of the same kind resulted in WHO (57-9). For an insight into the psychological significance of "bits", see *OIL* II, f. 24*r*, 90, and cf. *OIL* III, f. 43*r*, 130 and fn. 60.

30 *New Statesman and Nation*, 17(433) (New Series), 898. The original letter opens "Might I suggest […]" and is divided into two paragraphs, the second beginning "If spiders and mice moved […]".

31 Cf. ASP, TGA 8816.15 on the "handful of experiences which stimulate every European": "Through changing present and the thus altered past, they continue to intensify living. For {they} reach down beyond the explicit <world> {veneer}. The images that such experiences provoke are not common to every man, nor are they similar for <each {a} man> {him} on each occasion. But <there are> a few images <that> are common, and in those all legends are steeped" (f. 8*r* from back, inverse orientation).

32 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 159): "I doubted, and I doubt, whether the material by and large of ideal inside things are to be easily found outside in terms of modern cities, or whether this outside can be converted to suitable inside nourishment". Cf. *IA*, which would pick up on the analysis in *Monet* (1958) of the cultural significance of Impressionism in terms of painterly compensation, "amid the ruins of architecture", for "the new aesthetic poverty of streets", stressing the "needed resonance for man-made surroundings" especially supplied by art (Stokes 1978, II, 294; III, 280-9, 294-5).

33 AS alludes to *The Family Reunion*, a play by the poet and critic T.S. Eliot (1888-1965), published in 1939 itself. Its main character, Harry, haunted, after murdering his wife, by the avenging deities of Greek mythology, the Eumenides, returns to his childhood home only to discover that it is the source of his family's unhappiness and that his pursuers are themselves at home there. He is compelled to leave, this time in pursuit of his pursuers, on a journey of expiation "through the purgatorial flame" (Eliot [1939] 1976, 98).

34 Cf. ff. 13*r*-14*r*, 48 ("The naked facts of life […] the outer in terms of the inner"); NBA, f. 12*r*, 262 ("It will always come back […] of correlation and distortion")

35 The issue of the *New Statesman* cited above (fn. 30) includes a review (900-2) by AS' old Oxford friend, the writer and music critic Edward Charles Sackville-West (1901-1965) (ESW) (see "Background I", 61-2, 76, and "Background II", 106, 108) of the translation of Rainer Maria Rilke's *Duino Elegies* by J.B. Leishman and Stephen Spender (Rilke [1923] 1939). Together with his cousin, Victoria Mary ("Vita") Sackville-West (1892-1962), ESW had published his own translation, the first in English, in 1931 (Rilke [1923] 1931).

36 In reviewing the new translation ESW had commented that the *Elegies* represented "the end-result of Rilke's thought and feeling"; see *New Statesman and Nation*, 17(433) (New Series), 900.

37 Cf. IS, 211 ("the gradual process […] the corpse"); NBA, f. 15*r*, 265 ("We strive to manifest […] of the outside world"); "Envoi", 271 ("We strive to manifest […] inert outside world") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 162: "In life […] indistinguishable". See also the "Introduction", 15-17.

38 See "Background I", 67; "Background VI", 220.

39 Cf. *OIL* III, f. 38*r*, 124: "We with our minds are mere vessels on the seas of our unconscious".
40 See the "Introduction", 12-13.
41 In his review of the *Duino Elegies* ESW had written: "It [the problem of all the greatest artists in their final period of creation] is, in the last analysis, the effort to solve the problem of the Pathetic Fallacy – of the, to the poet, evident life of inanimate objects. To Rilke some thing – a jug, a pillar – could be *felt* as a joy, or a pain; equally, that joy or pain could exist within him, hypostasised as an image – jug or pillar […] For Rilke, the Angel is the symbol of a kind of existence in which the two rhythms of life – that of the human being and that of the thing – are united in a single harmony"; see *New Statesman and Nation*, 17(433) (New Series), 902.
42 Given the following description, it seems unlikely that the smith in question was the one referred to in Freeman 1973 (see "Background VI", 218).
43 AS may refer to the recording of this Neapolitan song which the Italian tenor Beniamino Gigli (1890-1957) made (in Italian) with the conductor John Barbirolli for His Master's Voice in 1933. This may have been among the stock of records bought by AS and MM before they moved to Cornwall (MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM; AS to ESW n.d. [after Easter 1941], SIA: "A small collection of records have meant a great deal to me. I took your last advice and got several Mozart piano concertos"). TrS (Stokes 1997-98) has recalled how at "a very early age" he was allowed to clip the needles used to play records of ballet music by Tchaikovsky and arias sung by Gigli. For the gramophone see "Background I", 67 and fn. 114.
44 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 29*r*, 97 ("This compulsion outward […] in terms of it"); III, f. 39*r*, 124 ("But distortion […] all that distinguishes us from the animals").
45 See the "Introduction", 27.
46 Cf. NBA, f. 13*r*, 262 ("In the manner of a work of art, consciousness is a kind of distorted reflector of the manifold"); "Envoi", 270 ("Like a work of art, consciousness is a kind of concentrating reflector of the manifold spirit").
47 Cf. CAM, 297, citing Freud (*The Ego and the Id*) on the role of verbal images.
48 Cf. IS, 212 ("Mental processes […] in reality and in image"); "Envoi", 270 and 271 ("Consciousness is made up […] and in image"; "Mental processes […] basis of all projection") and CAM, 296 ("The expression of one thing […] a paramount characteristic of the mental life"). See also the "Introduction", 19.
49 In Freudian theory "the period which extends from the dissolution of infantile sexuality (at the age of five or six) to the onset of puberty, constituting a pause in the evolution of sexuality", and having "its origin in the dissolution of the Oedipus complex". It "represents an intensification of repression which brings about an amnesia affecting the earliest years, a transformation of object-cathexes into identifications with the parents, and a development of sublimations" (Laplanche, Lagache 1988, 234).
50 Cf. IS, f. 3*r*, 212 ("To project is to distort […] arrangement of space"); NBA, f. 13*r*, 263 ("With the aid of reason […] primary emotions"); "Envoi", 270 ("With the aid of reason […] primary emotions"; "To project is to distort […] arrangement of space") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 162: "Living is […] the infinite ramification of a few themes. And so, in the more profound contemplation of our lot, we may look upon the truth within in terms of an outside ramification, the exquisite arrangement of space").
51 Cf. ff. 13*r*-14*r*, 48 ("The thing-in-itself is always cold and abstract").
52 Cf. f. 10*r*, 44 ("as if I were a cinematographic film […] this film is projected") and *OIL* III, f. 38*r*, 124 ("In its larger facets […] in a glass").
53 For the "not-self" see the "Introduction", 13.
54 Cf. CAM, 298 ("The work of art […] appearance of reality") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 163: "Consciousness […] dream state").
55 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 163): "Yet even vast spaces are informed with our feelings, with images, maybe of our own insides. A film of *Les Misérables* shows once more the sewers of Paris. The hero, pursued, squanders his failing strength carrying the girl, foundering in the subterranean mud and cataracts […] images of the inside of the body". Film adaptations of the novel had been made by Raymond Bernard in 1934 and by Richard Boleslawski in 1935, both of which included the episode in which Jean Valjean escapes through the Paris sewers. AS might have seen either film in London – both were reviewed in *The Spectator* (14 December 1934 [Part I]; 3 May 1935) – or indeed both of them (and perhaps this is the meaning of "once more"). The 1935 version was screened in cinemas elsewhere in Cornwall between October and December 1939 (*Cornish Guardian*, 19 October 1939; *Newquay Express and Cornwall County Chronicle*, 12 and 26 October 1939; *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, 5 October, 16 November and 21 December 1939); and it would certainly be shown in St Ives itself in December 1941 (*St Ives Times*, 5 December 1941). The present passage, however, must have been written before 23 September 1939 (cf. *OIL* II, f. 22*r*, 88). AS was therefore probably writing from memory; and this might explain the curious slip (uncorrected in *IO*) whereby Valjean here carries "his girl" (or "the girl") through the sewers, rather than the wounded revolutionary Marius, as in the novel and as in both films. (In effectively assimilating *Les Misérables* to the genre of the Western, the mistake incidentally seems to confirm PF's sense that this was AS' favourite kind of film; see fn. 135.) Two details in AS' text – the hero is "pursued" and "his head submerges" – point to Boleslawski's as the film intended here, as these are both features of the relevant scene in that version, but are not present in Bernard's.
56 Cf. Stokes 1934a, 18: "the dull English sky like a tent of goatskin".
57 Cf. "Psycho-Analytic Reflections on the Development of Ball Games, particularly Cricket" (Stokes 1973, 45, 50): "With a study of each native air the cricket lover absorbs other qualities of the neighbourhood that more nearly suggest that he does, after all, cling by this means to an ideal of goodness. It is to drink in with the conflict a sunny day that a crowd arrives at Lord's: for, cricket seems to make the day even sunnier, and similarly the width of the sky, the size of the green. Contentment is of the kind that often leads to dozing: whether or not the game bores, it is remarkable, surely, that the sound of ball on bat should be so often accounted calming, soporific: these are inner objects that caress each other: the man in front of the Tavern at Lord's holding a glass of beer is for once appropriate to his surroundings […] From the game itself

we have the opportunity to feed richly off the wretchedness of our climate, the feebleness of the light, the plethora of grass. We chew the neighbourhood of village cricket […] This agricultural link [the unchanging length of the cricket pitch as constituting an agricultural chain] may recall the magical foundation on which fortune was believed to depend. I hope I may have said something that will help explain the homage of the spectators who approach and stare silently at these twenty-two yards during the lunch interval at Lord's. Even in so ugly an urban ground as the Oval we may become aware of a telluric significance to which potency of all the players, whether on the field or blazered in the pavilion, has contributed".

58 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 162-3): "The evening […] on the front".

59 WHO is placed here, not because it is known to have been written between April and September 1939, but because it evidently relates to the "Bitsey Grant" extravaganza in this first section of *OIL*. There are indeed no unequivocal internal or external clues as to when it was written. Dated texts in the same notebook (ASP, TGA 8816.53) span a period from 1938 to 1952. That WHO is physically adjacent to notes that must date from early in 1939 and (probably) the winter of 1939-40 and that it shares the phallic theme of the above passage in *OIL* suggest but cannot establish a date of 1939-40. Such a date might allow for its greater elaboration and freedom as well as its self-sufficiency. While it even more clearly reflects both "good" and "bad" aspects of AS'/"Mr B"'s penis fixation, WHO's vegetal and comestible metaphors are more varied and moments of lyricism leaven the burlesque it shares with the "Bitsey Grant" passage. Cf. *OIL* III, f. 44*r*, 131 and fn. 65.

60 Since 1985 known as Little Parc Owles, it now belongs to the Little Parc Owles Trust (LPOT), set up by its former owners Sir Geoffrey (1938-2017) and Lady Carol Holland (d. 2022).

61 According to a list of owners of and deeds to the house compiled by Carol Holland (LPOT).

62 Mellis 1939; 1977.

63 *OIL* I, f. 10*r*, 44.

64 See "Note on the Texts and Editorial Criteria", 35.

65 See the "Introduction", 8-9.

66 *OIL* II, f. 22*r*, 88.

67 Mellis 1993, tape F4129A; Lambirth 2010, 11-3.

68 Lambirth 2010, 14-5.

69 Mellis 1993, tape F4129B; Lambirth 2010, 16-8 (where the exhibition is incorrectly stated to have been held at the Jeu de Paume).

70 Mellis n.d.; 1937/1974/1975.

71 Wollheim 1980, 31; 1982; Read 1982, 53; 2002, 27. Cf. Marlborough 1965, [4] (1935); Sylvester 1988, 25 (not before 1935).

72 Mellis 1993, tape F4129B.

73 His death certificate (certified copy, Richard Wollheim Papers, University College, London [RWP UCL]) lists as causes of death pneumonia, post-encephalitic Parkinson's Disease and paralytic ileus.

74 Mellis 1937/1974/1975.

75 AS to ESW, letters dateable to late November and early December 1936, Edward Sackville-West Papers (ESWP), Berg Collection MSS, New York Public Library (BCMSS NYPL), folder 4/12, letters 6 and 7 and folder 12/12, letters 2, 3, 4 & 5; Mellis 1993, tape F4129B; Lambirth 2010, 22.

76 Laughton 1986, 146.

77 Marriage certificate (certified copy, RWP UCL); *The Scotsman*, 15 July 1938 (cutting in ASP, TGA 8816.251); AS to Ben Nicolson 20 July 1938, TGA 8717.1.2.4552; Mellis 1977; 1993, tape F4130A (where however MM gives both 14 and 12 July as the date of the wedding). Cf. Sayers [2015] 2018, 122 (16 July). AS had been thinking of getting married, though not to anyone in particular, already in the spring of 1936 (AS to OR n.d. [postmarked 6 March 1936], ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2128). MM would later state that they had seen a lot of each other after her arrival in London, but had not been having an affair, as had probably been supposed (Mellis 1993, tape F4130A). According to Hilary Spurling (2002, 31), in this period AS had had a three-week affair with Sonia Brownell (later Orwell) (1918-1980); cf. Read 2002, 28.

78 *News Chronicle*, [7 December?] 1939 **[fig. 17]**.

79 MM had been unwell since before the wedding and remained so for much of the honeymoon (AS to ESW n.d. [before 30 August 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 1; Mellis n.d).

80 In a letter to his friend, the South African painter and critic Frank Graham-Bell (1910-1943), who used and was known to friends by the name "Graham Bell" (GB) and was closely involved with the Euston Road School, AS would write, "What a feeling of doom one used to have at the A.B.C. I was always saying goodbye to the surrounding chimney pots" (AS to GB n.d. [after 28 October 1940], TGA 200214; cf. S&*R* (Stokes 1978, II, 246: "From an ABC restaurant in the month of Munich, I used to regard a dislocated perspective of chimney pots while reflecting that it was likely that not one of them would be extant in a year's time").

81 See below, 68.

82 Tate, London, T04123 (`https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/stokes-landscape-west-penwith-moor-t04123`). See further fn. 89.

83 In Marlborough 1965 (cats 7,9) both paintings are dated 1936 (if, that is, *Near Zennor*, listed as cat. 9, and described as on board, may be identified with the canvas of that title and of roughly corresponding dimensions purchased from the Marlborough that year by the Government Art Collection). AS would return to St Ives for a week in January 1938 (AS to ESW Monday [10 January 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL).

84 See "Background II", 104, 109, and "Background V", 183-5.

85 *OIL* I, f. 12*r*, 47.

86 AS to RB n.d. [January-February 1937], BRBML GEN MSS 605, box 14, folder 309.

87 Mellis 1993, tape F4131A.

88 AS to ESW n.d.[September 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 6.

89 In 1963 Peter Lanyon reminded AS that he had painted a landscape here "years ago" (P. Lanyon to AS 10 June 1963, ASP, TGA 8816.236). This had probably been at the start of 1937 (see above).

90 AS to ESW n.d. [September 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 6. Hyslop was "briefly the lover of the writer Raymond Mortimer and shared a home with him for the rest of Raymond's life" (De-la-Noy [1988] 1999, 122). There is a photograph of the young AS, probably taken at Oxford, in the Hyslop photograph album now at Princeton (Special

Collections, Firestone Library; https://graphicarts.princeton.edu/2021/04/20/geddes-paul-hyslops-photography-album/). Both Hyslop and AS are included in a list of names entered in his diary by ESW on 29 February 1928 and annotated in the margin, "The Colossus of Rhodes is built as far as this". Michael De-la-Noy ([1988] 1999, 122) suggests this may have been "a list of lovers and beloveds in order of preference". AS comes fifth and Hyslop sixth.

91 "A singularly inappropriate phrase for so isolated a house", he commented (AS to ESW n.d. [September 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 2). Eagle's Nest would later be the home of the painter Patrick Heron (1920-1999) (see "Background VII", 286 and "Background VIII", 312.

92 AS to ESW n.d. [September 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 6; Mellis 1993 (but this reports a maid at a window of the house saying it had been put on sale "today").

93 AS to ESW n.d. [September 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 6.

94 AS had stayed at Walberswick with the Debenham family, who often visited there in the summer (Mellis 1993, tape F4130A). AS' former lover Violet Mary ("Mollie") Higgins (1901-1975) had married Gilbert Ridley Debenham (1906-2001) in 1935. AS' visit may have been in 1937, around the time he started at the School of Drawing and Painting in Fitzroy St: in a letter of 1941, a propos of his progress as a painter, he would remind GB of his (AS') early "efforts to draw at Walberswick" (AS to GB n.d. [postmarked 3 September 1941], TGA 200214). AS was interested in a house he had seen at Walberswick and had asked Audrey Debenham (1906-1986), Gilbert's twin, to let him know if it became available, which she failed to do (Mellis 1993, tape F4130A). Audrey's sister, the painter Alison Debenham (1903-1967), had owned the Martello Tower at Aldeburgh since 1936 and AS also considered purchasing this from her (Mellis 1993, tape F4130A; personal conversation with TrS, 2025). At the start of WWII the tower would be requisitioned as an anti-aircraft post (https://www.landmarktrust.org.uk/properties/martello-tower/#history-&-restoration); cf. Collins 1999, 71. See fn. 159.

95 AOP to GB, n.d. [postmarked 31 July 1939], TGA 200214. For a later photograph of AOP see Figure 55.

96 AS to ESW n.d. [14 March 1939], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 3.

97 Mellis 1977; cf. Stokes 1978, II, 218.

98 Cf. *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 218): "I had first glanced up at the house from the side-lane, below what was to be my room **[fig. 15]**. I had experienced a quick hallucination – a picture without figures as I gazed on a central slatted feature roofed with copper, carrying the weather vane – a sensation of small stature and the thronging cries of children issuing like bees from this granite hive". The lantern seems to have been modelled on a similar feature, also slatted and with a ball finial, on the roof of the early nineteenth-century Market House in Fore St, St Ives. The body of the lantern at LPO has since been rebuilt, perhaps after the fire that led to the remodelling of the central portion of the interior (personal conversations with Carol Holland, 2011) and has lost its distinctive slats and its weathervane.

99 AS to ESW n.d. [14 March 1939], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 3; Mellis 1977. Kennedy had married Mary, the daughter of the artist Millie Dow, owner by 1910 of Tremedda farm. This was managed by his stepdaughter Elsie Pilcher, later Mrs Maurice Griggs, whose mother-in-law was well-known to visitors (among them ESW) "as a landlady and provider of cream teas" (Symons 1992, 3-6, 142). AS and MM themselves had tea with her on this house-hunting visit, but she was unable to put them up (AS to ESW n.d., ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 6). They knew or had an introduction to Kennedy, on whom they called on 21 February, before leaving London, only to find him out (Mellis 1939).

100 Carol Holland, personal communication, 2011.

101 Mellis 1977. See also *OIL* IV, f. 47*r*, 153; "On Home Guard night-watches", 181. The lighthouse had inspired Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* ([1927] 1970) (see fn. 14 [78]).

102 This identification of "front" and "back" dates either to the very end of Mrs Lewis-Thomas' time (see below) or else to AS' own. In an interview with Carol Holland in 2006, Dorothy Floyd, who was in service at LPO from 1933 to 1939, identified the main entrance to the house as that on its north side, off Wheal Margery, which leads down to the lane passing between the sea-end of LPO and Tremorna. She referred to that now on Pannier Lane as "the back entrance".

103 Cf. *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 217): "One walked in at the top floor of the house and could then go down to other rooms since the garden fell away in high, broad terraces".

104 Stokes 1978, I, 58-60. Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978 II, 157: "Meanwhile in a straight passage the train was passing houses on every level to the line, now above them, now on a level with the second storey, now at the foot, now crossing a great viaduct. I had the sensation of passing through the inside as well as along the outside of the houses: never before had I been so much at home"). See also the "Introduction", 16-17.

105 E. Mitchell & Sons to AS 19 October 1938, ASP, TGA 8816.249.

106 See immediately below and "Background IV", 172, and "Background V", 194.

107 Widow of Evan Lewis-Thomas, K.C. (1858-1935).

108 E. Mitchell & Sons to AS 9 September 1938, ASP, TGA 8816.249.

109 G. Cock (Director, J. Lanham Ltd) to AS 18 October 1938, ASP, TGA 8816.249.

110 Cf. G. Cock to AS 2 January 1939, ASP, TGA 8816.249; list of deeds to the house compiled by Carol Holland; note of expenses relating to LPO in ASP, TGA 8816.53, which lists, against the date 29 January 1939, a sum of £3000 as due to Mrs Lewis-Thomas and additional sums of £330, against the date 30 January, as owed to Borlase and Venning (solicitors, Penzance) and of £60.5.5, against the date 12 March, as owed to D. Mascie Taylor (a solicitor at St Ives). AS perhaps initially paid £3000, then increased the sum to £3300 or £3330.

111 *Times*, 18 March 1939 (quoted in Knox 2003, 410); cf. Mellis 1939.

112 AS to ESW n.d. [annotated 14 March 1939], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 3.

113 Mellis 1977.

114 Stokes 1997-98, tape F6062A. A list of "House expenses" for LPO dated between 22 January and 12 March [1939] (ASP, TGA 8816.53)

includes an "EMG Gramophone" priced £16.18. This seems to have been a wedding present from MM's parents: she informed them, soon after moving in, that she had had it "electrified" (MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM). In personal memories of AS communicated to Janet Sayers in 2007, the teacher and writer Albert Rowe (1915-2007), the grandson of the painter Alfred Wallis' stepson Albert Ward (see Rowe 2002), recalled being invited to LPO to listen to music, "chiefly […] Mozart", which, heard through the gramophone's "huge curled" and "state of the art" acoustic horn "was a revelation". He particularly relished the memory of "Adrian's delight at his listeners' delight". Cf. fn. 43. For Wallis, see below in the text.

115 AS to BN n.d. [before 22 April 1939], TGA 8717.1.2.4555.

116 Tate Britain, London, T00050 (https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/nicholson-june-1937-painting-t00050). See "Background VIII", 308.

117 MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM; Mellis 1981.

118 MM to MMM 13 January 1940, EMM. TrS remembers AS running against the painting with his car while it was stored in the garage (personal conversation, August 2025). "Peggy's room" (studio) was Identified by Ann Mellis Stokes Angus (1922-2014) (AM) in a personal conversation, 2011.

119 Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT, B1995.26 (https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:1443).

120 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 3 September 1941], TGA 200214.

121 MM would later tell Andrew Lambirth that eventually "Adrian took them down because everybody wanted to look at them and not at 'our things'" (Lambirth 2010, 43).

122 Mellis 1993, tape F4130A. Arts Council 1968 included thirty-one paintings by AW from AS' collection (twenty-one framed and ten unframed), as well as a sketchbook (the Grey Book; see "Background VI", 237, fn. 123). Of the thirty-one paintings, six were said to have been painted before 1936, two in 1936 and on pieces of wood given to AW by AS (the two later presented to the Tate, for which see the next note), while four were said to be late and nineteen had no date assigned to them.

123 Tate Britain (T00220), online catalogue entry (https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/wallis-voyage-to-labrador-t00220). Cf. Arts Council 1968, cat. 128 (*Voyage to Labrador*: "Purchased by Adrian Stokes in 1936"); Mullins 1967, 33 ("He [AS] first went to see him late in 1936, and found the little room crammed with paintings […] Stokes bought some on this occasion") and Mellis 1993, tape F4130A ("it was one of the first things he [AS] ever said when I went to see him in London [in the spring of 1937] he said there was this amazing painter and that he'd bought a whole lot and he thought they would be very expensive later on but at the moment they were only about 2 shillings and I was rather shocked because I thought it wasn't fair to buy them for such a rotten little price then when Adrian had plenty of money and I was really surprised that they thought it was alright to buy them for those prices"). (MM's testimony is inaccurately summarized in Webb 2025, 408: "Stokes told her he had bought Alfred's paintings for a few shillings in the belief they would become valuable later on".) AS would give *Voyage to Labrador* and another painting acquired at the same time, *Schooner under the Moon* (Arts Council 1968, cat. 124; Tate St Ives, T00219), to the Tate in 1958 (the first paintings by AW to enter a public collection in Britain).

124 Stokes 1978, II, 32-3. This analysis of a single painting predates and is considerably more penetrating than HR's rather bland and generic appraisal of AW' work in Read 1938; and it was roughly contemporary with the lectures on AW given in America by another collector of his work, Harold Stanley ("Jim") Ede (1895-1990), but not published.

125 AS would describe the room in *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 217-18): "My own room at the sea end of the house, half outside our garden boundary, looked on to the torsos or tops of many trees sapient, it appeared, in their arrest of the gardens and terraces of the gradual cliff. Beneath the nearer branches I could see across the bay to Hayle and to the sand dunes that curve round to the point of Godrevy lighthouse. The bay was often pure green; the wind would drive the surface sea-green wrinkles shorewards where they would be lost among the roots of the lower trees or be rediscovered after contact with the stabilizing, temperate earth, in the topmost plumes of firs".

126 Mellis 1981; 1993; personal conversations with AM and TrS.

127 MM to DM & MMM 24 April 1939, EMM: "We have got our cellar stacked with 70 bottles of wine from the wine society".

128 See "Background IV", 169.

129 If not by AS and MM, this may have been opened not long before they moved there. It does not seem to be present in Figure 14, which though forming part of EMM may have been taken in the previous owner's time.

130 AS to ESW n.d. [14 March 1939], BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 3.

131 MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM. William Dunstan Stevens (1922-2004) (WS) – not, as stated by MM to her parents, then fourteen – had worked under the former gardener, Thomas Henry Farrell (1897-1966) (Mellis 1981). After Mrs Lewis-Thomas sold the house, Farrell had gone with his wife Susan (1901-1970) to work for her at Newton Abbot, Devon, where they were registered on 29 September 1939 (England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/68761/006/14-15). WS would be the gardener at LPO until 1942, when he was called up (see "Background IV", 167, "Background V", 185, 191, 194, 198; "Background VI", 240, and "Background VII", 282). Farrell would return to LPO, probably some time in 1944 (see "Background VII", 286).

132 AS to BN n.d. [before 22 April 1939], TGA 8717.1.2.4555. The stubborn retired headmaster was Edward Bruce Forrest (1879-1959), formerly of the Wood Green County School and the King's School, Pontefract (*Wood Green, Southgate and Palmer's Green Herald*, 2 October 1942); see "Background VIII", 310 and fn. 81.

133 Another, *White Still Life* (Private Collection), is reproduced in Lambirth 2010, fig. 18.

134 Cf. Mellis 1977; 1939 (entries for 28 and 30 May).

135 The Royal, still (2025) functioning, opened that very summer, on 23 June (*St Ives Times*), replacing the Palace (which became the Palais de Danse and later still the studio of Barbara Hepworth, for whom see below) as St Ives' second cinema (the Scala, now a Boots chemist's, had

opened after WWI). According to AM (personal conversation), AS, MM and she would go to the cinema "as often as possible". And PF would recall how "Adrian liked going to the cinema [..] we used to walk down usually on Saturday afternoons he didn't mind what film it was, he liked Westerns, I think those were almost his favourite films at that time [cf. fn. 55]. The Lord Mayor of St. Ives owned the cinema palace and was well-known to Adrian" (Freeman 1973). The Mayor, William Cecil Drage (1887-1972), owned both the Royal and the Scala, as he had the Palace too. See "On Home Guard night-watches", 181; "Background VI", 225.

136 Mellis 1939.

137 MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM. She seems already to have met AK in London in April 1937 (Mellis n.d.).

138 And nicknamed by AS "'the white nigger' on account of his full lips and very curly hair", a tag he "didn't mind", reporting it "with a smile" (personal communications from Virginia Kennerley, AK's elder daughter [VK], 2012). AK was the son of Sydney Kent (b. 1866 in Jondaryan, New South Wales), a doctor from Bexhill-on-Sea, and Katherine Louisa Maud Parsons (1866-1945).

139 See "Background IV", 160.

140 See [Macleod] 1933, 15. At the Slade he had been awarded second prize for painting from the cast (personal conversation with Josephine Read [1924-2020], AK's second wife, 2012; information from Slade School).

141 In the spring of 1936, writing from Totnes, AS told OR that he had just been in Cornwall, but not that he had been painting there (AS to OR n.d. [postmarked 6 March 1936], ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2128). If his first painting was indeed made on the lawn of the Porthminster Hotel in St Ives, as stated in Wollheim 1982, this probably was not, as there suggested, *Waiting for the Net* (1936), but the view of the hotel gardens (recognizable from contemporary photographs) exhibited in Serpentine 1982 (cat. 3) under the mistaken title *Landscape, Garden at Pangbourne* (present whereabouts unknown). Nor is there any evidence that AS' first painting, if made at St Ives, was so "on a short holiday […] with his friend Adrian Kent, who was deputed to discuss with him the theory of colour" (Wollheim 1982). This circumstance was perhaps inferred by Wollheim from the Preface to *C&F*, where AK is thanked as the author's "companion in the initial studies concerning colour" (Stokes 1978, II, 10). However, the dedication more probably refers to earlier discussion, during the time AS and AK spent together in Italy and/or painting at Dartington in 1936 and 1937 (see below and "Background IV", 166).

142 In an undated letter to RB sent from the Seymour Hotel in Totnes, probably before 7 March 1936 (it apparently refers, as still ongoing, to the Royal Academy's International Exhibition of Chinese Art, which closed on that date), AS reported that he was "living more or less at Dartington" and spending "most of [his] time trying to paint" (RBP, BRBML, GEN MSS 605, box 14, folder 309). He also reported that he was "now alright" after "two more operatons". AS' friend the connoisseur and collector William Wilberforce Winkworth (1897-1991) would later state, in a letter to the Director of the Tate Gallery (6 February 1973, TGA 734), that AS had taken to drawing after "a minor surgical operation and was in bed". This was probably in London immediately before moving to Totnes (where his doctor knew another who could supervise his recovery) (AS to RB n.d. [Isokon letterhead], RBP, BRBML, GEN MSS 605, box 14, folder 309). Totnes of course also had the advantage of being close to Dartington.

143 *News of the Day*, 9 June 1933, Dartington Hall Trust Atchive, South West Heritage Trust, Taunton (DHTA).

144 Kay was the daughter of Surgeon-Commander S.H. Facey, R.N.. After graduating in English from Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, she had worked as secretary to Richard de la Mare (1901-1986), a Director of Faber and Faber (from 1932 AS' publisher) (*Bexhill-on-Sea Observer*, 29 March 1930; VK, personal communication, 2012).

145 VK, personal communications, 2012; AK to BL 29 March [1933], Bernard Leach Archive, Crafts Study Centre, University for the Creative Arts, Farnham (BLA CSCF). AK had confided in BL that what he wanted from Dartington was time to do his own work "and a decent salary, paid for work which is concerned with building up by right education an appreciation & an understanding of artistic values – not just 'taste', but something more rooted in life – on the estate".

146 He is seen, seated to the right, in Figure 20.

147 *News of the Day*, January-March 1933; December 1933, DHTA; letters from AK to BL, BLA CSCF; VK, personal communications, 2012.

148 AK to AS & MM 6 April [1939], EMM.

149 Mellis 1939 (entries for 9, 21 and 29 April); MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM.

150 Elizabeth and David had met at Dartington. Elizabeth was then expecting their first child, John Henry, born 21 July (VK, personal communication, 2012).

151 MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM.

152 Mellis 1977.

153 Cooper 2003, 233. The horse (now in a private collection) was placed on the roof ridge above the sitting-room, as may be seen in Figure 52. The artist and writer Sven Berlin (1911-1999) (SB), who worked in the market garden at LPO in 1941 (see "Background V", 188-9), later recalled seeing and admiring on its roof a "pottery horse and rider" by BL (Berlin 1994, 229). Conversely, Sheila and Andrew Lanyon, widow and son of Peter Lanyon, who owned LPO between the 1950s and 1960s, have confirmed that the horse was without a rider (personal conversation, 2011 and personal communication, 2025). SB may have confused it in his memory with locally extant horse-and-rider groups made by BL and other members of the Old Cornwall Society in the 1920s, in an attempt to revive the antique Cornish tradition of equestrian ridge tiles (Sloan, Smith 2017). Curiously, though, the confusion seems justified by AS' reported remark to SB that BL's sculpture had "something to do with the first express post". The horse-and-rider groups have similarly been explained as traditionally signalling the presence of a post house (David Wilkinson, personal conversation, 2011). In Sloan, Smith 2017, on the other hand, they are said to relate to "the decorative tile tradition of the region" and in particular to medieval relief carvings of St George and the dragon, which, placed over doors, "marked a secure and safe place to visit".

154 Mellis 1977 mentions Victor Pasmore (see "Background I", 76), Thelma Hulbert (1913-1995) and Catherine Sinclair (1919-2007).

155 Mellis 1939. Among other ballets, they attended the première of *Paganini* on 30 June.
156 *OIL* I, ff. 12*r*-13*r*, 47-8.
157 Stokes 1978, II, 218.
158 If the series was published in sequence, the article on AS (no. 40) would have come out before that on MM (no. 41), which seems to have been printed on 7 December 1939 (there is a reference in a neighbouring article to Christmas preparations on the part of their home municipality – Acton – for evacuee children remaining in Totnes despite the general drift back to London after the first few months of the "Phoney War"). However, MM seems to have given her interview before 24/25 August, when AS had not yet responded to the *Chronicle*'s invitation (AS to BN, n.d. [before 24 August 1939], TGA 8717.1.2.4556).
159 GB and their friends called AOP Olivier (the unmarried name of her mother Brynhild, a cousin of the actor Laurence Olivier) to distinguish her from his wife Anne Bilbrough, whom he had married in 1937 but hoped to divorce and whose "real name", according to AOP (personal conversation, 2012), was Eileen. On 29 September 1939 she was indeed registered as Eileen A. Graham Bell and as living in the Martello Tower at Aldeburgh (England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6614A/025/37). GB, on the other hand, was registered (as a "journalist") at Rodwell House in Gipping, Suffolk, the home of Helen Anrep (1885-1965), where he was living and painting (England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6639K/006/16). Eileen would later marry Gerald Reitlinger (1900-1978). For the Aldeburgh Martello Tower see fn. 94.
160 AS to GB Sunday [9 April 1939?], TGA 200214.
161 Laughton 1986, 183-200.
162 AS to RG n.d. [postmarked 18 January 1929], RGP, CUL, C4/6/3; cf. Read 1998, 75, which quotes from "unedited tapes" of an interview with AS' Rugby friend, the scholar William Douglas Robson-Scott (1903-1981) (WRS) made for Rhode 1973a: "in the late 'twenties' Pound had deeply influenced his politics' so that he 'justified Fascism as a reaction against liberal democracy'".
163 Stokes 1930, 494.
164 Invited in June 1937 by Nancy Cunard (1896-1965) and others to submit a statement for or against Republican Spain, Franco and fascism to the *Left Review*, AS had responded, "I am against Franco and Fascism". A few months later he had asked to replace this with the statement, "I am against Franco and international Fascism". While "disliking it in the abstract", he had explained, he had never felt under obligation to condemn "in all its aspects, actual Fascism in Italy". It had even pleased him that the Italians had thereby demonstrated that they were not, as the English thought, "a race of organ grinders". If they had also shown themselves to be bullies, he disliked but could not condemn this behaviour, since it was the only way, he supposed, for them to avoid *being* bullied. If Mussolini had not held to the view that "Fascism was not for export", this was principally the fault of England, which had forced him "to throw in his lot with the detestable Nazis". AS declared himself ready to condemn the idea of fascism as "a cultural and international force", even though this might cost him entry to Italy, with which his "whole life [was] bound up". It would therefore be a relief to him, he confessed, if his statement were omitted altogether. And so indeed it was (AS to N. Cunard 10 August [1937] Nancy Cunard Papers [21.3 Letters regarding "Questionnaire on the Spanish war and poems about Spain"], Harry Ransom Center, Austin, Texas).
165 AOP (personal conversation, 2011) thought that AS and MM might have taken part in the preparation of a series of banners enlarged from Goya's *Disasters of War*, which GB had persuaded the members of the Euston Road School to paint for an "Arms for Spain" demonstration in Trafalgar Square. This took place on 12 February 1939 (Laughton 1986, 183, 198). By contrast, Read 1982 (54) states that AS and MM designed a "poster" for "an anti-Franco demonstration at Trafalgar Square in May [1938]" and reproduces a photograph of AS and GB in Trafalgar Square there dated "1938" (as it had been in Townsend 1976, when first published, uncredited [46]). Sayers [2015] 2018 (122) reproduces the same photograph, dating it "May Day 1938". Though there was a "mass march organized by the Popular Front […] against fascist forces in Spain" on 1 May 1938 (Laughton 1986, 183), Sayers seems to have confused this with the occasion for which the Goya banners were prepared a year later (Sayers [2015] 2018, 121). In any case, if the photograph was indeed taken at a political demonstration in Trafalgar Square, this cannot have been on 1 May 1938, as GB was in Bolton at that time. Nor could it have been on 12 February 1939, since he was then in Dublin (Laughton 1986, 188, 198).
166 Mellis 1993, tape F4130A.
167 ASP, TGA 8816.53 (passage dated September 1938).
168 His mother, Ethel Alice Stokes (1872-1951), was the daughter of Philip Leon (1839-1879) and Alice Montefiore (1848-1940) and granddaughter of Lewis Leon (1813-1877) and Rebecca Pollock (1808-1845). Her great-grandfather Judah (b. 1777) was the cousin of Sir Moses Haim Montefiore (1784-1884). According to MM, "Adrian was pleased about the Montefiore but not about being Jewish. He ignored all his mothers relations but he quite admired his grandmother who he could not ignore" (MM to R.Wollheim 18 May 1982, RWP UCL).
169 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 30*r*, 98.
170 See *OIL* III, f. 44*r*, 130-1.
171 MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM.
172 Mellis 1939.
173 Laughton 2004, 61. For a later photograph of WC see Figure 55.
174 *St Ives Times*, 1 September 1939.
175 AS to ESW n.d. [after 25 August and before 1 September 1939], BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 8; Mellis 1993.