

Figure 24
Leonardo da Vinci,
A Woman in a Landscape.
c. 1517-18.
Black chalk on paper

II. "It means nothing to be disillusioned"
1939-40

It means nothing to be disillusioned. The world is what we make it. It is absurd to be so influenced philosophically by the world-picture of destruction, suffering and brutality today. One should have known that such awfulness has always been rampant. That our world is threatened with it should make no difference to one's deeper equanimity. It does so, of course, because such things become the focal point of our own anxieties, of our fear of destruction within. The outer situation seems to give a chance to all that we abhor within: and the world becomes empty. I have received a harsh internal blow over Italy[1] who has figured for me as a good mother.[2] Can I trust the Bay of Naples any more? I have become diffident on every point, with the help[a] of approaching middle age. Looking back on one's youth, one cannot forsake it: yet one can see the translation or sublimation of that super-energy into forms of hope and enthusiasm. The life-blood of middle age and old age is the same but mitigated.

Who can say "turmoil of the mind"?[3] The mind moves as does the wrinkling skin upon a calm sea.[b] The underneath is set and no less deep than is the sea[c] beneath the skin.[4] Body is as land, mind as sea. Consciousness is no more of the mind than is the surface of the sea.

a *on every point, with the help*: on every point: with the help

b *the wrinkling skin upon a calm sea*: the <sk> wrinkling skin upon <the sea> a calm sea

c *the sea*: the <skin> sea

And just as the surface lies bang opposite to the sky,[a] and, indeed, is thus to be defined, so does consciousness lie opposite the external world.[b|5]

The most one can expect of an art critic is[c] that he should thoroughly understand in what lies the merit of the kind of art that he prefers.

Intimation from the soil and from the sky brought along a warm wind, are images also of the within. Hitler, too, and all the crises[d] [f. 22*r*][e] are within us. And I see bare trees rising from a rhododendron grove[6] like certain paramount forces from the mind. They are what is evident[f] and of the day. They are extraordinarily clear. They are an image of the mind's aspiration, of the mind, the image-fabricator.[7]

The infinitesimal rareness of life, the sub-microscopic rareness of life in the universe – may it not be possible in a full realization of this for man to find a solidarity with his fellows and the natural world? Perhaps not, failing an astronomical interference[g] with his world.

The earth is between six and seven thousand times as old as man, and life is about a thousand times older than man. There are no more than ten thousand generations behind each of us. One representative from each generation would make a very thin crowd at Lord's. And yet we destroy each other; and yet[h] we destroy each other. Life is so rare, civilization brand new.[i] The war has been on three weeks and I have not had the heart to write in this book. Freud who died yesterday[8] is the only hope for our survival today. The truth he gave to the world cannot bear fruit[j] in this generation. There is small prospect for me and my friends[k] and the world I know.

There is only man and his stage; but you[l] cannot refer to one without the other. "Where every prospect pleases and only man is vile":[9] that train of thought[m] is not profound. Those who exclaim at the incredible meanness and dirtiness of human behaviour and [the] human condition[n] are not justified in finding[o] the true contrast to it in the freedom of the wind or the noble

a *the surface lies bang opposite to the sky*: the surface lies <bang> {bang} opposite to the sky [TS] the surface of the sea lies bang opposite to the sky

b *Who can say* […] *the external world*: [whole paragraph except interlinear "bang" in pen]

c *The most one can expect of an art critic is*: The most one can expect of an art critic {is} [pencil resumes here]

d *all the crises*: all the crisis [TS] all the crises ["crises" typed over "crisis"]

e [f. 21*v* blank; f. 22*r* numbered top right] 15

f *They are what is evident*: They are <[illegible]> what is evident

g *failing an astronomical interference*: <without> {failing} an astronomical interference

h *each other; and yet*: each other: and yet

i *civilization brand new*: civilization <brand> {brand} new

j *today. The truth he gave to the world cannot bear fruit*: today <->. <t>The truth he gave to the world <it> cannot bear fruit

k *me and my friends*: [TS, corrected in pen] me <f>or my friends

l *his stage; but you*; his stage: but you

m *only man is vile": that train of thought*: only man is vile", that train of thought

n *and [the] human condition*: and human condition

o *not justified in finding*: not <at liberty to find> {justified in finding}

downs rather than in the mental apparatus of Mozart. The freedom of the downs is but an image on a vaster and substituted scale[a] of nobility in man.

And then this mind. Reading this morning a book on prosody,[b] I was reminded of the morning lectures at Oxford. The serried hall, the brushed hair, gowns bent over notes, the still, heavy shoes,[c] the waistcoated, ash-faced lecturer,[d] the knowledge – the knowledge superimposed upon craving in bed that morning, matutinal anxiety and hurry and despair, so that the knowledge imbibed contained threat and [f. 23*r*][e] parched lust,[f] and each head its dismay.[10] To learn and to go to the lavatory[g] or have the wrong breakfast; the complexities of Aristotle became[h] synonymous with the complexities of one's inside, both mental and physical. It is the same in church and in religion. That cursory and passive spiritual spring-clean[i] in church and the very brush is oily, and evil breath comes out with the prayer. Nevertheless the ranks of worshippers stand and they kneel, each man docile and isolated in wickedness, or so he feels. The coils of doctrine are like his intestines: he faces east for the creed[j] just as he may eschew the left side to sleep on. But church gives space and dryness to his interior hall, filled though it be with dank prayer books and resounding heavy pews and fumbling hassocks.[11]

The furious impertinence of Hitler is but the bullying[k] and lying of all advertisement. We are fed each day, we of the modern world, on lying insistence[l] and the technique of hypnotic persuasion. The modern press is the child of advertisement. The most radical movement I can think of as a single cure to the modern world, would be one whose members undertook not to buy goods which advertised wherever a choice existed; or those which advertised least.[m] A successful movement of this kind would undercut all the modern and more pestilential varieties of exploitation of people's stupidity, a technique that is vastly more developed than it has ever been before. That technique has been built up[n] in

a *on a vaster and substituted scale*: on <v>a <vaster> vaster and substituted scale [TS] on vaster and substituted scale

b *prosody*: [TS, corrected in pen] <p>{P}rosody

c *the still, heavy shoes*: the still <sho> heavy shoes

d *the waistcoated, ash-faced lecturer*: the waistcoated <lecturer> ash-faced lecturer

e [f. 22*v* blank; f. 23*r* numbered top right] 16

f *the knowledge* […] *parched lust*: [TS, the phrases "craving in bed" and "and parched lust" entered in pen by AS in spaces left blank by typist]

g *go to the lavatory*: [TS, corrected in pen] go to <school> {the lavatory}

h *breakfast; the complexities of Aristotle became*: breakfast, <[illegible]> the complexities of Aristotle, became

i *passive spiritual spring-clean*: passive <spri> spiritual spring-clean

j *the creed*: [TS] the Creed

k *but the bullying*: but {the} bullying

l *on lying insistence*: on <insist> lying insistence

m *a choice existed; or those which advertised least*: a choice existed: or <in the latter case> {<where choice [illegible]>} those which advertised least

n *has been built up*: has been <learnt> {built up}

the advertising and journalistic professions. Napoleon was the founder,[a] and typically enough, the first modern journalist.[12] Exploitation, of course, would go on; and the organization[b] of the modern world makes it especially easy on a scale hitherto not thought of. One must try to undercut the roots of exploitation's modern growth. This [f. 24*r*][c] exploitation today is only greater because the scale is greater and because it has hastily taken the place with huge success of the stronger old forms such as religion.[13]

The few primary sources of action[d] may be compared with the very limited number of different types of atoms[e] of which the universe is composed, at any rate on the surface of its bodies.[14]

The theorem of equipartition[f] of energy is truly remarkable. Energy throughout the universe tends to equal out in extent.[g] The greater body does not absorb the smaller. Those stars that started with more than their fair share of energy are forced finally to hand it over to the lesser stars, so that in the long run there is equality. It is the same with the system of molecules.[15]

Painting, at its highest, is taking things to pieces and putting them together again;[16] a direct re-creation,[h] then, of a primary state, since the child is often bent upon putting together again what in fantasy[i] he has destroyed, bitten or torn to bits.[17] One wonders how much this same situation is a main-spring in all art.[18] Now, in painting, the most usual, historically speaking, manner of reconstituting[j] an object is to re-create an image[k] of the object or, generally speaking, the object itself as expressed by its essence, rather than its actual appearance. This is the manner of all conceptual art.[19] The further development, in European art at any rate, is to reconstitute this image, but only,[l] or very largely, in terms[m] of its actual appearance.[20] This is, I think, a great advance, even though it lends itself to every kind of perversion of the artistic activity, unlike the more direct image-making. The image is expressed unconsciously by a great artist in this way: most of his conscious attention is devoted to the systematizing of its appearance by which the image is expressed thus unconsciously. This

a *Napoleon was the founder*: Napoleon <is> {was} the founder

b *would go on; and the organization*: would go on: and the organization

c [f. 23*v* blank except for small doodle top right; f. 24*r* numbered top right] 17

d *sources of action*: sources of <the> action

e *the very limited number of different types of atoms*: the very limited number of atoms of different <character> {types} [the phrase "of atoms" is encircled and repositioned by means of an arrow] [TS] the very limited number of different types of atoms

f *equipartition*: [TS] equi-partition [correction in pen indicating de-hyphenization]

g *Energy throughout the universe tends to equal out in extent*: <Matter> {Energy} throughout the universe tends to equal out in <size> {extent}

h *together again; a direct re-creation*: together again: a direct re-creation

i *fantasy*: [TS] phantasy

j *manner of reconstituting*: [TS, corrected in pen] manner {of} reconstituting

k *an image*: <the> an image

l *this image, but only*: this image but only

m *only, or very largely, in terms*: only, <in terms> or very largely, in terms

is a more adult[a] and more subtle mode of organization, a greater adventure[b] for the creative faculty in which it may well be lost; just as it is so often by children as they grow up and attempt [f. 25*r*][c] in their drawing a greater fidelity to appearance. When all is said and done, amid our many experiments in painting, from abstraction and cubism to surrealism, I believe one day that it will be clear that the main stress of modern painting,[d] in spite of academic art, is a stress upon fidelity to appearance, an image expressed more thoroughly in terms of appearance.[21] Both Impressionism and Cézanne were a stress[e] upon appearance, a moving away from the conventions, particularly of light,[22] which are apparent in eighteenth-century and earlier treatment of composition.[f] The essence of appearance was not taken so literally:[g] it was not searched for. But the superficial aspects of appearance were skilfully blent,[h] since Renaissance times, with image-making. Post-Renaissance art may be seen as a half-way house between primitive image making and what one might describe as Cézanne's revolution; because[i] he is the big figure, even though his forerunners, as far back as Constable[j] and others, are numerous.[23] Attachment to appearance, of course, exists in variable degrees[k] in image-making art; just as[l] the image must come through in the art that consciously explores appearance, if it is to be true art. It is a matter of degree. Bad popular art expresses ignorance[m] of the foundation of art, of the re-creation[n] of an image or object in the aesthetic sense. Here we have an expression of the appearance without the image. A more profound attachment to the appearance could not bring this about. The image will find its way, not into mere disjointed or literal appearance,[o] but into an appearance that is systematized while not straying away from the basic proportions, both of form and tone and colour of the appearance. It is much more easily transmuted and expressed by a parallel image. The art of image-making

a *This is a more adult*: [TS] This is the more adult

b *a greater adventure*: an {greater} adventure

c [f. 24*v* blank; dried rose leaf inserted between leaves; f. 25*r* numbered top right] 18

d *it will be clear that the main stress of modern painting*: it will be <clear> {clear} that the main <line> {stress} of modern painting

e *Impressionism and Cézanne were a stress*: Impressionism and Cézanne <was> {were} a stress

f *which are apparent in eighteenth-century and earlier treatment of composition*: which <is> {are} apparent in eighteenth century and earlier <painting> treatment of composition

g *so literally*: [TS] so literally then

h *skilfully blent*: skillfully blent

i *Cézanne's revolution; because*: Cézanne's revolution because

j *as far back as Constable*: {as far} back <to> {as} Constable

k *variable degrees*: [TS, corrected in pen] vari<able>{ous} degrees

l *in image-making art; just as*: in image-making art just as

m *expresses ignorance*: <is> {expresses} ignorance

n *of the re-creation*: {of} the re-creation

o *disjointed or literal appearance*: disjointed {or literal} appearance



Scuola di Ballo

SCUOLA DI BALLO (The School of Ballet)
A comedy by Goldoni adapted by Massine
Music by Boccherini. Orchestrated by J. Francaix
Choregraphy by Massine
Scenery and costumes by Count de Beaumont
Scenery executed by Prince Schervachidze
First performed in 1933.

Scuola di Ballo is the third of what might be called Massine's Commedia dell' Arte ballets, the other two being *The Good-humoured Ladies* and *Pulcinella*. Only the latter, strictly speaking, deals with Commedia dell' Arte figures, but the same type of Italian *genre* belongs to all three.

The plot of *Scuola di Ballo* is taken from a Goldoni comedy. The iron lamp that hangs over the middle of the stage (the lamp is lit presently), the iron fan-work between the arches of the background, suggest in a form of lightness suitable to the stage, the water entrance, the cavernous hall to a Venetian palace, a meeting-place, an indoor *campo* where every Venetian plot may thicken. At the same time this hall is the airy *salotto* of Rigadon's dancing academy.

The ballet has a most charming and impressive opening. As the neat overture ends the curtain rises

13. *Scuola di Ballo*: Riabouchinska and Massine as Rosina and Carlino.

Figure 25 Raoul Barbà, *Tatiana Riabouchinska and Léonide Massine as Rosina and Carlino in* Scuola di Ballo. Plate 13, Adrian Stokes, *Russian Ballets* (1935)



Figure 26 Hugh P. Hall, *The Original Ballet Russe in* Scuola di Ballo*, His Majesty's Theatre, Melbourne, May 1940*

via a far greater degree[a] of appearance is much more difficult: it is also more adult, since the conscious mind exerts[b] a greater apprehension of actualities.[c] It is unlikely to produce so extensive an art as the earlier positions.[d]

[f. 26*r*][e] 'Pleasing the eye' in commerce rarely serves truth.[f] It is, very likely, the activity[g] most hostile to truth and to economy. All papers whose columns must reach the foot whether there is a lot or little to say, are a good example.[h|24] We pay very highly for the 'attractive' appearance of all merchandise, apart from advertisement. Such 'pleasing the eye'[i] stimulates credulity and belief in magic. What-looks-good-is-good formula belongs to our medieval mind,[j] to put it no further back. I cannot attribute[k] attractiveness of appearance in every day things, a flattering neatness for the most part, to the ideals of the ideal future.[l|25]

Leonardo combined in his work an engrossment with organic vitality and the classicism of his time. It is much the same in classical ballet. The Pas de deux[m] is Leonardesque both in feeling and in shape, the gradual building of the pale pyramid;[n] and surely the ballerina often merits Pater's description of the Mona Lisa, the bit about "wrought outwardly cell by cell upon the flesh".[26] Ballet is a product of the mannerist art that sprang from Leonardo. It is today the last art in the grand manner, and in classical ballet it has got behind its origin to its source, the initial crossing of the south with northern preoccupations, as found in Leonardo.[27] I find so very touching[o] the adagio pas de deux[p] that was danced by Riabouchinska and Massine in Scuola di Ballo **[fig. 25]**.[q] After the flurries and flirtations of the class, this pensive tenderness that carries up with it so much more than

a *via a far greater degree*: via <appearance> {a far} greater degree

b *the conscious mind exerts*: [TS, corrected in pen] the conscious mind {there} exerts

c *a greater apprehension of actualities*: a greater <control> apprehension of <a subject> actualities

d *positions*: [TS] position

e [f. 25*v* blank; f. 26*r* numbered top right] 19

f *'Pleasing the eye' in commerce rarely serves truth*: 'Pleasing the eye' {in commerce} rarely serves truth

g *the activity*: [TS, corrected in pen] <the> {an} activity

h *are a good example*: <is> {are} a good example

i *Such 'pleasing the eye'*: {Such} 'Pleasing the eye' [TS] "Pleasing the eye"

j *What-looks-good-is-good formula belongs to our medieval mind*: What-looks good-is-good formula belongs to <the> {our} medieval mind

k *I cannot attribute*: I cannot<, as does [Ben?]> attribute

l *the ideal future*: the <future> ideal future

m *Pas de deux*: [TS] pas de deux

n *the pale pyramid; and surely*: the {pale} pyramid: and surely

o *I find so very touching*: I find so {very} touching [TS] I find very touching

p *the adagio pas de deux*: the {adagio} pas de deux

q *danced by Riabouchinska and Massine in Scuola di Ballo*: by Riabouchinska {and Massine} in Scuola di Ballo [TS, corrected in pen] <done> {danced} by Riabou<s>{c}hinska in Scuola di Ballo

has gone before, all the childhoods[a] in a Goldoni Venice as held in reticence.[b] A warm,[c] candid but very young and reflective tenderness, and that reflectiveness carries one back through the ballet to all that lies behind it in dancing class and eighteenth-century Venice **[fig. 26]**.[d|28]

Vaihinger[29] writes in his Philosophy of 'As If', where[e] he is at pains to show that the basic contradictions of most concepts is due to their fictional nature: "they are conceived to enable or facilitate thought and are based on the principle of analogy although they are not true analogies".[30] One thing is put in terms of another thing that is rather different. It is interesting that this is the same process, perhaps in principle, as that of sublimation and of all art. I have long wondered how to **[f. 27*r*]**[f] give further reference[g] for the value that we find in the function which seems to characterize all creative activity[h] ie the value that lies in putting one thing in terms of another underlying all imagination,[i] all projection of the inner life both in thought and feeling, and all interchange between the inner and outer life.[31] "Scientific fictive judgments" says Vaihinger "(as distinct from the aesthetic fiction) can appear only at a high stage of human intellectual development. The fictive judgment has in its essentials only developed in modern times, partly in connection with the progress of mathematics, mechanics and jurisprudence and side by side with the recognition that objective events or entities and subjective attitudes may coincide in the final result, and yet not be identical. The ancient philosophers, on the other hand, in spite of their scepticism, were still bound by a naive theory of knowledge. An elaborate judgment of this type is, therefore, only possible in a period of advanced mental development".[32] "'Discursive thought' as Maimon says 'is a fiction'".[j|33] Philosophy has hitherto[k] run either to dogma or to scepticism. The Greek Cynics[l] were unable to bear the contradiction of thought and, on the dogmatic lines then prevailing,[m] repudiated it.[34] "Where the logical function actively intervenes,[n] it alters

a *childhoods*: [TS, corrected in pen] childhood{s}

b *as held in reticence*: as held in <reticence> reticence

c *A warm*: [TS, corrected in pen] <The> {A} warm

d *eighteenth-century Venice*: eighteenth century Venice

e *his Philosophy of 'As If', where*: his Philosophy of 'As If' where [TS] his "Philosophy of 'As If'", where

f [f. 26*v* blank; f. 27*r* numbered top right] 20

g *to give further reference*: give <more> further reference

h *in the function which seems to characterize all creative activity*: in <that> {the} function <that> {which} seems to characterize all <activity that is creative> {creative activity}

i *all imagination*: all <fantasy> {imagination}

j *"'Discursive thought'* [...] *'is a fiction'"*: 'Discursive thought' [...] 'is a fiction'

k *hitherto*: hithertoo

l *Cynics*: [TS, corrected in pen] <c>{C}ynics

m *of thought and, on the dogmatic lines then prevailing*: of thought, and on the dogmatic lines<,> then prevailing

n *repudiated it. "Where the logical function*: repudiated it. <It is a mistake to think we can understand the universe, [illegible] {we can} only know it.> 'Where the logical function

what is given and causes it to depart from reality".[35] "For the ponderous processes[a] of matter the swift-winged operations of ideas are substituted".[36] This is necessary for communication and for all practical purposes. A vast paper money circulation. One of the functions of art, maybe,[b] is as a corrective to the manufactured scaffolding of thought, particularly of that basic fiction of logic, substance and attribute, and the general assumption of sensation under categories.[37]

The well-known place when we are leaving it lies close to the eye. Previously, in comparison, there is a distance between me[c] and the thing. Previously the place has appeared[d] neither so near nor so objective.[38]

[f. 28*r*][e] In viewing the external world, degree of objectivity depends upon the degree of outward orientation, the degree in which[f] our immediate surroundings are regarded objectively.[g] Thus, in Switzerland probably, I have experienced on some perilous railway[h] the sensation that this line enters a man-made tunnel[i] passing through the inner recesses[j] of Nature, a forest whose undergrowth[k] one can penetrate in this way with one's eyes. Yet, often in England, the line will pass through a forest. I very rarely have the above sensation. The[l] travelling-in-England orientation is not sufficiently outward. This is a railway line with trees growing up to its very margin on both sides. I have not seen the track as something piercing a forest. The trees are little more than scenery to the track, backcloth to my propulsion. Very rarely in travelling are we aware that we are being drawn through the country, the pre-existent country,[m] on a recently constructed track. We feel this only when walking on the empty line. But the carriage in which we ride makes a little outside world, so closely identified as a container with ourselves, that it is not felt as a stranger in the forest: on the contrary, the forest is subservient to it, as scenery is to the actor's voice and person. Since the position of train and carriage in relation to the country is too little felt objectively, that country[n] also loses its objectivity. Since we are in our little substitute house, an image so enclosing,[o] we see the country almost as something that passes this house, like

a *reality". "For the ponderous processes*: [TS] reality…… For the ponderous processes

b *maybe*: [TS, corrected in pen so as to indicate words to be united] may be

c *between me*: [TS, corrected in pen] between <the> {me}

d *Previously the place has appeared*: {Previously} The <thing has> place has appeared

e [f. 27*v* blank; f. 28*r* numbered top right] 21

f *the degree in which*: [TS] the degree to which

g *are regarded objectively*: are regarded <as outwardness> {objectively}

h *on some perilous railway*: <in> {on} some perilous railway

i *this line enters a man-made tunnel*: this line <is an> {enters} a man-made tunnel

j *recesses*: recess [TS] recesses

k *whose undergrowth*: whose <trees> undergrowth

l *The*: [TS, corrected in pen] <The> My

m *the pre-existent country*: [TS, corrected in pen] the pre-existent {country}

n *that country*: [TS] the country

o *an image so enclosing*: <we see the country> {an image} so <close> enclosing

a lorry[a] seen from the dentist's waiting room or a cloud apprehended through the window at breakfast. Present circumstance thus does not allow[b] of a wider relationship with the object.[39]

We hate most of all things the hate inside ourselves. This hate is built around the image of hated figures that we have brought within us, and it is projected by us, as much of it as we can, on to other figures and things throughout our lives. It is the same with our love. Such[c] is the economy of spiritual life.[40] We take in, we [f. 29*r*][d] eject and spread.[41] Such also[e] is the process of sublimation. Aggression[f] is altogether necessary in the human economy where put to constructive use,[42] the most obvious and general mode being[g] the battle with Nature. Similarly, and positively[h] from a negative basis, vital force spreads beyond us on to a variety of objects alive and inanimate,[i] from the situation of guilt felt towards parents, dependence upon whom we strive to avoid by finding these other objects.[j][43] Psychical[k] compulsion is toward the spreading of our vital forces upon a wide area, except in the case of marriage, except in the case of propagation, when[l] the original nucleus is re-formed. This compulsion outward,[m] or sublimation as we may call it, is, perhaps, the basic distinguishing quality of man: the rest of the difference from the animal world can be explained[n] in terms of it.[44] All the numbness and all the churches, all the exhaltation; the turning[o] of millions to further ends,[p] away from the rotteness and cruelty, illness and injustice; all that hurt that goes with life, must be expanded into nothingness by a church, by fixed ideas and by solutions. And why?[q] Because we cannot bear the hate within us; we can bear it so much less than the hate without, the

a *passes this house, like a lorry*: passes <it> this house, {like} a lorry

b *Present circumstance thus does not allow*: [TS, corrected in pen] {Thus p}<P>resent circumstance <thus> does not allow.

c *Such*: <And> Such

d [f. 28*v* blank; f. 29*r* numbered top right] 22

e *eject and spread. Such also*: eject and spread: such also

f *Aggression*: Agression

g *general mode being*: general {mode} being

h *and positively*: and <negatively> {positively}

i *on to a variety of objects alive and inanimate*: <to> {on} to a variety of objects alive and <dead> {inanimate,}

j *finding these other objects*: finding {these} other objects [TS, corrected in pen] finding <there> other objects

k *Psychical*: [TS, corrected in pen] <C>{Ps}yc{h}ical

l *when*: [TS] where

m *This compulsion outward*: This outward compulsion ["outward" encircled and repositioned after "compulsion" by means of arrow] [TS] This compulsion outward

n *can be explained*: < [falls?]> can be explained

o *exhaltation; the turning*: exhaltation: the turning [TS] exaltation

p *to further ends*: to <a> further ends

q *solutions. And why?*: solutions: and why?

greatest danger of which is the provocation of our own hate. It is that which sears,[a] which consumes the spirit. The hate of others is evidence of our own. Wretchedness and dirtiness hurt us the more because we feel wretched and dirty, and, indeed, the authors of suffering. Were it not that men[b] suffer their own hate so badly, they could well face reality without the aid of magic. The asperity of things, even the fitfulness[c] of stray wood tossed upon the tide, would not trouble the spirit freed from anxiety.[45] And the basis of anxiety is dread of loss, and is guilt[d] due to what is felt to be the omnipotent and unrestrained power of aggressive impulse. In desperation men turn their hate against their hate. In desperation,[e] too, magnifying [f. 30*r*][f] it to be even greater than it is, they unloose their hate upon the world: they superstitiously fix[g] upon an object. That shall be hated, tortured, destroyed. And that, that artificial object of hate (so often the Jews),[46] stands for the hate[h] in themselves, that they would project, expectorate, destroy. In so doing they may use their hate with joy, in hating their hate. Instead of themselves, they torture others, and hate them the more because in so doing they hate themselves afresh. More and more must be tortured.[47]

I say that what[i] we consider to be the hateful part in ourselves is our own hate[j] ultimately. It is our own hate, at any rate,[k] that animates this corpus, whatever appearance it may present[l] to the mind. And now I see the narrow dining room[m] of a would-be old-fashioned hotel at Ipswich,[48] the outer wall lying leeringly along the mean provincial street. Inside are served buttons[n] of food on the small tables with their hateful cutlery. After breakfast,[o] the guests rush in an ensemble to the very few lavatories. You would expect a general constipation, especially from such food in such a place. But not at all. Each place has a strong and brutal fresh stench when you are lucky enough to get in. One is forced there to

a *sears*: [TS, corrected in pen] se<e>{a}rs

b *men*: [TS, corrected in pen] m<a>{e}n

c *fitfulness*: fitfullness

d *and is guilt*: and {is} guilt

e *their hate. In desperation*: their hate: in desperation

f [f. 29*v* blank except for "fresh", written opposite "stench" on f. 30*r*; f. 30*r* numbered top right] 23

g *fix*: [corrected from illegible word]

h *the hate*: <that> {the} hate

i *I say that what*: I say that that what

j *our own hate*: our {own} hate

k *hate, at any rate*: [TS, corrected in pen] hate, at <any rate> {least}

l *it may present*: it may <be> present

m *narrow dining room*: narrow <room> dining room

n *are served buttons*: are served <roasted> buttons

o [TS: passage from here to end of paragraph inserted, handwritten, by AS]

investigate[a] the antecedents to a commercial traveller's active day. How do men trot round[b] with such filth? How, when shaving, do they stand up against their cut-throat constipated faces into which they will proceed[c] amid the hateful cutlery to throw their glum breakfasts? Ah, there is hunger here,[d] there is passion here: that is how it is done. Hateful black boots are tucked under the tables, and things from last night's sleep are personified, though we know it not, on every side.

How blessed that things[e] do not move with our thoughts. The glass upon the table is still as I think,[f] imagine, fear and hate. [f. 31*r*][g] A little contemplation of its outwardness, a little scientific thought about an object or aesthetic appraisal, a sensation of outside of us, of space and the inanimate, stabilizes the world again, quite apart from action and work. Thus, this church, a huge inanimate emblem, thus, huge ideas: if it were not for the stillness of this glass upon the table we would not have them;[h] sublimation[i] would not be our way of expansion. At least,[j] not in the form of abstract, shiftless ideas.[49] Animus (of how many kinds, infinite in gradation) impinges upon every look, every remark, every unspoken and spoken thought. Above all, as we regard what is external, ourselves speak there.[k|50]

Boxed up, we leave the house for the harbour, for some space or panorama. The world expands; there is a sense of freedom. Yet this larger world still contains our thought, our previous thought; but it is now[l] on a larger scale, a different note. The anxiety it contains, so far from blown away on the free air, may be enlarged[m] as it fixes on the vast natural agencies. We note the rebutment of the sea by the rocks.[51]

a *brutal fresh stench when you are lucky enough to get in. One is forced there to investigate*: brutal {fresh} stench when you are lucky enough to get in. One is forced there to investigate [MS insert in TS] brutal and fresh stench. One is forced to investigate

b *trot round*: [MS insert in TS] trot around

c *faces into which they will proceed*: faces <?> into which they <then descend> {will proceed} [MS insert in TS] faces <?> into which they will proceed

d *hunger here*: [MS insert in TS] hunger <th> here

e *blessed that things*: [TS, corrected in pen] blessed <the> {that} things

f *as I think*: <as> {while} I think [TS] while I think

g [f. 30*v* blank except for two numbers ("25" over "12"), below them group of fine and lightly drawn pencil lines, and "may be" written opposite "enlarged" on f. 31*r*; f. 31*r* has slight rectilinear doodle top centre and is numbered top right] 24

h *have them*: [TS] conceive them

i *have them; sublimation*: have them: sublimation

j *expansion. At least*: expansion. <And there would be no abstract ideas.> At least

k *ourselves speak there*: ourselves speak there. <We are bound to everything>

l *our previous thought; but it is now*: our previous thought: but it {is} now

m *so far from blown on the free air may be enlarged*: <may {be}> so far from <being> blown <[illegible]> {may be} enlarged



Figure 27
Adrian Stokes,
Margaret Mellis.
1939? Oil on canvas

Background II

This second portion of *OIL* was probably written between September and October 1939, immediately after the outbreak of WWII. The now palpable threat of destruction and fear of invasion are reflected in an abrupt change in the tone and focus of AS' writing. Yet if his attention now turns to the general 'banality' of hatred and aggression, it is in an effort to maintain "deeper equanimity"[52] by considering how these negative impulses might be stabilized and sublimated through the contemplation of the "outwardness" of objects and natural phenomena[53] or constructively deployed, as in artistic creation.[54]

On 29 September (as throughout England and Wales, in accordance with the National Registration Act, passed two days after the declaration of war) the names, sex, marital status, profession and other details relating to members of LPO's augmented household – AS, MM, BN, BH, the triplets, their twenty-seven-year-old nurse, Kathleen Greey, and nineteen-year-old cook and housekeeper, Olive Buttree – were recorded in the National Register.[55] Entered under the same area code were the Russian Constructivist sculptor Naum Gabo (1890-1977) and his American painter wife Miriam Israels (1907-1993), who at BN's suggestion had also left London and had found shelter in Faerystone, a bungalow not far down the lane that gave access to the top or front end of LPO's drive.[56]

The influx of refugees brought domestic upheaval. AS' studio was made over to BN; and he probably painted, if and when he could, in his study. MM's studio was occupied by the triplets and their nurse, so she painted in the couple's bedroom. BN and BH, though unaccustomed to sharing a bedroom (she smoked and he was asthmatic), both had to sleep in the room off the upper passage, where BH also worked. Olive was given one of the small back bedrooms downstairs. When, after 1 September, WC and his wife Nancy returned to LPO, staying on for almost a fortnight,[57] they had to sleep in one of the passages.[58]

"It could work a good deal worse", AS reported to KC around two months later. "Painting goes on all over the house from time to time, and the clash of styles in so confined a space reverberates even after dark".[59]

That last remark is patently ironical. Synaesthetically reinforced ("reverberates"), the phrase "clash of styles" may be a hyperbolical allusion to prestigious artistic "battles" of the past.[60] Yet it resists elucidation, partly because little is known about the kind of work each of LPO's inmates was producing at this time. The white still lifes both AS and MM are said to have made, like her view of the garden through the window of AS' study, were probably painted in the summer.[61] On 29 April MM had "arranged flowers for [AS] to paint",[62] but the resulting work has not been identified.[63] Three days later AS had started a portrait of MM, possibly the one reproduced here **[fig. 27]**, which seems to have been painted in the sitting-room at LPO.[64] Other paintings AS is known or presumed to have made in the early months at LPO amount to a mere handful. They include a self-portrait, probably abandoned,[65] and two still lifes, one of uncertain date, the



Figure 28 Ben Nicholson, *Little Park Owles*. 1939/40? Pencil on paper

other untraced.[66] BH, on the other hand, was making drawings similar to Gabo's,[67] while BN continued to produce "paintings and reliefs even more precise and austere than before".[68] At the same time, though, on returning to St Ives, "a place of formative significance to him", he had also returned to landscape painting.[69] MM would later remember that she, AS and BN had gone on an expedition to Boltallack, where she and AS had painted and BN had drawn.[70] It may have been in these months, or not long after, that BN made a drawing of LPO seen from the garden, which he gave to AS **[fig. 28]**.

In his letter to KC, was AS casting MM and himself in the role of opponents to radical international modernism, with its tendencies to pure abstraction and Constructivism and whose leading representatives in Britain he was sheltering under his roof?[71] Did he imply – with a wink to KC as the foremost sponsor of the Euston Road School[72] – that he and MM were standing in for the now-departed WC, reportedly dubbed by MM BN's "painting enemy"?[73] And yet MM would later describe herself, while attending the School, as (artistically) a "hidden enemy": though she liked the painters personally, she "didn't want to go in their direction at all".[74] And the great enthusiasm shown by AS while a student there, later recalled by WC, was perhaps due to the School's explicit "offer of stylistic freedom" and to its being "a place where a new philosophy of perception could be tested":[75] in the words of the *Plan for Artists* (1937) devised by GB and WC, "the exploration and expression in paint, by actual experience, of the material world".[76] He probably sympathized less with the ideological bias that led some of its painters (GB and WC, for instance) to be labelled 'social realists', than with the fact that it favoured and facilitated his intuitive preference (later his habit) for always painting "in front of something […] almost entirely from looking at the object".[77]

At the same time, AS did not absolutely disdain the label "modern painters" when it was applied to himself and to MM by the reporter who interviewed him for the *News Chronicle* that summer. "We are – and we are not", he had replied. "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".[78] Viewed superficially, such equivocation might seem to contrast with his ardent promotion of BN, BH and the sculptor Henry Moore (1898-1986) in exhibition reviews published in the *Spectator* six years earlier, around the time he was writing *SR* and came to know them personally through RG's sister Margaret (1904-2005) (MG).[79] Yet his appreciation of their work was already coloured by those reservations regarding all stridently and self-consciously "modern" art – formalism, abstraction, surrealism – which he had expressed obliquely and provocatively in his preliminary *Spectator* article, "Art Today",[80] and would articulate more explicitly and cogently four years later, in a review, also published in the *Spectator*, of an exhibition of BN's paintings.[81] He there dissociated himself from "the cry for non-representation in art in and for itself", arguing that BN was "the leader of the very few real abstract artists in England":

> That is to say, I have always been able to discover in his non-representational work, and in very few other works of this kind, the slow elucidation and isolation of factors that are constant in all that is pleasurable in the process of visual perception. For me, abstraction in painting can mean nothing other than such separation from subject-matter (with the freedom that this entails) of the exercise for the eye which all good paintings afford.[82]

If AS' irony was intended to leave the "clash of styles" hovering between appearance and reality, another reason for this may have been the altered perspective that came from his having recently himself become a painter, and one not given to non-representation. Perhaps from this point of view he felt the need to radicalize his sense that "true abstract art" was informed by pleasurable constants in visual perception, and, through deepened apprehension of the objects of inner and outer experience, lend poignancy and magnitude to the concepts of 'subject-matter', 'myth' and 'symbol', used by KC in a controversial essay of 1935 specifically to counter the purity of BN's abstract works, which he mistrusted as "tasteful pieces of decoration" and "discreet and rarefied harmonies".[83]

Perhaps the "clash of styles" 'reverberated' for AS in the different and positive sense of stimulating him to articulate, in the present portion of *OIL*, a set of reflections on the nature of painting which, more radically than in 1937, undermined dichotomies of realism and abstraction, representation and non-representation, and even of 'low' and 'high' art, by sidelining "our many experiments in painting, from abstraction and cubism to surrealism" and suggesting that the common endeavour of European art did not *necessitate* separation from, or exasperation of subject-matter, in so far as it was exercised in the symbolical reconstruction of psychical objects and of relations to such objects through the material fabrication of images of things in the outer world.[84]

The clash of personalities was certainly real. In the letter to KC cited above, BN is by implication compared unfavourably with WC. The passage earlier quoted continues: "Bill and his wife were here for a time. I have always had immense respect for Bill but found him a bit wry. But I now have a great affection for him".[85] The comparison is again made, more freely, in a letter written around the same time to GB:

> Oh dear oh dear, how {I} wish you were here. The Mandarins, as Bill calls them, are too prim and tight for permanent hosting – its beginning to get on my nerves. With Bill here, though, it was splendid. I long for intimacy and not to have to bolster up boyish and mulish little worlds.[86]

MM would later recall what "very difficult people" BN and BH were and how they had "invaded the house".[87] In a letter to RB written on 16 October AS had employed the same verb in referring

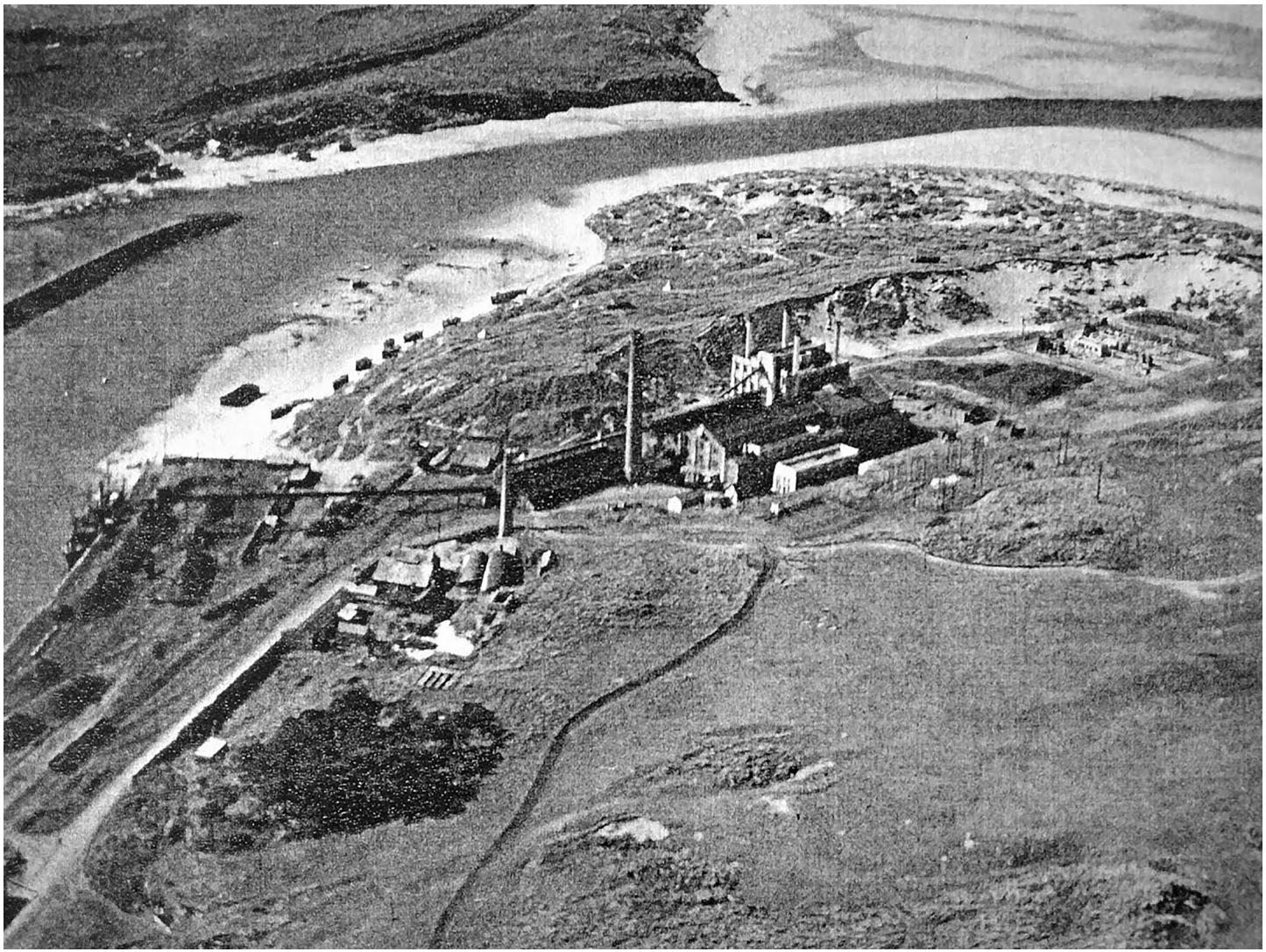


Figure 29 Unidentified photographer, *Hayle Power Station (Cornwall Electric Power Company)*. Late 1940s?

incidentally to their guests (his main purpose being to entice his friend to Cornwall).[88] MM would even state that BN and BH had facilitated the deterioration of their marriage.[89]

✢

Meanwhile, on 3 September Parliament had passed the National Service (Armed Forces) Act. In *OIL*, perhaps immediately prior to this date (as in its opening pages), AS had reflected gloomily on his age.[90] He would now have found that at almost thirty-seven he was not too old to avoid being called up. Whereas the Military Training Act of May 1939, in anticipation of war, had obliged men of between twenty and twenty-two to undertake six months' preparatory training, now all men between eighteen and forty-one were made liable for conscription. Registration, however, would be conducted in stages, by age-group, starting with the youngest and the unmarried.[91] This can only have aggravated AS' sense of "being at a loss what to do", as he later told KC in reference to the first days of the war.[92] One step he *had* taken in those days or weeks, as the National Register shows, was, like BN, to enrol as a Special Constable with the police force at St Ives.[93]

The uncertainty had of course begun before hostilities were officially declared. Not long after the arrival of the refugees AS had written to ESW,

> Should it blow over, we hope to see you whenever you can come. If there is a war do let me know, if you get a job, where you are working, and whether there is any chance of me joining you, and doing likewise. For the first few weeks, at any rate, I hope to be able to remain here. But later on, all one asks is to be among one's friends.[94]

And on 3 September itself he had similarly addressed RB:

> What are you doing or about to do? Do please bear me in mind if you need an assistant for some job suited to my capacities. If one is to have any choice, one does so much prefer to be near at least one friend. Otherwize [*sic*] I shall either work on the land here or apply for a camouflage job. I have Ben Nicholson and his entire family here and we are preparing plans for camouflaging the power station at Hayle which gives <electricity> {power} to the whole of Cornwall, and also for an adjoining Anglo-Persian oil dump. Failing more professional advice, they will probably try us.[95]

The camouflage had been BH's idea. The chimneys of the Cornwall Electric Power Company's station down the coast at Hayle, of which there seem at that time to have been four (Figure 29 was probably taken later), were visible from LPO and had seemed to the group "an absolutely



Figure 30 Abram Games, *Grow your own Food*. 1942. Colour lithograph

perfect target for anyone".[96] Their application accepted, MM, AS, BN and WC each made a design. These were then all executed by MM – the only one of the group with a head for heights – with the assistance of AS and BN[97] (WC having meanwhile left) between 18 and 23 September.[98] Here must be another reason for the three-week hiatus in writing *OIL* lasting from the start of the war to the day after the death of Sigmund Freud on 23 September.[99]

When war had been declared, ESW had immediately volunteered for the Personnel Department of the Red Cross in London;[100] and RB, after unsuccessfully applying to the Foreign and War Offices, had entered the BBC's European News Department.[101] AS seems soon to have given up the idea of joining either. On coming to hear of ESW's "intrepid" search for employment, he had countered with the news that at LPO they had done "some camouflage at Hayle" and "a good deal of agriculture in the garden". He hoped that later on it would be "somewhat easier to find suitable work". It was "very worrying".[102]

AS' choice of the term 'agriculture' in this context is indicative of his awareness of government measures aiming to ensure increased food production. These were now gaining momentum – the Ministry of Agriculture's domestic food production campaign **[fig. 30]**, generally known by the slogan "Dig for Victory", was launched that autumn[103] – but long pre-dated September 1939, in preparation for war. Already in 1936 the County War Agricultural Executive Committees established in WWI had been revived. And in late April 1939 the Agricultural Development Act had included the provision to pay "£2 per acre […] to farmers who ploughed-up permanent grass (land under grass for at least seven years) and who re-seeded or replanted it with wheat, oats, barely, rye, mixed corn or potatoes".[104] Agricultural work had moreover been listed among those "reserved occupations" regarding which "restrictions [would] be placed in peace time on the acceptance of volunteers for certain forms of enlistment or enrolment for service in time of war", as specified in a Schedule issued provisionally in January 1939 and subsequently revised.[105] On 11 September, the *Times* had published an article aiming, on behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture, to clarify "the position of workers in agriculture and allied industries in regard to military service":

> As the Prime Minister said in his recent broadcast, those engaged in the production of food have a task equally vital to national defense as that to be performed by our armed forces. By carrying on with their jobs they will be doing work of the utmost national importance.
>
> The revised schedule of reserved occupations issued by the Ministry of Labour includes a very wide range of agricultural and allied workers. None of these workers if of or above the age specified in the schedule [in some cases 30, but mostly 25] will be accepted for service in the armed forces. The schedule includes all those involved, whether as principals or employees, in general farming, fruit farming, poultry farming, gardening, seed growing, and nursery work, provided that they have reached the specified age.[106]

A "vegetable garden", with "greenhouse and potting sheds", already existed at LPO when AS purchased the property. It was located to the left of the drive as one approached the 'front' of the house. By "agriculture in the garden" AS probably meant the plan to enlarge this vegetable garden and transform a part of LPO's grounds into a market garden, in immediate response, it would seem, to the ministerial campaign. Early October found AS "working on the land as required and digging up the garden". He would "love really to become a proper unskilled agricultural labourer", he told RB, but at present there was no particular shortage of such in the area.[107] Around the same time he wrote to GB,

> There's plenty to do in the garden should you come here. Now the harvest is over they don't seem to want one on farms. Perhaps it would be a good idea to take an agricultural course. There should be a huge Omega farm somewhere for all of us.[108]

Other letters of this period also allude to AS' having helped on local farms, apparently during the harvest and perhaps in order to gain experience. It is not clear, though, whether he yet considered the cultivation of his own land as less a domestic expediency or patriotic 'requirement' than a solution to the problem of conscription, insofar as it might constitute alternative war work. He seems at one stage to have contemplated moving away from LPO and himself becoming a farmer. But on 16 October he reported to RB that he was "well set up in almost every respect for a long <seige> siege", the garden being "big and very fruitful", and that they were "growing quantities of vegetables", adding,

> I now have no desire to go further afield for a job, although I may take up a scheme to partner a man in a Devonshire farm. If one must become something else, I would choose to be a farmer […] But if I don't go to the Devonshire farm and if labour is short, I shall <work> {work} on a farm here.[109]

To KC, on the other hand, not long after this, he described himself as "luckily fixed here in the extreme west of England":

> Having saved up produce and cash for this war, I have no desire to take a job which could be done by someone else who is in need […] I have now duly settled <into> {on} farming and am <[illegible]> {negotiating} a partnership in a farm, and there I shall stay. Meanwhile, as well as helping on farms, we have been digging up this extensive garden and should be able here <as well> {also} to produce a good quantity of vegetables.[110]

By the end of the year AS was "busy breaking ground and swotting up agriculture".[111]

On 27 December, after a fractious Christmas, BN and BH and family left LPO for "a small house called Dunluce", located "a moderate distance away", as AS would phrase it,[112] in an area called Trelyon or Trehoylan; "and this relieved some of the tension".[113] AS "paid the rent of Dunluce to start with" and MM and he gave BN and BH "a whole lot of things like carpets and pots and pans, which had been [their] wedding presents".[114]

As soon as they had left, WS came to live in the house, where he probably slept downstairs at the back. "His father & stepmother have been beastly to him", MM explained to her mother:

> he was very unhappy at home with no space & rotten food[. U]p till now we[']ve been giving him lunch but as I haven't time to cook in the middle of the day we decided it would be easier to have him in the house altogether & eat the same meals.[115]

They had also begun to look for a cook, as Olive had gone with the others to Dunluce, and they had dismissed Martha, who in recent months had acted as maid.[116] They had considered employing an evacuee, but had then thought better of 'boxing' her up with WS ("they might have an affair") and in the end took on his fifteen-year-old sister Doris,[117] "a relief after Martha who banged & clattered about":

> She [Doris] makes no noise & is nice all the time & helpful & quiet. I have to go in and cook with her as a kitchen maid but am hoping to train her[,] to teach her to cook eventually. I[']m rather a good cook now luckily. William [WS] is very nice & helps an enormous lot in the house. He almost always helps Doris to wash up & he takes a great interest in getting everything nice […] She is improving too. IF she likes it she will be very good. When we go to the cinema we take them down & I think they like being here.[118]

These arrangements were outward signs of a more settled domestic regime, which may have favoured the renewal of intimacy between husband and wife. MM at any rate soon discovered that she was pregnant and on 10 March wrote to her parents that she calculated the baby would be born "on October 20th, 25th, 23rd or 28th", given "it was conceived on Jan 19th or Jan 22nd (my Birthday)".[119]

Notes

1 The invasion of Albania on Good Friday (see "Background I", 71) had been followed by the signing, on 22 May, of the so-called Pact of Steel with Germany, whereby the two countries recognized each other as political and military allies.

2 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 158-9): "Of course it is basic human relationships, above all, that my two landscapes describe. Hyde Park is especially a destroyed and contaminated mother, Italy the rapid attempt to restore […] Meanwhile an interest in art, especially visual art, developed the import of a reliance. I found a period which expressed the Rapallo aesthetic of life, the rush to make inside things manifest as a superlative space. When examining early Renaissance architecture and sculpture I at once recognized this passionate aim. I formed an aesthetic devolving from this art: bit by bit I was reconstructing the good mother amid continuous ruins". An identical reparative aim had been ascribed to "Mr B" (see 79, fn. 29) by MK ([1932] 1997, 273): "In contrast to his native town, which he thought of as a dark, lifeless and ruined place in spite of the fact – or because of the fact, as it became clear – that there was a lot of traffic there (i.e. continual copulation between his father and mother), he pictured an imaginary city full of life, light and beauty, and sometimes found his vision realized, though only for a short time, in the cities he visited in other countries. This far-off visionary city represented his mother once more made whole and reawakened to a new life, and also his own restored body". For the "Rapallo aesthetic of life" see "Background III", 136.

3 Perhaps a reference to the passage on "the Woolworth turmoil" as an image of "inner disorder" in *OIL* I, f. 8*r*, 42.

4 Cf. *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 219): "But it was useless to expect immobile days of a kind in which the movement of the water at the fringe of the tide is but a skin, an iridescent skin upon the stone. The sea worked beneath stillness, less the image of spatial magnitude than of the interfused depths of the mind".

5 Cf. IS, f. 3*r*, 211-12 ("Who can say […] opposite to the external world") and "Envoi", 271 ("Consciousness is no more of the mind […] opposite to the external world"). Cf. also the description of the cobbles paving a street in Italy in *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 232): "Composed in fan shapes […] they served as a shorthand for depths of the sea or of the mind".

6 The rhododendron groves of Carbis Bay are evoked in *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 221).

7 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 166): "Intimations from the soil […] the image-fabricator".

8 Freud died on 23 September in London, where the previous year, following the annexation of Austria in March, he had been persuaded and helped to find refuge from Nazi persecution by Ernest Jones (1879-1958), the President of the International Psychoanalytical Association and also of the British Psychoanalytical Society, later his biographer.

9 A common misquotation of two lines from the second stanza of the missionary hymn *From Greenland's Icy Mountains* (1819) by Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta (1783-1826): "What though the spicy breezes blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle; / Though every prospect pleases, and only man is vile? / In vain with lavish kindness the gifts of God are strown; / The heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone".

10 Cf. the extract from the passage in ASP, TGA 8816.15 starting "What is Western Civilization?" (WWC) quoted in fn. 19, 142.

11 Cf. *TA* (Stokes 1925, 173): "We go to church in our best clothes; we keep the church clean, and we wear serious faces and, if we can, serious minds. We divorce the non-familiar life, or subject it to subordination, patronizingly remembered in prayer") and also *IA* (Stokes 1978, III, 296) on the "aesthetic character of ritual", whereby, as in the experience of art, "each individual taking part rehearses his own development in terms, not of his own part, but of the total ritualistic meaning created also by his ancestors and his fellows".

12 Cf. Hanley 2002, ch. 2: "That Napoleon Bonaparte was the greatest eighteenth-century French master of propaganda is beyond dispute. What is most remarkable about Bonaparte's achievement, however, is the sophisticated manipulation of the press that he demonstrated from the very beginning of his public career".

13 Cf. IS, f. 6*r*, 213: "It is not enough […] most scientifically exploited".

14 Cf. IS, f. 3*r*, 211 ("The few primary sources […] surface of its bodies"); NBA, f. 12*r*, 262, 263 ("It will always come back […] correlation and distortion"; "With the aid of reason […] previous structures") and "Envoi", 270 ("With the aid of reason […] previous structures").

15 For PF's recollections of AS' interest in science, see "Background VI, 220.

16 Compare the whole of this paragraph with *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 166): "To paint a picture […] conventional, everyday, inartistic".

17 Cf. Klein [1935] 1998, 269-70, on the discovery by the ego, following its introjection of good objects as wholes, that these are "in a state of dissolution – in bits", leading to anxiety as to "how to put the bits together again in the right way and at the right time; how to pick out the good bits and do away with the bad ones; how to bring the object to life when it has been put together"; and Klein, Riviere [1937] 1998, 61: ("If the baby has, in his aggressive phantasies, injured his mother by biting and tearing her up, he may soon build up phantasies that he is putting the bits together again and repairing her"). Cf. also the passage from *TEPT* (Stokes 1978, III, 154) quoted in fn. 51 (144). The Kleinian psychoanalyst Wilfred Bion (1897-1979) was later to describe the process of scientific creativity in analogous terms, i.e. as entailing "a loosening of all the links that bind the elements into a theory, with a subsequent repatterning around a new focal point", termed by him (following the mathematician Henri Poincaré) "the selected fact" (Hinshelwood [1989] 1991, 263).

18 Cf. Klein [1935] 1998, 269-70, where it is stated that the anxiety-situations of guilt and reparation are at the basis of all depression and inhibitions in work and stress is laid on the "specific importance for sublimation of the bits to which the loved object has been reduced and the effort to put them together. It is a 'perfect' object which is in pieces", one whose perceived perfection compellingly "disproves the idea of disintegration". Cf. also Klein, Riviere [1937] 1998, 106: "Similarly, the

sculptor who puts life into his object of art, whether or not it represents a person, is unconsciously restoring and re-creating the early loved people, whom he has in phantasy destroyed". Not long after AS drafted these notes, the English psychoanalyst John Rickman (1891-1951), also an analysand of MK's, wrote of "how the artist can lead us into and out of the world of suffering. His creative activity is the Beginning of a New World built on the ruins of the old; those strokes of the brush in his phantasy build up bit by bit the good objects which he has destroyed and makes them come to life" (Rickman 1940, 308). AS later quoted this passage in an early version (1951; ASP, TGA 8816.193) of "Form in Art" (Stokes 1955).

19 Cf. *IA* (Stokes 1978, III, 271): "Most painting styles are what we call conceptual: objects are rendered under conformity to an idea of their genus, to hierarchic conception (with a comparative neglect of individual attributes and changing appearances) favouring the power to lure us into an easy identification with an expression of attitude or mood".

20 Cf. the draft of an essay on Giorgione's *Tempesta* (1944) in ASP, TGA 8816.53 ("For the mature artist as well as {for} the child, nature is the mirror of man, and in the highest moments of Western art the appearance of the object <not the concept> {rather than} a concept of the object [is] visualized") and *TEPT* (Stokes 1978, III, 154: "there has not been in the West an art reflective of the entire man as successful as the classical Greek and the Renaissance Art at its greatest, which strove to endow symbolic objects with the full value of their own appearances").

21 Cf. "Background II", 103-4.

22 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 172) on Cézanne and the distinction between conceptual art and an art devoted to the "quintessential structure" of appearance.

23 Cf. *C&F* (Stokes 1978, II, 43, 52) on the landscape painter John Constable (1776-1837) as instigator of a "plastic revolt" in painting, one of a succession of revolts necessary for the invigoration of the "inner light conception" of colour.

24 Cf. *SW* (Stokes 1926, 121-2): "Obviously, some average of uniform behaviour is necessary for continuous intercourse. But, like the daily newspaper which, whatever may be happening, comes out each day with every page filled and every column matching with the next, every article, every item finishing, as if by magic, at a point which enables the other articles to fill the column, and the columns to fill the page, never a word too much, never a word too little, each exact page devoted to a topic which has events of interest of equal volume and importance each and every day – so we seek to standardize our intercourse".

25 Cf. Stokes 1934a, 27, where, by contrast, the "simplicity and newness" of the "gleaming objects" sold at Woolworth's (*OIL* I, f. 8*r*, 42) is seen, not just as typifying a childish "toy world", but as symbolizing "an ideal adult culture". The cancelled phrase "as does [Ben?]", if correctly read, probably refers to BN.

26 Pater [1869, 1873, 1893] 1980: "It is a beauty wrought out from within upon the flesh, the deposit, little cell by cell, of strange thoughts and fantastic reveries and exquisite passions".

27 These reflections on Leonardo and classical ballet may have been stimulated by contemplation of a drawing of a nymph **[fig. 24]** reproduced in Clark 1935b (as too in Stokes 1935b, but without comment) and again in Clark 1939 (pl. 57), a book AS had acquired and read before the start of the war and on which, in terms that closely parallel the present passage, he commented in a letter to KC, written from Cornwall after 19 October (there is a reference in it to a letter of that date from KC to the *Times*, proposing the establishment of a Central Institute of Art and Design): "The Windsor drawing of 'a nymph' reproduction, a drawing that has seemed to me also one of the greatest, constantly reminds me – if not of Pandora herself, then {of} the spirit of classical ballet. Leonardo's strange amalgam, as you have shown it to me, of <[illegible]> {his particular} organic mysteriousness with classicism, of evasiveness with this sturdy yet poised female form, is reflected somewhat in the romantic-classical remote perfections of classical ballet? A Leonardesque though 19th century expression, Ballet belongs in origin to the Mannerist period. It is as if in the age of its greatness ballet had discovered some of the power beyond its sources: thus, Leonardo's welding of what is southern with what is northern is perpetuated in the sole art of today that preserves the grand manner. In the classical pas de deux, as in {the} ideal of ballerina beauty, one may discover a great deal of characteristic Leonardesque form as well as of expressiveness" (AS to KC n.d. [after 19 October 1939, TGA 8812.1.3.3046). Cf. also the earlier note on "The Amateur and the professional in art" in ASP, TGA 8816.136, where it is stated that "the absolute professionalism of the dancer compared with the writer or the painter" and "the necessity of an uniform craft to a very advanced degree" render the ballet "the sole surviving art that is traditional in the grand manner". A similar assessment of ballet is found in the last of AS' reviews for *The Spectator* of the second (1934) London season of de Basil's Ballets Russes de Monte-Carlo: "Ballet, alone of the arts, enjoys its High Renaissance, the flowering of a grand and historical style" (Stokes 1934b, 190; cf. Stokes 1934a, 128, for use of the phrase "High Renaissance of ballet"; and 36, 46, 85, 94 and 117 for repeated recourse to the northern-southern motif in explanation of the essence of ballet, especially in its contemporary Russian manifestation, and for its qualification in terms of the grand manner or style). Stokes 1937 (298) further states, "Ballet to-day is the most flourishing of the arts. the only art, one might say, not at variance with a magnificent European tradition, the only art that still develops fully and traditionally". For AS' interest in Leonardo in the St Ives years see "Background VI", 220.

28 *Scuola di Ballo* is a one-act ballet after Goldoni with music by Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805) arranged by Jean Françaix (1912-1997) and choreographed by Léonide Massine (1896-1979) for the Ballets Russes de Monte-Carlo. It was first performed in Monte Carlo on 25 April 1933, with scenery and costumes by Count Etienne de Beaumont. The dancers included Massine himself and two of the company's "baby ballerinas", Tatiana Riabouchinska (1917-2000), mentioned here, and Irina Baronova (1919-2008). AS would have seen it in the newly formed company's first London season at the Alhambra Theatre later that same year. He had included a "note" on the ballet in the Appendix to Stokes 1935a, from which Figure 25 is taken. He had there analysed the *pas de deux* cited here as exemplifying a general principle of dance: "In all dancing a pose is constructed by, and cannot be isolated

from, previous movement". Thus, Massine's briefly held resultant pose (not illustrated in the photograph) "is one of extension and grace, but the double turn [immediately preceding it] has bestowed upon it as well the character of a well-directed watchfulness". The dancer is compared to a man on a cliff "who shades his eyes to keep the horizon in view" and to a lighthouse, "a well-knit circular construction that rises unflinching against the sea and sky". His perfect poise likewise emits "a circular light". There is an evident analogy between the persistent dynamism of Massine's pose as construed in Stokes 1935a – around it "movement continues to play like lightning" – and the narrative and more broadly historical accretion of significance attributed here to the *pas de deux*.

29 The German philosopher and Kant scholar Hans Vaihinger (1853-1933).

30 The passage has not been found in Vaihinger [1911] 1924, though many there express a similar content. It may have appeared on the book's dust-jacket, which, if like that of other titles in the same series (e.g. Burrow 1927), may have carried an extensive presentation.

31 Cf. "Notes for Giorgione" (October 1938) in ASP, TGA 8816.53: "One suspects that all great periods of art have at their root superabundant images of interpenetration. Not only painting and the visual arts: [but?] above all, poetry. It is the <end> condition for putting one thing in terms of another, the basis of all aesthetic creating. It is a reflection of the basic allusiveness in art that we appreciators <love> {are <prone> prone} to <put one> describe the manifestation of one art in terms of the manifestation of another art. The compulsion to externalize, to make manifest is effected in the case of successful works of art by the {perfect} fusion of the elements that go to make it, principally matter and form. This activity is perhaps an extension of the fusion we make between a thing and its name, a thing and its symbol". Cf. also CAM, 296 ("The expression of one thing or many things in terms of something else, or, as it might be called, substitution, is obviously a paramount characteristic of the mental life"); *TEPT* (Stokes 1978, III, 151: "Throughout consciousness one thing stands for another: we traffic all the time with symbols, in thought as well as in emotion; for, behind any feeling, behind the 'feel' of an argument even, there lurks another that is older and, as we proceed back, that is nearer to the source of its power over us") and *IA* (Stokes 1978, III, 296: "Of course almost every activity is the substitute or symbol of another"). See also the "Introduction", 18.

32 Vaihinger [1911] 1924, 95.

33 Vaihinger [1911] 1924, 156: "Modern positivism is on the way to asserting – indeed it has in part already asserted – that all categories are for it only symbols and fictions, that 'discursive thought,' as Maimon says, 'is a fiction.'" The Lithuanian philosopher Salomon Maimon (1753-1800) was a contemporary and critic of Kant's.

34 The Cynics are not specifically discussed by Vaihinger, but the sentence has parallels in ch. XXVIII ("The Fiction in Greek Scientific Procedure"), e.g. in the passage, "The Greeks lacked the independence of thought necessary for the application of such an instrument [the scientific fiction], an independence that shows itself above all in an ability courageously to tear oneself away from reality and yet, in spite of this deviation, not lose hope of returning to it again. The Greeks recoiled before the bold flight of thought which seeks to attain its goal by arbitrary and contradictory ideas" (Vaihinger [1911] 1924, 186).

35 Vaihinger [1911] 1924, 159.

36 Vaihinger [1911] 1924, 160. The expressions 'ponderous' and 'swift-winged' relate to the metaphorical contrast between metal and paper money introduced in the immediately preceding passage and developed in what follows. This elaboration and analogy are summarized in the subsequent two sentences in *OIL*.

37 For the artificial "edifice" of logical constructs as a "scaffolding" cf. e.g. Vaihinger [1911] 1924, 167. Cf. also *RN* (Stokes 1978, III, 339): "Art corrects abstraction".

38 Cf. *OIL*, I, f. 11*r*, 44 ("Similarly, all of us have felt […] in which we live") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 161: "The well-known place […] neither as near nor as objective").

39 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 159-60: "In contemplating objects […] relationship with the object"), where the sentence corresponding to the last in the equivalent passage in *OIL* is the first in a separate paragraph that continues, "Every contemplation of the world outside must have a context, must entail a projection from inside. It still remains true that such contemplation has an increased scope so far as it is depending upon a greater apprehension of otherness; upon an *exact* concatenation in the outside world".

40 Cf. Klein, Rivière [1937] 1998 for repeated use of the economic analogy and especially (16) for the expression "economics of our emotional life". See also the "Introduction", 15.

41 Cf. Klein, Rivière [1937] 1998, 12-13 ("My argument is that we fear more than anything else destructive forces operating inside us against ourselves […] The first step in reassurance against dangers to the self from within is thus made possible for us by projection"); 340 ("We hate in ourselves the harsh and stern figures who are also part of our inner world, and are to a large extent the result of our own aggression towards our parents. At the bottom our strongest hate, however, is directed against the hatred within ourselves. We so much dread the hatred within ourselves that we are driven to employ one of our strongest measures of defence by putting it on to other people – to project it. But we also displace love into the outer world; and we can do so only if we have established good relations with the friendly figures within our minds").

42 Cf. AS to HR Friday [28 January or 4 February 1944], HRP, SC MLUV, quoted in "Background VII", 278 and 279.

43 Cf. Klein, Rivière [1937] 1998, 4-8, where aggression is also traced to resentful feelings of dependence and the fear of deprivation which this situation entails.

44 Cf. *OIL*, I, ff. 17*r*-18*r*, 52-4; III, f. 39*r*, 124.

45 Cf. IS, f. 4*r*, 212: "The asperity of things […] spirit freed from anxiety".

46 Cf. "Background I", 74.

47 The passage "The hate of others […] must be tortured" occurs, slightly revised, in ASP, TGA 8816.3 (a draft of *IO*).

48 It is assumed in Sayers [2015] 2018 (123), though for no compelling reason, that this was a recent memory, from house-hunting in Suffolk the previous year; see "Background I", 61-2.

49 Cf. "Writing", f. 17*r*, 293 ("It is then […] apparel of our passion"); *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 162: "How blessed […] abstract, shiftless ideas"). Cf. also "Background VII", 275-7.
50 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, 162): "Animus […] ourselves speak there".
51 Cf. *OIL*, f. 10*r*, 44 ("Here in Cornwall […] put in movement and enlarged") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, 162: "Boxed up, I leave the house […] by the rocks").
52 *OIL* II, f. 21*r*, 87.
53 *OIL* II, f. 31*r*, 99.
54 *OIL* II, f. 29*r*, 97.
55 England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6705H/002/1-9 (the entry is incorrectly transcribed and AS indexed as "Adrian W. Stokes").
56 England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6705H/003/24-25. Cf. Mellis 1993; Checkland 2000, 184; Lambirth 2010, 36.
57 They left again on 12 September (Mellis 1939). It is not evident that they were present when BN and BH arrived on 25 August, as stated in Checkland 2000 (181).
58 Mellis 1977.
59 AS to KC n.d. [after 19 October 1939], TGA 8812.1.3.3046.
60 Such as the *querelle du coloris* which divided *Poussinistes* and *Rubenistes* at the Académie royale in seventeenth-century Paris, or the "Battle of the Styles" waged in mid-nineteenth-century London between supporters of Gothic and of Classical architectural designs for the new Houses of Parliament.
61 See Figures 17 and 19 and "Background I", 68.
62 Mellis 1939.
63 Unless it was a picture of tulips in a blue vase on an unstretched canvas formerly in AS' house in Hampstead (Estate of Adrian Stokes).
64 TrS (personal communication, 2025) identifies the pink armchair MM is seated in (also seen in Figure 44) as one AS had given her when they had first met. He also recognizes the domed set of shelves in the background as having been bought by AS at Heal's in Tottenham Court Road, London, where he and MM lived when first married.
65 AS to GB, n.d. [postmarked 9 October 1939] TGA 200214: "I now feel very depressed partly because I have been slaving away at a dingy self-portrait for a considerable time and it['s] very bad".
66 The first, *Still Life with Bottles and a Jar*, was put up for sale by Wooley & Wallis, Salisbury, on 11 December 2019 (lot 296), but was not sold. It was dated 1939 on the basis of a faint inscription on the canvas overlap at its back, transcribed in the lot entry as "Adrian's dark bottles 1939 (?)". In another place the overlap is initialled and dated by AS, but the date seems to have been corrected and is not legible. My thanks to Richard Kay of Wooley & Wallis for this information. The other *Still Life* was purchased by the composer Robert Still (1910-71), later co-founder with AS of the Imago Society, some time after it was exhibited at Leger 1951 (in whose catalogue it was not dated). It was lent by Still's widow Elizabeth to Serpentine 1982 (cat. 12, dated 1939).
67 Mellis 1981.
68 Stephens 2008, 57.
69 Stephens 2008, 58.
70 Mellis 1981; Lambirth 2010, 40.
71 Together with the architect Leslie Martin (1908-2000), BN and Gabo had recently edited *Circle. International Survey of Constructive Art* (1937).
72 Laughton 1986, 4-5.
73 Checkland 2000, 181; Lambirth 2010, 36.
74 Mellis 1993, tape F4129B.
75 Laughton 1986, 3, 4.
76 Quoted in Laughton 1986, 4.
77 WC in Rhode 1973a.
78 See "Background I", 71.
79 MG in Rhode 1973a; Kite 2009, 148, 164.
80 Stokes 1978, I, 305-6.
81 Stokes 1978, I, 315-16.
82 Stokes 1978, I, 311.
83 Clark 1935a; Hammer 2013.
84 Cf. "After Visiting Turin Picture Gallery", dated "Sept 1938", ASP, TGA 8816.53: "To those who understand nothing about painting, the very first thing they should be told is that the old masters made no attempt to reproduce the effect of daylight. Their lighting was the most conventionalized of their means to a picture; and nearly all the effects of lighting there seen <are> to stand for daylight, are extensions of candle-lighting. This was their essential means to a picture, Bassano or Veronese, their form and their sumptuousness was dreamt out of candle light. Cf a Belotto [Bellotto] of the piazzetta with the effect or remembrance, of the brightness there. For there is no attempt to reproduce either this brightness or the dagger blackness of the shadow and yet, conventionally, light and shade is the basis of their form. Now the impressionists turned their attention to the actual impression of daylight, the way forms hit you in the open. It is not so much a question of representing daylight or even of light and shade. These are minimized in modern painting; but the impression of daylight, remains and will remain in modern landscape painting, the way forms stand together in daylight". Considering the place of "anecdote" in "the whole aesthetic content", AS wondered whether "it is one of the awful ultimate truths that the literary interest in painting is basically right". Here is, as it were, the other side of the polemical and provocative use of "literary" in the review "Art Today" (Stokes 1978, I, 305-6; cf. Read 1998). Cf. also Mellis 1981, where MM remarks a propos of "a dreary academic exhibition in the St. Ives Gallery", probably seen around this time, that whereas it had depressed herself and BN, AS "had found something to be interested in", as "he didn't mind bad academic paintings".
85 AS to KC n.d. [after 19 October 1939], TGA 8812.1.3.3046.
86 AS to GB, n.d. [postmarked 9 October 1939], TGA 200214.
87 Mellis 1997, Part 1.
88 AS to RB 16 October [1939], BRBML, GEN MSS 605 Box 14: "I have a fair amount of miscellaneous books and some red wine, and the country is superb. In spite of the seven refugees there is room to read in peace as my own big room is not invaded by the others".
89 Mellis 1993, tape F4131B: "Ben and Barbara weren't very helpful. But I mean they hadn't been very helpful when they were staying in the house it made things more difficult not I mean it wasn't on, it was just how things were I don't mean they tried to make things difficult or anything but they did think that we would bust up and they did tell

other people which wasn't a great help. Because I hadn't any intention of busting up".

90 *OIL* I, f. 12*r*, 47; *OIL* II, f. 21*r*, 87.

91 The first required to register, from 21 October, were men aged between twenty and twenty-three.

92 AS to KC n.d. [after 19 October 1939], TGA 8812.1.3.3046.

93 AS seems to have been registered initially at LPO and subsequently at the Police Station; see England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6705H/002/1-9.

94 AS to ESW, n.d. [between 25 August and 1 September 1939], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 8.

95 AS to RB 3 September 1939, BRBML, GEN MSS 605, box 14.

96 Mellis 1993, tape F4130B.

97 Mellis 1977 ("Adrian and Ben hauled me up to the top of each chimney in a small rope cradle, then one of them shouted up directions. Each half inch on the design was as far as I could reach with both arms"); Mellis 1993, tape F4130B.

98 Mellis 1939. Cf. Lambirth 2010, 38, where it is stated that the camouflage system used was one invented by MM's uncle, Norman Wilkinson (1878-1971). A marine painter and illustrator, Wilkinson is sometimes credited with the invention of dazzle camouflage while serving with the Royal Navy in WWI. In WWII he was Inspector of Camouflage for the Air Force and from 1939 to 1942 responsible for the concealment of air fields.

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

100 De-la-Noy 1988, 171.

101 Knox 2003, 421.

102 AS to ESW n.d. [late September/early October 1939?], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 5.

103 Ginn 2012, 296 (where it is stated that "after a slow start, [the campaign] prompted a huge expansion in allotments, from 930,000 before the war to 1.7 million by 1943, and a growth in the number of private gardens with vegetables from three to five million".

104 Watford 2013, 39.

105 *Schedule* 1939; 1940; 1941.

106 *Times*, 11 September 1939.

107 AS to RB Wednesday [early October 1939], BRBML, GEN MSS 605, box 14.

108 AS to GB n.d. [postmarked 9 October 1939], TGA 200214.

109 AS to RB 16 October [1939], BRBML, GEN MSS 605, box 14.

110 AS to KC n.d. [after 19 October 1939], TGA 8812.1.3.3046.

111 AS to GB [before 27 December 1939], TGA 200214. The digging may have involved the entire household. On 30 November BN wrote to John Summerson that AS and BH were "concocting a market garden out of this place"; "rather a good idea, I think", he added, "we dig a good deal" (Bowness 1990, 784n).

112 AS to ESW 11 April 1940, ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 4. In September 1942 they would move to a larger house still further away, Chy-an-Kerris, on Headland Rd, the other side of Carbis Bay station (Tate [1995] 1996, 101; Checkland 2000, 214)

113 MM to DM & MMM 13 January 1940, EMM; cf. Mellis 1977.

114 Mellis 1981. AS may have paid or contributed towards Olive's salary for a period (see AS to BH 10 January 1945, TGA 965, quoted in "Background VIII", 305).

115 MM to MMM 13 [January] 1940, EMM. On 29 September 1939 WS had been registered (as a "domestic gardener") at 3, Trelawney Road, St Ives, the home of his father, Philip Stevens (b. 1888), also a gardener (England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6704H/009/5-9). WS' mother, Lucy Emma (or Emma Lucy) Morter (1890-1937), had died suddenly two years previously and in 1938 his father had married Maud F. Chaplin (1902-1957).

116 And who would be immortalized in MM's frequently repeated anecdote of BN's having just missed hitting her on the head when he threw BH's alarm clock out of their bedroom window in a rage (MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM; Mellis 1981; 1993, tape F4130B; Checkland 2000, 181-2).

117 She was also present (registered as "Seeking Work") in Trelawney Road on 29 September, together with her brothers Philip A. (b. 1920; "Stationer's assistant") and Cyril (b. 1921; "Fisherman") and her sister Ann (b. 1926; "At School") (England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6704H/009/5-9).

118 MM to DM & MMM 13 January 1940, EMM. For the cinemas at St Ives see 83-4 (fn. 135); "On Home Guard night-watches", 181, and "Background VI", 225.

119 MM to DM & MMM 10 March 1940, EMM. The calculations, however, may be confirmation of what AM told Janet Sayers in an interview of 2006, namely, that the mutual decision to have a child was taken in the hope it might help their marriage.