

Figure 36 Adrian Kent, *Self-Portrait*. Early 1950s? Oil on canvas

IV. "When re-writing all of this"
1940

[f. 45r ctd] When re-writing all of this,[1] I must not start in quite so rapidly with a philosophical, contemplative attitude to the external world: not so much at first, for instance, of lying in a bath and listening to shunting and feeling the shunting as an internal process.[2] All that seems nonsense when engaged on practical things. Such contemplation is exaggerated by a contemplative, non-practical life. It is too extreme a picture for the working man. I must be more insidious in suggesting that the tremendous vigour of a bright day is referred inwardly; otherwise[a] I seem to be invoking mere dream states. Yet these images are concurrent with practical application to the external world, or wreath it as an aftermath. But I must be careful in saying that Cornwall appears to me sometimes as a mere projection from my head.[3] It suggests a too long sitting at a desk and too little digging. Certainly it is at a desk, at least a week away from digging and planting, that such a thought is possessed. It is an abstraction, an isolation or exaggeration. But I do not take it back.

Curly **[fig. 36]** comes to stay today, his life committed to teaching in school. What a difference,[b] how important money is, he must think now; an impression[c] gradually reinforced which was hardly apprehended in the many years of youth.[4] And if one sustained the youthful attitude

a *Otherwise*: Otherwize

b *school. What a difference*: school, what a difference,

c *think now; an impression*: think now: an impression

to money in spite of distasteful work and endless struggle with a dependent family? Suppose this defiant position was partly sincerely maintained and asserted because of the inner freedom it allows. The defiance in word would be overdone and the well-to-do man, full of cares in holding on to his possessions and position, would seize on the overdone aspect so [f. 46*r*][a] as to believe the whole thing a fake, a madness, an instability. Because he, troubled with riches, does not want to believe in this happier freedom. The unworldly have little success and such success as they have is partial even for themselves, but the worldly do not want to admit even this partial success.

All deep-set impressions grow from the back of the mind. It is difficult to say when such an impression[b] actually appears; just as[c] it is difficult at first to see the seedlings that have come up. It is well-known that the 'idea' in any creative art appears thus as a tiny nodule. But so do all dominant impressions. Our life is deep. Why insist on such a commonplace? Because it is readily forgotten. The implication of all concepts is a denial of the unconscious. Consciousness[d] is not a powerful searchlight, though its narrow beam may blind.

Thus one always forgets, when condemning as irrational, the emotional background to a conviction.[e] I have, for instance, since possessing this house, felt growing, much to my embarrassment, the well-known sense[f] of property. I now see what a stickler one may become for one's ownership. What a sacrilege a trespass soon appears. How explain this emotion?[g] Only by realizing that one's inside is involved. The house, the garden is identified with myself and all that I regard as most valuable within me. It is thus that property becomes sacred. You stamp on my ground and you are stamping on me. Tell people that and the disassociation[h] will be accompanied to a small degree, to the degree of releasing thus rational power from the service of rationalizing such an emotion. It is only thus that socialism can be advanced. And it is only with excessive care lavished upon dominant fantasies that a successful economic or political system[i] can be operated. From [*sic*] those that have, when[j] what they have is taken away, substitutes must be found for the fantasies that are rooted in what they have. Let us be reasonable. Reason will not operate if the operation of reason entails the baulking of fantasy, the promotion of anxiety.

The whole 'problem' of painting is not the one of emphasizing 3 dimensions on a two dimensional surface but of 3 dimensions in terms of two dimensions – suggesting roundness without sacrificing flatness: suggesting

a [f. 45*v* blank; f. 46*r* numbered top right] 39

b *when such an impression*: when <it> such an impression

c *appears; just as*: appears just as

d *Consciousness*: <But> Consciousness

e *conviction*: co{n}viction

f *felt growing, much to my embarrassment, the well-known sense*: felt growing much to my embarrassment the well-known sense

g *this emotion*: this <emotional> emotion

h *disassociation*: dissassociation [partially corrected from something else]

i *that a successful economic or political system*: that an successful economic <and> {or} political system

j *have, when*: have, <and> {when}

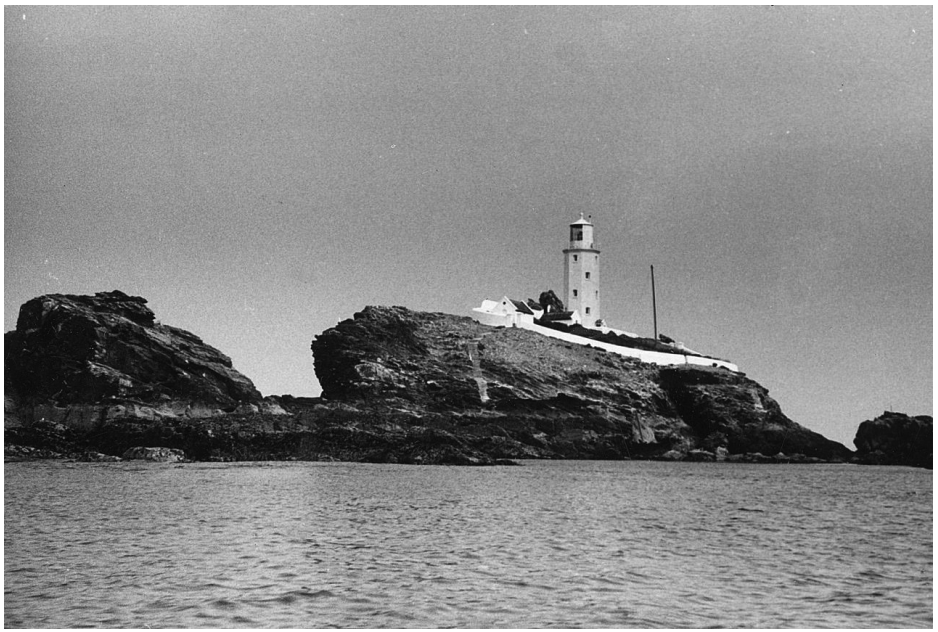


Figure 37
David Murray-Rust,
Godrevy Lighthouse,
Godrevy Island, St Ives Bay,
Cornwall. 1949

both at their uttermost. The emotional significance of this 'problem' eludes [f. 47*r*][a] me.[5] But it is certain that bad representational painting[b] is largely due to the inability to appreciate the values of flatness. It is the latter which keeps the painting an object and a pattern, which allows it to explore distance and bulk[c] without encouraging their illusion. The illusion of actuality destroys the character of the painting, destroys the values of a surface which is nevertheless powerful in depth and bulk.

A silent figure, half in sunlight, half in shade, immobile[d] beneath a tree, seen suddenly, unexpectedly, appears as an incarnation[e] of the time of day, or as a sun-dial, which, though rooted,[f] unchanging, tells the hour, the angle of the sun. But the figure also has a season which[g]

a [f. 46*v* blank; f. 47*r* numbered top centre right] 40

b *bad representational painting*: bad {representational} painting

c *distance and bulk*: distance and <[illegible]> bulk

d *immobile*: <seen> immobile

e *as an incarnation*: as a incarnation

f *or as a sun-dial, which, though rooted:* or {as} a sun-dial, though rooted

g *But the figure also has a season which*: But <in the case of> the figure also has a season <to> which

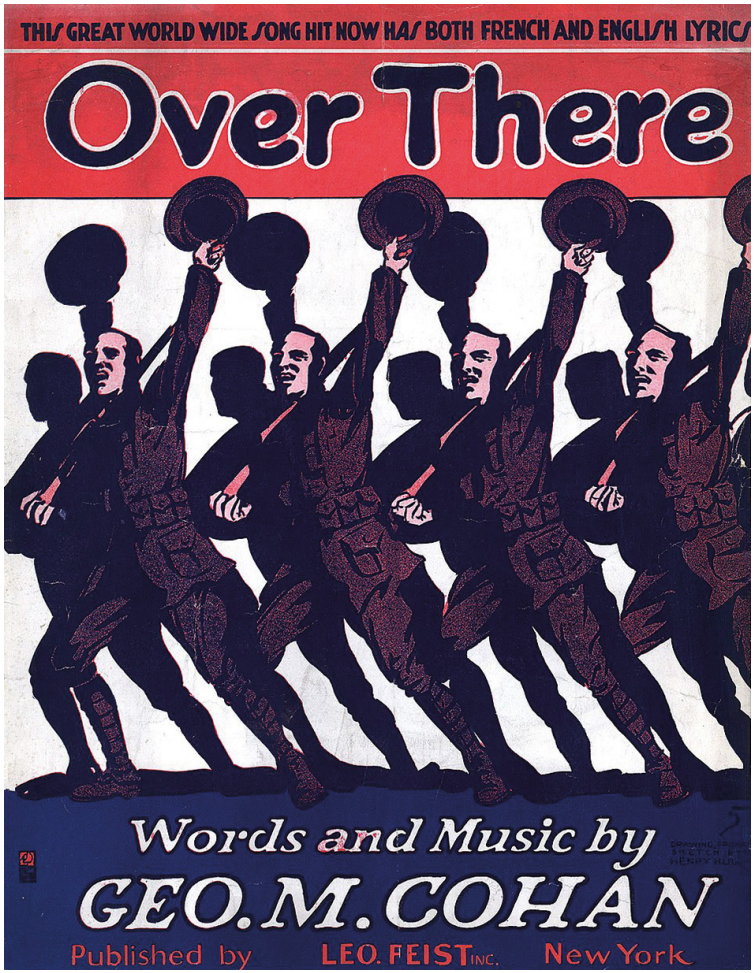


Figure 38 Front cover of George M. Cohan, “Over There”. 1917

all his past seasons are screwed to express in terms of a moment[a] of the day.

Perhaps the theme of this writing should provide the substance of a case-history rather than a philosophy. What nonsense this interchange of inner and outer world as set down here for the labourer.[6] Yet, he makes his own correspondence, one pressed just as far[b] as a totality though it be far less consciously.

Across the bay, the light house **[fig. 37]**[7] is 'over there' in just the sense[c] of the last war's song "Over there, over there", referring to the English troops in France **[fig. 38]**.[8] Whereas in the song "over there" suggests a medieval map, the bird's view[9] where one may look across the sea at another country, in the case of the light-house we can well see it in actuality, and the space between. It is not over the horizon, but it is over there.

One digs in a hoe, attacks the ground. At this moment tens of thousands die again in Flanders, in a hell even greater, with greater rapidity.[10] That the attack, the destructiveness should be thus in man! That it should take these vastly different forms! We attack the ground to enrich it as in the most successful kinds of sexual intercourse.[d|11] Seen from the love side, the matter is the same. The greater part of homosexual feeling, that is, except[e] in its extreme or actual form, stands in terror of converting the object into an actual sexual object, on the active side, then, making it into something feminine. It would thereby lose its appeal. The masculinity belongs to its attraction. And yet, the [f. 48*r*][f] same feeling[g] underlies as in the sexual attack. Thus, good friends in the most respectable societies, thump each other on the back expressing respect for each other's toughness,[h] at the same time preserving the element of attack. Such kindly behaviour is to actual homosexual activity as hoeing the soil is to warfare.

a *express in terms of a moment*: express <as a> {in terms} of a moment

b *one pressed just as far*: <one> {one} pressed just as <tot> far

c *just the sense*: just {the} sense

d *of sexual intercourse*: of <int> sexual intercourse

e *feeling, that is, except*: feeling, {that is,} except

f [f. 47*v* blank; f. 48*r* numbered top centre] 41

g *the same feeling*: the the same feeling

h *for each other's toughness*: for other's toughness

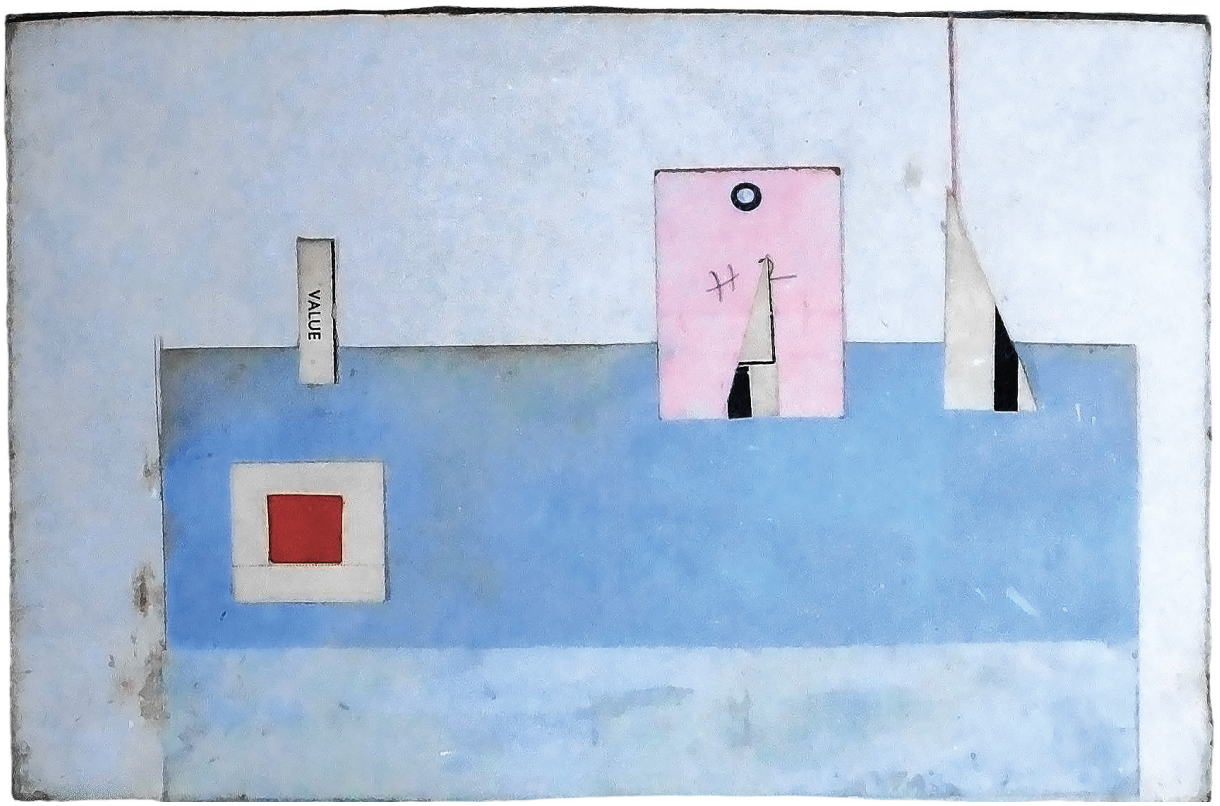


Figure 39 Margaret Mellis, *First Collage*. July 1940. Paper and card

Background IV

This portion of *OIL* was probably written between Easter (24 March) and the early summer of 1940. AK was now teaching at Christ's Hospital in Horsham, and his visit to LPO, mentioned in the second paragraph, probably took place during his Easter break (4 April to 2 May):[12] the allusion in the final paragraph to the current fierce fighting "in Flanders" would seem to be a reference to the massive German offensive against the Western Front which began on 10 May.

In the space of little more than a month that offensive led to the invasion and occupation of Belgium, the Netherlands, France and (still closer home) the Channel Islands, and to the evacuation of hundreds of thousands of Allied troops from the beaches of Dunkirk. This sudden intensification of the conflict had significant repercussions for AS, principally his enrolment in May as a Local Defence Volunteer and the parallel intensification of his agricultural activities. An overview of these developments is given below. Along with the birth that autumn of his son TrS, they explain why, after the present entries, none were added to *OIL* until January 1941.[13]

That agriculture was now a prominent, if not yet preponderant occupation of AS' is reflected in his repeated rhetorical recourse to it here. It informs, first a simple simile ("deep-set impressions" are said to grow imperceptibly from "the back of the mind" like seedlings in the soil), then, more elaborately, a proportional analogy (hoeing the soil relates to warfare as "kindly behaviour" between men in the "most respectable societies" does to "actual homosexual activity").[14]

Three things may be noted about this seemingly far-fetched analogy. First, its distance from, or shift in sexual 'key' with respect to an important passage in *SR*, where AS had suggested that the two approaches to artistic creation there termed "carving" and "modelling" symbolize,

> not only the two main aspects of labour, but even the respective rôles of male and female. Man, in his male aspect, is the cultivator or carver of woman, who, in her female aspect, moulds her products as does the earth.[15]

A second feature of the analogy is its abstract character: it aims to encapsulate a psychologically cogent synthesis of experience. This character contrasts with AS' apparently novel sense, expressed in the opening sentences of this portion of *OIL* and afterwards reiterated,[16] of the remoteness of intellectual abstraction from the ordinary concerns of the "working man" and "labourer" – a sense further attesting to the increased importance of his agricultural activities and perhaps motivating the idea, registered in the seventh paragraph, that *OIL* might "provide the substance of a case-history rather than a philosophy".[17]

A third feature, closely related to the second, is that the analogy condenses and unifies diverse personal experiences, all alluded to or implicated in this portion of the manuscript. Epitomes of this process are the image of the suddenly perceived "silent figure", incarnation at once of a moment of the day and of a personal history,[18] and the preceding reformulation of the

"'problem' of painting" as the "one of emphasizing […] 3 dimensions in terms of two". The latter non-explicitly specifies a condition whereby a painting may realize the "carving conception" of artistic creation, defined in *C&F* as follows: "The colour of a picture is fine when one feels that not the colours but *each and every* form through the medium of their colours has come to an *equal* fruition".[19] This evocation of painterly 'carving' may have been a consequence of AS' resumption that winter of work on Giorgione.[20] It may equally have depended from the actual practice of painting, though there is no definite record of whether or what AS did paint in this period. In a letter to GB written two years later and referring to the latter's visit to LPO in 1941,[21] he would instance a still life hanging in the hall at LPO as the last picture he had painted before having been obliged to stop. So, if he did manage to paint in 1940, his efforts may already have been focused on still life, as they would be when he returned to painting in the last years of the war.[22] Taken together with the present reflection on the "'problem' of painting", that possibility suggests a contrast with the work produced by MM in 1940, when she found the desire and the time to experiment in a new medium and style. She would later recall how her white still lifes of 1939,[23] in which she had aimed at "a real […] sort of spacious feeling", had interested BN and how he had pressed her to take up collage:

> and he went on saying do do a collage so often that I decided to do one and so I did **[fig. 39]** and it was just the same kind of shape as these white still lives which was a sort of table. But I mean it turned just into shapes a bit of blue and a bit of red or a bit of black and white or something just arranged on its own so it made a space.[24]

'Making a space' by overlaying and arranging diversely coloured and shaped pieces of card betrays a tendency towards an abstract form of illusionism not obviously in keeping with AS' understanding of pictorial form and depth as a 'power' of the surface, coaxed into articulation by the artist's manipulation of pigment.

Returning now to the proportional analogy cited above, to probe the range of experience it condenses and unifies is to disclose the underlying coherence of this apparently disjunct series of entries. In naming "Flanders" and in misconstruing the song *Over There* as one about *English* troops,[25] AS was no doubt mindful of WWI's Western Front and of the death, in April 1917, of his brother Philip **[fig. 40]** from wounds received at Havrincourt Wood in north-east France[26] (an event he considered to have "crippled [his] life because of the added responsibility to parents").[27]

On the other hand, the shift in sexual 'key' with respect to *SR* may have been an after-effect of AK's visit to LPO, given the allegedly sexual character of their friendship in former years.[28] Yet in surveying the "vastly different forms" in which homosexual feeling and "attack" may be expressed, AS takes no particular position. It is not apparent whether or how far he has shared the "terror of converting" the male object of desire "into something feminine", or



Figure 40 Artistic Photograph Co. Ltd, *Second Lieutenant Philip Durham Stokes*. 1916?



Figure 41 Adrian Kent, *Houses in Liguria*. Date unknown. Oil on canvas



Figure 42 Paul Tucker, *Villa di Broncigliano*, Scandicci. 2012

whether he has rather had experience of "actual homosexual activity" as a mode of "successful […] sexual intercourse" (and so might even view "kindly behaviour" among males as sexually effete or psychologically obtuse). And what is to be made of the qualitative alignment of "actual homosexual activity" with warfare which the analogy cannot help but suggest? AS' attitude to AK's purported change in outlook is similarly elusive, his empathy seemingly divided between recognition of the necessities dictating the change and regret for the "unworldly" insouciance of youth.[29]

Before looking more closely at the ways in which the onset of a critical phase of the war and MM's pregnancy affected life at LPO, we should pause to review what is known of AS' earlier relationship with AK.

No correspondence between the two has survived. The history of their friendship must be gleaned from extant letters to and between their mutual friends and related second- and third-hand testimony. The only explicit assertion, indeed, that their relationship was, for a time at least, a sexual one, is reported by Richard Read, who writes that JM "recalled [AS] inviting [AK] out to Rapallo where they became lovers".[30] JM was certainly in a position to know this: he was at Rugby with both and was an intimate friend of AS', whom he evidently loved and revered,[31] throughout their lives; and he was close to AK too.[32] Other evidence, though indirect or equivocal, seems to support JM's reported assertion. What is at any rate clear, though it has hardly been recognized,[33] is the importance of the relationship. In the period prior to AS' first marriage, AK participated in his life and work to an extent and to a degree not matched by any other known friend or presumed lover. They lived and travelled together for the best part of two years starting from the autumn of 1927, when, on 25 September, they arrived together in Rapallo for the first time.[34]

AS had spent most of the previous December and January there and had met EP, who was a resident, on the tennis-court at that time.[35] On leaving Rapallo he had stayed in Florence[36] and had then gone on to Sicily, where (reluctantly, it seems) he joined the writer Osbert Sitwell (1892-1969) (OS), with whom he is said earlier to have had an affair.[37] From Sicily he had complained to RG of his "isolation" and of the fact that, if he was not *actually* alone, it was only out of obligation and persistent ignorance of his "own being".[38]

Back home at Pangbourne later that summer, "nearly insane with not getting on with [his] work", he had written to OR, whom he seems not yet to have met personally. Apparently, he had hoped she might prove a "kindred spirit" and the "companion in Italy" he required if he was to face what must otherwise be "another lonely pilgrimage". He had "never had a companion of any sort", he claimed, and could no longer "stand being alone". He thought his "instinct" in writing to her might have been "to save [himself] from other females". In the event, another way was found: on 22 September he had written again to her to say he was leaving for Italy the next day and was "taking a companion".[39] That companion, whose gender and identity had not been disclosed, was AK.[40] They would spend the next three months together in Rapallo.

They first stayed at the Hotel Marsala on the sea front, practically next door to EP's attic flat and roof terrace in via Marsala, where – together with other visitors, such as the expatriate Hungarian writer Joseph Bard (József Diamant) (1892-1975) and, later, the poet W.B. Yeats (1865-1939) – they participated in the 'philosophic sessions', 'symposia', exercises in "sustained analytic" and teas that punctuated life in what EP fondly dubbed the "intellexshul centre of Yourup".[41] AK no doubt also devoted time to his painting. Figure 41, which shows a view by him that once belonged to AS, perhaps dates from this or their subsequent stay in Liguria (see below).

In the latter half of October, after EP had dissuaded AS from buying a house "and thereby annihilating his income",[42] they moved into the Villa Giuditta (a small house close by the church of San Bartolomeo in Borzoli, a little way up the path leading from the town to the sanctuary on the summit of Montallegro).[43] This they shared for around six weeks, until AK's departure at the end of November. Loathe to remain there alone, his mental state meanwhile deteriorating, AS invited OS to join him.[44] OS, however, was "in the middle of a breakdown of his own" and this second cohabitation, together with a visit from AS' parents and the severe winter weather, precipitated another crisis, leaving AS' work "in a bloody state".[45]

"I have had a terrible time and am fairly reduced", he wrote to OR towards the end of January:

> But all the encumbrances of my life, for long accumulating, are being swept up in these terrible months, and if I can last to see it, by Feb 6th I shall be free and alone for my own life which no doubt will gradually return.[46]

OS left Rapallo on 3 February, AS' parents two days later.[47] By 21 February AS too had left the town "purrzoomably", EP reported to OR, "to Roma".[48]

Almost nothing, however, is known of his whereabouts in the following months. The only surviving letter from this time is one written to RG, perhaps at the start of April, from Frascati, south of Rome. "I have had a terrible crisis the last two months", he wrote, "and I am not through it yet". He complained of "fundamental conflict" in his nature, of which his intelligence, hence his work, was the fruit, and of which he was "sick to death", hating himself for it. "As a matter of fact", he declared, he would "pull through, and proceed to work quite different from [his] present", adding,

> Before the crash came I was getting on well with a terrific work on the Renaissance a re-interpretation of which I regard as essential. It has taxed me too high, revealed to me my conflict. I harbour a self-destructive, Semitic evil spirit among others.[49]

While once more (and more keenly) protesting "isolation", AS did not now however explicitly assert he was alone. By 4 June he was certainly again with AK in Scandicci, on the outskirts of

Florence, where they were the guests, at the Villa di Broncigliano (or Bronciliano) **[fig. 42]**,[50] of AK's paternal aunt Nina (1872-late 1940s?) (NK). A musician, perhaps a singer or singing teacher,[51] NK is thought to have come to Italy[52] to pursue her interest in photography and possibly to evade adverse scrutiny of her "Lesbian life-style and attachment".[53]

In the letter to RG just quoted, AS had rejected his friend's offer to arrange a meeting with the writer D.H. Lawrence (1885-1930), now himself resident at Scandicci: he did not wish "to meet or see anybody just at present". This stay at Broncigliano, not far from the Villa Mirenda occupied by the Lawrences, offered him and AK a timely opportunity to make the writer's acquaintance before he left Italy that same month of June.[54]

From Tuscany AS seems to have proceeded north, to the Pyrénées-Orientales, from where, probably in July, he wrote to ESW.[55] And it may be that AS again was not alone: later that autumn Lawrence reported having seen AK in Toulon.[56]

Meanwhile, in mid-October, "The Adrians 1 and 2". had "appeared" in Rapallo. Exploiting an onomastic coincidence for all it was worth, EP and OR both habitually referred to AS and AK, in letters to one another, as an (occasionally ordered) pair: "the Adrians", "2 Adrians", "the young Adrians", "the Adrians 1 and 2", "les Adrien (1. [AS] and 2. [AK])", "Adrian 1st […] Adrian 2nd", and so on.[57] Economy of reference aside, this ebullient nameplay (in which AS and AK themselves joined)[58] evidently masked a lively curiosity – not obviously hostile – as to the nature of their relationship.[59]

By the start of December 1928 the two had again left Rapallo. AK, who had returned to Scandicci to chase up photographers and carry out library work for EP, joined AS in Genoa. They then either travelled together to, or met up in Paris.[60] It was from here, on 16 January 1929, that AS wrote the previously quoted letter to RG extolling fascism, in which he also offered his help in the way of manual labour for a week or two. Nothing but manual labour, he stressed, would induce him to set foot in England. He would leave Paris soon, he wrote in closing, if not to join RG in England, then to make his way elsewhere.[61]

In the event, AS and AK did not now cross the Channel but proceeded "by slow stages" to Venice, "largely owing to the work [AS was] doing".[62] They had reached the city by 8 February, putting up at the Pensione Seguso.[63] Also staying there was OR, who was waiting for work on her new home in the calle Querini to be completed (the decoration of which would later be supervised by AK).[64] By the start of March they had moved into "a really magnificent apartment" in the Casa dei Tre Oci **[fig. 43]**, a neo-Gothic palazzo on the fondamenta delle Zitelle on the Giudecca, where AS had stayed in July 1927.[65] It had been built by the painter Mario de Maria (1852-1924), a friend of Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863-1938), and it now belonged to his son Astolfo (1891-1946), also a painter and currently away on his honeymoon.[66] AS now described its *salone* to EP as "having one of the *oci* in question at one end", looking over to St Mark's, "from which it runs back to windows at the other end almost on the lagoon, and getting all the sun".[67]



Figure 43 Till Niermann, *Casa dei Tre Oci, Giudecca, Venice*. 2017



Figure 44
Unidentified photographer, *Ann Mellis with Telfer Stokes*. 1940



Figure 45
Unidentified photographer,
Adrian Stokes and Margaret Mellis with Telfer Stokes on the Terrace at Little Park Owles.
1940

In mid-May AS and AK planned to go on a walking tour to "Rimini across Urbino to Borgo San Sepolcro".[68] That they did travel at least to Tuscany is confirmed by the contents of an exercise book among AS' papers. This contains notes in their alternating hands on the frescoes of Piero della Francesca at Arezzo, Borgo San Sepolcro and Monterchi, as well as on pictures by Piero, Masaccio, Paolo Uccello, Fra Angelico and others in the Uffizi in Florence. The notes seem to have been written *in situ* or soon after direct observation of the works: they are organized topographically and mainly focus on the painters' use of colour. The more discursive passages invoke criteria – "the effect of equality", "mutual enhancement", "close-tone treatment" – which would undergo elaboration in *C&F*.[69] The notes raise tantalizing questions regarding AK's collaborative role in the long gestation, not ony of *C&F*, but also of *QC*.[70]

AS and AK left Venice and Italy on 1 July, stopping in France on route for England.[71] In the following months both found themselves at critical junctures in their lives. Protracted discussion of psychoanalysis with WRS that autumn[72] led AS – via Ernest Jones (1879-1958), James Strachey (1887-1967), Edward Glover (1888-1972) and Adrian Stephen (1883-1948)[73] – to MK, daily sessions with whom probably began in January 1930.[74] In the meantime, AK, now presumably engaged to Kay Facey[75] – they married in March 1930, not long before the death of AK's father that summer – established a studio in Regent's Park and may have lectured at the National Gallery.[76] In a letter probably written some time in February, AS informed EP of AK's engagement, apparently taking the opportunity to counter some now more pointed verbal play[77] at his and AK's expense: "My hetairos, Adrian Kent, – what's all this about homonym – is just about to get married. The girl is admirable, and that's a more expert opinion than you realize – in general expert".[78] To JM he wrote around the same time,

> Curly, you have heard, is going to be married. The prospective wife is a wonderful girl and would have suited me very well. She really does seem to be ideal as well as in love with Curly, and there does seem to be a chance of them being superbly happy. That makes me happy, as my hack witch would tell you, because I identify myself with Curly {so that's the way I get my heterosexual pleasure}.[79]

That AK continued to be an important emotional and collaborative point of reference for AS is shown not only by the repeated stays at Dartington to which reference has already been made, but also by the fact that when, some time in the summer of 1930, AS suffered what, following an operation, he privately analyzed as his "[e]xtraordinary fright in [the] nursing home", it was AK who was the first to be summoned, and whose subsequent departure left him in the grip of "a terrible fear".[80]

Following AK's visit to LPO in 1940, AS and he may not have seen each other again until after the war, during AS' visit to London at the start of 1946. They were in touch, however, throughout this period: AS knew and told JM of the birth of AK's second daughter, Gabriel, in 1942 and of the trouble "poor old Curly" had from "flying bombs whizzing overhead at Christs Hospital" in the

summer of 1944.[81] In 1946 AS probably visited AK at Horsham, since on that occasion he saw and liked his recent paintings, telling MM he found them a "good deal better".[82]

They would remain in contact well into the 1950s, perhaps longer, though, in VK's memory and estimate, "the relationship 'thinned' rather owing to the fact that they had less in common following AS' discovery of Freud", in which AK was "not at all interested", being himself "decidedly Jungian". AS' attitude, she recalls, was "rather overbearing […] in this and other respects", whereas AK was "not at all overbearing". They were, she thinks, "[w]ell suited to one another (previously) in that one led and the other was happy to be led".[83]

✢

On 9 May 1940 George VI signed a fourth Royal Proclamation under the National Service Act. This extended liability for call-up to men aged between nineteen and thirty-seven, meaning that new conscripts should have been born on or after 10 May 1903, less than a year after AS himself.[84] This may have been one of the reasons why the next day, in a letter to her mother, MM adduced the possibility of AS' "going off" for "training" in justifying her demand that her sister Ann (AM), now aged seventeen, should come to LPO "soon, as soon as possible" to assist her.[85] If AS did have to leave, MM would find herself

> all alone in a large empty house with two (female) servants & (one <(>male) & its just stupid. Also there are interesting people here & it would do Ann a damn sight more good to meet some intelegent [*sic*] people than stay up in Perthshire playing tennis with heelies & boves. IF necessary we[']ll get her a piano.

The best plan, she directed, would be for AM to come down to Cornwall with their sister-in-law Anne, should her brother David ("Dan") (1915-2006) also be obliged to 'go off'. There was also the risk that, without extra inmates, the house would be "filled with refugees"; and she was not in the best condition "to deal with the bloody creatures", of whom they had had "enough […] already":

> Any way I shall have to sack Clara […] I might be left with Doris only, Adrian gone & William [WS] called up for training. They've got a new scheme for training boys of 17. A frightful mess. So that whatever happens I want Ann here refugees, Adrian, or not. Adrian is arranging, IF I can't arrange for Ann & Anne – to get Margaret Gardiner [MG], small boy, nurse, cook, & <lover> husband to come. UTTER BLOODY HELL. It means sacking Doris too & everything being too foul.[86]

MM finally had her way and AM **[fig. 44]**, without her sister-in-law, came to them that summer, probably in July.[87] Except for a break of a month the following year and another the year after



Phyllis Bedells

School of Dancing transferred

For the duration of the War to

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Miss Bedella feels that parents will be glad to avail themselves of this opportunity for their daughters to continue preparation for the examinations of the

ROYAL ACADEMY OF DANCING

which are to be held periodically in various Provincial Centres.



Rocklands School

Evacuated from Hastings, now at

The Headlands, Carbis Bay,

Has room for a limited number of day pupils, girls and boys from 3 to 14 years old. Arrangements for children to remain all day.

NEXT TERM BEGINS SEPTEMBER 18

Apply Headmaster, St. Ives 414.

Figure 46 Advertisement for Phyllis Bedells School of Dancing. *St Ives Times*, 22 September 1939

Figure 47 Advertisement for Rocklands School. *St Ives Times*, 13 September 1940

that, she would live at LPO until the summer of 1942, when she would move to London before enlisting in the WRNS.[88] She would later recall being saddened, on first arriving at the house, to discover that AS and MM were no longer sleeping in the same room. "And I don't think he ever slept with her again", she would add.[89]

TrS was born at LPO early in the morning of 3 October **[fig. 45]** (the very day that AS' maternal grandmother Alice Montefiore Leon died, aged ninety-one). He had arrived "a few days before expected", AS would later tell GB, so that they had been "caught nurseless" and that she had had to be fetched, in what he described as a "repetition of the invasion night we L.D.V. had some weeks before".[90] AM, who was with her sister throughout the five hours of labour, would recall how she had pushed AS furiously out of the room when, "just at the critical moment", he had come in and started reproaching MM for not having everything ready.[91] MM herself would remember how he was "as pleased as anything the minute after" the birth, but that "the next day he was feeling very angry" with her and she "didn't understand what he was after […] so nothing was ever the same after that". She would "put it down mostly to the war and to the whole situation".[92]

✢

The war had gained terrible momentum early that summer and invasion had seemed imminent. On 10 May, the day the German offensive against the Western Front was launched, Chamberlain resigned as Prime Minister and Winston Churchill (1875-1964) received commission to form a coalition government. On 10 June, Italy declared war on France and Britain, and Norway surrendered to Germany. The next day Paris was declared an open city and on 21 June an armistice between France and Germany was signed, taking effect four days later. Meanwhile, on 18 June, Churchill famously warned Parliament that the "colossal military disaster" that was the Battle of France being now over, he expected "the Battle of Britain" soon to begin.

Between the end of June and the first week of July, the ports of Guernsey and Jersey were bombed and the Channel Islands occupied. On 6 July the bombing of Plymouth began. That same day, in Carbis Bay, Gabo wrote in his diary, "Our life on this island, in this last fortress of the old Europe, gradually enters into a state of siege. The daily raids and the sound of the siren have become commonplace".[93] MM would date their first air raid warning to 1 August; and she would recall how a subsequent warning "coincided with an unexpected visit from Cyril Connolly, who arrived for lunch with three girls. We all hid in the cellar".[94] In late summer AS wrote to GB (who on 22 June, three days before the official surrender of France, and well before he was required to do so, had registered for national service),[95]

> We have had 17 air-raid warnings but have never heard a thing. From our bedroom window, we can see across the sea vague searchlights over Redruth and perhaps Falmouth. Their tall groping, as they cluster, is not very

> reassuring. Blind fingers of light. They topple over towards us and then switch off and then maybe we hear the plane; that is if the all-clear signals are not summoning <one> {us} to the tomb.[96]

On 7 September the systematic bombing of London began: it lasted for nearly two months. And on 28 October Italy attacked Greece from bases in Albania. AS' comment to GB was, "Meanwhile it is some consolation, after Italy, that the Greek landscape is fighting on our side".[97]

On 26 May it had been the turn of men who had reached the age of 27 to register.[98] On 1 July WC, also ahead of time, had enlisted for the Royal Artillery.[99] Meanwhile, on 14 May, the day after Churchill gave his celebrated "blood, toil, tears, and sweat" speech to the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for War, Anthony Eden (1897-1977), had appealed on the radio for men not in active service, if aged between seventeen and sixty-five and able to fire a rifle or shotgun, to become Local Defence Volunteers. In St Ives, by midday on 15 may, thirty had volunteered.[100] Two days later, AS had enrolled and on 20 June had been formally accepted (all the more readily no doubt on account of the fact he owned a car).[101] He would be discharged 230 days later, following the disbandment of the Home Guard (as the Volunteers were officially known from 23 July).[102]

Glimpses of AS' Home Guard duties in September 1940 are afforded by the diary of Gabo:

> We spent an uneasy night. Last night's radio broadcast informed us that a large number of German planes had broken through to London and had successfully bombed the city and the docks … During the night Adrian (who is in the home guard) was called to his post. Everything is ready for an attack, apparently a German landing is expected […]
>
> A nightmarish rumour has reached me. The local home guard has been on the alert for two days. My friends Ben and Adrian are not sleeping at night and today they told me that in military circles there are rumours that the Germans have landed a force, that they have dropped parachutists somewhere on the South East Coast, and what is worst of all that they are using poisonous gases against which the government is not ready to equip the population with special masks […][103]

AS's own later memory, in *S&R*, of his "pursuance of L.D.V. instructions" that same month is, characteristically, at once close-focused and broad in perspective:

> At a comfortable hotel nearby [Carbis Bay station], towards three o'clock on a starless night, September 1940, I hammered on the door […] I was carrying a message for the officer commanding the soldiers billeted there. I got no

> answer, I climbed through a window and shouted. I switched on a light and seeing the dinner gong I struck it loudly. The eventual silence did not relax. It was strange to assault an Edwardian somnolence to which I had always been hostile; but more especially in the month of lively danger to Britain when, at last, the pre-first-war age had assumed a golden look. I wanted to linger in the vestibule but I realized that the soldiers must be billeted in the hotel annexe on the other side of the viaduct.[104]

It has been suggested that the house AS visited that night was Trencrom Villa, a large granite house above Carbis Bay beach. During the war this served as the West Yorkshire Regiment Officers' Mess, while some troops were billeted the other side of the viaduct in Paynes' Picnic Grounds.[105] Other repurposed properties did include hotels, assigned to some of the many schools evacuated to Cornwall, most recently from the south coast, given the threat of invasion. (By July 1941 twenty of those schools would have formed an Association and organized a festival, held at Truro).[106] Among the schools relocated to St Ives and Carbis Bay were three with which AS, MM and AM would variously be associated:[107] the School of Dancing founded by the ballerina Phyllis Bedells (1893-1985), transferred already in 1939 from London to the Trecarrell Hotel, St Ives **[fig. 46]**; the Downs, a girls' school from Seaford, East Sussex, now at Treloyhan Manor, not far from LPO;[108] and, also at Carbis Bay, Rocklands, a progressive co-educational school evacuated from Hastings (East Hill) and now occupying The Headlands, a private hotel set in its own grounds in Headland Road.[109] On 30 August readers of the *St Ives Times* were advised that the school had places for a limited number of day pupils, girls and boys from three to fourteen (the announcement was repeated on 13 September **[fig. 47]**), and that it was in need of fruit "in quantity".

It was mostly to such schools, as AS told GB around the time of his nocturnal visit to Carbis Bay, that he had that year sold not inconsiderable quantities of agricultural produce: "several hundred weights of carrots, French Beans, Spinach, turnips, and lettuces by the hundred. A great deal of potatoes too and several cuts of peas […] This has meant a great deal of work".[110]

Under Churchill the government's agricultural production programme had been stepped up. In June the National Milk Scheme for mothers and children had been approved and the National Farm Survey begun.[111] In July the rationing of tea, margarine and cooking fats had been introduced. Locally, the headmaster of St Ives Boys' School, W.W. Bastian, had written to the *St Ives Times*, as Secretary of the Allotment Association and in the context of the "Dig for Victory" campaign,[112] encouraging local gardeners to plant now.[113]

Already prior to this, no doubt, AS had employed a local market gardener, William James Telfer Nankervis (1911-1985)[114] – who, MM would remember, "was frightfully good with a Cornish shovel" and whose name had suggested to AS that 'Telfer' nicely complemented 'Stokes'[115] – to dig up the two – possibly three – lawns lying west of the drive at LPO and above the house, "which had never had anything but grass on". Thus, "practically the whole of the land on

the left side of the drive" (facing the 'front' of the house) had been converted into land for "growing vegetables".[116] And now, as AS informed GB in the letter just quoted, he was due, the following week, to "take over an acre field". This must have been arable land, as he described its appropriation as involving "mere farming" and not, he hoped, "much extra work", provided he could "arrange the ploughman".[117] It is possible that this "acre field" was (part of) the field(s) of one and a quarter acres with frontage on the St Ives-Lelant road which AS had not acquired from Mrs Lewis-Thomas in 1939[118] and which she seems to have retained, gifting it (except for the underlying mines and minerals) in 1951 to the Borough of St Ives, by whom it would eventually be transformed into the Chy-an-Gweal public garden, with access from the main road.[119]

A month or more later AS again wrote to GB, describing his "activities" as "[s]imply agriculture. I now have another acre and the newly ploughed dock roots, every one of which must be wrenched out, <is like> are like a Greek myth.[120]

Notes

1 A first attempt at rewriting would produce IS, 210-14 (see "Background VI", 215-17).
2 *OIL* III, f. 34*r*, 120.
3 *OIL* I, f. 10*r*, 44.
4 See "Background IV", 160-7.
5 It would be minutely explored in the series of books inaugurated by *TEPT*, in terms of the "blending in art of two kinds of symbolic representation" (Stokes 1978, III, 169) and with reference to the Kleinian concepts of the Paranoid-Schizoid and Depressive Positions and to the modalities of object-relationship respectively typical of them.
6 See especially *OIL* I, f. 2*r*, 41-2, and "Background III", 136.
7 The lighthouse on Godrevy Island. See "Background I", 63; "On Home Guard night-watches", 181.
8 *Over There* was a song by George M. Cohan, written in 1917, immediately after America declared war on Germany. The lyrics refer to the imminent arrival of American troops in Europe. The chorus is: "Over there, over there / Send the word, send the word over there / That the Yanks are coming, the Yanks are coming, / The drums rum-tumming everywhere. / So prepare, say a prayer, / Send the word, send the word to beware – / We'll be over, we're coming over, / And we won't come back till it's over / Over there".
9 Cf. *OIL* III, f. 42*r*, 128-9.
10 See "Background IV", 156.
11 See "Background IV", 157-60.
12 I am grateful to Kerry Harper, Assistant Curator, Christ's Hospital Museum, for information regarding the school's Easter break in 1940.
13 *OIL* V, f. 48*r*, 171.
14 *OIL* IV, ff. 46*r*, 47*r*, 150, 153.
15 Stokes 1978, I, 250.
16 *OIL* IV, f. 47*r*, 153.
17 See *OIL* IV, f. 47*r*, 153. This was a significant step towards the complex organization of *IO*, in which autobiographical reminiscence or "personal reference" is placed at the service of a "generalized confrontation" or "abstract setting of the mind over against the visual world" (Stokes 1978, II, 159).
18 This figure is kin to "Piero's peasant at Arezzo, resting on his spade, a calm figure that has accumulated all his movements, all his labours, all his antecedents in his solid form" (Stokes 1978, II, 76).
19 Stokes 1978, II, 24.
20 See "Background III", 136.
21 See "Background V", 201.
22 See "Background VII", 273.
23 See, for example, *Banquet* **[fig. 19]**.
24 Mellis 1993, tape F4130B.
25 *OIL* IV, f. 47*r*, 153.
26 *Memorials* 1916-22, IV, 28-9.
27 AS to GB n.d. [end of February 1942], TGA 200214. The remark was occasioned by the news that GB had only just learned of the death in Egypt the previous year of his own brother, Neil Graham-Bell (1913-1941).
28 See immediately below and fn. 30.
29 VK (personal communication, 2012) comments that unworldliness "was certainly an aspect to his [AK's] character. His mother was a theosophist of sorts and he probably her favourite, so he imbibed that from her and progressed from there to anthroposophy, which was a life-long interest and the nearest thing he had to a serious belief system [...] he would have been unworldly in the sense that he never felt this world was all there was or that 'success' consisted of wealth and fame, much though he might have liked to attain greater recognition of his artistic gifts. I think he rather despised people whom he would consider 'worldly' (like his elder brother maybe) being absorbed by the world of business and finance".
30 See Read 2002, 26-7, where it is not stated where or when JM recalled this. The reference may be to a letter JM wrote Read on 28 October 1981, cited just afterwards.
31 JM to EP 20 January 1930, quoted in Fountain 2022 (230): "The only man I have any faith in is Adrian Stokes, (this side idolatry, yes). If he doesn't stand for anything, nobody does". Cf. the poem *The Flame on the Candle* which JM addressed and dedicated to AS in 1969, quoted in full in Fountain 2010 (304-5) and in part in Fountain 2022 (256): "Walk with me, brother, the length of my luminous road / while I accompany you in the radiance of yours. / High the hedges, far the fields between, and those / candle-lit resolves, your merriments, our wonders, / have blown beyond our ears. But still a candle burns. / Rare are the cross-roads now; transient, excellent, / our encounters under double signposts neither can read. / Our wives and children each with personal voices call / in differing tongues from road to road, as we two / formerly were separate mouths finding a common speech / across that candle. / When my brother vanished ahead into cancellation / as a brother you paced me. And though there were, and are, / newer friends, other loves, who open firmaments of light, / yet burns the common candle still; so that when we meet, / for me not caring what you have become nor you what I, /there is no need of speech. / The flame on the candle, / your sweet breath puckering it with thoughts which, / wasting tallow, tempered me, still puckers or gleams, / when either of us or both must burst into splinters / among the constellations, / cancelled / named /everlasting".
32 JM wrote warmly and appreciatively of AK and his painting in [Macleod] 1933 (13-15), explaining why he, Director of the Cambridge Festival Theatre, had commissioned him to decorate its recently added foyer. Three murals, separated by two painted pilasters, and showing a landscape populated by many animals (one panel was reproduced in the *Times* on 11 February 1935), were intended to "expand the foyer architecturally" and to represent "the forces of life that are pleasant to see, in a form that allows for their unpleasant nature". Thus depicting "points at which the human and the animal coincide", they served to remind audiences that they were "about to see things more intense than [their] everyday life" (14). Of these murals, which have not survived, AS wrote to JM, "It was very thoughtful of you to get him to do it and then to put up with his maddening incompletions and changes of mind. They

certainly do not show in the result. […] What I should like would be if we all met at Dartington one day. Such a lovely place. I gather that Curly is now <[illegible]> making quite a success of teaching there. He hasn't done too badly" (AS to JM n.d. [mid-February 1935?], NLS, Acc.12964/16).

33 Read omits AK almost altogether from his account of AS' fraught relationship with EP, cast though this is largely in homophobic terms. Moreover, he wrongly identifies AK with the travelling companion AS once described to ESW as "spoiling Italy" for him. He dates the letter in which AS did so to May 1926. However, the reference in it to a possible "general strike" is probably to the one over miners' pay which was threatened but averted in July 1925: the letter was written from Casa Scomparin in Venice, where AS stayed in the summer of that year (AS to ESW n.d. [June 1925], ESWP, BCMSS, folder 10/12, letter 1). Read seems to have confused two distinct walking tours of the Veneto and the Marche, one undertaken by AS and that as yet unidentified companion in 1925, the other planned and possibly undertaken by AS and AK some time in May 1929 (see AS to EP n.d. [early May 1929?], EPP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 43, box 50, folder 2231; and 162).

34 EP to OR 25 September 1927, ORP, BRBML, YCAL, MSS 54, series I, box 4.

35 Read 1998b, 70-1; 2002, 28.

36 Where he had drafted a text with the Poundian title "First essay. (Preliminary Cantos, Florence Feb 1927)" (ASP, TGA 8816.13); cf. AS to RG 15 March 1927, ERG.

37 Read 2002, 24-5, 103.

38 AS to RG 15 March 1927, ERG. Cf. EP to OR 12 March 1927, YCAL MSS 54, series I, box 4: "One desire I heard him express was for solitude. i.e. fed up with the wrong sort of people and no hope of there being any other variety".

39 AS to OR n.d. [before 5 September 1927]; n.d. [22 September 1927], ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2125. The first letter begins, "Dear Olga Rudge, Allow me to talk into the void, into Italy".

40 According to JM, AK had been struggling "to find his feet as a commercial artist" and had become "disgusted with London" ([Macleod] 1933, 15).

41 EP to OR 27 November 1927, ORP, BRBML, YCAL, MSS 54, series I, box 5.

42 EP to OR 12 October 1927, ORP, BRBML, YCAL, MSS 54, series I, box 4. A year later EP would report to OR that AS had told "Nancy" (Cox, the sculptor?) that he had an income of £3000 per annum (EP to OR 10 October 1928, ORP, BRBML, YCAL, MSS 54, series I, box 7).

43 See *OIL* III, f. 32*r*, 118.

44 Towards the end of November EP told OR that AS was "thinking of importing the larger and elder Sitwell" (EP to OR 27 November 1927, ORP, BRBML, YCAL, MSS 54, series I, box 5). Cf. the innacurate account given in Pearson 1978 (243-4): "Despite Stokes's own depressions, Osbert decided to escape with him from London at the height of winter, taking a house together at San Bartolomeo, some miles inland from Alassio on the Italian Riviera". In Read 2002 (29), which cites Bradford but gives no account of "the crash", it is stated, "He was still in an emotional involvement with Osbert as late January 1928".

45 Pearson 1978, 244; AS to OR n.d. [postmarked 6 December 1927], ORP, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2125. In notes on his psychoanalytical sessions with MK in 1931 AS would write cryptically of this experience, "Caught in a corner by curtain falling at Rapallo"; and again, "Go up to monastery [perhaps the sanctuary at the top of Montallegro], representing m[other]'s body, after Rapallo. Looked to it after Osbert had gone and found it destroyed. Hopelessness descends. All anxiety of hom sexuality put on to the het" (ASP, TGA 8816.71).

46 AS to OR n.d. [25 January 1928], ORP, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2125.

47 EP to OR 4 February and 5 February 1928, ORP, YCAL MSS 54, series I, box 5.

48 EP to OR 21 February 1928, ORP, YCAL MSS 54, series I, box 5.

49 AS to RG n.d. [postmarked 2 April 1928?], RGP CUL, C4/6/1. Cf. the text starting "I carry about in me something intent on frustrating and destroying me" in ASP, TGA 8816.10. For further comment on the letter to RG see the "Introduction", 33, fn. 112.

50 The villa, situated on the via Vingone, had been built for the Guidetti family in the fifteenth century and subsequently owned and enlarged by numerous Florentine nobles, including (twice) the Pitti, from whom in 1733 it had been acquired by Giuliano Dami (1683-1750), the favourite and *aiutante di camera* of Grand Duke Gian Gastone de' Medici (Bruschi 1997). More recently it had belonged to the Franco-Florentine painter André Noufflard (1885-1968) and his wife, the French painter Berthe Langweil (1886-1971). It is now a rest home for former actors and acrobats.

51 In the 1901 census NK is registered as of the "musical profession" and as visiting the Gray household in Fulham. This included her peer Katherine, also a musician, and Katherine's younger sister Alice, a painter (England, Wales & Scotland 1901, ref. RG 13 / 63). This Katherine Gray may be identical with the Katherine Grey who, according to an announcement placed by NK (Beauchamp Lodge, Warwick Crescent, Maida Hill, London) in the *Hastings & St Leonards Observer* on 22 October 1904, was willing to take her (NK's) pupils for singing at Lindridge's, Hastings, until her return from India. AK was himself "a very talented pianist" and VK believes "there was some conflict early on as to whether music or painting would become his major 'line' in life" (VK, personal communication, 2012).

52 In England, Wales & Scotland 1911 (ref. RG14PN426 RG78PN14 RD5 SD1 ED12 SN55) NK was listed as a spinster of private means living at 64, South Audley St, London, W. She does not seem to have been registered in the 1921 census. In 1926 she appears to have been in Florence: on 2 April "Miss Nina Kent" took out a week's subscription to the library and reading-room of the Gabinetto Vieusseux, giving her address as "Villino Donatello, 12 piazzo [*sic* = piazzale] Donatello" (*Libro dei soci del Gabinetto Vieusseux*, vol. 23 [https://archive.org/details/libro-dei-soci-vol.-23-ottobre-1924-giugno-1926/page/n155/mode/2up]).

53 VK, personal communication, 2012.

54 In Berlin 1945-1987 (25) and Berlin 1994 (101) SB would recall how AS had told him, while painting his portrait, how he (AS) had collected the proofs of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* from the Villa Mirenda each evening and had taken them to the printer in Florence the next morning.

According to VK (personal communication, 2025) AK too remembered the proofs. Cf. Read 2002, 100, which cites a "private communication" to the effect that in June AS "travelled by rail [presumably the tramline then as now connecting Scandicci with Florence] to communicate the final draft of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* to Giuseppe Orioli, Lawrence's publisher in Florence, reading it on the way". Cf. also D.H. Lawrence to G. Orioli 4 June 1928 (in Lawrence 2002, VI, 416) and n.d. [6.6.28] (VI, 420), alluding to Orioli's having been attacked verbally by NK: "I can't help laughing at Miss Kent – she must be cracked – or has somebody done something to her? I never knew she was coming to see you – I asked Adrian Stokes please to give you the letter, as he was coming in. But he didn't come. That young man was Adrian Kent, the woman's nephew – really a nice boy. I suppose he was feeling ashamed. I hardly know Miss Kent – she's been to tea once. She must have gone off like a lunatic – and an old maid. But you should have asked her please to speak English and please to remember her manners. I had no idea she was coming to your shop. – she must have something against you privately, do you think? I give people up". On 22 June 1928 Lawrence would write to RG from Switzerland that he "saw Adrian Stokes several times" (Lawrence 2002, VI, 431). The next day he informed Orioli, "I am asking that boy Adrian Kent to go over to the Mirenda and see that the pictures [Lawrence's paintings] start alright with Pietro" (Lawrence 2002, VI, 433).

55 AS to ESW n.d. [July 1928], ESWP, BCMSS, NYPL, folder 10/12, letter 3 (cf. EP to OR 7 July 1928, ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series I, box 6: "Adrian was reported as having been at Frascati, no known destination save possibly Rimini"). This may have been the trip to the Pyrenees he would allude to in NBA (f. 11*r*, 261) and during or after which he wrote of Llivia (see 141, fn. 5).

56 D.H. Lawrence to G. Orioli 17 November 1928 (Lawrence 2002, VII, 19). In the same letter, Lawrence wrote, a propos of AK, "apparently his aunt who once attacked you in fierce Italian, wants to sell the Villa Bronciliano at Vingone – a nice villa – and go to live in the Mirenda".

57 EP to OR 10 November 1927, 29 September 1928, 18 October 1928, 16 February 1929; OR to EP 22 November 1927, 4 March 1929, ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series I, boxes 5, 7, 8.

58 See AS to EP n.d. [c. 8 February 1929], EPP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 43, series I, box 50, folder 2231. As "Gli Adriani" they signed a telegram sent from Venice to OR on 24 May 1929, to wish her luck before her concert with Kathleen Richards that evening at the Wigmore Hall, London (AS/AK to OR [24 May 1929], ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2126).

59 So much is apparent from a remark of EP's to OR: "Adrian 1st reported to have left Venice for England – evidently dis- or pur-turbed by lady now occupying attention of Adrian 2nd. (or praps D put it Too baldly" (EP to OR 29 September 1928, ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series I, box 7). "D" may have been EP's friend Manlio Dazzi (1891-1968), since 1926 Director of the library of the Fondazione Querini Stampalia in Venice. The remark seems to allude to AS' presence earlier that summer in Venice and, perhaps, to AK's temporary return to England. Cf. Pearson 1978, 247, which quotes a letter from OS to David Horner written from Venice on 7 September 1928: "I haven't seen Adrian yet, and don't know whether I'm going to".

60 AS to EP n.d. [c. 8 February 1929], EPP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 43, series I, box 50, folder 2231: "I picked up Adrian 2 in Paris who wasn't sorry to leave".

61 AS to RG n.d. [postmarked 18 January 1929], RGP CUL, C4/6/3.

62 AS to RG n.d. [postmarked 9 February 1929], RGP CUL, C4/6/2.

63 See *OIL* III, ff. 42*r*-43*r*, 129.

64 AK to OR n.d. [18 June 1929; enclosed in a letter from AS to OR n.d. [18 June 1929]], ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2126.

65 AS to ESW n.d. [postmarked 9 July 1927], ESWP, BCMSS, folder 2/12, letter 4.

66 AS to EP n.d. [c. 8 February 1929], EPP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 43, series I, box 50, folder 2231.

67 AS to EP n.d. [c. 8 February 1929], EPP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 43, series I, box 50, folder 2231. *Oci* is Venetian for *occhi* or 'eyes', referring in this case to the window-apertures. The apartment was described by the novelist Evelyn Waugh (1903-1966), who visited AS while on a Mediterranean cruise, as "very grand" and "full of Titians and Tiepolos" (Waugh [1930] 1974, 159).

68 AS to EP n.d. [early May 1929?], EPP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 43, series I, box 50, folder 2231.

69 There is a degree of lexical overlap between this MS and the colour notes inscribed by AK around the b/w plates illustrating Piero's frescoes of the *Annunciation* and *Battle of Constantine and Maxentius* (S. Francesco, Arezzo) in a copy of Longhi [1927] 1931 formerly AS' and now in the Library of Magdalen College, Oxford, to which the majority of his books were presented by Philip Stokes in 2023.

70 There also survives among AS' papers a large sheet of MS entirely in AK's hand with part of what seems to be an early version of the analysis in *QC* of the *lavabo* in S. Lorenzo, Florence, ascribed by AS to Verrocchio (Stokes 1978, I, 71-7). This is accompanied by observations on design or composition in general. Despite the obvious relation between the portion of the MS focusing on the *lavabo* and the analysis published in *QC*, the inference that AS is the author is not unproblematical: the MS' frequent cancellations and interlinear additions do not seem compatible with the process of transcription. The possibility of a collaborative role on AK's part seems to have been unsuspected even by their closest friends. Cf. [Macleod] 1933, 15: "[AK] spent a long time in Italy profiting by the light and spatiality he found there. The prominent young critic Adrian Stokes enabled him to make some discoveries more quickly than he would otherwise have done".

71 AS to OR n.d. [postmarked 18 June 1929], ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2126. Sayers [2015] 2018 (59) states that AS was in London in time to attend the premières of the *Ballets Russes* ballets *Le Bal* and *Le Fils Prodique* on 26 July, but cites no source.

72 WRS, who was analysed by Ernest Jones for obsessional neurosis (Paskausas 1993, 638), would later recall (in Rhode 1973a) how it had been AS, as a schoolboy, who had first spoken to him of psychoanalysis. He also recalled how in 1929, by when, as AS had discovered, he (WRS)

had translated Freud's *Future of an Illusion*, they had met "by chance […] going into the British Museum" and AS had quizzed him on the subject.

73 AS to WRS n.d. [1929], Markie Robson-Scott.

74 AS was due to be interviewed by MK **[fig. 1]** on 5 December but his name is crossed out in her appointments diary for that year (Wellcome Institute). Her diary for January 1930 is missing, but see AS to JM n.d. [mid-January 1930?], JMP, NLS, Acc. 12964/16: **"**Meanwhile I have started the analysis, before I got your letter even. I wish I'd had your advice earlier as I haven't done a stroke of work since I started. But don't worry, or say that to anybody, and don't tell Ezra about the analysis. Don't worry Tank. I deliberately haven't worked. It['s a purely mechanical business after all. It['s a woman, said by Ernest Jones to me to be the best analyst in Europe. She puts everything down to brothers".

75 See "Background I", 71.

76 *Bexhill-on-Sea Observer*, 29 March 1930; cf. AK to KC 21 September [1939], TGA 8812.1.4.441b, which refers to **"**the days when I was trying for the post of assistant lecturer at the Gallery". AK would hold an exhibition, together with Conrad Ffrench (the secret intelligence officer and artist Conrad O'Brien-ffrench [1893-1986]), at Ena Mathias' Claridge Gallery, Brook St, that October, which would be presented by OS (*Bexhill-0n-Sea Observer*, 18 October 1930; *Times*, 22 October 1930; [Macleod] 1933, 15).

77 Since EP's letter has not survived it is hard to say whether he was in fact guilty of a "homophobic jibe", as has been suggested (Read 2002, 28).

78 AS to EP n.d. [late February 1930?], EPP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 43, series I, box 50, folder 2232.

79 AS to JM n.d. [mid-January 1930?], JMP, NLS, Acc.12964/16.

80 ASP, TGA 8816.11. A transcription of an extended passage from this text, presenting however an unacknowledged omission and numerous inaccuracies, is given in Read 2002 (194).

81 AS to JM n.d. [after 10 May 1942]; 6 July [1944], JMP, NLS Acc. 12964/16, 10509/2.

82 AS to MM Sunday [13 January 1946], EMM.

83 VK, personal communications, 2012.

84 *Times*, 10 May 1940.

85 Apparently responding to her parents' objection that the idea of the training was "idiotic", MM insisted that AS had "special qualifications" for the kind in question, without however stating of what kind it was.

86 MM to MMM Fri SAT to Whitmonday [10-13 May 1940], EMM.

87 Cf. AS to GB n.d. [after 15 August and before 30 September 1940], TGA 200214 ("Margaret's sister, Ann, has been living with us all the summer") and Mellis 1977 (which dates AM's arrival to July, corrected from August). Though in one interview (1998) AM told Janet Sayers that she went down to Cornwall in May 1940 and in another (2003) that it was two months after she left school at seventeen, an arrival date of July 1940 would tally with Stokes Angus 2003 (tape F!3549), where she recalled that she was in Cornwall for a year and a day, and with AS to AM n.d. [10 August 1941] (TGA 202412): "you have been away from here a month today".

88 See "Background VI", 240.

89 Stokes Angus 2003, tape F12925B; cf. AM, interview with Janet Sayers, 2006. In "A short account of the circumstances of the married life and the conditions of the divorce of Adrian Durham Stokes and Margaret Mellis", drafted by AS in 1947 in view of the couple's divorce proceedings, AS wrote, "Adrian had ceased to cohabit with his wife after their son Telfer was borne [*sic*] in 1940" (ASP, TGA 8816.251).

90 AS to GB n.d. [after 28 October 1940; enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 7 November 1940], TGA 200214.

91 Stokes Angus 2003, tape F12925.

92 Mellis 1993, tape F4131B; cf. tape F4131A ("And then when Telfer was born Adrian was terrifically pleased and then after that he suddenly though[t] I was paying too much attention and not enough to him so he got very angry").

93 N. Gabo, diary entry for 6 July 1940, translated by Christina Lodder and quoted in Tate [1995] 1996, 101.

94 Mellis 1977; cf. *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 221: "There followed the first air-raid warning. We went to the cellar") and see "Background I", 68.

95 Laughton 2004, 69. GB was born on 21 November 1910.

96 AS to GB n.d. [after 15 August, before 30 September 1940], TGA 200214.

97 AS to GB n.d. [after 28 October; enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 7 November 1940], TGA 200214.

98 *Times*, 26 May 1940.

99 Laughton 2004, 69. WC was born on 26 February 1908.

100 *St Ives Times*, 17 May 1940.

101 Cf. *OIL* VII, f. 55*r*, 254.

102 See AS' form of enrolment and certificate of acceptance, obtained by AM from the Army Personnel Centre, Support Division, Historical Disclosures, in 2012. Cf. Checkland 2000, 192, where it is stated (without any source being cited), "At this stage in the war, the Home Guard was an ad hoc affair, organized locally, and as in Civvy Street, rank was based on class. So, as the owner of a substantial house, Stokes took it upon himself to assemble a squad, comprising among others Ben [Nicholson], Sven [Berlin], Gabo and George Miller-Watt [*sic* = John Millar Watt?] […] Stokes' moment of glory proved short-lived, as in July 1940 he was obliged to join a more formal force when the government rationalized the Home Guard". Cf. also Tate [1995] 1996, 100: "Stokes and Leach join the Home Guard as privates, [Denis] Mitchell [1912-1993] is a corporal, Leonard Fuller [1891-1973] is captain in charge, and Borlase Smart [1891-1947] intelligence officer. Nicholson and Gabo become air raid wardens in Carbis Bay, with Shearer Armstrong [1894-1983] in charge".

103 Entries for 8 and 9 September 1940, translated by Christina Lodder and in Tate [1995] 1996, 101.

104 Stokes 1978, II, 220.

105 Information from Terry Trevorrow, communicated via Janet Axten, then Heritage Manager of SIA, in an email of 11 November 2011.

106 *Western Morning News*, 4 July 1941; *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, 7 July 1941.

107 See "Background V", 185, 201; "Background VI", fn. 80 (243); "Background VII", 273.

108 *Schools of England* 1928, 379.

109 See "Background V", 188. The Headlands would later become a care home, now (2025) closed.

110 AS to GB n.d. [after 15 August and before 30 September 1940], TGA 200214. Cf. Lambirth 2010, 34: "Most were sold nearby, Stokes driving around to deliver them, but any surplus would surreptitiously be given to local schools".

111 Hammond 1954.

112 See "Background II", 108 and Figure 30.

113 *St Ives Times*, 19 July 1940.

114 Born in Hasletown, he was registered in 1939 as living with his sister Stella in Venwyn Cottage, Crocker's Stile, Lelant (England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6705J/009/11).

115 Mellis 1993, tape F4131A: "He was going to have been either called Phillip after Adrian's first eldest brother who was killed in the war or he was going to be called Telfer and I thought right up until the last minute we were going to have to call him Phillip and I'd just got used to the idea and Adrian said oh no were going to call him Telfer after all so I was quite pleased. Because its quite a good name to go with Stokes".

116 Mellis 1993, tape F4131A. MM first said there were two converted "lawns" or "fields", then corrected this to "three lawns".

117 AS to GB n.d. [after 15 August and before 30 September 1940], TGA 200214.

118 See "Background I", 63.

119 Interviewed in 2011 by Paul Tucker and Carol Holland, Arthur Rogers of Carninney Farm (see "Background VII", 240 for his sister Janie) remembered that the "field" or "farming meadow" that would later become the Chy-an-Gweal public garden had been "planted out" by AS during the war "in outdoor tomatoes", yielding a "wonderful crop". It may be that this field had been let by Mrs Thomas to a certain Gollop. A letter from PF to AS written in 1954 tells of a visit he had made to Carbis Bay and reports that "the (Gollop rented) potato field above your garden is going to be part of a pleasure gardens planned along the main road" (PF to AS n.d. [1954], TGA 202412).

120 AS to GB n.d. [after 28 October 1940; enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 7 November 1940], TGA 200214.