

Figure 31
Adrian Stokes, *Olive Terraces*.
1938 and c. 1952.
Oil on canvas

III. "A wonderful still warm day" 1940

[f. 31r ctd] February 1st 1940[a]

A wonderful still warm day,[b] illuminating the blackness in the undergrowth, the hard winter we have passed through as through a tunnel.[1] And above and beyond it is clear and bright. The hard clear contours caress one, just as the straight new hyacinth, each petal distinct, refreshes one with soft keen scent. This clearness, this hardness, this freshness and softness remind[c] of Italy, the whole Mediterranean scene and all the feeling it has inspired in me. That feeling has only found expression, alas, in the interpretation of the actual external Mediterranean world. But what is the message and the hope that a fine day at Rapallo inspires in me? I have interpreted it only in terms of sculpture and architecture. But today I have known and felt youth again, that deep belief in life which in my case is entirely bound up with the Mediterranean scene. What was it on that first visit **[f. 32r]**[d] as I travelled in the dark

a [TS omits date]

b *A wonderful still warm day*: A wonderful still warm, day [TS, corrected in pen] <The> {A} wonderful still warm day

c *remind*: reminds [TS] remind

d [f. 31*v* blank; f. 32*r* numbered top right] 25

from Turin to Genoa[2] that I felt so deeply and have since never forgotten.[3] I know[a] it was in the restaurant car, and[b] at a table in front on the right, men were drinking Chianti in a flask, and that[c] I felt in the dark outside a Virgilian landscape, Virgilian days[d] and nights, as imagined in the Lower Sixth form room at Rugby. It was as if I had been transported back 2000 years, entered this dream world of settled form associated with the radiance and youth of the hyacinth.[e] Was it, therefore, in my own life a rebirth, or rather, in fantasy,[f] a return inside the mother I had lost? Maybe[g] that was part, while the whole experience[h] was supremely poignant because at the same time youth and the youngness of the world were epitomized by the same experience. Pre-Christian[i] for me was pre-neurotic, pre-anxious, pre-London, pre-Heddon Court, pre-Rugby, pre-Oxford; at the same time[j] a pre-Christian world sanctioned by my mentors.[k] Did not the Headmaster take the Virgil class? It is fantastic to have again this feeling of settled form and creativeness so strongly – and it will never leave me altogether – while at the same time to realize to the full the horror[l] of things as they are, the uncertainty, the lack of hope and conviction that the war has dramatized in Europe today. But what can be this thing that seems so certain? As I think of that valley that goes up to Mont'Allegro in the afternoon sunlight,[4] I have the sensation of a sound which contains every note, prolonged, entirely sustained, as good beneath as above, a manna that provides for every want,[m] while at the same time it is itself[n] the epitome of complete realization.[5] And this is no vague assurance but Nature spread and mounting before one, fixed and growing, changeless in the clearness of its cycles.[o] But it seems not so much a certainty derived from comfort as a certainty of conviction and of the means of action: a demonstration, not of the purpose of life, but

a *have since never forgotten? I know*: have since never forgotten. I know [TS] have never forgotten since. I know

b *car, and*: car and [TS, corrected in pen] car, and

c *flask, and that*: flask, {and} that

d *Virgilian landscape, Virgilian days*: landscape. Virgilian days [TS] Virgilian landscape, Virgilian days

e *hyacinth*: hiacynth

f *rebirth, or rather*: rebirth, <in fantasy> or rather

g *inside the mother I had lost? Maybe*: [TS] inside the mother? Maybe

h *while the whole experience*: [TS, corrected in pen] <of> {while} the whole experience

i *the youngness of the world were epitomized by the same experience. Pre-Christian*: the youngness of the world <was> {were} epitomized by the same experience. Pre-Christian [TS] the youngness of the world were epitomised. Pre-Christian

j *pre-neurotic, pre-anxious, pre-London, pre-Heddon Court, pre-Rugby, pre-Oxford*; *at the same time*: pre-neurotic, pre-anxious, pre-London, pre-Heddon Court, pre-Rugby, pre-Oxford: at the same time [TS] pre-<erotic> {neurotic}, at the same time

k *mentors*: [TS, corrected in pen] ment<e>{o}rs

l *realize to the full the horror*: [TS] realise the horror

m *a manna that provides for every want*: <as if it were> a manna that provide<d>{s} <ev>for every want [TS] a manna that provides for every want

n *want, while at the same time it is itself*: want, at the same time <it is> {it is} itself

o *clearness of its cycles*: <youth> {clearness} of its cycles [TS] clearness of its cycle

what life[a] can attain,[6] an unmitigated definition sustained uniformly on the most varying levels.[b|7]

Is it unfortunate that having experienced this exhaltation[c] one tries to assess all experience in terms of it; to reconcile[d] it, say, with the [f. 33*r*][e] condition of the poor and of civilization today, and everything else regarded with the unexhalted[f] scientific eye? Yet a corpse[g] or a skull come upon are never welcome. We keep with us always the intention to be living. We always have hope of some sort although, until the sun comes out, it has seemed to be merely scheming, scheming, to ward off the unpleasant. That takes most human beings most of their time. On such a blue day of spring as today, one does not struggle. On the contrary, one walks with the hills. This abundance of life is the opposite of understanding. Nevertheless, the impetus[h] to understand derives from it as well as from necessity.[8]

What is sustained in the Rapallo landscape is lifted when a cock crows,[i] and with the falling note the sound probes beneath, and then the air is released upon its natural level. Each noise disturbs this level[j] which on returning displays its resilience.[k] So clear this air that sound demonstrates the third dimension of things, evokes their hidden sides, assuring us of their presence and that they pass the time in radiant shadow: the cock's cry evokes too the former months, the former weather, the former years which now lie under the sun; passes, and mingles with the immovable peacock-blue haze of great distance, reminder of the huge descent of evening. The noises of all the birds and other sounds finally compel the night to approach. As night approaches each thing isolates itself. Night must woo each object every evening.

It has been the great and dominant experience of my life, this perception of all that is generous,[l] sure, triumphant and creative in the form of an outwardness, the Mediterranean scene. By this experience I was largely diverted[m] from philosophic speculation, from the seeking of certainty through logical analysis.[n] My

a *but of what life*: but what life [TS] but of what life

b *sustained uniformly on the most varying levels*: sustained {uniformly} on most varying levels ["uniformly" written on verso opposite] [TS] sustained uniformly on the most

c *exhaltation*: [TS] exaltation

d *to assess all experience in terms of it; to reconcile*: to assess <life> all experience in terms of it: <illegible> to reconcile

e [f. 32*v* blank; f. 33*r* numbered top right] 26

f *unexhalted*: [TS] unexalted

g *Yet a corpse*: Yet a <de> corpse

h *of understanding. Nevertheless, the impetus*: of understanding: nevertheless the impetus

i *when a cock crows*: <as> {when} a cock crows

j *this level*: [TS, corrected in pen] <its> {this} level

k *resilience*: [TS, corrected in pen] resil<l>ience

l *all that is generous*: all that {is} generous

m *was largely diverted*: was {largely} diverted

n *through logical analysis*: through <analysis> logical analysis

life-work became centred about the Mediterranean.[a] The standard thus obtained of outwardness or self-expression, a standard for human activity as translated[b] into objective form, has been my central idea.[c|9] I don't feel that the very ideal for human effort that Italy inspires has been felt[d] more strongly by anybody else. There does not seem to be much help to any one in this by itself. And yet I have always [f. 34*r*][e] felt it to be new and contemporary. Human beings must vie with[f] the still, harmonious excess of the external world: their thought has not yet had this clearness, this honesty. Living[g] things with the spatial objectivity[h] of corpses, such should be our thoughts, as is this landscape.[10]

Trains, shunting, trains. How they knock knob and jostle each other while I lie high up in a hot bath with a vast window open.[11] How deeply felt is this experience by all of us,[i] the shunting and re-arrangement of trains in the early morning particularly while we ourselves are immobile, attentive. This re-arrangement, re-shuffle of passenger and freight for further long striding journeys impinges deeply on the unconscious. It is a residue, an echo, this shunting, in the concrete or physical form of externality down there in the cold clear air.[j] Yet it might take place in the sky which is all I can see from the bath: for, certainly, it is an echo of what takes place in me; and that is[k] (at times) the strange inversion characteristic of life. The echo is solid, definite (I don't want to catch my fingers between those trucks) while the original is a fantasy buried deep in the mind. The echo we call the real shunting, and certainly it has a physical or scientific existence[l] bound up with the mode of my perception. The mode of my perception (something comparatively objective) is further bound up with something more subjective (the inner shunting) which yet is common enough in all of us, although the trucks shunted and their purposes may differ widely. We are always making up new trains within us, pitting all unconsciously different urges, different personified figures against each other with the hope that they will draw each other (with careful shuffling) along a dominant line. We are perpetually trying to manage, to harness these figures within.[12] The simile and the metaphor are coming into their own. They are

a *about the Mediterranean*: [TS, corrected in pen] about {the} Mediterranean

b *a standard for human activity as translated*: <this> {a} standard <of> {for} human activity {as} translated [TS] a standard for human activity translated

c *my central idea*: [TS, corrected in pen] my centr<e>{al} <of> idea

d *that Italy inspires has been felt*: that Italy inspires, has been felt

e [f. 33*v* blank; f. 34*r* numbered top right] 27

f *must vie with*: must <vie w> vie with

g *honesty. Living*: honesty; living [TS] honesty: living

h *the spatial objectivity*: the {spatial} objectivity [TS, corrected in pen] the spa<c>{t}ial objectivity

i *this experience by all of us*: [TS, corrected in pen] this experience <by all of us>

j *in the cold clear air*: in {the} cold clear air [TS] in the cold, clear air

k *takes place in me; and that is*: takes place in me: and that is

l *physical or scientific existence*: [TS, corrected in pen] physical <or scientific> existence

no decorative adjuncts.[a] They often possess scientific and accurate truth. For they are the means of interpretation, just as is poetry,[b] between the inner and outer world.[13] One may well wonder[14] whether in the pre-industrial age [f. 35*r*][c] there was any common experience from the external world to mirror this inner shunting to anything like the same extent of clearness; and also[d] how far our understanding of ourselves is limited by the kind of world offered[e] to the senses and, too, how[f] far developments (invention of the train,[g] for instance) are made[h] in man's image no less than was pre-Copernican science. But that, one cannot help feeling, was a much more comfortable world for the spirit to dwell in. How far today is the external world beyond its due correspondence[i] with the inner world,[15] and if it is so,[j] what is the cause of this?[k] I still feel that the best way to study the development of man is to study his environment.[16] The spiritual import of the external world created by the Industrial Revolution is still without interpretation.[17] The spirit[l] has taken kindly to the mythology provided by railways; but[m] otherwise the movement[n] of the mind does not find its needed direction in the world today in so far as man alters Nature; at least,[o] not so well as of old, although better in some directions.[p] One cannot[q] think too much of the import of a thing like electric light.[18] Here in England is a nameless care in a moderate climate.[19] The Copernican revolution was not the one that took place in the minds of scientists but rather the change in the images of ordinary man of subsequent generations.[20] Modern cities fight the mysteries of the seasons and themselves receive wounds.[21] Electric bulb! What an extraordinary juxtaposition! Nothing is more sudden than the switched-on light. One moment darkness, the next the radiant stare of a glass eye, brilliant, fixed, without incandescence.

a *adjuncts*: [TS] adjunct

b *truth. For they are the means of interpretation, just as is poetry*: truth: for they are the means of interpretation, <and the> just as is poetry

c [f. 34*v* blank; f. 35*r* numbered top right] 28

d *extent of clearness; and also*: extent of clearness: and <[illegible]> also

e *world offered*: world <before> offered

f *and how*: and{,} to{o}, how

g *invention of the train*: invention of train [TS] invention of the train

h *are made*: is made

i *its due correspondence*: its <corresp> due correspondence

j *if it is so*: if so [TS] if it is so

k *the cause of this*: [TS, corrected in pen] the cause <of this>

l *without interpretation. The spirit*: without interpretation The spirit [TS] without interpretation. The spirit

m *by railways; but*: by railways: but

n *otherwise the movement*: otherwise <we do not find the spirit> the movement

o *Nature; at least*: Nature: at least

p *directions*: [TS, corrected in pen] direction{s}

q *One cannot*: <We ca> One cannot

The dome of the bank fills with holiness at dawn. Space and measurement are diluted[a] by oil and candle light just as towards night semi-darkness cuts off the rigid necks of Space. In the flicker of a flame[b] a door rears the head of portal. Night rushes on still faster as she enters the mouths and caverns that quiver upon the wall. But in a cage of wire the electric bulb does not wink. At the mouth of a gusty [f. 36*r*][c] tunnel it illuminates a white patch around which dust is blowing. Moonlight is steady but the moon rides the night.[22] The sore that throbs at midday is soothed when pressed against the white rind of the moon which does not bridle or pulsate.[23] But what is this fibrous, non-pulsating electric light in the mouth of a gusty tunnel? It would not have suited Rembrandt. Like the crane that cleaves the night air we are waiting.[24] We cannot humanize[d] (for such is the process of all image, of all correspondence between inner and outer) the electric light.[25] But just as with trains, we begin to do so at least with some of the older inventions[e] – and I think only – in terms of their noise; whereas[f] previously, I think, correspondence was attained primarily in visual terms. But what is specifically modern is horrible without its noise. What entire strangers we are to Oxford Street in the two minutes silence![26] The plastic interplay[g] of noise and movement gives some meaning to a contemporary environment. Hence the great topical content in the art of ballet.[27] The tons of the tram, each massive screw and indifferent bolt, the violence of unwieldy compression of myriad dynamic atoms, this painted swan of iron and tin, feathered with screw and scraper, that waddles[h] down two frozen rivulets of steel with boulders packed between; half swan, half centipede. All this may occur to one when one hears[i] the tram pass, hears the challenge of this monstrous bulk to the brazen soil as if those iron-webbed wheels had a mind to worm a way through the crust of the earth, as if the earth took up the challenge, thrust out a gritty hand, raised the tort[j] so that he bumps and serpentines without resilience upon a palm of jagged stone traversed by veins of steel.[28] Power comes to us in terms of movement and sound.[29] But much of machinery, when at rest, makes a mere inconsequent impression upon the imagination. They work or they break down. How different from the sailing ship. It is the same with a good deal of modern buildings.[k|30] Such buildings are new or were once new. Not much other significance can be attached to them.

a *measurement are diluted*: measurement <dissolve> are diluted

b *a flame*: a <lam> flame

c [f. 35*v* blank; f. 36*r* numbered top right] 29

d *We cannot humanize*: [TS, corrected in pen] We cannot {yet} humanize

e *But just as with trains, we begin to do so at least with some of the older inventions*: But just as with trains, we begin to do so with some of the older inventions, at least ["at least" encircled and repositioned after "do so" by means of arrow] [TS] But just as with trains we begin to do so at least with some of the older inventions

f *of their noise; whereas*: of their noise: whereas

g *The plastic interplay*: The <int> plastic interplay

h *with screw and scraper, that waddles*: with screw and scraper that waddles

i *hears*: [TS] hears

j *tort leviathan*: tort leviathen [TS] taut leviathan

k *buildings*: building [TS] buildings

What does one expect of university towns? Only puffed clouds [f. 37*r*][a] rolling over the scenes of former sophistry and night alarums in crooked streets.[31]

We have a higher standard of fact, and we know more fact than ever before. Similarly we recognize as fantasy far more than was so before. We know and understand more about fact and more about fantasy and each in its extreme[b] form have attained an entirely different level of purity. And since all mental processes are made up of the interrelationship[c] of fact and fantasy, we understand more about, not only ourselves, but about the external world. The two are bound to walk hand in hand. The great philosophical enquiry of the last three centuries known as the Theory of Knowledge, has prepared us for this naked recognition of fact and fantasy, this new understanding of the relationship between inner and outer objects.[d|32]

This formulation of my basic subject came to me today as something of a revelation; but the real surprise was the realization[e] that I was only compressing[f] the subject-matter of "Sunrise in the West" which I wrote, long before acquaintance with psycho-analysis, fifteen years ago.[33] It is the realization of this new enquiry, then, which is the basis of all my thought and the reason for my preoccupation with art which embodies the supreme blending of subject and object, particularly visual art. And I[g] still fail to understand how those that came later,[h] Auden in particular,[34] should thrash about brilliantly, illuminated by something of the same realization, only to relapse at one point or another into superstition,[35] finding the world empty while in the possession of a realization[i] that appears[j] to be the fruit of all the civilized ages, the perfect and finest fruit; at least[k] good enough to feed our own lives to the full. For everything[l] must be studied anew, everything re-written. Only one thing is necessary, you must be able to do without doctrine.[36] To the others that appears to be impossible at present in the long run. It is this doing without doctrine, without being forced into the position of the Cynic or of other famous [f. 38*r*][m] agnostic theories of the past, which is the most exciting aspect of all. There can be no agnosticism today because we have ceased to formulate those metaphysical problems to which agnosticism applied

a [f. 36*v* blank; f. 37*r* numbered top right] 30

b *in its extreme*: in <their> {its} extreme

c *interrelationship*: interelationship [TS] interrelationship

d *between inner and outer objects*: between <the> inner and outer object{s} ["the" cancelled; "s" added in pen]

e *revelation; but the the real surprise was the realization*: revelation: but the the real surprise was the realization [TS] revelation: but the real surprise was to realise

f *was only compressing*: was only <formulating> {compressing}

g *And I*: <I> And I

h *came later*: came <after me> {later}

i *while in the possession of a realization*: [TS] while possessing a basic realisation

j *that appears*: that <in all its aspects> appears

k *finest fruit; at least*: finest fruit: at least

l *to the full. For everything*: to the full: for everything [TS] for, everything

m [f. 37*v* blank; f. 38*r* numbered top right] 31

itself. We do not deal in unrelated essences.[37] Nor is there need at present to speculate about the ultimate nature of the inner and outer object. Such a formulation conveys very little meaning at present. It is enough that existence looks different and to contemplate it afresh at any point.[a] It looks different because what is outside us looks different, and what is inside us looks different, since[b] we have discovered a more comprehensive relationship between the two. In terms of abstraction just what that difference is cannot be formulated at present. We must first reinforce and perpetuate the changed attitude, all the more since it slips away amid the renewed barbarism of the modern world. Blind to the new world revealed to senses and to the intellect, new religions,[c] chiefly political, flourish on every side. It was to be expected. The unconscious is not mis-named. This cannot be emphasized enough, especially to those who dabble in psycho-analysis. I say this after seven whole years of my own analysis.[38] Over and over and over again, something about which[d] there does not seem to be the vestige of strong feeling[e] turns out, after layer upon layer of resistance has been gradually undermined, to be the centre of feeling.[39] The disguises and[f] substitutions are manifold. Knowledge and understanding gained from analysis, then, can only be applied broadly. We can take a nexus of the inner life and find its correspondence in the outside world; but we cannot[g] demonstrate in the outside world[h] the fundamental point upon which a whole spiritual nexus[i] is resting, nor interpret fully isolated instances of the human spirit. We are far more nearly aware of other people's unconscious than of our own. The unconscious[j] is not mis-named. And yet this vast acrimonious territory makes itself felt at every moment. We with our minds are mere vessels on the seas of our unconscious.[40] In its larger facets, at any rate, this motivating power and even this geography, may be seen best in the external world[41] just as we see our own faces only in a glass.[k] [f. 39*r*][l] Analysis reveals the unconscious without the distortions of a glass.[m] But distortion,[n] however, is the very mode and matter of conscious life, the very property of mind and all that distinguishes us from the animals.[42] We call the process

a *at any point*: at any point [TS, corrected in pen] at any point

b *different, since*: [TS] different since

c *new religions*: new <[illegible]> religions

d *something about which*: something <over> {about} which

e *of strong feeling*: of {strong} feeling

f *The disguises and*: [TS] Its disguises and

g *the outside world; but*: the outside world: but

h *cannot demonstrate in the outside world*: cannot <isolate> {demonstrate in the outside world}

i *a whole spiritual nexus*: a whole {spiritual} nexus

j *The unconscious*: <But> The unconscious

k *just as we see our own faces only in a glass*: {just} as we see our own faces <best> {only} in a glass [TS] just as we see our own faces in a glass

l [f. 38*v* blank; f. 39*r* numbered top right] 32 [rectilinear doodle in oval top centre right]

m *without the distortions of a glass*: without the <aid of a glass> distortions <a distortion far greater than that of any distorting glass>

n *But distortion*: But <this very> distortion

of this distortion,[a] sublimation, and it is a process which has a wonderful economy of its own. By this means, as it were in terms of the external world, the undimensional acuteness of original feeling is given a length, breadth and depth, taking manifold forms in all the activities of man;[43] in combination with other feelings, building[b] constructions of every kind on the pattern, I feel inclined to say, of the external world. For the compulsion of this sublimating is to clothe feeling with some form or other, to find an embodiment for it, thus to externalize it. Apart from our activity, the external world itself that surrounds it, giving[c] always the pattern of objectivity, of outwardness, serves as container of our general state. To inter-relate the inner[d] and outer world is to measure sublimation by which men live, that divine process of transmutation of which the work of art is the model.[44] That which is sublimated is not my subject except in so far[e] as it is a proof of sublimation.[f]

How much certainty is relaxed, how I have changed,[45] how potentially unstable is, and should be, the human being! "Should be" because we must live now by other things than faith.[g] Understanding should be stable – it is the only stable thing today, a great age of understanding and of little else. A deep adjustment rather than a trick adjustment as[h] in the ways of faith, is the only fair means today of personal stability.[i] Psycho-analysis does not alter our values; but it shows[j] there is a great deal more complication in the pattern of life than any one could have imagined.[46] The deepest feelings are not only too hidden, but too crude, for it to be possible for us to understand anything completely. Such intense subtlety at the service of such intense crudity[47] makes all of us and everything as nonplussing[k] as Hitler.

Every one at some time or other must have been astonished to come across a letter, say, or some action that is theirs which awakens[l] not the **[f. 40*r*]**[m] slightest remembrance. As a rule, of course, there is some flicker of remembrance, but occasionally one can only accept the fact that it is[n] one's handwriting: otherwise[o] it would be

a *of this distortion*: of {this} distortion

b *in combination with other feelings, building*: [TS, corrected in pen] <in combination with other feelings,> building

c *surrounds it, giving*: surrounds {it} giving

d *To inter-relate the inner*: To inter-relate {the} inner

e *except in so far*: except {in} so far

f *That which is sublimated* […] *proof of sublimation*: [TS omits this sentence]

g *things than faith*: [TS, corrected in pen] things <and> {than} faith

h *trick adjustment as*: trick adjustment <[illegible]> as

i *of personal stability*: of <relative> {personal} stability

j *our values; but it shows*: our values: but it shows

k *nonplussing*: non-plussing [TS] nonplussing

l *theirs which awakens not the slightest*: theirs <of> which <they have> awakens not the slightest [TS, corrected in pen] theirs which awakens not <a> {the} slightest

m [f. 39*v* blank; f. 40*r* numbered top right] 33

n *that it is*: that {it} is

o *otherwise*: otherwize

entirely denied without any feeling of doubt. And yet the greater part of our emotions have been[a] forgotten in just this way, although they survive to direct our lives. For all the barely felt echoes that we experience,[b] there are many many more to which[c] our ears are entirely untuned. To[d] understand this to be true in some small part, is the highest possible achievement of man today in the realm of understanding. There are flashes of illumination, and at such time we may find the depth of mind[e] no laggard accompaniment to the extents of astronomical space. Apropos of the letter,[f] if we didn't recognize it at all,[g] we would generally accept that, although[h] we have forgotten it, there is no reason why we shouldn't have written it and forgotten about it, as is the case. But occasionally we feel we can't have written it, except that there is[i] factual proof that we have done so, because it expresses some sentiment which we have never entertained, and which is not in character.[48] It is this case which is the analogy to what is truly unconscious.

We are today better in a position to understand that much thinking, hitherto pompously respected for a connection with[j] the search for truth, is prompted by the desire to 'keep up one's morale'. This activity is not to be despised – we must all find a way of keeping up our morale, but it is no longer necessary to confuse it with the quest for truth, although practically every one[k] still does so. There seems no limit to the degree in which people, in spite of the way that has been opened up by further distinction between fact and fantasy, in spite of the way that morale may still be kept up by creative fantasy, will believe what they want to believe. But in spite of apparent regression[l] to medievalism[m] on every side before ever they had[n] properly climbed out of it,[49] it is still possible to think that the whole point of modern science has been an attempt to discover truth[o] without reference to the bolstering up of morale. This includes the idea of research for its own sake, and apart from utilitarian fruit that may result from it. We must keep up our morale; and

a *our emotions have been*: our <feelings> emotions have been [TS, corrected in pen] our emotion{s} <have> {have} been

b *that we experience*: [TS] that we hear

c *there are many many more to which*: <and the> there are many many more <th> to which

d *untuned. To*: untuned<,>. <t>To

e *depth of mind*: depth of <the human> mind

f *Apropos of the letter*: Appropos of the letter [TS, corrected in pen] Apropos of the l<a>{e}tter

g *it at all*: it all [TS] it at all

h *although*: allthough

i *we feel we can't have written it, except that there is*: we feel <we occasionally feel> we can't have written it, <although> {except that} there is

j *pompously respected for a connection with*: <re>pompously respected <as being connected> {for a connection} with

k *practically every one*: [TS, corrected in pen] <practically> {almost} every one

l *of apparent regression*: of <apparent> apparent regression

m *medievalism:* [TS] medaevalism

n *before ever they had*: [TS] before they ever had

o *to discover truth*: to discover <truth> truth

the whole essence of the decent[a] [f. 41*r*][b] modern mind must be the discovery of means of[c] keeping up morale without interfering with the pursuit of truth,[d] whether it is truth concerning the external world, ourselves, or political or economic situations.[50] That is the only form of intelligence that is really creative today. Such a disposal of intellectual energy entails a more acute sensibility[e] and a novel review of experience; indeed,[f] experience new to our generation. One aspect of my subject, then, is the new relationship between the pursuit of truth and the necessary activity of keeping up morale, a redistribution of application which is the basis[g] of all real intelligence today. Of course there is a negative way of keeping up morale, an embittered attitude. By morale I mean the overlay and employment of[h] aggressive tendencies for the hope[i] and theory of what is constructive, in line with the love instincts: in short, a guard against destructive impulses and despair.[51] This guard is vital and essential, but[j] it need not be erected at the cost of being blinded to reality so far as it will not help.[k] It should not distort the grasp of reality or truth.[l] The grim side of reality[m] threatens our reality, not because it is grim, but because that grimness, if admitted, seems to link up with and to assert,[n] our own inner grimness.[52] Our very being seems at the mercy of such cogency. Short of reducing our own native[o] anxiety in psycho-analysis, it should still be possible to bolster up morale by compensating with some form[p] of personal creativeness, without surrendering intelligence: that is, in the case of fairly normal people. But it must be realized that it is our own grimness, not that of the world in general, which is to be counteracted.[q] Unfortunately, to reform the world seems easier than to

a *morale; and the whole essence of the decent*: morale: and the whole essence of the <one> decent

b [f. 40*v* blank; f. 41*r* numbered top right] 34

c *of means of*: [TS] of ways of

d *with the pursuit of truth*: [TS] with truth

e *entails a more acute sensibility*: entails a <purer> {more acute} sensibility

f *of experience; indeed*: of experience: indeed

g *a redistribution of application which is the basis*: <the basis of being truly intelligent> a redistribution of <intelligent> application which {is} the basis

h *overlay and employment of*: overlay <of> and employment of

i *for the hope*: for {the} hope

j *essential, but*: essential: but [TS] essential, but

k *it will not help*: it will not help <it>

l *not distort the grasp of reality or truth*: not <twist reality or truth> {distort the grasp of reality} or truth

m *The grim side of reality*: The grim side of <[nat?]> reality

n *link up with and to assert*: link up {with and} to assert

o *our own native*: [TS] our native

p *bolster up morale by compensating with some form*: bolster up morale by compensating <[in?]> {with} some form

q *which is to be counteracted*: <that> {which} <must> {is to} be counteracted

reform oneself; and inner life[a] is almost inextricably[b] blended with external events.

At Stonehenge or at Delphi we scan the wind upon the deep turf among the immovable stones. We put our ears to the stones and try to hear through the voice of the visiting wind the sound and the meaning of departed things. But that particular air is no older visitor than ourselves.[53] The mind can make order of very little. Experience is continuous, and recurring symbols shoot out of it as [f. 42*r*][c] in a dream. Thus will the shape of a gull's head be[d] writ large in the life of a Cornishman.[54] The mind can but seize on a few upshots of thought's ceaseless flow, to describe it. But sometimes the infuriated mind eschews the little presented to it, the little it can trace, and makes a desperate plunge, hazarding all on some more than usually half-felt impression. In doing so, it often does best, and feels best, feels most in touch, since this indescribable near-disappearance seems more in accord with the stuff of[e] the generality of experience. This thing, however, when seized, is but a drop in the ocean. All the art there has ever been expresses very little of ourselves, and all the thought, very little of all our thinking. In art and in language, man is still relatively dumb, relatively when art and language are compared[f] with the volubility of facial expression and of gesture.[g] Art that records cannot compete[h] in expressiveness with the perishable art of dancing, with feats that cannot be repeated or reproduced.[55] In the case of the recorded arts, the nearest to it are the lays of Homer re-created[i] by mouth for many years before being written down, or the popular art of Shakespeare or Dickens with the responsive audience always to hand. Secure in this physical contact, their words have some of the subtlety and elasticity of gesture.[j]

It is well-known that even our best defined thoughts are not clear of pictures.[56] Here is the link with the pictures we carry about of our inside protagonists.[k] When I think of England and Germany at war, of the various means, geographically,[l] of the one coming to grips with the other, questions of strategy or of propaganda, there are little map-like pictures in my mind not unlike medieval maps[m] where some gigantic

a *to reform oneself; and inner life*: to reform oneself: and inner life

b *is almost inextricably*: is <inex> almost inextricably

c [f. 41*v* blank; f. 42*r* numbered top centre right] 35

d *Thus will the shape of a gull's head be*: [TS, corrected in pen] Thus<will> the shape of a gull's head {will} be

e *the stuff of*: the stuff <with> of

f *when art and language are compared*: when <compared> art and language are compared

g *and of gesture*: and {of} gesture

h *cannot compete*: cannot <compete> compete

i *lays of Homer re-created*: lays of Homer <repeated> re-created [TS, corrected in pen] <L>{l}ays of Homer re-created

j *subtlety and elasticity of gesture*: subtelty {and elasticity} of gesture

k *our inside protagonists*: our inside <situation> protagonists

l *means, geographically*: [TS] means geographically

m *medieval maps*: [TS, corrected in pen] med{i}aeval maps

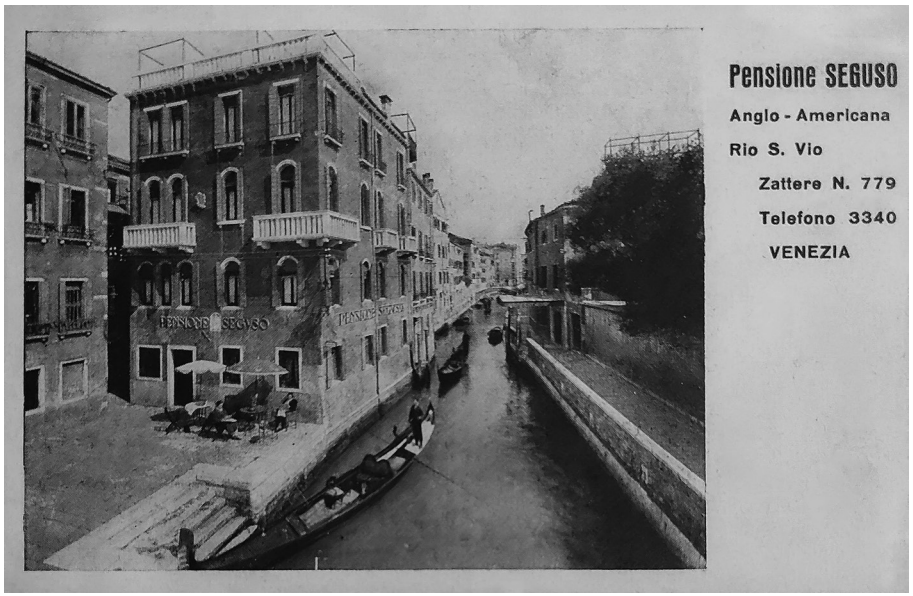


Figure 32
Postcard of the Pensione Seguso, Venice.
Early 1930s?

figure on an island representing,[a] maybe, a whole continent,[b] speaks to or opposes a similar figure on a similar continent.[57] In the mind's eye of many of us today, the word 'Germany' means ground studded with[c] industrial towns, with bitter winds and a few cathedrals, baroque and medieval wooden structures, the ground beneath Hitler's feet. And when I see any of the three sisters who keep the pensione Seguso in Venice **[fig. 32]**, I wonder about the interior and exterior pipes of their house, [f. 43*r*][d] and how through the laborious generations they have managed to arrive the few miles from Murano to the Zattere; Murano where possible ancestors were renowned for their glass-blowing in Renaissance times.[58]

Always in Mediterranean countries one thinks of statuary.[59] Statues of ideal beauty, of physical beauty, are first, men second. That is why present-day[e] naturalism, especially when derived from classical sources, is so effete and ghastly. Nowadays the statue is a life-like representation of the man in ideal circumstance. In classical times, men emulated statues. That solidity and

a *an island <representing*: an island <[that?]> representing

b *a whole continent*: [TS] the whole continent

c *means ground studded with*: means ground, studded with

d [f. 42*v* blank; f. 43*r* numbered top centre] 36

e *present-day*: [TS] present day

roundness, that degree of objectivity,[a] was the Hellenic ideal for man. One may sense it in such a custom as the one of intercession, the Homeric touching of the knees and the beard as a form of supplication. The man is statue, an Egyptian sitting statue, who is most likely to open up to touch applied thus – the upward exploration of the greatest and roundest protuberance and of the end[b] of the salient perpendicular. In effect, such touching was to constitute and then to melt[c] the gleaming, resistant stone, to make presence felt upon it, to bring it life and warmth. At any rate to have it done to oneself, a concordance[d] of beard and knee, would make one feel statuesque. The emphasis in this conception of the ideal man as a statue, is not upon the formalism[e] or statuesqueness, but upon solidity, outwardness, light, and certainty[f] or firmness: a rock-like (yet lissom, naturalistic, sensitive, regular), outward embodiment of the mind.

Moon's unaltered silver cage
Hung near the pounding sea

Italy is an outward world that works on its own without our support. One need not after-think. An open and naked world.[60] The sun analyzes it daily. Each particle. We cannot fear[g] for the hidden. It is, then, ourselves as perfect object,[h] shown inside as well as out, proved constructed by the general light. Nothing seems to lurk.[61] In this south[i] all things at their end and sides[j] touch the air and are touched by it. This loving air, bent upon love, fills [f. 44*r*][k] the void.[62] It is this feel of air touching things which picture postcard beauty signally lacks,[l] and which also is so difficult[m] to paint.

Nevertheless[n] in this clean-cut, clear world[o] we fear more virulent poisons which are[p] themselves fed with light.[63] And so we may come to feel that we infect this world, make the bright water more dangerous than it would be at home. And once we get on bad terms with

a *of objectivity*: of <roundness> objectivity

b *and of the end*: and {of} the end

c *was to constitute and then to melt*: was to {constitute and then to} melt [TS, corrected in pen] was {meant} to constitute and then to melt

d *oneself, a concordance*: oneself, <would this> {a} concordance [TS] oneself, concordance

e *not upon the formalism*: not {upon} the formalism [TS, corrected in pen] not upon the form<u>{a}lism

f *upon solidity, outwardness, light and certainty*: upon <a> solidity, <an> outwardness, light and <a> certainty

g *cannot fear*: cannot <then> fear

h *as perfect object*: [TS] as a perfect object

i *In this south*: [TS] In the south

j *sides*: [TS, corrected in pen] side<s>

k [f. *43v* blank; f. 44*r* numbered top centre] 37

l *postcard beauty signally lacks*: [TS, corrected in pen] postcard<s> beauty singularly lacks

m *which also is so difficult*: [TS] which is also so difficult

n [TS lacks a new paragraph here]

o *this clean-cut, clear world*: this clean-cut, clear, world

p *poisons which are*: poisons <that> {which} are

this world, it becomes a white menace, containing no nooks, no equivocal shape, no circumventing substance to dilute anxiety. The ruthlessness within obtains hence a horrible reality.

At such and such a time teeth push their way up in the infant's mouth,[a] unbidden.[b]

The electric trains[c] in the tunnel at Rapallo. They enter on a long stride between the juncture of the rails, smooth and long, gliding with snake-like ease[d] on the hard way. But the London Metropolitan trains lift skirts, as it were, along their passage-ways,[e] bumping, bobbing, swaying, short of breath. For they do not pierce straight[64] our unlit,[f] uncaressing air – except sometimes in Spring[g] at Stamford Bridge, or in[h] South London, over the house-tops.

Along, along, along a road and still hedges meet far ahead. Green and white the well-spread trees. We are speeding in an angled cockpit. There are slow bumps, they seem to touch, to revolve delicately the tenuous hands of the dials on the dash-board. It is as if the passage of smooth wheels upon a smooth road in a well-sprung car was[i] for this purpose. Such power[j] transferred, ending in a sensitive point as a final response, is typical of machinery: so typical that I see the car-ride thus; I see thus the hedges and trees of May, the ancient house, the glowing redness of roofs, I see the power in man transfixed by Nature's machinery to register desire, quivering from the root.[k|65]

Freud has revealed the human soul. That reality, by itself, could not[l] absorb the mind, but only that reality's[m] relation with the forms it fructifies, the imaginative life above all.

[f. 45*r*][n] If we were to be shot or hung within the hour, how fine and untroubled the landscape. We should feel that the ruthlessness within was already dead, or at least expiation was about to be made. And so, the exterior world would lean for us lovingly; we would feel of Nature only the wide embrace. Hitler, the slums and shipwreck would be dead in us. They would no longer qualify the

a *the infant's mouth*: the <[if]> infant's mouth

b *unbidden*: unbidden. <And so with all physical development, decline and daily function. The same with things of the mind.>

c *The electric trains*: The {electric} trains

d *snake-like ease*: [TS] snake-like speed

e *passage-ways*: [TS] passage ways

f *straight our unlit*: [TS, corrected in pen] straight<, are {our}> {the} unlit

g *Spring*: [TS] spring

h *Bridge, or in*: Bridge, {or} in

i *a well-sprung car was*: a well-sprung car, was

j *Such power*: [TS] Such a power

k *the root*: [TS] the roots

l *could not*: [TS] will not

m *only that reality's*: only <its tha> {that} reality's

n [f. 44*v* blank; f. 45*r* numbered top centre] 38

landscape.[a] How finely, how unattainably, out there the world would look. Unattainably? We shall attain the state out there, the state of complete object, very brother to a stone, all too soon, all too completely.[66]

"Electric bulb!" (1926)

Electric bulb![67] The horror of the juxta-position! Except the ocean ceasing upon the cliff,[b] nothing is so sudden as the switched-on electric light. But this suddenness preludes the radiant stare of a glass eye, brilliant and fixed and without incandescence. A paralyzed stare,[c] a motionless blaze that in human terms could only be attained after slower and slower centuries of sinister discipline,[d] comes and goes with an agility so extreme as to be invisible![e] Electric light! Surely more startling than electric babies![68] For Light has been an executioner who at the bidding of Time,[f] cuts off the rigid necks of Space. Light has served Time and Time with such help has conquered Space. With every sunset man pays homage to Time. Light wanes, or trembles up with a dazzle, runs between a mist or shoots grey stones from behind the sand banks of the clouds. Such is the origin of change and movement. Light, the interpreter, bestows upon us, too, our sense of Time, the stimulus to which all man's doings can be related,[g] the goad that does not crash across his back but presses upon his temples, day and night. But this oppression, though it gives rise to the sense of Care and thus inspires[h] all that man raises to ward off this Care, has not been unbearable. For Light, beside interpreting her master Time to men, repeatedly slays the enemy Space.[i] Space would deny the mystery of Time and impose a static uniformity. So quick Light is sent to trample upon the changeless and the extended and to accompany the meanest street upon a journey.[j] Colour changes and every contour stands modified. When the weather is fine, even the sick-room displays a hundred moods. The dome of the bank fills with holiness at dawn. Thus, at the behest of Time, Light moves the cohorts of Nature along the road of destiny, commanding new orders of array. The sun will bestow armour of laced steel upon

a *dead in us. They would no longer qualify the landscape*: dead in us<,>. <therefore decontaminated outside us> {They would no longer qualify the} landscape

b *the ocean ceasing upon the cliff*: the <cliff rising from the ocean> {ocean ceasing upon the cliff}

c *A paralyzed stare*: A paralized stare

d *slower and slower centuries of sinister discipline*: slower and slower <ages> centuries of <some mystic> {sinister} discipline

e *with an agility so extreme as to be invisible*: with <invisible> {an agility} so extreme as to be invisible

f *the bidding of Time*: the bidding<s> of Time

g *all man's doings can be related*: all <men's> {man's} doings can be related

h *and thus inspires*: and <so> thus inspires

i *Light, beside interpreting her master Time to men, repeatedly slays the enemy Space*: Light, beside interpreting <its> {her} master Time to men, <has> repeatedly sla<in>ys <her> {the} enemy Space

j *to trample upon the changeless and the extended and to accompany the meanest street upon a journey*: to trample upon the changeless and the extended<. Thus light [?takes]> {and to accompany} the meanest street upon a journey

the wavelets seen from a height, then move them across a beach railway bridge[a] in a gay but uniform procession, like soldiers in Egyptian relief,[b] or like the guards incised along the wide walls of the staircase, the one that is still in the hall of King Xerxes' palace[c] at Persepolis.

Space and measurement dissolve by oil and candle-light. Shadow-pits are bottomless. In the flicker of the flame the door rears the head of portal. Night rushes on, still faster, as she enters the narrows of the mouths and caverns that quiver up the wall. Interaction,[d] tread the level darkness. Wind, wave the jet of light.

In a cage of wire the electric bulb does not wink. At the mouth of a gusty tunnel it illuminates a white patch over which the dust is blowing. Moonlight is steady, but the moon rides the fitful night.[e] Sun-beams are steady, but the imperial sun shepherds the day. The electric bulb is fixed and destroys Time. Light itself has turned against us.[f] We are at the mercy of Space. Yet the mystery of Time swarms in the blood. We remember Time. Beset, then, both by Time and Space, we wait in the modern manner. This waiting has none of the poetry of the Care that impelled the ages.

a *then move them across a beach railway bridge*: then <to> move them <along> {across} a beach railway bridge

b *like soldiers in Egyptian relief*: like soldiers of in Egyptian relief

c *King Xerxes' palace*: King Xerxe's palace

d *Interaction*: Interraction

e *rides the fitful night*: rides the {fitful} night

f *has turned against us*: has turned against <[illegible]> {us}

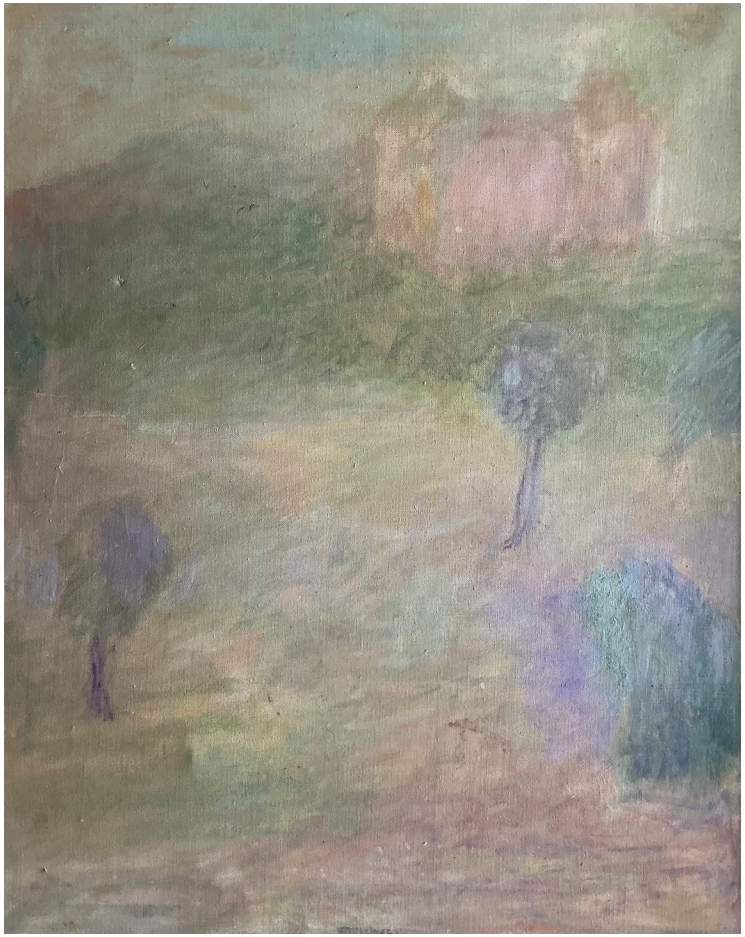


Figure 33 Adrian Stokes, *Italian Villa*. 1938. Oil on canvas

Background III

This portion of *OIL* was written between 1 February and (probably) some time around Easter (24 March) 1940.[69] Earlier that same year AS had turned for a while to other writing. By the time he took *OIL* up again he had drafted part at least of the initial sections of *Venice. An Aspect of Art* (1945).[70] This draft, written in another old notebook and dated "Jan. 1940", is headed "Venetian Architecture". In a note immediately following these words it is described as the "first part of a book that proceeds to Giorgione" and as a "First draft; itself founded on, and incorporating previous writings, most of them some 12 years old".[71]

Venice was indeed the outcome, by no means final,[72] of an earlier work-in-progress dealing with Venetian art and the painting of Giorgione and originally conceived, in the late 1920s, as part of a multi-volume study of the Italian Renaissance, which *QC* had been intended to inaugurate. Preliminary outlines of this project's overall structure do include parts dedicated to this painter and city.[73] In *QC* itself a second volume (focusing on Sigismondo Malatesta) and a third (on Venetian art, especially sculpture) were announced. Within two years the Malatesta volume had transmuted into *SR*, while work on the Venetian volume was continually deferred. Notes on Venetian painting, in particular on Giorgione's *Tempesta*, made in Venice in August 1934 probably relate to this deferred volume. However, the intention was further displaced by a broader and more theoretical interest in painting, informed by the distinction between the "carving" and "modelling" approaches to artistic creation introduced, in reference to sculpture, in *SR*. It was this new interest that led AS to take up painting, in the early part, as we saw, of 1936, and to write *C&F*.[74] And here it was specifically to "Giorgione's colour" that he promised to dedicate a "later book".[75] Efforts to advance his work on Giorgione, in Venice, London and Cornwall, in the winter of 1937-38 were largely unsuccessful;[76] and it was not until a year – perhaps two years – later that *Venice* began conceptually and materially to take shape. For the draft written in January 1940 was not in fact the first.[77] It was preceded by one contained in yet another old notebook and at different points headed "Beginnings of essay on Venetian sculpture and Giorgione" and "Venice and Giorgione" and dated "1938" and "Oct. 1939".[78]

The intricate textual history of *Venice* cannot be examined further here. The Venetian drafts of 1938/39 and 1940 are of relevance in the present context because they interrupted progress on *OIL* and also because AS' decision to resume work on Venice and Giorgione was motivated by the same personal reaction to the international crisis which *OIL* had recorded.[79] For that it was the "harsh internal blow over Italy" to which he had there confessed that had prompted AS to divaricate for a time, is evident from his characterization of the city of Venice, in the draft of January 1940, in terms exactly corresponding to those he had applied in *OIL* to Italy in general. "Italy", he had there written, "has figured for me as a good mother".[80] "Venice", he wrote in the draft of 1940, "is a potent symbol of the mother".[81] And Venice was assuredly for him a

more eloquent epitome of Italy than the "Bay of Naples" he somewhat conventionally (perhaps self-disparagingly) invoked in *OIL*.[82]

Furthermore, work on those drafts in turn determined the content and form of the present portion of *OIL*. Aggrieved contemplation of the significance Venice in particular had possessed for him and perusal of his "previous writings" must have stimulated reflection on his first and, as he now explicitly recognized, foundational encounter with Italy – and thereby with "the whole Mediterranean scene"[83] – as a young man at Rapallo. His analysis in this portion of *OIL* of what he now understood to have been "the great and dominant experience of [his] life" and which in *IO* he would denominate "the Rapallo experience"[84] would come to form the nucleus of that book.

An additional stimulus may have come, not just from the felicitously 'Italian' weather enjoyed in Carbis Bay on 1 February 1940, but the generally Mediterranean feel of St Ives and Cornwall. To RB he had written the previous October, "This is the only part of Northern Europe that really belonged to the civilization of the Ancient World – this end of Cornwall"; adding, "I should be interested to know whether you would feel this as much as I do. When Bill Coldstream came to this house he […] said it reminded him of Palermo".[85]

Again, AS' selective incorporation of his "previous writings" in the new Venetian draft would seem to have had the effect of transforming *OIL* from a series of disjunct journal entries into a *composition* in the literal sense, in part drawn from and thereby reconstituting personal memory (whose withdrawal from him he had earlier lamented)[86] and in part assembled from notebooks even older than those ransacked for the Venetian book.

This new compositional element may have played a part in the decision, taken after completion of this portion, to have the thirty-eight sides of manuscript currently comprising *OIL* typed up, probably to facilitate revision or re-use. The orthographical errors contained in the typescript[87] suggest that AS dictated the text and might thus explain the TS' omission, not just of the entire 'philosophical' preamble,[88] but also of phrases and passages confessing personal disorientation or alluding to intimate bodily functions.[89]

✢

AS apparently managed to paint very little in this period. The previous summer, as the *News Chronicle* had reported,[90] he had been working towards a one-man exhibition with Alex. Reid & Lefevre Ltd, due to be held that autumn at their gallery in King Street, London (where he had shown eight paintings, all landscapes, in January 1938). By the end of September he was unsure it would be safe or useful to go ahead with the plan and turned to ESW for advice.[91] On 7 October Alexander James McNeill Reid, one of the firm's Directors, wrote to inform him that they were obliged to reduce their stock and were returning twelve of the fifteen paintings by him they currently held. They could not make plans long in advance, he added, but, air raids permitting, AS' show might yet materialize, since, in spite of the war, there was still some scope for business.[92]



Figure 34 Unidentified photographer, *Ben Nicholson, Herbert Read, Magaret Gardiner and Unidentified (Desmond Bernal?) Playing Croquet at Little Park Owles*. 1940?



Figure 35 Unidentified photographer, *Joseph Macleod at the Microphone*. August 1942

A month later, however, Reid's co-Director, Duncan Macdonald, wrote to acknowledge AS' decision not to hold an exhibition under present conditions. While stressing that showing his work would earn him considerable publicity, he now concurred that sales were unlikely. If the Gallery decided to put on a mixed British show, they would ask AS to submit one or two paintings. "I should very much like to see your new pictures", Macdonald assured him, "but Carbis Bay is so far away that it seems like going to a new continent". Should either AS or MM be in town, he would gladly see any pictures they might bring up with them.[93]

In the event, a mixed British show – *Art of Today. Some Trends in British Painting* – was planned and by 11 January MM had submitted three paintings and AS one, *Olive Terraces: Rapallo*.[94] This Reid preferred to an unidentified "green landscape":[95] structure and space, he felt, were delicately suggested in this but absent from the other.[96] The chosen painting was probably either the one now titled simply *Olive Terraces* (1938 and c. 1952) **[fig. 31]**,[97] which was begun in Rapallo during the couple's honeymoon,[98] or else the landscape later known as *Italian Villa* (1938) **[fig. 33]**.[99]

✢

By 10 March MM had discovered she was pregnant.[100] In this period the Scottish painter Wilhelmina Barns-Graham (1912-2004), with whom she had studied at the Edinburgh College of Art, moved to St Ives, initially staying at LPO.[101] Shortly afterwards, it was the turn of MG and her partner, the physicist John Desmond Bernal (1901-1971)[102] – just when MM was feeling "particularly sick" and, as she later complained, had nevertheless to do all the cooking.[103] She would also recall – and Figure 34 seems to record[104] – that HR and his second wife, the viola player Margaret ("Ludo") Ludwig (1905-1993), visited Carbis Bay at that same time.[105] AS had probably known the former since 1932 at the latest, when MG had introduced him to BN and BH, HR's neighbours at The Mall Studios in Hampstead.[106]

A fictive house-guest from around now was "Adam Drinan". This was the pseudonym adopted during WWII by a Rugby friend of AS', the poet, actor and former Director of the Cambridge Festival Theatre, Joseph Todd Gordon ("Tank") Macleod (1903-1984) (JM) **[fig. 35],** then working as a radio announcer for the BBC.[107] It was in "Drinan"'s name that JM submitted a sequence of poems entitled *The Cove* to the magazine *Horizon*, founded at the start of the war by the literary critic and writer Cyril Connolly (1903-1974) and Stephen Spender. AS had volunteered the use of LPO as his alter ego's postal address, swearing due secrecy.[108]

These first months of 1940 were the last of the so-called "Phoney War". The British government meanwhile introduced new measures of control and mobilization. In January some foodstuffs – bacon, butter and sugar – were rationed and the price of oats controlled.[109] And the national evacuation scheme had new repercussions for Cornwall: at a conference held at Truro on 29 February the local authorities decided that 800 of the of 28,200 children they planned to (and in June did) evacuate to the county were to be allocated to St Ives.[110]

With regard, lastly, to conscription, an article published in the *Guardian* on 2 January, announced further implementation of the National Service Act:

> Nearly two million more men will, it is expected, be called up for service in the British armed forces during the present year as the result of a Proclamation, signed by the King at a Privy Council last night, which affects all men who on January 1, 1940, had reached the age of 19 but were not yet 28. Registration and calling-up dates for the age groups will be announced at intervals […] The number of men who since the introduction of compulsory military service have been registered or have a liability to be called up for service now reaches a total of between 2,500,000 and 2,750,000, from which must be deducted men exempted for various reasons, including those in reserved occupations. The total does not include men who were members of the regular, reserve or auxiliary forces before the outbreak of war and those who have entered as volunteers since the war.[111]

The first registration date under this Proclamation was 17 February. A few days prior to this the *Times* advised that, even if most of the agricultural workers among the new conscripts would be over twenty-one and so covered by the Schedule of Reserved Occupations, they must nevertheless register. They would not, it stressed, be called up.[112]

Notes

1 The simile was almost certainly suggested by the memory examined in the immediately ensuing passage. Emergence from the Mont Cenis tunnel into Italy formed a significant part of that memory, as shown by its revisiting in *IO*, it is contrasted with his childish fascination with the "obscene hole" leading under the Serpentine bridge in Hyde Park (Stokes 1978, II, 152-3).

2 In Wollheim 1972 (10), the experience is said to have taken place on New Year's Eve, 1921. However, in a draft of *IO* (ASP, TGA 8816.3) AS specifies that it was on "the last day of the year, December 31st, 1922". Read (2002, 19) states that AS, still an undergraduate at Oxford, was taken to Rapallo for the space of a term by his parents, after they "had intercepted a homoerotic letter to him" (no source cited). It is wrongly asserted there that he first saw Venice "on New Year's Eve 1921-22".

3 See the "Introduction", 15-17.

4 AS had rented a house on the path going up to the sanctuary of Montallegro and overlooking this valley between October 1927 and February 1928 (see "Background IV", 161).

5 Cf. the description in ASP, TGA 8816.15 of night coming on at Llivia, a town in a Spanish enclave in the French Pyrénées-Orientales: "From your balcony in the square you can beckon on the night with one movement, but you sit immovable to receive the account of the day. For cries and speech come, and in their sound live all that has happened in the fields and in the cradle, the bending over the midday oven, the unbroken doubts of the afternoon, the activity of the early hour<s> when ears and arms cut through the air while thoughts still lay in bed – all is gathered in these cries, the night, too, that is coming and the dawn to be repeated. The symphony rests upon some tonic note, wailing of {a} child near by, the barking of a distant dog already overtaken by night, the scents from <outhouses> {now populated} outhouses, a light, a mountain light that stares boldly from <another> {a} French village" (f. 10*r* from the back of the notebook, inverse orientation; the passage is repeated on f. 22*r* from the back).

6 Cf. the draft of *IO* (begun 8 December 1944) in ASP, TGA 8816.3 ("As I think now of that valley that goes up to Mont'Allegro, as I think of the afternoon winter sunlight, I have the sensation of a sound which contains every note, prolonged, entirely sustained, as good beneath as above, a <manner> {sound} that provides every aural want; at the same time it is itself the epitome of complete realization. Nature spreads and mounts before me, fixed and growing, changeless in the clearness of its cycle. I have here the means of action") and the text as later published in *IO* (Stokes 1978, 157-8: "As I think […] the power of life to be manifest").

7 See the "Introduction", 16.

8 Cf. Stokes 1934a, 206 on "the new-born, pagan joy of a spring day" as yielding "moments" of "pure joy and peace" and as demanding full engrossment and counterbalancing but not cancelling out the 'important'.

9 Cf. the draft of *IO*, specifically of the part then titled "Paradiso", in ASP, TGA 8816.3: "It was the neat, steady radiance {of Mediterranean countries,} the manifestation of a complete display not to be <gainsaid> {ejected} by the sense of mystery, <which> {that} <relaxed> transformed the most primitive fears, increased the sense of fact and so <real> released {practical activity}, fantasy, and the powers of {thought and} expression to vie with this <worthy> {perfect} arena. <And> It is still the same arena which gives to the {fantasy} a standard of the outwardness of the outside world".

10 Cf. f. 45*r*, 132 ("We shall attain the state out there […] all too completely") and CAM (297) on the work of art as an object whose "ideal character" is expressive of an "abounding liveliness" shaped to absolute, death-like "completeness", "a parable of the over-all aim of human activity to force by substitutions of every kind the completeness or externality of death to serve the purposes of Eros until we die".

11 Cf. *OIL* IV, f. 45*r*, 149 for criticism of the following passage.

12 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 166-7: "Trains, shunting, trains […] the figures within"). The initial portion of the passage recalls the analysis of the first part of the ballet *Les Présages* in Stokes 1935a (133), where the relation between music and movement is interpreted in terms of "an experience of traction, itself the symbol of power" and specifically of horizontal movement across the plane of the stage. It also recalls the use of toy trains and suchlike by MK's child patients as participants in her play technique (see Klein [1932] 1997, 16-18, 81, for comparison of patients at puberty, who "busy themselves in phantasy with people and things in the same way as small children play with toys").

13 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 27*r*, 95-6 on Vaihinger [1911] 1924.

14 Compare the passage from here until "But what does one expect […] crooked streets" with *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 167-8): "It is to be wondered […] crooked streets".

15 Cf. the appraisal of classical Greek sculpture in Pater [1893] 1980 (165): "This ideal art, in which the thought does not outstrip or lie beyond the range of its sensible embodiment". This phrase would later be quoted in *GCE* (Stokes 1978, III, 101), but only to be qualified as follows: "The blemish has sometimes been that the thought drains out, leaving a numb perfected form". Cf. f. 43*r*, 130: "Italy is an outward world […] One need not after-think". The present passage also looks forward to the discussion of the machine age in *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 248-56).

16 From this point to the sentence "What entire strangers […] two minutes silence!" *OIL* selects, re-works and re-combines passages from WWC (ASP, TGA 8816.15). This lengthy and somewhat erratic text was drafted, or at any rate begun in London in November 1926, shortly before AS left for the Continent and what would prove an almost uninterrupted stay of two and a half years, mainly in Italy, at Rapallo and Venice. Together with the "Greek Notes" immediately preceding it and also dated "November 1926", WWC marks the onset of the long and complex gestation of *QC*. It had undergone similar selective re-use, perhaps not very long after the time of writing, in a text beginning "Moments when Time stops" (ASP, TGA 8816.10), where it follows "Notes on Quattro Cento, especially sculpture" (later dated "1930 and before") and "A Philosophy of the Quattro Cento", as well as an early outline of *QC*. It precedes, by many blank sides, a series of historical notes on

Sigismondo Malatesta probably dating from after AS' meeting with EP in Rapallo that winter and before 1929 (they are followed by a list of books mostly published that year). The notes were perhaps drafted in the autumn of 1927, when, in addition to his own *Draft of XVI Cantos* (1925), EP lent AS two books on Sigismondo by Giovanni Soranzo (1881-1963) and had others posted to him by OR. To the latter AS wrote at that time that he had been distracted from work on Sigismondo by getting "mixed up with Mahomet" but had "got driven back" (EP to OR 25 September 1927, 19 October 1927, 20 November 1927, ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, boxes 4,5; AS to OR, [postmarked 5 September 1927], ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, box 79**,** folder 2125).

17 In WWC the Industrial Revolution is seen as destructive of continuity and the consequent historical "changes" are viewed "in their universal influence on image": "It is because {from} these <things> {activities} there has ensued a new world of images that is forced upon us, a new world that <casts> {will replace} the old {an age-long existence}, strange images the insistence of which forbid the presence of others that have been common to all the epochs, and not because of the invention of the steam engine, of the motor-car, of <the> wireless, {when these} events {are} conceived solely as being of utilitarian import, – that we speak of the Industrial Revolution as a revolution of existence the extent of which we have not yet begun to comprehend" (ASP, TGA 8816.15, f. 15*r* from the back of the notebook, inverse orientation).

18 In a letter probably dating from 1927 Kyrle Leng (1900-1958) reported to his fellow-photographer Cecil Beaton (1904-1980) that AS, whom he found "unsettling and insane", associated electric light with spiders and was convinced that everyone else did too (K. Leng to C. Beaton 27 August [1927?], Cecil Beaton Papers, Library of St John's College, Cambridge, A1/322/13).

19 Cf. WWC: "What is Western Civilization? We of the 20th century <must find> {can read} the answer for it is engraved upon our brows. Listen first to the trees of England that rustle from their roots. Here is a nameless care in a moderate climate. Englishmen have steeled their hearts. They return to the discipline of school, return to the <seat> {bench} of the schoolboy in the chapel, sit again under the grey Gothic palms that stone the vaults with silence. Thus do we seek to lessen the weight of Care by raising it up to infinity {while we sit below, smug or playful, yearning or matter-of-fact}, at school, in cold rows, {in} black suits, and {with} white hands, <and> {amid} the all too human smell of cleanliness. In our great Care, we are thankful for the unexpected sweetness of the organ. The parson sounds the well-articulated words. We bathe our heat in the cold stone, temper our longing with flagons of gigantic pipe-work tracery" (ASP, TGA 8816.15, f. 3*r* from the back of the notebook, inverse orientation).

20 Cf. WWC: "The Copernican revolution was not the one that took place in the minds of contemporary <philosophers> {astronomers} but rather the <changed> {change in the} images of the ordinary man of <two generations afterwards> {subsequent generations}" (ASP, TGA 8816.15, f. 15*r* from the back of the notebook, inverse orientation).

21 Cf. WWC: "Modern cities fight the mystery of the seasons and themselves receive wounds. We are left with nothing" (ASP, TGA 8816.15 f. 24*r* from back, inverse orientation).

22 This passage ("Electric bulb! […] the moon rides the night") condenses into eleven sentences one many times longer in WWC (cf. "Electric bulb!", 132-3).

23 Cf. WWC: "Even in the 18th century the rhythm of natural change was perceptible, the beauty of day and night, their union, <and> their parting at dawn. The <fretting {fret and the}> sore <that> throbbed at midday <is> {but was} soothed when pressed against the rind of the white moon, <the dawn> that <never> {does not} bridle<s> nor pulsate<s>" (ASP, TGA 8816.15, f. 21*r* from back, inverse orientation).

24 Cf. WWC: "When deprived of movement, images fail us. Every <hostile> {inhuman} block adds to our apprehension. Like the crane that cleaves the night air, we are waiting and like it <again > {also} we are waiting <in the abstract, abstract waiting> {as one who has lost his memory}. When deprived of movement images fail us, but one image persists and haunts us, this image of waiting" (ASP, TGA 8816.15, f. 16*r* from the back, inverse orientation).

25 Cf. WWC: "It is in terms of sound alone {at present} that we can humanize (for such is the process of all image) the new mechanical world that <appals> {confronts} us" (ASP, TGA 8816.15, f. 15*r* from the back, inverse orientation).

26 Cf. WWC: "The thoroughfares are not seen <for> {since} they undulate and spill like waves stirred by the din and the <motion> {movement} on the road, are not seen {—} except in the two minutes silence on Armistice Day. During those two minutes of the year, you may know the strangeness of the modern world. Then, like a ludicrous mongrel who has strayed upon the route <two minutes> {just} before the passing of the Royal procession, feels the thousand<s of [illegible]> expectant eyes behind, sees the masses of silent faces <lined> {ranked} ahead, quickens its grotesque speed between the immobile lines of soldiers, falls over itself and is not kicked, tears on again with pitiful terror, hunted, <and> enclosed and mesmerized by a static disproval, so that <it relieves its ignoble body answering to the suggestion of an overpowering shame> {so that it answers to the suggestion of an overpowering shame and relieves its <ignoble> body {incompletely and with} ignoble haste, so your heart may course through your frame as you stand in the chasm <of> {that is} Oxford Street, now seen for the first time, in this long gully of silent<, meaningless> brick" (ASP, TGA 8816.15, f. 17*r* from the back, inverse orientation).

27 Cf. Stokes 1934a, 18-9; 1937c, 298-9.

28 Cf. Isaiah 27.1: "even Leviathan that crooked serpent". Cf. also Stokes 1935a, 36: "There is a suggestion of slight top-heavy lurches common both to that tame leviathan of the streets, the tram, kept on its path by diminutive grooves of steel, and to the railed trains, propelled by clock-work, that scour the corners of the nursery at a destructive pace".

29 Cf. WWC: "The tons of the tram, each massive screw and indifferent bolt, the violence of <this> {the} unwieldy compression of <m> {a} myriad dynamic atoms, this {painted} swan of iron and tin, feathered with screw and scraper, that waddles down two <illegible> {frozen} rivulets of steel with boulders packed between, half-swan, half-centipede – all this occurs to us as we hear the tram pass, hear the challenge of this monstrous bulk to the brazen <earth> {soil}, as if those {iron-webbed} wheels had a mind to worm a way through the

crust of the earth, as if the earth took up the challenge, thrust out a gritty hand <in deference>, raised the {tort} leviathen [*sic*] so that he bumps and serpentines without resilience upon a palm of jagged stone with veins of gleaming steel. Power comes to us in terms of sound. Hardly a grove now that is not visited by the shrieks of the trains" (ASP, TGA 8816.15, f. 15*r* from the back, inverse orientation).

30 Cf. WWC: "The most machine-like things about machines are the gear and the reverse, so many gears like the restricted movements of a clock-work doll that must move to position B before going from position A to position C, two and two only modes of progression, backwards and forwards. There can be no shade of tone. For the most part they work or they break down. How different to the sailing ship which always has, and always will be, a source of wonder!" (ASP, TGA 8816.15, ff. 19*r*-20*r* from the back, inverse orientation).

31 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 168): "But what does one expect […] in crooked streets"). These two sentences, originally referring to the city of Padua, are taken from a text occupying the first three versos of "Sketch of essay on Venetian sculpture leading up to Giorgione", possibly dating from July 1929, in ASP, TGA 8816.168, a wad of nineteen leaves removed bodily from a notebook, some of which was re-used in *Venice* (Stokes 1978, II, 93-5).

32 Cf. IS, f. 4*r*, 212: "We have a higher standard of fact […] inner and outer objects".

33 Cf. AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 3 September 1941], TGA 200214: "I am alarmed by your reading that S in the West. I looked into it for the first time for some 10 years the other day [*sic*], and blushed very much at the writing. Besides, it tails off terribly. Herbert Read singled it out, years ago before I knew him, in one of his critical books as a model of bad writing. It[']s wonderful how I have kept up in my mind all these years that it was a good book. The idea is good but it is not sustained. But it certainly is the book that I always have [been], and always will be, re-writing". HR had quoted a passage from *SW* in Read 1928 (31) to show how metaphors might "conceal the meaning" and be "cloaks for incomplete thought processes".

34 Despite their having had mutual friends in the late 1920s (MG, for instance) and despite their having begun to publish with Faber and Faber at very nearly the same time (in *The Criterion* in the early part of 1930), AS may first have met the poet Wystan Hugh Auden (1907-1973) (WHA) in 1932 and at Dartington, where he (AS) spent part of the Easter break (24 March-11 April) from his analysis with MK (AS to ESW n.d. [postmarked 18 April 1932], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 3/12, letter 2). WHA seems to have visited Dartington around the same time: he "came to look over the school" when the newly appointed headmaster, W.B. Curry (see "Background I", 71) was recruiting new staff; but he was passed over in favour of Raymond O'Malley (1909-1996) (Young 1996, 170; De La Iglesia 1996). WHA's first surviving letter to AS, sent from Woodgate in Somerset, must have been written immediately after this visit. It starts almost formally, adducing an "official excuse" for writing, yet its main purpose – to thank AS "for raising [him] from the dead" – is soon abruptly confessed (WHA to AS 3 April 1932, ASP, TGA 8816.229). In closing, WHA sends his love to "Curly and Kaye". This confirms that AS was currently at Dartington; and it suggests that their mutual friendship with AK and his wife was either the result of their meeting there, or had had some part in bringing that meeting about (thanks, perhaps, to Kay's previous position at Faber and Faber; see fn. 144 [84]). By 18 April AS had sent WHA a promised copy of *SW*, and WHA reciprocated with D.H. Lawrence's *Fantasia of the Unconscious* (1922) and a newly published volume of his own, *The Orators*. A month later, a copy of *QC* evidently crossed with a letter in which WHA complained he had heard nothing from AS: the following day he thanked AS for the book, incidentally expressing his appreciation of the "boy(s) [by Piero della Francesca] on the cover" (postcard postmarked 21 May 1932 cited in Read 2002, 186 and fn., whereabouts not stated). A fortnight later, WHA wrote enthusiastically to AS, "The poetry in it [*QC*] is quite devastating. You are one of the three contemporary writers I can read with genuine admiration. What grieves me is that those who deserve you will probably never read this, thinking, from the title that, you are another of those rich bric-a-brac-loving ninnies. But when the day comes, and come, believe me, it will, when you overcome your fear of your own life, your books will reveal to the real English what you are, a master" (WHA to AS 5 June 1932, ASP, TGA 8816.229). AS seems meanwhile to have evaded WHA's attentions: suggestions they should travel together to "Germany, Italy, Estonia, where you will" and that AS should join him for a weekend in Scotland, where he was now teaching, apparently went unanswered (WHA to AS 18 April 1932; Wednesday [1932], ASP, TGA 8816.229). After 5 June 1932 there are no further surviving letters to AS from WHA. Their only known subsequent meeting was in 1949, when they lunched together in Venice (AS to AM 18 September 1949, TGA 202412). The painter Andrew Forge (1923-2002) would later remember how, when a pupil at the Downs School near Malvern, he had read AS, specifically *C&F*, on the advice of WHA, who was then teaching English there and had whetted his appetite by describing its author as "mad" (Forge in Rhode 1973a).

35 In early adolescence WHA had "lost interest" in the Christian faith of his childhood but would return to the Anglican Communion in the autumn of 1940 (Kirsch 2005, 6, 21; Mendelson 2007). By this time he was in America, having left Europe in March 1939. If an interest in Christianity had become "increasingly stronger and explicit" by the late 1930s (Kirsch 2005, 14), this seems largely to have remained a private matter (Mendelson 2007). And if "there are many works at the turn of the decade that demonstrate a […] suffusion of Christian faith in Auden's emotional as well as intellectual life" (Kirsch 2005, 26), of those usually cited in this regard – *A Summer Night*, *As I Walked out one Evening*, *Musée des Beaux Arts*, *1 September 1939*, *The Prolific and the Devourer* and *The Double Man* – most were published in or after 1940. AS' accusation here in *OIL* of a lapse into "superstition" on WHA's part, made at the start of that year, must then have been based on personal knowledge of his character and development, acquired perhaps directly by shared membership of the "'Charlotte Street community'" (Thelma Hulbert's phrase, quoted in Laughton 1986, 169), perhaps vicariously, through mutual friends, who by now included not just MG and AK, but also WC and the poet and literary editor Stephen Spender (1909-1995), himself a pupil at the Euston Road school (Laughton 1986, 171). For AS' renewal of the accusation in a letter to HR of 1941 and in reference to

Auden and other "equally famous contemporaries", see "Background VI", 216.

36 Cf. *OIL* VII, ff. 50*r*-51*r*, 250 ("If we cut out doctrine […] in some of its aspects at any rate") and IS, f. 2*r*, 211 ("There is the obstinate presence […] Yoga contemplation").

37 See the "Introduction", 12; and cf. IS, f. 1*r*, 210 ("During the last twenty years […] relationship was my object") and *OIL* VII, f. 58*r*, 259 ("My theme for the last 20 years […] ultimate object of contemplation").

38 AS had undergone analysis with MK from January 1930 until June 1935 and again, following the death of his brother Geoffrey (see "Background I", 61), from January to June 1938. He seems also to have consulted MK in 1946 (see "Background VIII", 312).

39 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 163): "There can be no agnosticism today […] of the strongest emotion".

40 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 16*r*, 52: "Upon the sea ships float […] rich in animal life, within".

41 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 12*r*, 56: "We can best witness this very process of distortion […] in terms of otherness".

42 Cf. *OIL* I, ff. 17*r*-18*r*, 53 ("Sublimation, then […] distinguishing characteristic of man"); II, f. 29*r*, 97 ("This compulsion outward […] explained in terms of it"); IS, f. 3*r*, 212 ("To project is to distort […] arrangement of space").

43 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 163): "We are far more nearly aware […] the activities of man".

44 See the "Introduction", 18-20.

45 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 13*r*, 47: "I have changed much".

46 Cf. Stokes 1933, 527 ("Analysis does not assault values, nor dispute them. It leads us to view life differently only so far as we have viewed it with an overplus of anxiety") and "Writing", f. 19*r*, 284 ("A note might be useful […] a fairly common fear").

47 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 164): "There is an intense subtlety at the service of an intense crudity".

48 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 164): "Everyone at some time […] not in character".

49 Cf. AS to HR 10 January [1941], HRP, SC MLUV, quoted in "Background VI", 215, and IS, f. 4*r*, 212 ("First of all […] Medieval morale!").

50 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, 164): "We are today […] political and economical situations".

51 Cf. *OIL* VII, ff. 50*r*-51*r*, 249-50, and AS to HR Friday [28 January or 4 February 1944], HRP, SC MLUV, quoted in "Background VII", 278. Cf. also *TEPT* (Stokes 1978, III, 154), where the work of art is instanced as exemplary in such *constructive* harnessing of aggression ("To observe is partly to control, to be omnipotent: whereas the exercise of the cruel power continues in the making of art, it is used also to reconstruct what thereby is dismembered: in reflecting such combined yet antithetical drives, a work of art symbolizes the broader integrating processes") and again, *Painting and the Inner World* (1963) (Stokes 1978, III, 215: "Of course we must expect, and desire, aggression to figure prominently in art, so as to be integrated there").

52 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 164): "In using the word 'morale' […] our own inner grimness".

53 Cf. *IA* (Stokes 1978, III, 294, 299): "Art dramatizes the sense of process discovered in landscape and in history […] We scan our past for our present: for our past we need landscape, history, and art. Art, as we ourselves, is of past event surviving into the present".

54 Cf. *IA* (Stokes 1978, III, 291-2) on the "haunting" shapes that pursue all manual work but especially that of the graphic artist, remaining in the mind after working.

55 Cf. "Things and experiences for which there are no names", *OIL* VII, f. 51*v*, 251.

56 Cf. IS, f. 1*r*, 210: "There is no part of man without a concrete image".

57 Cf. *OIL* IV, f. 47*r*, 153.

58 According to its website (`https://www.pensioneseguso.com/en`) the Pensione Seguso, on the Zattere waterfront opposite the Giudecca in Venice, had opened during WWI, at the suggestion of "an English friend" of the three Seguso sisters and had initially catered mainly for English visitors. AS had stayed there in February 1929, coinciding with OR (see "Background IV", 162). The cold was so severe that the lagoon partly froze over (AS to EP n.d. [c. 8 February 1929], EPP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 43, box 50, folder 2231). In November 1937 AS had stayed in the adjoining Pensione Calcina ("Ruskin's House" as the headed notepaper announced), at that time also owned and run by the Seguso sisters (AS to OR n.d. [postmarked 15 November 1937], ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2128). According to the current proprietors of the Seguso, descendants of the three sisters, the Pensione's plumbing has always been a problem, even something of a mystery, the Seguso alone uniting three pre-existent buildings. They also maintain that their family should not be confused with the ancient glassmaking dynasty of Murano (private communication).

59 Cf. *SR* (Stokes 1978, I, 209): "The outcome of Mediterranean life is shapliness".

60 Cf. *QC* on "true mass-effect" as "itself an expression of worship, the worship of space, of things set in space which are destroyed by any mingling with afterthought"; and on "purely visual art" as art which is opposed to "all the temporal, rhythmic afterthought that the atmosphere of North and East bestow" (Stokes 1978, I, 69, 135). Cf. also *Art and Science* (1949) (*A&S*) (Stokes 1978, II, 198): "All art exhibits connexion, a bringing together. In visual art alone, and then in visual art deeply founded on this colour-cum-architectural sense of form, an aesthetic communication may be explicit and immediate to the point of rebutting after-thought". There is perhaps an echo here of the passage from Pater cited in fn. 15.

61 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 157): "Here [Rapallo] was an open and naked world. I could not then fear for the hidden, for what might be hidden inside me and those I loved. I had, in fact, incorporated this objective-seeming world and proved myself constructed by the general refulgence. Nothing, for the time, lurked, nothing bit, nothing lurched".

62 Cf. Stokes 1935a, 86: "*Sylphides* expresses the communing with the night air of things that change or move: beneath the magic of the moon such changes appear to be forms elicited by the aerial love that carves them. They are carved by the air with which they are in intercourse". Cf. also *IO*, again on Rapallo (Stokes 1978, II, 157): "There was a revealing of things in the Mediterranean sunlight, beyond any previous

experience; I had the new sensation that the air was touching things; that the space between things touched them; belonged in common; that space itself was utterly revealed".

63 Cf. ASP, TGA 8816.11 ("Extraordinary fright in nursing home" [1930?]): "The sunnier things look the more I fear"; and ASP, TGA 8816.15, f. 4*r* from front ("Jesi" [1929?]): "Something evil can <swarm> {come to} birth and swarm in sun light".

64 The entire passage ("Always in Mediterranean countries […] pierce straight") reworks and reorders a text beginning "The trains in the tunnel at Rapallo" and dated "August 1938" in ASP, TGA 8816.53, where, on the verso opposite the recto on which the two lines of verse appear, is the much corrected draft of a poem entitled *Soliloquy* which starts with a version of the same lines.

65 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 168): "Along, along, along […] the quivering dials of consciousness". There seems a definite hint here, removed from *IO*, of the phallic fantasies of the "Bitsey Grant" passage (*OIL* I, f. 14*r*, 48) and WHO (57-9).

66 Cf. f. 34*r*, 120 ("Living things with the spatial objectivity of corpses, such should be our thoughts, as is this landscape") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 160: "If we were to be shot […] all too completely").

67 Extracted from WWC (ASP, TGA 8816.15, ff. 24*r*-25*r* from the back of the notebook, inverse orientation). Cf. *OIL* III, ff. 35*r*-36*r*, 121-2.

68 Presumably a reference to the contemporary debate on ectogenesis (see Ferreira 2009; 2017).

69 See "Background IV", 156.

70 Stokes 1978, II, 85-138.

71 ASP, TGA 8816.9.

72 In *Venice* itself AS would announce his intention to supplement the book by issuing three appendices: "the first on attribution, the second on Giorgione's use of colour and the third on Giorgione's patrons and neo-Aristotelianism" (Stokes 1978, II, 131 and n). The appendices were never published as such but the subjects specified are discussed in the last part of, and in the "Appendix" to *A&S*, both dedicated to Giorgione (Stokes 1978, II, 199-212).

73 Two plans of the work, both entered in ASP, TGA 8816.10, reserve a place for Giorgione in a fourth part or "Essay" otherwise devoted to Urbino, "Federigo" (i.e. Federico da Montefeltro, the lord and later Duke of the city) and "Laurana", probably Federico's architect Luciano. Another and more elaborate plan, found on a loose sheet inserted in ASP, TGA 8816.15, allocates distinct parts to Urbino and Federico, on the one hand, and to Giorgione, Venice and the Veneto, on the other.

74 See "Background I", 61.

75 Stokes 1978, II, 71.

76 See AS to OR n.d. [postmarked 15 November 1937], ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2128; AS to ESW Monday [10 January 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 5. Notes on "The connection of Giorgione and Venetian painting with carving conception", in ASP, TGA 8816.53, may date from between June and September 1938. The art historian and Assistant Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, Roger Hinks (1903-6193), had written to AS at the start of that year about his (AS') "projected book on Giorgione", commenting, "I cannot imagine a subject better suited to your method. G. has just that ambiguous gift of hovering between two forms of expression which you manage to suggest so vividly: I suppose because your own instincts are poised between shapes and words" (R. Hinks to AS 17 January 1938, ASP, TGA 8816.234).

77 It was perhaps regarded as such by AS only in retrospect, as being relatively close in form to the completed book; cf. the TS dated "MARCH 1944" and headed "Second Draft of Book on GIORGIONE" (ASP, TGA 8816.202).

78 ASP, TGA 8816.59. This draft would be used, with omissions and adjustments, in *Venice* (Stokes 1978, II, 93-4). The date "1938" follows the first of the two headings cited, but the last digit has been amended to "9" and "8" then written above it. The date "Oct. 1939" precedes the second heading. The first heading is almost identical with one found in a note later added to a text apparently dating from 1929: "(Sept 1931) Sketch of essay on Venetian sculpture leading up to Giorgione. Urbino part has largely been incorporated in Florentine essay. But not the Venetian" (ASP, TGA 8816.168).

79 *OIL* II, f. 21*r*, 87.

80 ASP, TGA 8816.9, where the phrase opens what was at that time envisaged as "Chapter I" of the book; cf. the stray sheet of another draft inserted in ASP, TGA 8816.53, where the same phrase opens "Chap. 2".

81 In *Venice*, on the other hand, the phrase occurs half way through the Prologue (Stokes 1978, II, 93).

82 *OIL* II, f. 21*r*, 87.

83 *OIL* III, f. 31*r*, 117.

84 Stokes 1978, II, 158.

85 AS to RB 16 October [1939], BRBML, GEN MSS 605, box 14; cf. *S&R* (Stokes 1978 II, 218, 219: "I thought of it as the only part of Britain belonging to the geography of the Ancient World. It was certainly a fount of tin and so, perhaps, of Greek bronzes […] If the bay were blue I could sometimes identify it with Palermo, a well-lit, spacious depository for all tempestuous process […] a curved sight of the Ocean over the top of a small wood […] seemed to me Samoan"). In an earlier letter to RB he had extended the comparison to the landscape's native inhabitants: "The people seem to me less rustic than those in other parts of England including London. They seem to possess a certain elegance and even culture though no doubt very savage. Like Latins they have a lot of superficial bonhomie that makes them very easy to approach" (AS to RB n.d. [January-February 1937], BRBML GEN MSS 605, box 14, folder 309). In a letter to her parents MM commented on two men seen at St Agnes, "standing doing nothing but talk with wonderful gesticulations. Rather like foreigners. (Italians)" (MM to DM & MMM 24 April 1939, EMM).

86 *OIL* I, ff. 12*r*-13*r*, 47-8.

87 "Discursive Notes Made in a Diary Preliminary to the Writing of a Book", ASP, TGA 8816.212. Errors include "governants" for 'governance', "variance" for 'variants', "exultation" for 'exhaltation' (AS' habitual spelling), "Elliot" for 'Eliot', "taken altogether" for 'taken all together', "disease" for 'decease', "seers" for 'sears', "taut" for 'tort'.

88 *OIL* I, f. 2*r*, 41-2.

89 *OIL* I, ff. 12*r*-13*r*, 14*r*, 47-8; II, ff. 22*r*-23*r*, 30*r*, 89, 98-9.

90 See "Background II", 71, and Figure 23.

91 AS to ESW n.d. [between late September and early October 1939] ESWP, BCMSS, NYPLY, folder 4/12, letter 3.
92 A.J.M. Reid to AS 7 October 1939, EMM.
93 D. Macdonald to AS 9 November 1939, EMM.
94 A.J.M. Reid to AS 11 January 1940; MM to MMM 13 January 1940, EMM.
95 Perhaps one of the three paintings by AS which they had retained the previous autumn, or else one delivered personally by AS and MM on 15 November, when they spent a day in London while staying with his parents at Pangbourne.
96 A.J.M. Reid to AS 11 January 1940, EMM.
97 Tate Britain, T00721 (https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/stokes-olive-terraces-t00721).
98 Mellis n.d.: "Honeymoon in Rapallo (ill) ptd out of window (both) (As version in Tate)".
99 Leger 1951, cat. 6 (*The Pink Villa*); Marlborough 1965, cat. 3; Serpentine 1982, cat. 7, lent by the poet P.J. Kavanagh (1931-2015).
100 See "Background II", 110.
101 Mellis 1977 records that Barns-Graham arrived on 10 March, but on that day MM complained in a letter to her parents (EMM) that she still had not heard from her, and that she had asked her to come on 12 March, since a friend of AS' was coming for a few days. Cf. Tate [1995] 1996, 100.
102 See "Background V", 199 and *OIL* VI, f. 49*r*, 205. The son of MG and Bernal, Martin Bernal, had been born on 10 March 1937 (d. 2013).
103 Mellis 1993, tape F4136A.
104 A photograph clearly taken on the same occasion is TGA 8717.5.8.31, wrongly dated online "[c. 1950s]" (https://www.tate-images.com/preview.asp?item=MA3291&itemw=4&itemf=0001&itemstep=1&itemx=16).
105 MM later associated the visit of the Reads, who she thought probably stayed at a hotel, with that of MG and Bernal, and with their games of croquet. HR's presence at LPO in the spring of 1940 is confirmed by the diary of Barns-Graham, cited in Webb 2025 (440), where it is stated that HR was "guest of honour at 'a delightful sherry party' held at Little Parc Owles" a week after Barns-Graham's arrival.
106 See MG in Rhode 1973a: "I did take him at that time to meet Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth, who were living in Hampstead, near Parkhill Road, in the little row of studios and in the other studios were various artists whom he got to know through them, Henry Moore and Herbert Read". According to AS (1970, quoted in Kite 2009, 164-5) this was in 1932 (cf. Kite 2009, 148 ["in 1933"]). In 1933 AS had the use of RB's flat at 21, York Buildings, Adelphi, WC2, but by January 1934 he was living with Mollie Higgins at 53, Parkhill Road. Shortly afterwards he moved to 9, Linden Gardens, W2; and by the end of 1934 he was installed in Wells Coates' "Isokon" building in Lawn Road ("a stone's throw west of Parkhill Road" [Kite 2009, 149]).
107 Fountain 2022, 5, 128.
108 Fountain 2022, 129, 134. In a letter of 26 February 1940, addressed to him at LPO, the editors of *Horizon* had informed "Drinan" that "Mr Joseph Gordon Macleod" had sent them *The Cove* and that they intended to publish part of it in their "next number" (the third poem in the sequence appeared there in March 1940; see Fountain 2022, 129). JM and his wife Kathleen ("Kit") Macgregor Gordon (1899-1953), a horticulturalist, had made an actual visit to LPO the previous 20 October (Mellis 1939).
109 The Home Grown Oats Order was announced in the press on 13 January, before the official order was available (see https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/1940-01-31/debates/3fe8a47f-6fda-472b-a7f2-501c0423162f/StatutoryRulesAndOrders(Publication).
110 *St Ives Times*, 1 March 1940; https://www.cornwalllive.com/news/cornwall-news/28000-children-were-sent-war-4217136.
111 *Guardian*, 2 January 1940.
112 *Times*, 13 February 1940.