

Figure 56 Unidentified photographer, *Adrian Stokes and Margaret Mellis with Telfer Stokes at Little Park Owles*. c. 1942-43

VI. "The face at the window" 1942-43

[f. 48r ctd] Dec 7th 1942

The face at the window – the masked face seen before as eyes are raised from a book – taken by maximum surprise – and yet, and yet, this apparition of apparitions may well gain its significance of something utterly sinister and shocking because it is felt to be something very deep within that has hopped out, something unattainable by self-examination which when probed faintly,[a] ever so faintly, by some thought correlated with one's reading, by some mechanism of **[f. 49*r*]**[b] magic enabling one to see over the inner horizon, stands outside for a split second in all the wrapped yet naked horror of the unconscious, which watches[c] and attends.

Petty authority of any kind makes a man familiar with the evasions of government.[1]

Here in bed it is difficult to admit the broad surge of the sea upon the beach. The endless sound of this animus to the unthinking sleeping mind figures a thrust in a narrow and tortuous channel.

Joad criticizing Desmond "On leaving out mind",[2] finds that sensation, feeling (which he equates with mind) is slipped in the communist evolutionary theory in terms of inorganic

a *when probed faintly*: when <stirred> {probed} faintly

b [f. 48*v* blank; f. 49*r* numbered top centre] 42

c *which watches*: which <also> watches

matter whose presence no doubt accompanies feeling-phenomena but does not thereby[a] necessarily cause them.[3] Quite true. But why is it that the existence of mind must[b] be 'explained' above all? (What is meant by 'mind' varies considerably). It is going too far. We only have the conception of 'mind' because we have that of 'matter', and vice versa. You can't take just this context and cry out about a 'First Cause'. It would be absurd if it was suddenly scientifically proved to us, absurd even to Joad, that there was a first original cause of such and such a nature, and that before that there was nothing. It doesn't mean anything, although it seems to do so. It's wrong thinking.[c] It is not of any interest, this first cause, and its full absurdity is realized if any one is going to alter[d] their conduct were it definitely proved that there was, or there wasn't, a first cause. There is a vulgarity in certain directions of logic which should be attacked simply because of vulgarity. Does one know so surely what one means by the conception 'mind' for all contexts[e] – or matter, for that matter? Let us say mind is implicit from the beginning, but can mind in this context have a definite meaning? Sitting as we do in life, we can hardly discuss the nature of non-existence (state before the First Cause) as something other[f] (purely negative) than that which defines life or existence.

In Short (1942)

During the last twenty years[g] I have found that whenever I had the sense of profound contemplation, a relationship was my object;[4] and this relationship the one between all compulsive stirring in man and the outside world he inhabits. Environment selects from man. Man matches the externality of things with thought, with self-expression, with sublimation. There is no part of man without a concrete image,[5] no material thing without emotional counterpart. Each set scene and sound sum up in terms of reality a state of mind or crystallize a judgement.[h] Whatever we gaze at is personal as well as natural history in the laid-out instantaneous form of space.[6] Rock, sea, moon, headland, tree, are partly a multitude of judgements, memories[i] and emotional currents felt as one experience, now this constellation, now that.[j] Activity, any practical preoccupation contains

a *inorganic matter whose presence no doubt accompanies feeling-phenomena but does not thereby*: inorganic <developments> {matter} whose presence no doubt accompany feeling-phenomena but do not thereby

b *mind must*: mind <[illegible]> must

c *It's wrong thinking*: Its wrong thinking

d *to alter*: to allter

e *contexts*: [corrected from "contacts"]

f *as something other (purely negative)*: <with reality {far} [illegible]> {as something other} (purely negative)

g [Unless otherwise stated, text here transcribed within curled brackets is written by AS in pen, either on or above the line, in the TS]

h *reality, a state of mind or crystallize a judgement*: reality, <an interplay of inner forces> {a state of mind or crystallize a judgement} [in ASP, TGA 8816.211 "a state of mind or crystallize a judgement" (first?) written below cancelled text and itself cancelled]

i *a multitude of judgements, memories*: a multitude of {judgements,} memories

j *now this constellation, now that*: now this constellation{,} <of feeling,> now that

a similar correspondence. We neither do nor experience anything physical without a concurrent inner reference. The peg is always there, thousands and millions of pegs, the inanimate world, distinct from ourselves – that is part of every image – subject of natural law in whose ordered otherness we may contemplate the muddled exigency of being alive.

This calm mirror of every ferment was blurred in past ages when man insisted that Nature itself was emotionally determined. A less anthropomorphic conception of the universe adds poignancy to the relationship[a] of inner with outer. Since we may now [f. 2*r*][b] accept in terms of our science the complete otherness of things, the poetry of things is purer, and the prose: for a few people, for a very few people. There is the obstinate presence among intellectuals today, even the revival, the re-growth, of a medieval prose-poetry,[7] of mystical systems, even of would-be Yoga contemplation.[8] These too will have their correspondence in the world of the senses.[c] How unworthy they are of Mediterranean landscape, where each thing is outward-seeming.[9]

To live is to apply an inner pattern to an outward scheme. Hence the profundity of the interrelationship between what is inside us and outside. (Art is simply the prototype process of all human activity.)[d|10] There may well be in theory more profound objects of contemplation. I am thinking of the very springs of human activity rather than the activity itself. But these bare outlines are under ground. What[e] appears to the inward eye is both diffuse and complicated. Richness lies in the compulsion to make manifest, in the attempt to equal the world of the senses; in the transmutation through intermingling of primary impulses; in modification, sublimation and enhancement; in the myriad series of new effects thereby engendered; in the gradual process of turning subject into terms of living object until the completed identification with the inanimate world, the corpse;[11] lies in the investing to some degree, by the development of reason, pre-eminently, of a temporal flow with the definition of space. We are [f. 3*r*][f] alive and we shall die. That is both obvious and the sum[g] of all we know, all we need to know[12] for a complete philosophy, a complete aesthetic;[h] since life and death define each other.[13] The few primary sources of emotion may be compared with the limited number of different atoms of which the universe is composed, at any rate on the surface of its bodies.[14]

Who can say turmoil of the mind? The mind moves as does the wrinkling skin upon a calm sea. The underneath is set, deep as the sea beneath a surface skin. Consciousness is no more of the mind than the surface is of the sea. And just as the surface of the sea lies bang[i] opposite to the sky and, indeed, is thus defined,

a *to the relationship*: to<t>the relationship

b [f. 2*r* numbered top right] 2.

c *world of the senses*: world of the <y>senses

d *Art is simply the prototype process of all human activity.)*: <that> {Art} is {simply} the prototype process of all <hm> human activity). ["simply" typed]

e *under ground. What*: under ground, What

f [f. 3*r* numbered top right] 3.

g *both obvious and the sum*: both obvious, and the sum

h *complete aesthetic*: complete <ea>{ae}sthetic

i *bang*: [in ASP, TGA 8816.211 cancelled in pencil]

so does consciousness lie opposite to the external world.[15] Mental processes, unknown in themselves, obtain entry to consciousness through speech. Symbolic substitution, even without speech, is natural to the child: it is fundamental.[a] The basis of speech is substitution,[b] the basis of all projection of the 'everything' in the unconscious. To create is to substitute.[c][16] Consciousness is made up of reality sensations and of substitutions, of reality and of its image. Man is alive twice over: he has this power both to live and to enlarge upon it. He is alive in reality and in image.[17]

To project is to distort. From moment to moment, we can look upon the truth within only in terms of an outside ramification, taking for our arrangement the exquisite arrangement of space.[18] The asperity of things, even the fitfulness of stray wood tossed upon the tide, would not [f. 4*r*][d] trouble a spirit freed from anxiety.[19]

We have a higher standard of fact, and we know more fact than ever before. Similarly we recognise far more as fantasy. We understand a great deal more, not only about the external world, but about ourselves. The great philosophical enquiry of the last three centuries, known as[e] the Theory of Knowledge, has prepared us for this naked recognition of fact and fantasy, and for new understanding of the interrelationship between inner and outer objects.[20]

What attitudes[f] to the contemporary scene devolve from this kind of thought? Here are a few.

(a) First of all, horror at the displays of nearly all intellectuals[g] with their unexpected religions, their peeping prose-poetry, their intellectual dishonesty. An intellectual should be, by definition, one who will not bolster up his morale at the expense of truth. We all deceive ourselves, but must it be to the same extent over long-term theory[h] (so much more important in the end) as in practice?[i] And what a rotten medieval morale![21] Many leaders in contemporary art and thought – I think it is fair to say all of them – are in varying degrees unaware of this potential essence,[j] a purer prose which entails a purer poetry, in the above sense of these terms. With boost propaganda, religion and personal mysticism they seek to rationalize for themselves some life-saving myth. It is unnecessary as well as retrograde. We create a myth for [f. 5*r*][k] ourselves every time we gaze or listen. The world of the image is unending. It has needed a self-denying discipline through thousands of

a *it is fundamental*: it is fund<e>{a}mental

b *The basis of speech is substitution*: The basis of speech is <[substition]> substitution

c *To create is to substitute*: <All creation> {To create} is {to} substitut{e}<ion>

d [f. 4*r* numbered top right] 4.

e *last three centuries, known as*: last three centuries known as

f *What attitudes*: What attitude{s}

g *nearly all intellectuals*: nearly all inte<r>{l}lectuals

h *must it be to the same extent over long-term theory*: must it be <in> {to the same extent over long-term} theory

i *in the end) as in practice*: in the <long run> {end}) <as well> as in practice

j *of this potential essence*: of th<e>{is} potential essence

k [f. 5*r* numbered top right] 5.

years for man to extend so far the range[a] of relatively pure facts, science, prose. Would we re-infuse this tiny world of science, which[b] has opened such vast horizons, with animus, just as the Nazis do? No economy is more needed than in the doctrinaire rationalization of fantasy. Rationalization of fantasy befits man as artist, befits best of all the true artist for the creation of works of art (not for subsequent propaganda in favour of a particular kind[c] of art). I use 'art' in its very broadest sense, the creation of any epitome.[22] Rationalization of emotion, then, even of the deep spiritual needs promoted by fatality, must be viewed as a matter of art, not as possessing the kind of validity that is desired for dogma.

(b) Extreme hatred of every kind of boost, advertisement and propaganda because they obscure the truth, and blunt a clear cut division between fact and fantasy. The growth of civilization is growth in apprehension of fact at the expense of fantasy. (Nevertheless, fantasy[d] is not, and cannot be, diminished. The channel of the work of art becomes increasingly important.) The more[e] we know of fact[f] the more we know of fantasy. The potential increase in this respect during the last thirty years or so must over-top [f. 6*r*][g] progress[h] during the previous thousand years. One might have thought that the intelligentsia,[i] ranging themselves at every turn against the belief in magic, would have begun to explore the new and more profitable distribution of emphasis. They have never done so.[j] They fear, above all things, the loss of their little capital of morale and one-way insight. (Owing to the persistent tax of available truth, this capital, of course,[k] brings in a very poor income.) Thus,[l] although vulgarised snatches[m] of Freudian thought have reached even ordinary men, though intellectuals appropriate for their own morale-capital hardly less vulgar versions, no one of them, short of extreme neurosis, would submit to a thorough analysis extending over many years, and thereby gain an insight unattainable by any other means.

It is not enough to repudiate economic exploitation. The enhanced control of economic resources has been matched by a growing knowledge and exploitation of inner

a *the range*: the <image> range

b *world of science, which*: world of science which

c *in favour of a particular kind*: in <forms> {favour} of a particular kind

d *fantasy. (Nevertheless, fantasy*: fantasy: (nevertheless, fantasy

e *important.) The more*: important). The more

f *The more we know of fact*: The more <is> {we} know<n> of fact

g [f. 6*r* numbered top right] 6.

h *must over-top progress*: must <more than equal> {over-top} progress

i *the intelligentsia*: the intell<ectuals>igentsia [typed over *ectuals*] {igentsia}

j *never done so*: never done <it> so

k *(Owing to the persistent tax of available truth, this capital, of course*: {(}Owing to the persistent tax of available truth, th<e>{is} capital, of cour{s}e

l *poor income.) Thus*: poor income). Thus

m *Thus, although vulgarised snatches*: <It is typical of this> {Thus,} {al}though vulgarised snatches

process: as in the case of physics, psychological insight[a] of a rough and ready kind has often been exploited by those with least scruples. Dr. Goebbels is the child of Anglo-American advertising technique, which, for base ends,[b] so cleverly enlarges upon fear, wish-fulfilment, and upon the obstinate belief in magic. And now, in the name of civilization, we needs must fight the society in which magical belief has been most scientifically exploited.[23]

The inner economy of every individual is, of course, of a magical cast. I mean by the belief in magic, the external [f. 7*r*][c] or rationalized aspect of this belief when it is developed at the expense of truth, in the name of fact. Idolatry maintains all of us. How else are men formed by an environment, by any association? They take to themselves figures, images, states of mind: they become in part this and that person.

a *psychological insight*: ps<ch>yc{h}ological insight

b *technique, which, for base ends*: technique which for base ends

c [f. 7*r* numbered top right] 7.

Background VI

This portion of *OIL* was written between 7 December 1942 and February 1943 or shortly afterwards, certainly before Easter (25 April) of that year.[24] It marks AS' resumption of work on the manuscript after a break of nearly two years. However, this was preceded, and the interruption protracted by the composition of IS, a closely related text which represents the attempt, as anticipated,[25] to rewrite the part of *OIL* drafted between April-May 1939 and around Easter (24 March) 1940 and typed up soon afterwards.[26] The idea, chanced on earlier, of recasting *OIL* as "a case-history",[27] may have prompted him to isolate and combine the manuscript's more general pronouncements and so present them as a personal 'philosophy' – in response, probably, to the newly objective and ethically urgent sense of the ongoing conflict recorded at the start of 1941 in *OIL* V.[28] As is clear too from its title, IS set out to deliver a concise and uncompromising *public* challenge to contemporary artists and writers, of the kind privately voiced in *OIL* III[29] and rehearsed in a letter to HR written on 10 January 1941, around the same time as *OIL* IV.

AS' immediate purpose in writing to HR had been to compliment him on his recently published autobiography, *Annals of Innocence and Experience*,[30] which he found "an extraordinary achievement of a calm vision".[31] However, what started as a mere note of congratulation soon mutated into an ideological call-to-arms:

> Where in your thought you are bold, and where cautious, are not always the divisions I would make. On the intellectual side, our single aim should be to be free of the medieval type of thought[.] I consider there is a very long way to go yet and every possibility of the whole matter slipping back. For this reason, whatever admiration I have for your equally famous contemporaries as artists, I do not share your admiration for them as intellectual leaders. From Eliot to Auden they somewhat betray. The vastly extended areas of fact, pure fact, and the vastly extended areas of fantasy, pure fantasy, must be {more} comprehended before they are re-related. To do so prematurely and in a hurry is half-baked, half medieval still. But only such a one as yourself whose inner harmony, as well as inner fire, is irrevocable, is strong enough to <make> approach this astonishing new correlation and the deeper poetry it implies. But there is [no], or rather, there cannot be, a hurry. Immediate aims must be abandoned: it is perverting and popular to think in public. And that is why, because it is so fully digested, I admire so greatly your Annals of Innocence and Experience.[32]

HR's biographer has suggested that, though it "had a shaky start", his friendship with AS was "founded on their enthusiasm for abstraction"[33] – even though, only a little later, he classes *C&F* as posing a challenge to HR's aesthetic theories.[34] Rather than of his aesthetic values, indeed,



Figure 57
Leonardo da Vinci,
Studies of Men in Action (detail).
c. 1508. Pen and ink

it was perhaps AS' appreciation of HR's general intellectual stance, probably revived by his recent visit to LPO,[35] which had prompted the foregoing declaration. A surviving letter of 1934 expresses AS' enthusiasm for HR's "visionary" poem *The Nuncio*. He had found the "inspired and confident acceptance of limitations" which it expressed to be "very comforting and strong". Perhaps HR's autobiography had disclosed to AS a blend of qualities similar to those he had ascribed to the poem's eponymous hero, whom he had considered "sensible and prosaic while at the same time hieratic".[36] For, in explicit opposition to his friend T.S. Eliot's self-definition as "royalist, classicist, and anglo-catholic", HR there professed himself "anarchist, romanticist, and agnostic";[37] an 'unbeliever' whose materialism was not held positively as a philosophy but rather formed that philosophy's "external limitation" or 'boundary'[38] and who was intolerant of anything which "might be self-deception".[39]

Like IS,[40] this letter to HR shows AS recuperating the prose/poetry dichotomy and aligning it with that of fact/fantasy, in the wake of his realization, recorded in *OIL* III, that in his current work he was "only compressing the subject-matter" of *SW*.[41]

IS is almost certainly the essay somewhat hyperbolically described by AS, in a letter to JM, as "a summing up" – in "less than a 1000 words" – "of all [he had] ever thought incorporating experience of six years of daily psycho-analysis". The letter reveals that the essay had been written with a view to its publication in *Horizon*, but that on submission it had been rejected by the magazine's editor:

> [Cyril] Connolly sent it back with a note saying that he couldn't understand it, but as far as he did understand it [it] appeared to be an attack on intellectuals: not a lucid & documented attack i.e. intellectual, which would be the only kind he might publish. And in as far as it was an attack on intellectuals, it was an attack on Horizon.

"This was palpably absurd", AS protested, "since the only 'attack' was the suggestion that intellectuals were not nearly intellectual enough". By which he meant, most immediately, and as he had pointed out in his reply to Connolly, that they did not actively oppose such "exploitation of people's stupidity" as was exemplified by an editorial note in the magazine's November issue.[42] More generally, Intellectuals failed fully to face up to the ultimate facts of life.[43] Practically all "leaders in contemporary art", he wrote in IS, were "in varying degrees unaware of this potential essence, a purer prose which entails a purer poetry […] With boost propaganda, religion and personal mysticism they [sought] to rationalize for themselves some life-saving myth". This was "unnecessary as well as retrograde". Condensing the broad theme of *OIL* into a few sentences, he retorted, "We create a myth for ourselves every time we gaze or listen".[44]

✢

If, as seems likely, IS was written between October and November of 1942, this suggests that the work of the market garden now took up a little less of AS' time. This would have been thanks to the assistance afforded him by PF, who would later remember how, "a month or two" after replying affirmatively to AS' telegram,[45] he had found himself "working in harness" with him, both of them "dressed in bottle-green dyed battle dress **[fig. 56]**, chitting hundreds weights of potatoes ready for […] spring planting, and […] at the same time sizing each other up as regards capacity for agricultural work".[46]

On PF's part certainly and no doubt on AS' too it was the other as person not just as agricultural worker that was 'sized up'. PF's later recollections of that period, which survive in an unedited transcript of interviews conducted and used only in part by Eric Rhode,[47] constitute an important record of AS' market gardening activities, of which they offer, not a detailed chronicle, but personal impressions of AS' general attitude to the work and of his character.

PF was "immediately attracted towards" AS: he "liked his sincerity and his openness and […] the way in which he quickly came to the point, and his power of communicating his feelings and thoughts to a person", as well as his "practical attitude":

> I thought he must have a great antipathy to manual work, but it wasn't until I actually worked with him and saw him working, and in particular the way he worked with a Cornish shovel […] which as you know consists purely of a metal

> plate, to which a hedge-grown ash stick is fixed. And there he was levering this Cormish shovel over his left knee, very ragged left knee, in fact there was always a patch on that left knee where he used to shovel, there he was levering the sods from one side of the trench to the other, just as if he was a drum-major wielding a baton with great dexterity and grace […]

He noted that AS' sense of time and space, being that of an artist, differed from his own:

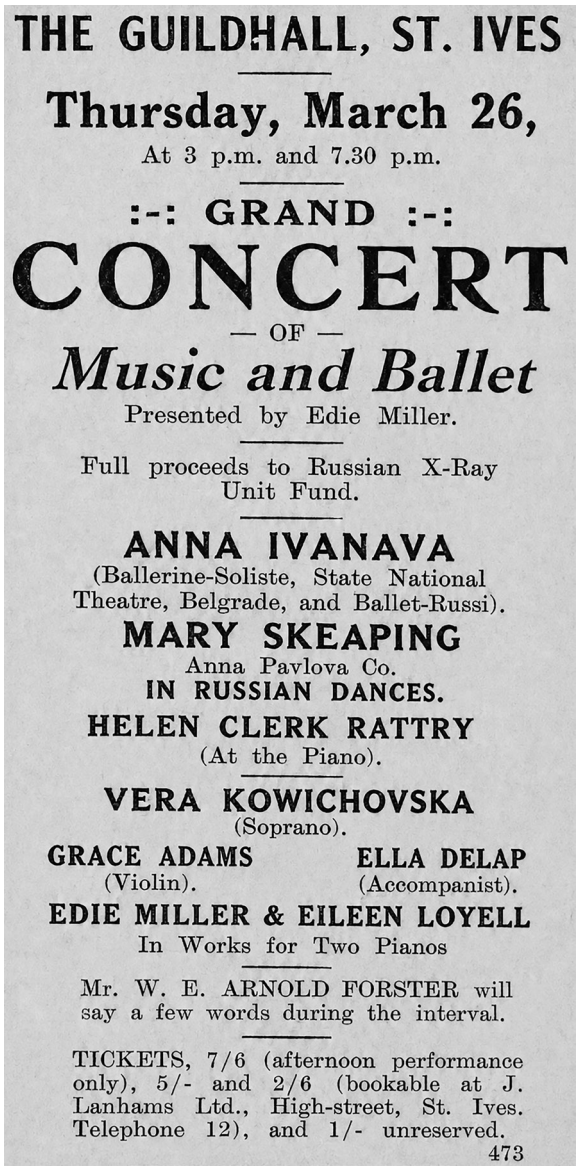
> He had a […] more earthy or more practical idea of time for instance – his times were judged in the manner of […] sense-perceptive images – for instance […] he thought of time as related to the whistlings of the train going through the cutting at Carbis Bay, [or] when he was summoned to tea on the terrace, or we both were summoned to tea on the terrace at Little Park Owles, or even the comings and goings of visitors. My time on the other hand was degraded into rather clinically marked minutes […] on a wrist watch. His space was that of […] someone who used his body […] his feet came into his conception of space because he used his feet to […] painstakingly […] work out the distances of the row spacing, for carrots and onions […][48]

Among the character traits remarked by PF were AS' dislike of criticism and that he was "in some ways immature",

> in the sense that his nursery impressions […] were quite dominant in his life. And they would come out in this peculiar nicknaming of people and rather boyish and humorous anecdotes which you knew at once couldn't possibly be true but he tried to pretend that they were and took them quite seriously.[49]

PF was further aware of AS' "tremendous attraction to Italy" as "the one nostalgic feeling" he had "at that time": "If he could have got to Italy he would have been able to endure almost anything". Here in Carbis Bay, meanwhile, he thought they "all should be part of the community". For instance, PF recalled how "when Trevarro [*sic*] the blacksmith[50] was ill […] Adrian used to make a daily visit to him carrying a basket of groceries and a plate of hot food", climbing a ladder to take them up to where he lived above the smithy.

They seemed "to be eternally digging in the first few months". But they also found time for "daily discussion".[51] This took place out on the land or else in AS' study:



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Thursday, March 26,

At 3 p.m. and 7.30 p.m.

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— OF —

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Presented by Edie Miller.

Full proceeds to Russian X-Ray Unit Fund.

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MARY SKEAPING

Anna Pavlova Co.

IN RUSSIAN DANCES.

HELEN CLERK RATTRY

(At the Piano).

VERA KOWICHOVSKA

(Soprano).

GRACE ADAMS (Violin). ELLA DELAP (Accompanist).

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Figure 58 Newspaper cutting with announcement of a concert organized by the St Ives Committee for Soviet Aid – Mobile X.Ray Unit Fund. *The Cornishman and Cornish Telegraph*, 19 March 1942

Figure 59 Newspaper cutting with announcement of the Soviet Life Exhibition organized by the St Ives Committee for Soviet Aid – Mobile X.Ray Unit Fund. *The Cornishman and Cornish Telegraph*, 12 February 1942

> He used to sleep in his study in a bed set right in the middle of his books […] And he used to bring me in, we used to peruse the shelves. And he felt it was his sanctum and his library.

Among the books perused were KC's catalogue of drawings by Leonardo da Vinci at Windsor, which AS had reviewed in 1935, and the 1939 monograph of which he had written enthusiastically to its author not long after the start of the war.[52] PF later credited to AS his own "first insight into Leonardo":

> I hadn't realised that he was so much of a scientist until Adrian explained his notebooks and we used to look through his notebooks together at his engineering enterprises and his machines of war and mechanical contrivances which to me were a complete revelation.

He remembered how AS had shown him a drawing in which he thought he saw the semblance of a Cornish shovel (perhaps Figure 57), an association that contributed to the "tremendous sensual satisfaction" AS felt, so he told PF, "in being able to master the soil" with this instrument.

Their discussions covered "science, psychology, particularly […] Freudian psychology, and art, and international politics". Regarding psychology, PF remembered that

> in a subtle way [AS] tried to indoctrinate me with Freudian analysis and I used to counter with orthodox physics […] we didn't get very far, and I think occasionally […] I was very sceptical or critical about some of his analyses, particularly those which related to his friends […] Adrian was […] yes quite knowledgeable about science, and in fact he […] made […] a number of very good points which I found extremely difficult to answer. In relation to […] particular aspects of physics, and particular theories of physics, relativity for instance, we used to have […] endless arguments about that, and it suited Adrian very much because […] he said '"Oh this has enlarged my ideas… my artistic ideas, because I can now understand what scientists and physicists think of us […] as artists.

They would also discuss the progress of the war, about which AS "was very excited", day by day. PF felt that after 1941, "when the original invasion was postponed and postponed and nothing came of it more than ringing of the church bells and the summoning of the Home Guard along the coast one evening", AS was "fairly optimistic about the course of the war, because by then Russia had joined in […] which made an enormous difference".

PF admired the way AS dealt with the business side of the market garden:

> He kept the books, answered the corresponden[ce], with all the meticulous care he gave to writing and editing a book, his letters were invariably masterpieces of prose, in fact he could never write a slovenly letter, and even the most trivial letter was to Adrian, I think like painting a picture, he would write to the merest clerk in the Ministry of Food, selecting phrases, dallying with words, coming out into the garden to me to see whether he'd made the correct impact, and only when the harmony of the words and the meaning of the phrase was suitable would he let the letter out, he could never bear a letter to be written in haste.

AS was, PF also recalled, "on occasion very anxious" and would then "withdraw from gardening, for a time, he would go to his room and probably paint"[53] – or of course write.[54]

AS' Home Guard duties meanwhile continued, but there is little detailed information about what these entailed at this time. To PF he chose to recount only

> the times […] he spent lying on the cliff at night in company with other locals, and these were usually enhanced by his repetition of local gossip, in which he relished […] during these night sessions he undoubtedly heard a lot of amusing anecdotes regarding his friends and acquaintances. All these friends and acquaintances had nicknames invented by him, and he would, in a very dry manner, and with a completely poker face, relate strange and very unlikely incidents connected with their behaviour, but all the time his eyes were twinkling and gradually his face would break into […] a smile which he just couldn't contain.[55]

✢

One event of 1942 unrelated to the market garden which PF particularly remembered (no doubt because it involved his family and for its political implications) was the campaign organized by AS and the Carbis Bay artists in the early part of the year to raise funds to buy a mobile X-ray unit for Russia. This had surprised PF, who "didn't think that artists had these left wing opinions at least not with the strength that was shown to me when people like Barbara Hepworth and Adrian and Ben Nicholson, and Gabo[,] who was of course a refugee from Russia, nevertheless, were prepared to contribute towards raising funds for this ambulance". The prominent part played in organizing the campaign by AS was perhaps indeed the closest he came to direct political action.[56]

The initiative was conceived as a special contribution to the national "Aid to Russia" appeal launched in October 1941 by the Duke of Gloucester's Red Cross and St John Committee, which was chaired by Clementine Churchill, the wife of the Prime Minister.[57] The aim of the campaign



Figure 60 Graham Bell, *Little Park Owles, Carbis Bay*. 1942? Pencil and watercolour



Figure 61
Graham Bell,
Carbis Bay from the Garden of Little Park Owles.
1942?
Oil on canvas



Figure 62
Unidentified photographer,
Adrian Stokes, Margaret Mellis and Telfer Stokes on the Terrace at Little Park Owles.
1942

was stated in a preliminary letter to the *St Ives Times* dated 2 January 1942 and signed by the pianist Edie Miller[58] and William Lawrie:

> that St. Ives should make a specific present to the Soviet Union of an x-ray unit, under the auspices of the Joint Committee for Soviet Aid. To this purpose, concerts of Russian music, famous Russian films, and a show of photographs will, it is hoped, be organised for the benefit not only of Russia but of ourselves. All those who realize how much the entire nation owes to Russia to-day, are asked to attend this meeting, so that a representative working organisation can be elected.[59]

A month or so later AS told GB that the idea "that St Ives should buy for £1500 an x-ray unit for Russia" had been his own and BH's, and that they had duly planned "Russian films and a cultural exhibition, books on Russia etc[,] numerous posters and a shop-window, presented and decorated by the Nicholsons, Margaret and [himself], speakers on Russia, concerts of Russian music, community singing". All these things, he proudly reported, had actually happened, and "all off [their] own bats". They had "already collected close on £500 without knowing any one in St Ives and with no local organization (or even M^{rs} Churchill) behind [them]":

> Right at the beginning I collared the Mayor who happened to be the entertainment boss of the place, owning the cinema, and we started off with the film 'A day in Soviet Russia'. The exhibition of photographs and fictional statistics and Russian toys and gram{o}phone records and {left} pamphlets was a great success. About 800 children from schools came and were lectured to by Phyllis Bottome, Margaret Kennedy, Gabo and Arnold-Forster, and the local MP opened it. He asked for a stool to stand on, and it was not pointed out as it should have been, that he would have been more comfortable if he had been provided with a fence to sit on. I have never before tried to organize anything and this has needed a great deal of organization and I have enjoyed it. Now, thank god, it is passing out of my hands. Whist drives and raffles etc are springing up on all sides and tomorrow there is a dance with which I have had nothing to do. It seems to me really important. If a small place like St Ives could buy this thing for Russia, it might be copied throughout the country, and that might help to keep the politicians to their more amiable sentiments. More can be done now to break down prejudice in a week, than could be done before in 10 years.[60]

Reports in the local press supply further details about the progress of the campaign, which closed towards the end of April, having achieved its goal. On 23 January the front page of the *St Ives Times* was given over to the appeal, under the heading "We can HELP the Russians NOW!". A

first concert, with the Russian soprano Kyra Vayne (1916-2001) and the singer and actor Arsene Kirilloff (1890-1968), accompanied by Edie Miller, who "had engaged the singers and paid all expenses", was held at the Guildhall two days later.[61] In March the pianist would organize a second concert at the Guildhall, this time also featuring the dancers and choreographers Anna Ivanova (Nancy Hanley) (1906-1992) and Mary Skeaping (1902-1984), the sister of BH's first husband, John, both formerly with the Anna Pavlova Company **[fig. 58]**.[62]

The Soviet Life Exhibition was shown at Lanham's Gallery from 9 February for five days.[63] The *Cornishman* later reported that "the school children especially enjoyed the brightly-coloured Russian toys and photographs of peasants and farms" and that "Mrs. Arnold Freeman [PF's mother] had devoted more than a week" to the exhibition's arrangement. "An interesting feature" of this, it noted,

> was the afternoon talks **[fig. 59]**, and the variety of the speakers; and there was a large audience to welcome Mr. Beechman [*sic*], M.P. who opened the exhibition. On Saturday, Mr. Arnold-Forster wound up the week by an interesting survey of the history of the Russian Revolution and policy of the last few years.

Before this, Gabo, "the eminent Russian artist", had given

> a moving picture of the sufferings and achievements of the Russian people and brought home to his audience the extent of their sacrifice and the strength of their purpose. He said, "I will not call my people 'heroes' – I do not like this word – they are martyrs! I know my people. they will never give in. They will go on with the struggle no matter how much they suffer." Mr. Gabo, in appreciating our campaign, said that any help would be a comfort – a message and an inspiration.[64]

Other events included performances at the Arts Club, a Gigantic Gift Auction, which alone raised £450, and an Easter Sunday concert (5 April);[65] and there was also a house-to-house collection.

On 23 April *The Cornishman* published an article marking the end of the campaign, in which it was announced that in three months more than £1500 had been given and the X-ray unit had already been sent to Russia, bearing the engraved inscription, "'We, men, women and children of the small and ancient borough of St. Ives on the Atlantic coast of England, send this gift to you our distant comrades. In so doing we bring you near.'" The town was understood to be "the first community to have sent a single, definite gift". Among those thanked were Edie Miller, who "not only first set the campaign afoot but contributed royally with the two well-attended concerts, and in other ways"; Edith Nora Freeman, "to whom the success of the Soviet Life Exhibition was

mostly due" and whose work, it was predicted, would "endure in St. Ives"; and BH, who headed the publicity committee, "one of the hardest workers, as well as one of the instigators, of the campaign". The article concluded noting that

> Throughout the three months, an unusual amount of trouble was taken by the artists. Both in posters and in window arrangement, St. Ives experienced or suffered – the town must decide – something essentially modern and lively.[66]

AS was not among those thanked here or elsewhere: his name never figures in the reports of the local press. Yet that he was in fact, as he had excitedly communicated to GB in February,[67] himself one of the chief instigators of the campaign; that his motivations were in a broad sense political; and that his efforts continued even after the campaign had closed are shown by a letter to JM written between April and May. One of JM's principal interests in this period was contemporary Soviet theatre, to study which he had first visited the USSR in 1937.[68] The Cambridge Festival Theatre had closed in 1935 and in the following years he had considered a career in politics, joining the Labour Party in 1937 and acting as Secretary for the Huntingdonshire Divisional Labour Party between 1937 and 1938. He had then also stood as parliamentary candidate but had not been elected. Instead, following the success of a radio programme on the history of Russian theatre researched and recorded by him for the Home Service, in 1938 he entered the BBC as an announcer and newsreader. At the time AS wrote to him JM is described as having been "a keen Stalinist who was regularly engaged in giving lectures on Soviet theatre history to Anglo-Soviet organisations".[69] AS now sent him the newspaper article just cited, carefully explaining his reasons for having taken such an active part in the campaign:

> I send you the enclosed from the local paper because I am so desperately keen to get publicity for our effort, not of course for the sake of St Ives, but because I feel that if hundreds of communities through [the] length and breadth of England, copied us (and the willingness, extreme willingness<)> of people here, convince one that given proper leadership it could easily be done), it would have enormous political importance after the war. All the relevant <[?thank]> facts are in this article (with the thanks of course irrelevant) except that it should have been stated that there were not more than ½ dozen subscriptions of £10 or more, thus showing how general was the contribution. I expect you know how easily years and years of Daily Mail prejudice can be dissipated at this precise moment. But you must not judge the rest of England by London which is now so Russia conscious. Unless such campaigns as ours are organized, people in the provinces will not get the films and exhibitions that may be seen by anyone in London. Moreover, small places do not profit by Mrs Churchill's Weeks.

Background VI
Paul Tucker

I am not writing to you the communist on this matter, because <communist> {people} are still too hostile to communist organizations to take from them exactly {the} same matter as non-political people like myself have given to the people of St Ives, all unsuspecting. Certainly, only communists would match our keeness [*sic*] and efficiency here, except very rarely. Even so, I think they are best kept out of these campaigns. No, I write for your advice as to how this little effort can be worked up into a 'story' acceptable to the press. And, could the St Ives ambulance come under "Gifts to the War Effort" after the 6 o['']clock news on Sunday? If so, I wonder if you could arrange this for us, or must I write to the B.B.C.[?] I think you will agree that if a lot of these campaigns could be got going with Russian films and the Soviet Life Exhibition, the good would be immense. Or am I wrong? Maybe you suspect that the knowledge and friendship feelings are just comfortable and don't go far enough. I wish you could see some of the essays written by hundreds of school-children including those of snobbish evacuated girls schools. This, of course, reflects on the intelligence of their masters and <mistresses> {mistresses}.

I have never before embarked on any charitable or political enterprise. In view of the moment, this one I thought infinitely worth while and the result has proved it so. I would stress the enormous political importance, though of course the word political is never mentioned publicly. Reaction is now less of a possibility, both political and economic, at least it would be so, and no one in this country would dare to lead subsequently against Russia in the future days when it will be thought our interests conflicted, if these campaigns were widespread.

Do you think we could get something into the Soviet War News, and its new equivalent in Russia?[70]

As a result, it would seem, of this request, on 10 May the BBC made special mention of the St Ives appeal after the 6pm news;[71] for which JM was duly thanked.[72] This was still not the end of AS' efforts, however, as is shown by the surviving draft of a formal letter to an unidentified addressee, again enclosing the newspaper article, "in the hope that it may provide you with material for publication".[73] Lastly, St Ives was cited as an outstanding example of prompt and continuous generosity at a film show in London in October,[74] though it is not clear whether AS or JM in any way prompted or facilitated this.

✢

The last days of the fund-raising campaign coincided with the second visit to LPO of GB and AOP.[75] GB had been posted to Eastbourne at the end of February[76] and was on leave from 17 to

24 April. AOP and he spent the whole of this period, bar the two days needed for the journey, with AS and MM.[77]

It was probably during this stay that GB made the small watercolour of LPO contained in one of his surviving sketchbooks **[fig. 60]**: this also contains a pencil sketch of a small boy closely resembling photographs of TrS, now 18 months old, of this period **[fig. 62]** and several others of interlacing pines, apparently those just below the garden at LPO on the side looking down to the sea. The sketches seem to have been used for a small painting of this view from AS' collection **[fig. 61]**, which may thus, with relative certainty, be attributed to GB.

GB's visit must again have proved a stimulus, not just to AS, but to MM too. A month or so earlier he had invited them both to submit paintings for an exhibition then being organized by the Leicester Galleries in London. AS had thought of sending the stll life he had painted just before he had had to stop;[78] yet there is no evidence that either he or MM did in fact lend anything to the exhibition, which opened on 6 October.[79] The month following his stay at LPO, however, GB wrote to MM that he was glad to hear she was painting again and hoped she would continue and that AS too would get "a chance" to paint. "It takes a lot of effort", he remarked, "when conditions are so much against us"; and he urged them to encourage each other "to do a little even if it only means a few hours a week".[80]

Not until that autumn did AS report to GB that in the latter part of the summer he had managed to find the few hours necessary and that he was "very encouraged by the results".[81] Unfortunately, though, no extant paintings by AS or MM can definitely be assigned to this period. MM would later recall that she had returned to painting, after making "'constructions'" using "paper, – cardboard – wood, slate, stone and arriving at freestanding objects in marble", because she wanted "to think in terms of colour and not just terms of shape". So she had gone back to "where [she] had left off", the white still lifes BN had "started [her] off doing the collage from".[82]

Following his visit to LPO GB left Eastbourne and was posted to West Kirby, then overseas, eventually to Pretoria. He was on embarkation leave from 9 to 15 May,[83] after which AOP did not hear from him until September. When she finally did receive word from him, AS and MM were staying with her (on the occasion of their visit to "Connolly Place").[84] He would return from overseas, arriving in Harrogate, on 1 March 1943, and was then on leave from 4 to 27 March.

✢

Later in the summer another event in whose organization AS played a significant role was the funeral of AW, who died in the Institution at Madron on 29 August. That role must be examined here in detail, since, together with the integrity of his behaviour towards and regarding AW generally, it has been called into question in a recent biography of the painter by Matilda Webb.[85] This assimilates AS' actions and attitude to the misunderstanding, exploitation and neglect of which AW's artist 'discoverers' and admirers were accused by SB,[86] though, to the best of my knowledge, in only one instance, almost immediately corrected, and never publicly, in reference to AS.[87]

Webb's contentious account of the funeral is questionable. It is preceded by the remark,

> It is not widely documented that following Alfred's death, his funeral was halted part-way through by the Carbis Bay artists, and his burial delayed by several days until they arranged a second funeral. The prevailing narrative only tells of the funeral they organised, and praises them for 'saving' Alfred from a pauper's grave. However, the available sources reveal that things were not quite as clear-cut.[88]

In the account that follows she does allow that, as the "prevailing narrative" relates, "'saving' Alfred from a pauper's grave" involved the purchase by AS of a private one. Indeed, she presents and reproduces new and conclusive evidence to this effect in the form of two invoices for AW's burial from the Barnoon Burial Ground Invoice Book, both issued on "3rd September".[89] Webb's ulterior aim, however, is patently to discredit his initiative and in general his interest in AW. This entails presuming knowledge as to what he was "in a position" to do for AW, whether financially or in the way of cultural tutelage;[90] misconstruing the significance of *C&F* and of the place accorded AW in it[91] and implicitly (and gratuitously) ascribing his supposed disregard of AW's state of poverty to his gender.[92]

Her alternative narrative, extrapolated from the "not widely documented" version of events cited above, is hardly less clear-cut than the "prevailing", only differently so. The "available sources" to which she refers are principally two. The first is a passage from the "Cutwater" prefacing the 1992 edition of SB's monograph on AW; the second a text by MM published that same year:

> I remember one afternoon in August 1942 before I joined up, meeting Adrian Stokes on the Wharf [in St Ives], which was unusual.
>
> "What on earth are you doing here?" I asked, greeting him.
>
> "Looking for you," he said. "Wallis has died and I am his executor, so they have put his body on the train addressed to me at Carbis Bay. I really can't do with him at Little Park Owles!" We were standing outside the Salvation Army headquarters. "I don't know what to do!"
>
> "Go in there," I said. "I know his wife was a devoted member and probably he was. They will fix up the funeral."
>
> "Well, can you arrange the flowers, Sven? I'll pay for them. It's awfully good of you." Like Joseph of Arimathea he went nervously into the building, where, although Wallis was a lapsed member, they arranged a decent funeral. Adrian paid £4.10/- extra for a grave that saved Wallis (unlike Mozart) being buried in the paupers' corner. I arranged the flowers with a Mr Anthony who ran a greengrocer's shop in Fore Street and for whom I had worked on the fields.



Figure 63
Unidentified photographer,
Ann Mellis in Uniform (WRNS).
c. 1943?

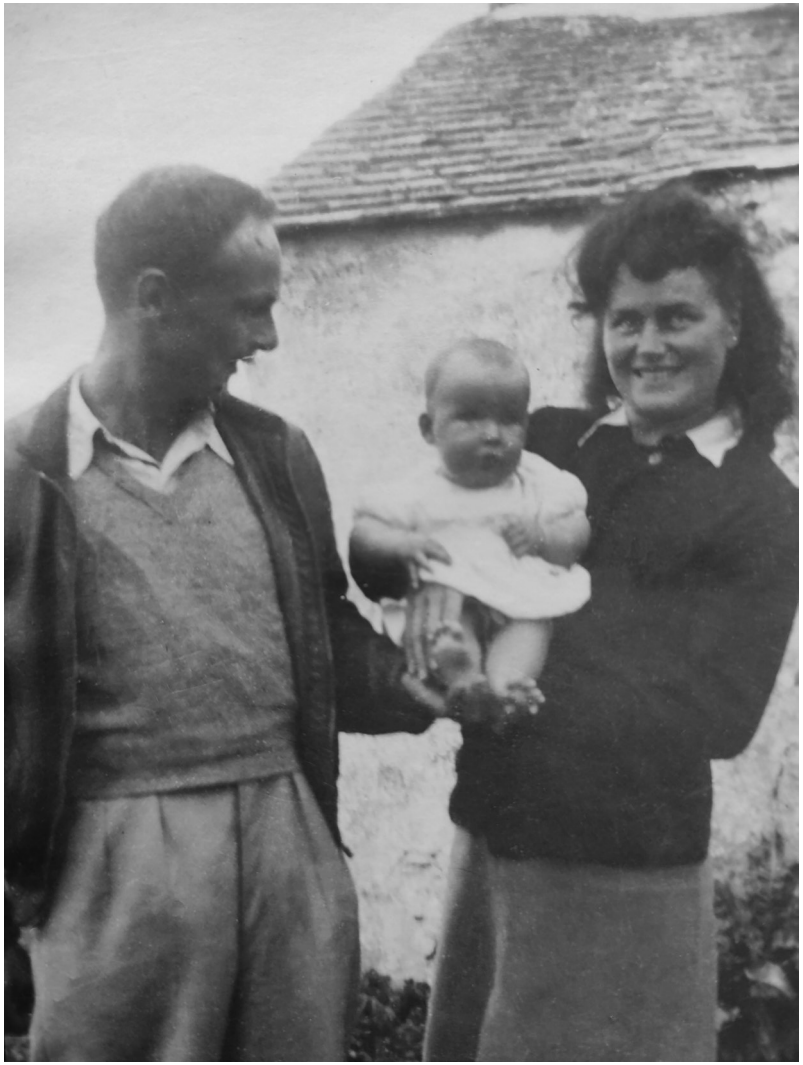


Figure 64
Unidentified photographer,
Peter Freeman and Peggy Dobson with their Daughter Pearl.
1945



Figure 65
Unidentified photographer,
Janie Rogers with Telfer Stokes.
1943?

> I did not go to the funeral because I had to go to London to see Tambimuttu about the book. He later tried to get someone to ghost-write it and I was very angry. But Bernard Leach and George Manning-Saunders [*sic* = Sanders], the novelist [and artist (1881-1953) (GMS)], agreed to stand in for me and report back afterwards, so my account of the funeral in the book is by proxy. Margaret Mellis, at that time Mrs Adrian Stokes, was there and has published an account from her personal diary. Between the two it should be a sound record: although neither Bernard Leach nor the Salvation Army Officer, Clifford Axon, mentioned two funerals on two separate days.[93]
>
> August 29 to September 3 1942:
>
> … Wallis died in August and we all went to Porthmeor cemetery for the funeral. We found that his grave had been dug on the pauper's part of the graveyard, although he had saved £20 for a proper funeral.
>
> Adrian stopped the funeral and we all went home… After negotiating for a day or two we managed to buy a plot in the consecrated part of the cemetery. We all went back and the funeral was finished.
>
> To me it seemed very important that Wallis should be buried where he wanted to be because he minded so much about it when he was alive. Bernard Leach designed the tiled slab which covered the grave.[94]

Regarding the first of these texts, Webb notes that "[i]t was not until the 1990s that he [SB] referred to 'two funerals on two separate days'", adding that he "did not elaborate any further".[95] As may be seen, however, SB did not himself directly refer to two funerals, but alluded to such a reference having been made by another or others, appearing moreover to query it on the basis of information received from BL and Clifford Axon.[96] From the context, it seems possible that the reference in question had been inferred from the text by MM. Nor does this, however, speak of two funerals on two separate days, but only of a single funeral whose progress was interrupted and deferred by an interval of "a day or two".

Both texts are problematic as "sources", and mostly for the same reason: neither tallies perfectly with other texts by its respective author which deal with the same set of events.[97]

In 1994 SB would condense the above account into a single sentence: "I helped to arrange the funeral when AW's body was already on the train from Penzance to Little Park Owles, Adrian Stokes being the executor of the estate".[98] Both this and the earlier text diverge significantly from the version of events set down in Berlin 1941-42 and there headed "Sept 2. 1942 Wednesday St Ives" (where SB had now returned from the Zennor moors).[99] This version appears to have been written that same day (2 September), which would make it the only known contemporary account of the funeral arrangements:[100]

> I was out {for a walk} with Paul. Coming back as I descended the slope of the Church to the harbour I saw Adrian walking towards <me> {us} in a green jacket, pink shirt, his straw coloured hair over <his> {one} eye.
>
> "<Im look> Wallis is dead! Im looking for the Salvation Army chap to arrange about the funeral" he told me. <He> I've been to the centre round the corner but he's not there: now I'm going up to his house – somewhere up the Stennack. You see, Wallis very much wanted a Salvation Army burial. The corpse is arriving here at 1.45 to morrow. Do hope I can find him!'[101]

Similar to MM's 1992 account of the funeral, on the other hand, is one contained in a memoir of the years spent in Cornwall compiled in 1977. This however lacks some of the detail later supplied:

> Aug. 29 In August Wallis died and we all went to <the churchyard> {PORTHMEOR
> Sept. 3 CEMETERY} for the funeral. When we got there we found he was to be buried in the paupers part of the graveyard although he had saved up £20. Adrian manged [*sic*] to stop the funeral and buy a plot in the part where Wallis wanted to be, and when the grave had been dug the funeral went on. I felt it was very important he should be buried where he wanted to be because he minded so much about it when he was alive. Bernard Leach designed the tiled slab which covers the grave.[102]

Two other sources state that AW's funeral was interrupted. The first is the later testimony of Nancy Ward, AW's stepdaughter-in-law, but this makes no mention of two distinct funerals:

> When he was buried, they were going to put him down in a grave down below [in the lower part of the cemetery], and Mr Nicholason and they went to the funeral and they said "Isn't there another, private, grave? We'll buy it, we'll pay for it". So the sexton said "Yes there's one up here".[103]

The second is GMS' review of Berlin 1949, which includes this passage:

> Then he [AW] was brought across to St. Ives for burial in a pauper's grave. Whilst the Salvation Army captain was conducting a lengthy service in the cemetery chapel, a clerk came, post-haste, from the proper authority, to cancel the pauper burial. Benevolence on someone's part had provided for a privately owned grave.[104]

Now, if the accounts given in Berlin 1941-42 and 1949 are accurate – if, that is, SB and GMS both first learned of AW's death on 2 September, and if GMS did attend AW's funeral, whether as SB's representative or not – then the "burial" referred to in GMS' review can only have been the one conducted on 3 September. Nor is there any reference there to another funeral, either previous or subsequent (had GMS known of one, he would hardly have omitted to mention it, given that his main purpose in publishing the review was evidently to derogate the Carbis Bay artists). Webb nevertheless uses this passage (selectively) to bolster her own account of an undocumented "first funeral",[105] to which she even assigns the "likely" date of 31 August and the character of a family funeral,[106] i.e. as morally as well as episodically distinct from the one organized by the artists. The interval of delay is thus expanded from (an in any case problematic) "one or two" to three days.[107] She further retrieves as "evidence" a morbid fantasy put out by David Wilkinson and apparently based on Berlin 1994, whereby "for however short a time, AW's body was laid to rest in Stokes' garage, perhaps alongside Stokes' 'Veggie Van'".[108]

Webb allows her hypothetical reconstruction of the turn events "would have" taken following AW's death to transmute into alleged fact and claimed knowledge. She moreover imputes that knowledge to SB, who, she claims, "must have" recounted "what really happened" in "the first draft of his book, because, when Nicholson and Stokes saw the manuscript in 1944, both men took steps to remedy the situation".[109] However, the exact substance of AS' comments on the draft is not known, the letter in which they were given not having survived. SB's reply, which has, implies that they concerned certain "quips" at AS' expense.[110] As far as AS is concerned, Webb's accusation of censure hangs on a comment made in a subsequent letter to SB: "I hope it is clear that one knew of the death well under 24 hours before the interment". This however tallies with the dated account given in Berlin 1941-42.[111]

It is certain that AS paid for a private grave for AW.[112] Furthermore, to judge by the account given in Berlin 1941-42, he was responsible for ensuring that AW received a Salvation Army funeral, aided in this by SB.[113] Webb ignores this second initiative and she contests the evaluation others have put on the first, objecting that burial in a common grave, even in the corner reserved for paupers, would have carried no social stigma for AW and his family, provided the funeral were conduced in a respectable fashion. She further asserts that AW would not himself have wished to be buried in a part of the cemetery "intended for followers of the Church of England", since, "[a]s a Salvation Army soldier, Alfred had been a staunch adherent of nonconformist religion for the best part of thirty-five years".[114] Webb admits that "there are no direct records of the family's reaction".[115] She nevertheless fails to allow that, even if misguided, AS' motives were honorary and charitable. Even GMS, despite his suspicion of AS and though certainly aware of who it was that had procured the private grave (SB had stated this clearly in his book), regarded this as an act of benevolence (unless this was meant ironically).[116] Berlin 1941-42 further reveals that SB shared GMS' doubts concerning AS,[117] while also recording that, after a second conversation with the latter, in which he learned that BN was set on doing "[a]bsolutely nothing at all" about the funeral, he had "felt resentful", seeing in this remark "all the truth of the situation":

> Adrian<'s> has be[en] moved by Wallis & done at least something towards helping. I believe his feelings are very genuine, but he is so afraid of being sentimental or emotional. Ben's attitude has been darkly cold & indifferent, save for the publicity.[118]

Webb's penultimate chapter starts with the insinuation, "After rearranging Alfred's burial, the artists then addressed the matter of his effects". She summarizes the "established narrative" in this regard as follows:

> after Alfred's death the authorities went to burn everything in the cottage but, by being the executor of Alfred's will, Stokes persuaded Mr. Clifton the Relieving Officer to spare any paintings and deliver them to him at Carbis Bay. However, documentary sources present a different version of events.[119]

Once more, the alternative narrative is no less clear-cut than the "established":

> Stokes ["'acting as executor for the authorities'"] was duly sent paintings claimed by the authorities from the cottage, as well as Alfred's sketchbooks from Madron Institution. Stokes also came into possession of the table at which Alfred had sat and painted for so many years, and decorated the top with a particularly fine painting of a two-masted topsail schooner. Once again, Alfred's artworks were stored in the garage at Little Parc Owles, and Stokes took charge of their distribution. He gave Berlin just under a hundred paintings, two of the sketchbooks from Madron, and the painted table.[120]

Yet nothing definite has so far come to light about the circumstances in which AS came to act as or in lieu of executor.[121] Nor is it certain that SB was given "just under a hundred" of AW's paintings by AS.[122] SB himself recounts how AS loaned him four sketchbooks from Madron[123] and gave him "several" of the paintings done there and of those "claimed by the authorities from his cottage". These, he stated, were "sent in one batch" to AS.[124] AS certainly gave SB AW's painted table, which in 1946 – from necessity, he claimed – he would sell to, and see mutilated by the dealer and collector Eardley Knollys (1902-1991).[125] Though she does not cite it, Webb's account seems based on that given in Mullins 1968:

> Adrian Stokes, who had undertaken the funeral and burial arrangements, as well as much of the cost, now found himself involved in a ludicrous contretemps with the St. Ives authorities, who, not unnaturally considering the squalor Wallis had left behind in his cottage, were insisting on burning its

> entire contents, including up to a hundred paintings which littered the place and had been much trampled over. Only by emphasising the importance of these grubby scraps of cardboard, and by threatening to take strong action if they carried out their intention, did Stokes obtain a reprieve for the paintings. Finally, the authorities left Stokes to clear the cottage out, which he did at the cost of more flea-bites than he cares to remember.
>
> Stokes has described to me how he just dumped the paintings in the garage of his house in Carbis Bay, together with the clothes he was wearing, and ran for a bath. it was some time before he could bring himself to go near the place: meanwhile he had invited all who were interested to remove what paintings they wanted.[126]

This passage however raises further questions, at present unanswerable. It seems in part at least confirmed by PF's later recollection of the period:

> I knew of course that on a number of occasions Adrian had been down Wallis' […] cottage and [he] described to me the paintings that he'd seen on the table and the backs of the cupboard doors, and Adrian used to tell me this in graphic detail, and rather the next incident was Wallis' death and his fight with the local council who wanted to burn all the pictures and raise [*sic*] Wallis' cottage to the ground after fumigating everything, and Adrian being very worried about this and going to see somebody on the Council and managing to get a period of grace until the pictures were removed, and they removed a table and several cupboard doors where the pictures were permanently on, and as many pictures as they could. I … I also believe that Wallace [sic] did on the occasion, sell a few pictures at fairly fees [sic] to both Adrian and Ben Nicholson.[127]

On the other hand, is Mullins 1968 compatible with SB's earlier reference to paintings "claimed by the authorities from [AW's] cottage" and sent by them to AS?[128] Or with SB's and MM's accounts of the retrieval from the cottage, while AW was at Madron, of flea-ridden paintings as well as painting materials?[129] Were paintings retrieved from the cottage on one or two occasions? There was certainly a "[f]lea episode" in 1941.[130] Was there a repetition the following year, or were two visits conflated in retrospect?

✣

SB would later describe his thirty-year-old self standing, one evening that summer, "over a sunlit bay", i.e. St Ives, "watching the boats wait at anchor on a smooth sea – wait to join a convoy":

> Gun fire flashed on the horizon remote as a dream remembered in daytime; as a dream fore-known and fore-suffered. The destruction of the world within me at that moment became projected outside myself into space – outside and beyond, bringing peace: I knew I was going to fight after resisting the war for three years. It was not a decision but an understanding. I moved in harmony with the years, had found the timing of my age: my pain was over.[131]

SB enlisted on 3 December 1942 and by 18 December was at Gallowgate Camp, the army training site near Richmond in Yorkshire.[132] His article on AW would be published in *Horizon* in January 1943. Fifty years later he recalled how this had come about:

> It was Herbert Read who first got my work on Wallis known. I was appalled by his death and immediately wrote an article which Read sent on to Horizon […] Ben Nicholson heard about this and at once sent an article of his own to push in front of mine, but the editors insisted on mine going first, which left a splinter in Ben's finger. I was in uniform when it came out and completely unknown; my article was the target of a really nasty attack by Evelyn Waugh but was defended by Graham Greene in the next issue. This might seem irrelevant were it not that this was the first writing about Wallis and opened up the whole firework display which has gone on ever since as though I had hit an ammunition dump with a stray rifle bullet.[133]

Towards the end of 1942 AS alerted JM to the imminent publication in *Horizon* of "an article about an old fisherman painter of St. Ives who died recently", adding,

> The whole story of his death and the various wrangles (and self-advertisements) of which it has been the occasion remind me of some play or other. Christopher Dean? I will tell you the whole story when I see you. Wallis was undoubtedly a very fine artist.[134]

SB's enlistment that December was preceded by the volunteering of AM **[fig. 63]**, who had reached the age of twenty in September. Shortly after the departure of GB and AOP she had herself left LPO for just over a month, travelling up to Scotland with her father. A knee injury suffered as a child had begun to prevent her from dancing and she was now seen by various medical experts. Initially, it had seemed likely she would stay in Scotland,[135] but in the event she returned to Cornwall in mid-June.[136] She must have left LPO for London before AW's death and funeral, missing this and the flea episode(s) connected with him. By October/November it was established that she was to be a cook in the WRNS.[137]

By this time WS too had left LPO and was at an RAF training centre in Sussex, where AS asked JM to 'entertain' him.[138] There seems also to have been some question of PF's moving away,[139] possibly as a result of his being or becoming engaged to Peggy Dobson (1920-2013), the daughter of a steel specialist from Sheffield. A former General Railway clerk[140] and now an "author's secretary", by 24 October she was living at Latoka, a cottage possibly next door to PF's mother and grandmother at Carn Dhu.[141] On 24 and 29 October her appearance as a conscientious objector before the South Western Tribunal in Bristol was reported in the local papers:

> In a statement, she declared that her pacifism was instinctive; she loved the Germans as she loved her English friends, but she realized that Nazism was wrong and must be wiped out – not only in Axis countries, but in every country – but she believed that the only way to get rid of it was to offer the peoples an alternative ideal, and prove we meant to substantiate it by starting social reconstruction in Great Britain.
>
> Judge Wethered said there would be no opportunity of doing reconstruction work at all if the Nazis were not defeated.
>
> When applicant suggested the discussion of peace terms, Judge Wethered asked who was going to discuss peace terms with a gangster like Hitler? Applicant had been living in a little world of her own creation, and had no conception of the world outside.
>
> She was granted exemption on condition she undertake ambulance, hospital, or other humanitarian work.[142]

She and PF married in Penzance on 15 December 1942 and in the end remained in Carbis Bay. Their first daughter, Pearl, would be born there in 1945 **[fig. 64]**.

In the autumn of 1942 Mrs Horn, the cook at LPO, was "still waging her all-in warfare" but also looking for work elsewhere.[143] AS and MM advertised for a replacement, or at least help, in the *St Ives Times* on 8 January 1943. This or a similar advertisement may have been answered by Janie Rogers (1927-2004), of Carninney Farm.[144] She was first given cleaning duties, then trained by MM to look after TrS as a nanny **[fig. 65]**.[145]

Notes

1 See fn. 55 (243).

2 The English philosopher Cyril Edwin Mitchinson Joad (1891-1953) and Desmond Bernal (see "Background III", 139, and "Background V", 199). Since 1938 Bernal had been Professor of Physics at Birkbeck College, London, where Joad had been head of the Philosophy and Psychology Department since 1930. Bernal had been called to the research and experimental department of the Ministry of Home Security at the onset of war, to Bomber Command in 1941 and after that to Combined Operations. He was occasionally on the panel of the BBC radio discussion programme *The Brains Trust* (i.e. on 7 December 1941, according to Brown 2005, 205-6), which regularly featured Joad. Bernal was also a member of the Civil Defence Research Committee from its foundation in May 1939 and of the British Communist Party. AS refers to an article by Joad published in *Horizon* in February 1943 (Joad 1943), which was a reply to [Bernal] 1942 (reprinted in Bernal 1949, 1-68), also published in *Horizon*, under the pseudonym "Archimedes". He refers in particular to the article's third instalment (October 1942) and to the "intellectual sleight of hand with which Archimedes introduces life and mind on to the cosmic stage under cover of the conjurer's handkerchief, while the attention of the audience is otherwise engaged" (Joad 1943, 78).

3 Cf. Joad 1943, 81-2: "First, conceding – and who is a philosopher that he should have the knowledge to justify him in withholding the concession? – that *animated* substances are built up in this way [by a series of *chemical associations*], why should we suppose that the processes involved in the building up, that is to say, processes that are resolvable into reactions between chemical substances, constitute the *origin* of life? What is described to us is the chemical structure and formation of the substances that life animates and the nature of the chemical processes through which living matter passes, processes which may, for all I know, be distinctive of living matter. But to *identify* these processes with life is not only to beg the question at issue, but to steal the answer; as well say that a man who built a house also created the tenants who occupied it […] Secondly, what is meant by saying that the reaction of one electrical charge to another is 'the basis for sensation'? The statement is, in the highest degree, ambiguous. If it means that the reaction *is* the sensation, then it is difficult to deny oneself the pleasure of asking Archimedes, 'How can electricity feel?' or, more precisely, 'How can the reaction of one charge of electricity to another feel?' I should have supposed that only minds could feel. If, however, sticking closely to Archimedes's question-begging language, we say that the reactions are the *basis* of the sensation, then it turns out that all we are being told is that, when certain electrical charges are found to react in certain ways to other electrical charges, mental phenomena *accompany* the reactions. In other words, it will be found that Archimedes has again specified the conceivably invariably accompanying conditions of life; he has not succeeded in referring to life itself". In answering the rhetorical question, "is it creativity that is […] surreptitiously slipped in under the guise of novelty" (with reference to Archimedes' evolutionary statement, "'the primary source of novelty was inside the living forms themselves'") Joad remarks, "Presumably, as one of the novelties, a new word is presently slipped in, the word 'need' […] Can a group of chemicals feel need?" (82).

4 Cf. *OIL* III, f. 38*r*, 124 ("We do not deal in unrelated essences"); *OIL* VII, f. 58*r*, 259 ("My theme for the last 20 years […] ultimate object of contemplation") and see the "Introduction", 19-25.

5 Cf. *OIL* III, f. 42*r*, 128: "It is well-known that even our best defined thoughts are not clear of pictures".

6 Cf. IS, f. 1*r*, 210 (There is no part [...] form of space"); NBA, f. 15*r*, 264 ("Mental as well as physical life […] instantaneous world of space") and "Envoi", 270 ("Mental as well as physical life […] instantaneous world of space").

7 Cf. IS, f. 4*r*, 212 ("First of all, horror […] their peeping prose-poetry"); "Envoi", 268 ("and what a relief it is […] weft and warp tearing each other") and AS to HR 14 February [1944], HRP, SC MLUV, quoted in "Background VII", 280. See too the "Introduction", 11, 25-6 and fn. 133.

8 Cf. *OIL* III, f. 37*r*, 123 ("And I still fail to understand […] do without doctrine"). One possible referent here is Aldous Huxley, in whose villa at Sanary AS and ESW had stayed in 1937 (see "Background I", 61), when the writer had emigrated to America. It is not clear that Huxley, as stated in Rhode 1973a, was a personal friend of AS'. However, he had, until the early 1920s, been one of OS' and his siblings'; and he had long been, and continued to be a friend of ESW's, whom he had known since the time in which he taught French at Eton (De-la-Noy [1988] 1999, 35). Huxley had also been a friend of JM's since the late 1920s (Fountain 2022, 5). Huxley's growing interest in spirituality and mysticism, already apparent in Huxley 1937, found expression throughout the 1940s in articles contributed to *Vedanta and the West*, a periodical published by the Vedanta Society of Southern California. Some of these articles (e.g. Huxley 1944) would also be published in *Horizon*, where AS failed to place IS (see "Background VI", 216-17); and Christopher Isherwood would edit a selection soon after the end of the war (Isherwood 1948). In *TEPT* AS would draw on two works by Huxley, *The Doors of Perception* (1954) and *Heaven and Hell* (1956) in reviewing *C&F*'s distinction between "film" and "surface colour" in the light of his mature sense of the relation between visionary and aesthetic experience and in particular of the conviction that art, as "the metropolis of symbolic manifestations", fuses "two kinds of symbolic content", corresponding to two kinds of object-relationship, i.e. "to a part-object as well as to a whole object" (Stokes 1978, III, 165).

9 Cf. CAM, 298: "The work of art […] an appearance of reality".

10 Cf. *Venice* (Stokes 1978, II, 112): "Art is the symbol of human process".

11 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 16*r*, 52 ("In the course of life […] indistinguishable"); NBA, f. 15*r*, 265; "Envoi", 271 ("We strive to manifest […] inert outside world") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 162: "In life we substitute […] are indistinguishable").

12 The text echoes John Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn" (1819): "'Beauty is truth, truth beauty,' – that is all / Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know".

13 Cf. NBA, f. 15*r*, 265 ("The most generalized apprehension […] life and of death"); I&D, f. 10*v*, 266 ("for there is only love and death") and "Envoi", 269 ("for there is only love and death").
14 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 24*r*, 90 ("The few primary sources […] surface of its bodies") and NBA, f. 12*r*, 262 ("It will always come back […] correlation and distortion").
15 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 21*r*, 87 ("Who can say […] opposite the external world").
16 Cf. "Envoi", 271: "Mental processes […] To create is to substitute".
17 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 18*r*, 54 ("Thought processes […] reality and in image") and "Envoi", 270 ("Consciousness is made up of reality sensations […] in reality and in image").
18 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 19*r*, 54 ("Our projections are distortions […] arrangement of space"); III, f. 39*r*, 124 ("But distortion […] distinguishes us from the animals"); NBA, f. 15*r*, 264 ("Mental as well as physical life […] To project is to distort etc"); "Envoi", 270 ("Mental as well as physical life […] arrangement of space") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 162: "Living is ceaseless expression, ceaseless substitution, the putting of one thing into many forms both of action and of thought; the infinite ramification of a few themes. And so, in the more profound contemplation of our lot, we may look upon the truth within in terms of an outside ramification, the exquisite arrangement of space").
19 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 29*r*, 98: "The asperity of things […] spirit freed from anxiety".
20 Cf. *OIL* III, f. 37*r*, 123: "We have a higher standard of fact […] between inner and outer objects".
21 Cf. f. 2*r*, 211 ("There is the obstinate presence […] of a medieval prose-poetry"); *OIL* III, f. 40*r*, 126 ("We are today […] bolstering up of morale"); *OIL* VII, f. 58*r*, 259 ("the rationalizers of distortions, eminent and medieval distortions") and "Envoi", 268 ("and what a relief it is […] weft and warp tearing each other"). Cf. also AS to HR 10 January [1941], HRP, SC MLUV, quoted in "Background VI", 215; AS to HR 14 February [1944], HRP, SC MLUV, quoted in "Background VII", 280.
22 Cf. "Envoi", 270 ("For we come to realize […] epitome of all living processes") and CAM, 295 ("The present aim […] artistic creation is the epitome"). Cf. also the "Introduction", 20.
23 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 23*r*, 89: "The furious impertinence of Hitler […] old forms such as religion".
24 See *OIL* VI, f. 48*r*, 179, and VII, f. 50*r*, 249.
25 See *OIL* IV, f. 45*r*, 149.
26 See "Background III", 136.
27 See *OIL* IV, f. 47*r*, 153.
28 See *OIL* V, f. 48*r*, 179, and "Background V", 183.
29 *OIL* III, f. 38*r*, 123-4: "There can be no agnosticism […] dabble in psycho-analysis".
30 Read [1940] 1946, which included and supplemented Read 1933.
31 AS to HR 10 January [1941], HRP, SC MLUV.
32 AS to HR 10 January [1941], HRP, SC MLUV. On 'thinking in public' cf. *TA* (Stokes 1925, 24).
33 King 1990, 124.
34 King 1990, 169. King, however, seems to misunderstand AS' distinction between "carving" and "modelling", which he equates with representational and abstract art respectively. Moreover, a challenge had already been posed by AS' cryptic review of the exhibition organized to coincide with the publication of Read 1933b (Stokes 1978, I, 305-6). See "Background II", 103.
35 See "Background III", 139 and Figure 34.
36 AS to HR n.d. [April 1934], HRP, SC MLUV
37 Read [1940] 1946, 101.
38 Read [1940] 1946, 105-13.
39 Read [1940] 1946, 103.
40 IS, ff. 2*r*, 4*r*, 5*r*, 211, 212, 213.
41 *OIL* III, f. 37*r*, 123. See the "Introduction", 25-6.
42 AS to JM n.d. [November-December 1942], JMP, NLS, Acc. 10509/5. The letter's date may be inferred, though not precisely, from this reference to the November issue of *Horizon*. AS told JM how in his reply he had construed Connolly's editorial note concerning an article on America (Miller 1942) as implicitly affirming that this "wasn't necessarily to be taken as Horizon's answer" to a piece on England just published in *Life*: "Stupid readers", he elaborated, "would think of it as something red-hot and topical as a result of his note", rather than as manifesting "a nausea that might have had similar expression any time in the last 30 years". AS further claimed that when Connolly had "sought [him] out" during a short stay in London the previous September, he (AS) had not broached the subject of a possible contribution to *Horizon*, since it seemed clear to him that Connolly was intent on obtaining a confession as to the identity of Adam Drinan (see "Background III", 139; "Background V", 199). Furthermore, when AS failed to comply, Connolly had "sulked and refused to speak". A slightly different account of this meeting, in a letter from AOP to GB, relates that AS had not at first wanted Connolly to know he was in London, apparently to protect JM's secret. MM, however, had "let it out" and AOP had accompanied the couple to "Connolly Palace" for drinks. Having first complained at having to going there at all, AS had announced at dinner that he would like to go back alone "to talk to Cyril [Connolly] & [the arts editor and sponsor] Peter Watson [1908-1956] about something he wanted to write for Horizon" (AOP to GB 24 September 1942, TGA 200214).
43 See the "Introduction", 11, 25.
44 IS, ff. 4*r*-5*r*, 212.
45 "Background V", 194.
46 Freeman 1973. In the latter part of February 1942 AS would write with satisfaction to GB that PF's arrival had meant that "in seven days" they had "shovelled in [their] two tons of early potatoes" (AS to GB n.d. [19 February 1942], TGA 200214).
47 The following recollections are all taken from Freeman 1973, recorded for Rhode 1973a.
48 Cf. NBA, ff. 11*r*-12*r*, 262, on the evocation of experience through sound ("I know that when I am not driven […] in the single experience that typifies").
49 On the nicknaming, see 79 (fn. 29), 84 (fn. 138), 191, 198, 203 (fn. 35), 205 (fn. 96), 282, 284, 310 and fn. 81.
50 This blacksmith's name was Jan Trevorrow. He made the Cornish shovels in use at LPO. His smithy was in in what is now Pannier Lane (information from Wendy Smaridge and Terry Trevorrow through Janet Axten, SIA, 2011).

51 See *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 218-19): "Calm and condensation, even vastness, characterized the lime-washed roof as Peter, companion in agriculture, and I would see it framed upon the ocean. We would be working on the land immediately above and to the side. Bending over the rows in daily discussion, we would also observe every aspect of the house. We commanded the coast as far as Trevose Head. The lighthouse was just visible on clear days. To our right was Carn Brea with silhouetted cross on the broad summit above Redruth and Camborne".
52 See Clark 1935b; Stokes 1935b; Clark 1939. See also *OIL* II, f. 26*r*, 94 and fn. 27.
53 See 225.
54 Others would recall how, when he did so withdraw, it would always be with the worry that the agricultural inspector might arrive and find him out. Should this happen AM was told she should flush the lavatory so the inspector would think he had gone in to use it (Stokes Angus 2003, tape F13549). In a personal communication of 2011, AOP wrote, "Adrian was 'reserved' as a market-gardener but as his estate was a fraction under the official allowance, he was in constant fear of 'the Inspector' finding him not at work on it. We used to tease him about it!"; cf. "Background V", 185.
55 AS may have taken part in the full-scale exercise undertaken by a large body of military and all Civil Defence Services on 3-4 January 1942 (*St Ives Times*, 9 January 1942) and in the "Invasion exercises" reported there on 18 September. It cannot be determined whether the remark "Petty authority of any kind makes a man familiar with the evasions of government" (*OIL* VI, f. 49*r*, 209) reflects increased responsibility within the Home Guard.
56 Cf. PF's comments quoted above, 194.
57 On the success of this appeal see the *Cornish Guardian*, 23 October 1941: "Nothing in this war since the Dunkirk evacuation has so stirred the emotions of the public as the valiant resistance of the Russian people and the sufferings that they are enduring in defence of their country. By means of this fund every one can express his admiration and his sympathy in a practical and direct way. The Red Cross Penny-a-Week Fund will earmark its whole income for three months for aid to Russia. Already more than 5,000,000 people are supporting the Red Cross with their weekly pennies and Russia's call for Red Cross aid should bring in many more millions".
58 Possibly the musician born in 1896 and formerly resident at 20, Park Crescent, London. Edie Miller had recorded Gabriel Fauré's violin sonata with Albert Sammons in 1937. She was now a close neighbour of AS', living at Dunvegan (*Cornishman*, 9 April 1942), a house which, like Tremorna, predated LPO. The entrance to its drive was adjacent to that of LPO at the 'front' end.
59 *St Ives Times*, 2 January 1942. The letter also announced that a public meeting, presided over by the Mayor, would be held at the Guildhall on 14 January to present and discuss the scheme.
60 AS to GB n.d. [19 February 1942], TGA 200214. For the Mayor of St Ives and his connection with the town's cinemas, see 83-4 (fn. 135). Phyllis Bottome (1884-1963), novelist, student of Adlerian individual psychology and progressive educationalist (her school in Austria had been attended by Cyril Connolly), was now living in Bude. Margaret Kennedy (1896-1967) was also a novelist and a playwright. For W.E. Arnold-Forster see "Background I", 62, 68. For the "local MP" see fn. 64.
61 *Cornishman*, 29 January 1942. Cf. *St Ives Times*, 25 January 1942, which bills the soprano Daria Bayan (who had featured on the cover of *Picture Post* the previous 18 October).
62 Ivanova (not "Ivanava" as announced in Figure 58) had been prima ballerina of the Imperial Theatre in Belgrade.
63 *Western Morning News*, 10 February 1942.
64 *Cornishman*, 19 February 1942; *St Ives Times*, 20 February 1942. The MP's name was Alec Beecham (1896-1965), barrister and Liberal National MP for St Ives from 1937 to 1950.
65 *St Ives Times*, 27 March 1942; *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, 16 April 1942.
66 *Cornishman*, 23 April 1942 (reprinted in *St Ives Times*, 24 April 1942); cf. *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, 16 April 1942.
67 See 221.
68 *Tatler and Bystander*, 13 February 1946 **[fig. 73]**. Among the fruits of this interest were Macleod 1943 and Macleod 1946.
69 Fountain 2022, 114, 126, 127.
70 AS to JM Sunday [either 26 April or 3 May 1942], JMP, NLS Acc. 10509/1. One of the £10 donations had been in his own and MM's names. At the same time AS' mother had given £5 and PF's grandmother 10 shillings (*St Ives Times*, 30 January 1942). MM had given a further £4 in February (*St Ives Times*, 13 February 1942). Other donors included BH (£1.0.0) and Mrs L.P. Lanyon (£1.0.0) (*St Ives Times*, 6 March 1942) and Elizabeth Leach (*St Ives Times*, 20 March 1942).
71 *St Ives Times*, 15 May 1942.
72 AS to JM n.d. [after 10 May 1942], JMP, NLS, Acc.12964/16: "It seemed to me that much more was said than was usual and everybody in the town is very pleased. I was so glad the inscription was given".
73 AS to unknown ("Dear Sir") n.d. [week following 10 May 1942], on verso of sheet forming part of AS to GB n.d. [postmarked 13 May 1942], TGA 200214.
74 *St Ives Times*, 23 October 1942, relaying a report from *Western Morning News*.
75 A reference in GB to MM n.d. [9-15 May 1942], TGA 200214, to MM's "delicious sister laying the highbrows low in swathes" may be to the thank-you speech given by AM for AS, who was ill or could not attend, at a gathering to celebrate the closing of the campaign, when she "clapped to show them that they should clap" (AM, interview with Janet Sayers, 2006).
76 Note by AOP in her TS of her correspondence with GB, TGA 200214.
77 Olivier Bell [AOP] to Paul Tucker 8 November 2011; see AS to GB n.d. [postmarked 13 May 1942], TGA 200214 and note by AOP in her TS of her correspondence with GB, TGA 200214.
78 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 17 March 1942], TGA 200214.
79 AOP to GB 5 August [1942], TGA 200214. AOP informed GB that in "the other room" would be shown "semi-surrealist" paintings by John Minton (1917-1957) and Michael Ayrton (1921-1975).
80 GB to MM n.d. [9-15 May 1942], TGA 200214; cf. MM to AM n.d. [1/2 May 1942], EMM: "Ive been doing a real painting which takes a

lot of time". The same letter suggests that she had been teaching at Rocklands in the spring (and that AM had been too, presumably dance).

81 AS to GB 14 October 1942, TGA 200214; cf. GB to MM n.d. [9-15 May 1942], TGA 200214.

82 Mellis 1993, tape 4131A; Lambirth 2010, 59.

83 Note by AOP in her TS of her correspondence with GB, TGA 200214.

84 See 242 (fn. 42); AS to GB 14 October 1942, TGA 200214; Olivier Bell [AOP] to Paul Tucker 8 November 2011.

85 Webb 2025.

86 Berlin 1943; 1949; [1949, 1992] 2000.

87 See 232-3.

88 Webb 2025, 470.

89 Webb 2025, 478-9 (figs 254-255). The first invoice (no. 76) is for the sum of 14 shillings, corresponding to the cost of the "Ground for Common Grave", the Minister's fee and the hearse. It is inscribed "Portion paid by Public Ass:". The second invoice (no. 77) is for £3.8.6, corresponding to the cost of the "Ground for Private Grave" (£2.10.6) and another unspecified cost (£0.18.0). It is inscribed "Portion paid by A. Stokes".

90 Webb 2025, 409, 429.

91 It is misleading to define *C&F* as a "book on Modernism", in which a picture by AW (specifically, *Voyage to Labrador*; see "Background I", 67, "Background V", 188, and Figure 18) receives generic "high praise" (Webb 2025, 409). *C&F* is a book on a fundamental aspect of painting as such, as AS understood it, and AW is there instanced as a painter whose work, in its simplicity and from his knowledge of the sea, well exemplifies the principle whereby the "progression" perceived as integrating pictorial colours and forms epitomizes the "intercourse" subsisting between the objects of experience, e.g. water and stone, water and boat, etc. (Stokes 1978, II, 32). To speak of AW, as AS did, as "the old fisherman of St Ives", who had been "a fisherman all his life", may not have been accurate (though as Webb admits AW himself possibly encouraged this view of his life), but it has little to do with any "romantic narrative the Modernist circle" may or may not have "created around Alfred" (Webb 2025, 428-9).

92 Webb 2025, 446.

93 Berlin [1949, 1992] 2000, 8. Meary James Thurairajah Tambimuttu (1915-1983) was a Tamil poet and editor, between 1939 and 1951 of the magazine *Poetry London* (see fn. 97).

94 Mellis 1992 (author's ellipses). No diary or calendar for 1942 was seen by me when working in the EMM archive around 2011-12.

95 Webb 2025, 477-8.

96 Clifford Axon was a Salvation Army officer who, however, had not officiated at the funeral (see fn. 97), but seems to have arrived in St Ives in the later 1940s (*Cornishman*, 8 September 1949; 2 March 1950).

97 In addition, SB's reference to Tambimuttu, who together with Nicholson and Watson eventually published SB's monograph in 1949, is evidently mistaken, as SB did not submit the MS to the publisher until 14 April 1944 (SB to BN 14 April 1944, TGA 8717.1.2.211). Aarons 2016 (37) relates that on 3 September 1942 SB was going to London for an interview at Faber and Faber's, but does not cite a source for this information. SB's monograph had certainly been submitted to Faber's before 16 January 1943, as by that date it had "finally" been turned down by them (SB to BN 16 January 1943, TGA 8717.1.2.205.). Nor is it certain that SB was not at the funeral. In Berlin 1941-42 (ff. 5*r*-5*v*) he writes, "I expressed my wish to attend [the funeral] but told him [AS] of a visit to London to leave [*sic*] on 9.20 AM train to morrow". The account concludes, "I have decided to put my trip off till the night train & wire. The chance of <missing> {seeing} the funeral is too rare". This is followed by a short physical description of Major Thomas Hulley of the Salvation Army, who officiated at the funeral (*Cornishman*, 10 September 1942; *St Ives Times*, 11 September 1942).

98 Berlin 1994, 103.

99 See "Background V", 191. In Berlin 1941-42 (f. 5*v*) SB tells how, after meeting AS, he "returned home with P[aul] & told H[elga]. Soon went out again, taking 'notes on W[allis]' [Berlin 1941-42] with me. Decided to go & see Manning Saunders [*sic*] about it, knowing he was interested".

100 SB makes repeated use (see fn. 97) of the deictic 'tomorrow' to refer to the funeral due to take place the next day, and which did indeed take place on 3 September (*Cornishman*, 10 September 1942; *St Ives Times*, 11 September 1942).

101 Berlin 1941-42, f. 5*r*. The notably precise time of arrival indicated by AS coincides with that at St Ives of the 1.30pm train from St Erth. However, according to the *Great Western Railway Time Tables* published on 4 May 1942 (and valid "until further notice"), this ran between 11 July and 12 September but on Saturdays only (49). On the other hand, it is stated on the inside front cover of the booklet that all services there listed are "subject to alteration or cancellation at short notice".

102 Mellis 1977.

103 Webb 2025, 477.

104 *Cornishman*, 17 February 1949 (cf. Webb 2025, 476, 482n).

105 Webb gives the following explanation of the fact that "no invoice was issued from the Barnoon Burial Ground invoice book" for the "first funeral": "the allotted public grave had not been used and the Burrells [the undertakers] had already been paid with Alfred's money for Minister's fee, coffin and hearse. The fact that an invoice was issued to the authorities in charge of the Madron Institution for Minister's fee and hearse at the second funeral […] explains [the Relieving Officer] Mr Clifton's visit to Martha [Peters] to take Alfred's funeral money from her 'towards expenses'. This would have amounted to around five pounds, the total left over from the Burrells' charges" (Webb 2025, 477). Those charges are not documented, nor, so far as I can see, is Clifton's visit to Martha Peters otherwise mentioned in the book (it is presumably referred to in the oral testimonies cited in fn. 26 [482].

106 It is so described on the website dedicated to Webb 2025 (`https://www.alfredwallis.co.uk/`), where the occurrence of two funerals is cited in a list of "20 new facts about Alfred Wallis explored in the book". Another such 'fact' is that neither of the supposed two funerals "was attended by Ben Nicholson". The testimony of Nancy Ward, given above in the text, seems to contradict this. Still another new 'fact' is that "Dedications on his wreaths at the second funeral were not written by the artists but by Sven Berlin". In Berlin 1941-42 (f. 12*r*) SB records three dedications chosen by him after being entrusted with the task by

AS: "A Tribute to a Great Artist", "To a Great Artist" and "To a Great Painter". These dedications were for wreaths to be marked with the names of AS-MM, BN-BH and SB-Helga (the last 'offered' by AS), but they are not assigned by SB to specific couples. Judging from the report published in the *St Ives Times* on 11 September, the first dedication was not used by any of the three couples mentioned; the second was used by BN and BH and the third by SB and Helga. According to the report, the wreath sent by AS and MM, on the other hand, bore the dedication "Tribute to an extraordinary artist". The article also quotes the dedication on Gabo's wreath ("In homage to the artist on whom Nature has bestowed the rarest gift, not to know that he is one"), the only one quoted in *The Cornishman* on the previous day.

107 Probably on the basis of recollections of BH's quoted in Mullins 1968 (799), which however do not refer to two funerals: "In August 1942 we heard that he had died. By the good offices of Adrian Stokes, who worked so hard for three days, we achieved, instead of a pauper's grave, a private grave".

108 Wilkinson 2017, 42; Webb 2025, 477. AS had no such van, his "means of agricultural transport", as stated in "On Home Guard night-watches" (181), was his car (confirmed by TrS, personal conversation, 2025).

109 Webb 2025, 477.

110 These included a description of AS in the "Postscript" dealing with the funeral (and supposedly composed "by proxy") as wearing a "half-grin" on his face, rather than the "expression which hid deeper things" of the final text (Berlin 1949, 121). In this case AS' instructions were, "leave the half-grin. Let me figure with that alone like a cheshire cat" (AS to SB 22 April [1944], AGC).

111 Cf. Berlin 1949, 121 ("The Institute had given no notification of Wallis' death until the previous day"), perhaps a correction in compliance with AS' remark.

112 At the very end of Berlin 1941-42 are the notes, written in pencil, "Wallis not <payed for> buried in common grave. Adrian payed £4/2/6 for proper grave"; and "Wallis left £23 in keep of Mrs Peters – next door (Harrys Court) his relative". The first sum (not £4.10/- as stated in 1992) corresponds to the sum of the two invoices reproduced by Webb. The second sum differs from the sum said to have been put aside by AW in Mullins 1968 (798) and MM 1977.

113 In Berlin 1941-42 (ff. 6*v*-7*r*) SB recounts how, following his first meeting with AS on 2 September, he went to the Digey to look for Emily Jane Quick (b. 1884), the widow of Joseph (1862-1939), who according to SB was a second cousin of AW's. Mrs Quick was herself in the Salvation Army and, on learning from SB of AS' "predicament" and being given by him the telephone number at LPO, as AS had directed, promised to speak to the Salvation Army officer that evening.

114 Webb 2025, 476-80.

115 Webb 2025, 477.

116 *Cornishman*, 17 February 1949. The possibility of irony is raised by a subsequent letter to *The Cornishman*, published on 10 March 1949 in answer to a defence of "the artists who had helped [AW] and made him known" by BL (*Cornishman*, 3 March 1949). GMS there attributes their having saved AW from a pauper's grave "at the last moment" to mere "sentiment".

117 GMS declared this "to say the least, dubious. The way we [i.e. GMS and his wife Ruth, also present] analysed it was that A [AS] & B [BN] had one of two definite motives: either they did not think anything at all of his work & just kidded the public about the whole thing – or they did think it worth while & took the advantage of buying it up for a few shillings, which I dont like at all […] I [SB] told them [GMS and his wife] that I thought their second conclusion about A & B as [*sic*] right" (Berlin 1941-42, f. 8*v*).

118 Berlin 1941-42, f. 11*v*.

119 Webb 2025, 484.

120 Webb 2025, 484.

121 MM gave the following account of the distribution: "Well we told everyone that was interested to come and take, well first of all Ben had his choice of them and took all the ones he thought was best were best and then chose his lot and fortunately Ben didn't like the ones with orange in them so I managed to get the ones with orange in them because I had the third choice and so I got quite a lot. And then I went out in the shed and took a few more because everybody else was supposed to take them I didn't see why I shouldn't and hardly anybody did have any I mean Patrick [Heron] didn't even take any. It was really odd how uninterested people were and actually both Ben and Adrian thought they were much better painters than Wallis but I didn't" (Mellis 1993, tape F4230A).

122 Webb 2025, 484. Aarons 2016 (321), cited by Webb, recounts how In 1991 SB wrote that he had at one time possessed "'94 of [AW's] paintings & two of his Drawing Books'", but does not state or report that these all came from AS. Berlin 1941-42 (ff. 7*r*-7*v*) shows that SB approached William Care, AW's neighbour in Back Street West and now the owner of his cottage (Webb 2025, 484), for assistance in obtaining paintings by AW from his nephew William, offering to help "get them sold" and promising "a few shillings" for any he could get.

123 Berlin 1949, 114. Three of these sketchbooks (called by SB the *Lion Book*, the *Castle Book* and the *Grey Book*) were given by AS to TrS when still a child and were held for him until AS' death (TrS, personal communication, 2025). The *Grey Book* was lent to Arts Council 1968 (cat. 171), nominally, by AM. These three sketchbooks were acquired jointly by Tate and Kettle's Yard, Cambridge in 2021. The fourth sketchbook mentioned by SB as loaned to him by AS and which he named the *Scrap Book*, might be the *Derwent Scrapbook* lent to Arts Council 1968 (cat. 170) by Denis Mitchell and described as having formerly been in the collection of SB. Like another surviving sketchbook, known as the *Universal Book*, it has since been broken up (Webb 2025, 464).

124 Berlin 1949, 115.

125 See Berlin 1994, 215, 232, where SB describes Knollys and the painter Edward Le Bas (1904-1966) cutting off the table's legs "with the joke that they must remember to present those to the Tate". Cf. Webb 2025, 492-3, which cites a letter from BN to J. Summerson in which it is stated SB sold the table painting for £100 and gives details of other sales made by SB to Knollys and Denis Mitchell.

126 Mullins 1968, 44.

127 Freeman 1973.

128 Berlin 1949, 115.

129 Berlin 1949, 111; Mellis 1977; 1993, tape F4130A; Lambirth 2010, 43.
130 See Berlin 1941-42, f. 3*r*, in the part of the notebook dateable to the time AW was still alive (see 204 [fn. 49]).
131 Berlin 1961, 1.
132 SB to AS 18 December 1942, National Art Library, London (NAL).
133 Berlin [1949, 1992] 2000, 7-8 (refs to Berlin 1943; Waugh 1943; Greene 1943); cf. Berlin 1994, 103.
134 AS to JM n.d. [November-December 1942], JMP, NLS Acc. 10509/5. A playwright named "Christopher Dean" has not been identified.
135 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 13 May 1942], TGA 200214.
136 AS to AM n.d. [June 1942], TGA 202412.
137 AS to AM [after 27 October 1942], TGA 202412.
138 AS to JM n.d. [November-December 1942], JMP, NLS Acc. 10509/5.
139 AS to AM [after 27 October 1942], TGA 202412.
140 England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/359E/012/29.
141 See "Background V", 194. AM thought Peggy Dobson was summoned by PF's mother because he was showing too much interest in her (AM) and she in him (Stokes Angus 2003, tape F12925B).
142 *Western Morning News*, 24 October 1942; *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, 29 October 1942.
143 AS to AM n.d. [after 27 October 1942], TGA 202412.
144 Janie was the brother of Arthur Rogers (see 177 [fn. 119]).
145 Mellis 1993, tape F4131A.