



Figure 66 Pieter Brueghel the Elder, *The Blind Leading the Blind*. 1568. Tempera on canvas

VII. “Substitution, the key-word of my thought” 1943-44

[f. 50r]^a Easter 1943.

Substitution, the key-word of my thought. The only truth which needs be faced – for all other kinds of truth^b will follow as a result – is the truth about the nature of man. And the knowledge is to hand to a vastly greater degree than ever before. Face that truth, and thought will turn to the discovery of substitute channels for human expression as providing the only means for a permanently better world. As soon as thought, with all the force of necessity behind it based on the universal^c suffering of warfare in the modern world, is thus concentrated on the means of maximum emotional equilibrium,^d on the harnessing to positive ends or the least destructive ends, of the destructive impulses, we shall be advocating an aesthetic dispensation in the lives of men.¹ And again, for such a cause, it will not be so hard to preserve the myth while dispensing with its cloak of reality, thus purifying fantasy and purifying truth in general. Truth of every kind will then not be difficult to face and will, in fact, so far from being found to be incommoding to the personality, enhance^e the personality.

a [f. 49v blank; f. 50r numbered top right] 43

b *all other kinds of truth*: all other <forms> {kinds} of truth

c *on the universal*: on {the} universal

d *of maximum emotional equilibrium*: of <emotional> maximum emotional equilibrium

e *personality, enhance*: personality, <will> enhance

Thus, it will be found, that the pragmatic approach to truth is identical with truth in the abstract. In other words, today truth alone can order the affairs of man. Never before could it thus be seen to have pragmatic value.² For now we are ready perhaps, in our extremity, to possess the harsh facts about man's nature. Once this is faced, there is nothing harsh nor unpragmatic about all other truths.^a 'Human nature'^b is of course entirely a vague expression or the 'nature of man'. It can only mean the sum total of the behaviour of every human being.³ The first stage of understanding is partly reached in western countries in so far as we have the feeling of sharing to some small extent in every kind of behaviour we have ever encountered. I can say that no kind of behaviour known to me is entirely incomprehensible.⁴ If we cut out doctrine, dogma and preconceived notion of the nature of man invented for the purpose of morale,⁵ we quickly see our^c nature [f. 51r]^d in some of its aspects at any rate. Let us have an age whose morale is to forego morale, confident that this does not lead to the abyss but to a more economic re-distribution, a care in substitution of expression. Myth will abound no less, but let it abound as myth: otherwise^e the essential wisdom which will come quickly to mankind, will be covered again. After all, the fire of enthusiasm and of the poetic, lies with the state that engenders it, not with^f the universality of the notions thus engendered.⁶

People say the universe, the world of men, suggests a plan beyond man's comprehension and compels a belief in God from the feeling of wonder. But surely this itself is one of the wonders, an object of endless contemplation, this belief itself: all the more so as a myth, a compulsive myth. That realization enriches life, suggests the necessary scale of ramification, whereas belief in God as something true, does not. God as something true makes very small pie of the whole affair. Why the whole business if there is a God? That question I have never seen asked. What object was there in his creation? One cannot attribute a satisfactory motive. But belief in God persisting against all evidence to the contrary - when we realize that, we touch the full richness of life, that element of compulsion often running to the most fantastic distortion.

I watch René and Manfred, cultured Frenchman and German boy,⁷ working together, the one perfectly French, the other as German, the entire demarcation of national approach^g there in spite of all the overlaying diversity of age, position, individuality and so on, that more directly^h distinguishes them. And I think, from the aesthetic point of view, what a poor substitution, what a poor expression of their difference, areⁱ the wars between France and Germany, and all that they have said and thought about each other. What the world needs is more art in expressing antipathy, as well as sympathy. In

a *about all other truths*: about <truth,> all other truths

b *'Human nature'*: <Hum> 'Human nature'

c *our*: [corrected from the initial letter(s) of some other word]

d [f. 50v blank; f. 51r numbered top right] 44

e *otherwise*: otherwise

f *not with*: not <to> with

g *the entire demarcation of national approach*: the <entire character> entire demarcation of {national} approach

h *that more directly*: that <might> more directly

i *difference, are*: difference, <is> are

so far as wars are an expression of antipathy, they are a very incoherent, a very inarticulate form of expression.^a These two express their difference, to the spectator sharply, working together.^a

[f. 51v]^b Things and experiences for which there are no names: also appearances which I have not found discussed in life or in books.⁹

1/ The man whose gestures (probably originally jerky) have been fused into large propulsive swings. The disguise of reeling gesture, odd in itself, but meant no doubt to conceal something conceived, if not as odder, as more embarrassing.^c Such gestures, then, are a way of brazening through things, and attached to the brazenness,^d mitigating it to some^e effect of charm, is its particular form which partakes of the soft or sudden reel of the drunkard. Thus may the swallowed or cracked staccato tune be concealed in a larger, more rollicking abruptness. Thus too^f may the sharpness of dumbness^g be made circular: to blindness a Breughel touch [fig. 66]; to vulnerability,^h a trenchant sensitiveness. Such a man is so perpetually reeling (and recovering) that he has

anticipated the foe's attack. He is already both bluff and sudden.

[f. 52r]ⁱ The urgent opposition and the immediate transition between reality and fantasy are best realized in considering some sexual fantasies^j and the moment after satisfaction, especially if there is a fetish element in the fantasy and more especially in a dream. The object of fetishism is so dear to one, so comforting, such a saviour if it can be isolated from guilt feeling. It sometimes appears so. But considered in cold blood it is ridiculous, even perhaps revolting owing to the affection previously bestowed. The power and the opposition of this two-way vision explains everything. Whereas^k they are always to some extent concurrent, the total personality is at pains to deny the full power of each. And far, far more goes to fantasy than was ever suspected in previous ages.¹⁰ Both religion and art have roots in sexual fantasy. It is obvious that no shape is in itself beautiful, pleasant or ugly.¹¹ And, indeed, for some situations of practical working life, they almost cease to have the qualities, the nearest approach to fetish dream that is for the moment satisfied. However, these fantasy roots, by which^l art is

a *their difference, to the spectator sharply, working together.*: their difference, <perfectly> {to the spectator sharply}, working together. <happily>.

b [notebook turned upside down]

c *embarrassing*: embarrassing

d *brazenness*: brazenness

e *it to some*: it {to} some

f *abruptness. Thus too*: abruptness: thus too

g *may the sharpness of dumbness*: may <dumbness> {the sharpness of} dumbness

h *a Breughel touch; to vulnerability*: a Brueghel touch: to vulnerability

i [f. 52r numbered top centre right] 45

j *some sexual fantasies*: {some} sexual fantasies

k *explains everything. Whereas*: explains everything Whereas

l *However, these fantasy roots, by which*: However these fantasy roots <are> {by} which



Figure 67
Bunyard Ader Studio, London,
Telfer Stokes. c. 1942-43

nurtured, endure and always will endure. The lust for life is never lost except in rare circumstances.¹² For^a the most part, we are curbing fantasy, expelling it for the purpose of utility in most directions and erecting a rotten scaffolding of rationalization in others. But we must curb the rationalization too in the interests of science and, on the other hand, allow a completely free play without rationalization^b to fantasy, concurrently. "Far, far more goes to fantasy than was ever suspected in previous ages" I have written above. In ages far less notable for their science or grasp of reality. A paradox. Fantasy becomes more pure as science grows more pure. Love and life cannot be ousted. They shall grow yet warmer in the hearts of men when the dusty embers of system and rationalization are raked out thoroughly.¹³ Life grows with fullness, and to face human nature as it really is will mean fullness.

[f. 53r]^c Religion is largely nurtured on the huge gap in the flesh from the brightness and beautiful incandescence of extreme youth to the shrunken, evil-smelling wastage and disease of age, and all the degrees between. Startled by the beauty of youth and the radiance of the purest carnal love, people cannot find a bridge in terms of flesh of all the vicissitudes of flesh – and they repudiate that brightness and that brilliance as being so essentially desirable, in the name of the spirit. And all the religious talk on that subject is simply the self-communing of one

who for one reason or another cannot gratify his lust. Much religious thinking, then is very swanky, rather repugnant, embarrassingly fleshly.¹⁴ And then the Christian religion has, so to speak, the impertinence to introduce for its base the sense of guilt, which does, in truth, explain its hold, and that of all religions.

When Telfer [fig. 67] cries all the morning to have his red pants on (which are being washed) no one would suppose that it is the red pants as such which causes^d such an uproar. One wants to know all that the red pants stand for in his mind. Such a content is the first that should be used to explain the profundity of art. For art is based on the appeal of the symbol and the object of art stands for a great deal else.

Sometimes by the sea there is a street where a concentrated salt air blows over a wall and where it is as if the very cobbles were hissing, not the waves; yet the strong airs are warm ones, the lighted doorway firm and open. Both air and noise blow round incessantly, are never stale.^e Indeed, there is a calm and a freshness inter-allied, a temperance of wild air that give some meaning to the word 'eternal': it is an embrace of ferment, as sleep should be, the perfect sleep of refreshment.^f¹⁵

[f. 54r]^g In "I believe", a collection of statements concerning ultimate beliefs by "eminent men",¹⁶ one notices the frequency of a dualism, life and death in Pearl Buck,¹⁷ harmonious conflict of opposites in

a *circumstances. For:* circumstances For

b *play without rationalization:* play <with> {without} rationalization

c [f. 52v blank; f. 53r numbered top right] 46

d *as such which causes:* as such <the din is for> which causes

e *are never stale:* <never> are never stale

f *ferment, as sleep should be, the perfect sleep of refreshment.:* ferment, <a mirror of perfection in the sleeping state.> {as sleep should be, the perfect sleep of refreshment.}

g [f. 53v blank; f. 54r numbered top right] 47

Havelock Ellis,¹⁸ "values^a as the product of human nature interacting with the outside world" of Julian Huxley,¹⁹ the old inheritance and the new (evolutionary) of Sir Arthur Keith,²⁰ Thomas Mann's "nature and the spiritual",²¹ Jules Romains' "science and the soul",²² Wells'^b "individuality and the spirit of man".²³ However it may be later resolved, I am convinced that the original perception of dualism is of two entities equally urgent ie. where one causes the definition of the other. This is our first metaphysical knowledge and our last – Life and Death, and I and the outside world including all persons and objects. The latter is the first mature perception^c of the child: it is basic, and it is surprising that no mystique seems to have been based on just that dualism.²⁴ For me, it is the key to all experience. I see it everywhere, this interrelationship, this counterparting of what is inner and what is outer,^d and I see history as ever as the interaction of the perception of fact and the compulsion to fantasy, and I feel as ever that the possible resolution today in terms of equal recognition of each for what it is without muddling them up, to be the hope for the future of mankind.²⁵

Tea-time in the piazza at Venice. I try to equate the present with the surrounding past.²⁶ Thin music holds the passers-by together, and the waiters who look like canal-bottom procurators; and the cakes with little pieces^e of different coloured peel are like fragments of the many-coloured dwarf columns of St Marks. But it is not sufficient^f to build a continuity for Venice, though the many-threaded hooting^g note of a ferry-boat seems to string together each palace that it passes, many colours, many emotions, just as the canal itself is strung up in the still shape of the painted mooring poles with their wavy longitudinal stripes.^h

[f. 55r]ⁱ Last night^j I took the officers to the new guard post at Gwithian.²⁷ From there I could see in the aftermath of the set sun the whole coast on which^k I have passed almost every day of the last five years. There, seen together in a still long, smooth shape, lay the scenes of so much physical labour, anxiety, thinking, sleeping and quarrelling.^l The pregnant horned summit of Tren Crom²⁸ lay behind. Without approaching nearer, some thirty years ago as a boy, I had had such a view of the St Ives coast.²⁹ Now, on one ledge^m of it, I had parted every weed, each blade of grass³⁰

a 'values: '<the> values

b Wells': Well's

c first mature perception: first <mental> {mature} perception

d of what is inner and what is outer: of <the> {what is} inner and <outer> what is outer

e cakes with little pieces: cakes with <pie> little pieces

f not sufficient: not enough {sufficient}

g many-threaded hooting: <many> many-threaded hooting

h wavy longitudinal stripes.: wavy <lines {stripes}> {[illegible]. longitudinal stripes.}

i [f. 54v blank; f. 55r numbered top right] 48

j [This paragraph is written in pen.]

k on which: <in> {on} which

l quarrelling: quarreling

m one ledge: one <part> {ledge}

as well as dreamed of dreams, now I stood back again for a moment. If only one could constantly remember how it is when one leaves a place and everything there, a whole section of one's life, is seen together!³¹

Why look out^a to fix a standpoint, to find^b that mind is at the back of it, that all conclusion on the universe is relative to the observer? Why^c enter the lists of endless discounting of bias,^d of partiality, separating the non-rational personalities, striving to a conclusion, part on^e new evidence hanging from a string, part on^f a wish that can be identified with this evidence, when the mind itself, the foundation of bias, the fount of compulsiveness, can for the first time be examined? You do not find the mind, the character of the mental life, so much^g in its final rationalizations. What picture of the universe is this revealed in a momentary flash of power. Let us look to the root of our compulsions: that is the new territory which qualifies the old extensive outside world. An anxious child imploring his mother to take off the black

hat and veil put on for seeing to a hive, produces a wealth of anguish that must be considered as typified. Why disregard these instances?^h Children are not just quaintⁱ in their behaviour. This imploring is typical. Had we not better base a view of our universe on such longing than on the thin edge of some dilemma of logic?^j³² Science ultimately dissolves into the immeasurable and sportive. What are we to conclude for that? Mathematics is untrue in the end, that the universe is Mind? Look inside first. Idealism is supported not by argument only, but by the compulsive belief in the omnipotence of thought. There is always a correspondence between inside and outside. The outside world is real just as far as otherness is essential to identity, which is an entire necessity whatever logic may show, not to mention the pressure of the external world as something external, as Dr Johnson did in 'refuting' Berkeley.³³ The external world is within us, not as an idea, but as something in its own nature external,³⁴ a combination then of idealism and realism.

a [pencil resumes]

b *a standpoint, to find*: a standpoint to find

c *to the observer? Why*: to the observer: why

d *discounting of bias*: discounting <fro> of bias

e *conclusion, part on*: conclusion <half> {part} on

f *part on*: <half> {part} on

g *mental life, so much*: mental life so much

h as typified. Why disregard these instances?: as typified: why disregard these instances.

i *quaint*: <quaint> quaint

j *dilemma of logic?*: dilemma of logic.

[f. 56r]^a The lady who lives in a world of flowers and pretty speeches shunning the 'ugly' world – No one would be called a cynic, although possibly rude and unfeeling, for expressing in her presence some full-blooded sentiment. Making allowances, and a lot of allowance for degree, the situation is parallel for all those buoyed up by some religion though it gives them strength. They too shun reality, twist the real. The bubble in general must be pricked but it will not be a cynical act. And yet, in individual cases, it is an attack, this undermining of all morale. There is a better placing of morale, but that is not the point. It is sad to have at the last argument nothing to give to others that they want, especially when what one has to give is truth. Truth at this level has come to mean for me the recognition of hate and of the unexpected convolutions of love and hate, the recognition of a love, too, behind a facade of hate. What people want are 'solutions'; not truth and the wonder of it. And yet, given any conditions, a man will find vent for his wonder, for his love of 'solutions', for ideals, for his fantasy. It is the same with the full recognition of the truth of hate; and with^b the recognition there are the virtues that truth brings to reality and to fantasy.^c As far as reality is concerned the most immediate result is a wiser corporate life and that

much better bringing up of children and of education which would make all the difference to the life of society, and ultimately of the human race. The sacrifice^d of ideals and solutions and the belief in perfect love as the sole reality, is a small price to pay. If I could give real body to the above sentiments, it would make the book I want to write.

What is unpleasant^e or appears to be unpleasant, is, for that reason more likely to be true in the realm of science. Weren't the Copernican and the Darwinian theories very 'unpleasant', very (apparently) destructive of poetry?³⁵ Unless there is a dominant persecutory or persecuted element in the thought, this is bound to be a truism. Of course, in the long run, for all its immediate unpleasantness, truth is helpful. But people should be educated to expect 'unpleasantness' of truth, and unless their morale lies in this quest for truth, to place it outside the realm of a decision upon the nature^f and character of things.³⁶ I am not sure that this is not the best preliminary approach in the presentation of the truth of psycho-analysis.

I don't believe it is so very difficult for the morale of the generality to be put in an unassailable position.³⁷ What this would mean, not only to

^a [f. 55v blank; f. 56r numbered top right] 49

^b *truth of hate; and with*: truth of hate: and with

^c *there are the virtues that truth brings to reality and to fantasy*: there <is> {are} the virtues <not only> {that truth} brings <in> {to} reality and <in> {to} fantasy.

^d *The sacrifice*: <It is> The sacrifice

^e [The rest of this side and the one that follows are written in violet pencil]

^f *of a decision upon the nature*: of <what is real> {a decision upon} the nature

[f. 56v]^a The cloudless sea^b
 Floats about the cloudless land.
 Clouds that are small
 Swell sea's horizon.^c
 Sea-weed between waves^d
 Like a million spinning pennies
 Is wet with light.^e

—————
 This is one arena of the mind.^f

In company of trees that suck
 The rocking poppies
 I hear the sea
 Like the slow pulse of thunder
 Upon the beach.

[f. 57r]^g morale, but to the pursuit of truth, cannot be over-estimated.^h³⁸ I think perhaps I should write about this first without much reference to psycho-analysis.

Both Trigant Burrow and Fromm write a defence of the neurotic.³⁹ He is, in a way, less neurotic than the normal man owing to the defects of modern society with which he cannot work. (What about the neuroses

of children?) Such is the latest escape from the truth of Freud and it is natural enough. Some of Freud is used,⁴⁰ and for the rest, the individual who is generally more sensitive, more intelligent and more creative, is defended against society. It is society which is more neurotic. There is of course some truth. A better integrated society would ease the job of sublimation, would prevent, very likely, the technical neurosis of the majority of definite neurotics. It is relevant to the prevalence and strength of neurosis, not to its original determining causes.

Could one describe the issue between truth and morale in tracing reporting and thinking about war news? Would it have been better, given the data, to have seen the war chances as they really were, or to have believed, (an extreme case), that each German Reconnaissance plane that came over here in the phoney days⁴¹ was exhausting their supply of petrol irrevocably? Surely the enormous facade put up to believe that people are good at bottom etc., with the counterbalancing 'bitterness',ⁱ pessimism, misanthropy and disillusion,^j is its own proof of avoidance of the accessible facts?

I could write perhaps of Hyde Park, the long water and all that environment as known to me throughout childhood, of all the many passions associated with those

a [notebook turned upside down]

b *The cloudless sea*: The cloudless sea <floats about the cloudless land>

c *Swell sea's horizon*: Swell <horizon's population of clouds.> {<the> sea's horizon} ["<the> sea's horizon" written in violet pc]

d *Sea-weed between waves / Like a million spinning pennies*: Sea-weed <l>Like a million spinning pennies / Is wet with light between <the> waves ["between <the> waves" encircled and repositioned by means of arrow to after "Sea-weed"; this correction and "<l>Like" made in violet pencil]

e [Two cancelled lines follow: <The land informs the sea, /The sea the land.>
Is wet with light: ["between the waves" encircled and repositioned by means of arrow to after "Sea-weed"].

f *This is one arena of the mind*: This is <that> one arena of the mind [this and the underlying lines written in violet pencil]

g [f. 57r numbered top right] 50

h *cannot be over-estimated*: cannot be <estim> over-estimated

i 'bitterness': "bitterness"

j *and disillusion, is*: and <delusion> disillusion is

scenes with the dominance of fear and desolation, to show in my own case that all the poignant elaboration is simply a devastated mother.⁴² It is no affront to the dignity of man, or the depth of his feeling. No one feels it in the abstract i.e. when they contemplate the culture imposed upon the passions, upon that raging, speechless, mad, blind fury or omnivorous possessiveness^a of emotion in the raw. With clever treatment one could reconcile the reader and convince him, edging a way past a good deal of resistance; at least one might try. The moral would be my theme, my old theme, the glory, the vitality and the poignancy of substitution.⁴³ The scientist has no [ken?] of the poetry of the humanist contemplation. That is my role.

The madman is a grown up child.⁴⁴

The confrontation is the piled-up darkness of the mind and the vast sunlit tangible world.⁴⁵

[f. 57v]^b Addressed to the household orchestra^c

- - - Often sound them
Play with arduous gains.
Search through: search through
Again the music, I say

No twanging for my lettuce:

Open up my orchestra as I pick the heart.
Draw out the bows behind me. . . .

Oh my table without sound,
Oh adjacent salt-cellar!
The music is behind.

I see my objects firm
Upon the table.
Sound does whiten cloth.

[f. 58r]^d The modern development in physics,⁴⁶ the stress upon probability, upon ultimate^e indeterminacy,^f upon subjectivism, even, as shown in the books of Eddington⁴⁷ – the new idealist position – although it gives a loophole to all the rats of religion to enter to make their new foul nests, does not alter one whit^g the basic dualism of subject and object. 'The objective' may not be absolute, only relative. Nevertheless, science^h remains the standard of disinterested knowledge and the antithesis remains in all its force between fact and fantasy though their difference may not prove to be absolute but relative. The essence of man's development has been in submission to, and control of, 'reality', to the curtailment of fantasy and to the deferment,ⁱ at any rate, of emotional projection.⁴⁸ It should

a *omnivorous possessiveness*: <omnipotent> omnivorous possessiveness

b [notebook turned upside down]

c [written in pencil]

d [f. 58r numbered top right] 51

e *upon ultimate*: upon <indet> ultimate

f [Up to this point the MS on this leaf is in pencil; from here to the end in pen]

g *one whit*: one <whit> whit

h *only relative. Nevertheless, science*: only relative: nevertheless science

i *to the deferment*: <[illegible]> {to the} deferment

astound no one that science cannot metaphysically posit^a 'the completely objective'. It should not alter any one's world picture. Only a revaluation of the human process can do that. The trouble is that these metaphysical scientists know little or nothing about science from the other end, ie the discoveries of psycho analysis. Their work, from a scientific point of view,^b may be excellent but they let in, and seem glad to let in, the spiritists of every kind, the rationalizers of distortions, eminent and medieval distortions.⁴⁹

Why is there a problem, what is illusion, what place^c does it have in the scheme of things? Such questions are asked in philosophy, particularly in ethics. But it is rare for any one searching for truth supposed ultimate, to wonder all the time at^d the value of all that is discarded and left behind, or at its necessity. It needs explaining as much as anything else.⁵⁰ And indeed, the objects of more profound contemplation cannot be the universe as revealed by relativity physics, for example, but relativity physics in conjunction with the world of the five senses, the coexistence of all meanings. Indeed the 'problem' of illusion, and so of guilt and evil, has received very little dignified thought. It is dealt with emotionally in terms of the sense of guilt, and very few people have ever conceived the fact of illusion^e as a qualification upon the range of truth, not so much in terms^f of a thicket that

prevents the attainment of truth – that is fully realized and is how illusion is always conceived – but as the very thing which defines truth, on an equality with truth just as fantasy is necessary to the definition of fact.⁵¹ There is, indeed, no 'problem' of this, that and the other, except an aesthetic problem, a holding of a fine balance between the multiplicity of meanings.⁵²

My theme for the last 20 years has been that it is the conjunction of meanings, rather than this or that meaning snatched from the concourse, which must be the ultimate object of contemplation.⁵³ It is, I suppose, an aesthetic point of view.⁵⁴ Hence, starting as a fanatical searcher for philosophical [f. 58v]^g truth, for the meaning that interpreted all meanings in terms of itself, I passed to the study and practice of art. Nevertheless the fanatical search for truth remains: it is that impetus, not an escape from it, that brought me and sustains me in the present position.

Fact and fantasy are not absolutes.⁵⁵ Very likely no fact can be isolated entirely from its frame of reference, ie it is^h always to some degree contingent. At the same time, there is no such thing as pure fantasy, ie fantasy unrelated to biological necessity. But this reservation does not qualify, from the point of view of redistributing expression in aⁱ more satisfactory mode, the essential dualism.

a *posit*: posite

b of view: of <view> view

c *what place*: <whate> {what} place

d *wonder all the time at*: wonder {all the time} at

e *ever conceived the fact of illusion*: ever <realized> {conceived} the <fact> {fact} of illusion

f *not so much in terms*: not {so much} in terms

g [f. 58v numbered top right] 52

h *reference, ie it is*: reference ie {it} is

i *expression in a*: expression <to> {in} a

Instance and details

The attitude moved in the sounder band of the emotion. The aesthetic attitude the only true one, applied to life. This was each moment of consciousness, in terms of a particular skimming, an eternity constructed ^{out} of everything experienced before.

The belief in Divine Good is Essential to well-being. Good & evil is altogether in dis. The essence is the belief in the efficacy of Love. We need the sense of optimism about, at the centre of our being, if we are to sleep well. It is far more important to human beings than Truth, the discovery of which is often due to bitterness. How much Truth can be borne? We know, all of us, on an exposure of knowing, that religion is simply not true. But can we do without it, as of so, Love? For ourselves the feeling of ultimate Love, for every day life as for certain satisfaction in particular, cannot be withdrawn, even if the strength that comes from it, is barely drawn upon. It is at least a shield from the exposure to Nature in the new which confronts if this shield is renounced. The only way to do without religion is without any substitute substituting action is to release & foster the original sense of intrinsic goodness both as a forbearing as as a forbearing ^{the concerns} into the very working of life; for this is only Love & death, as it before living creature for their welfare, to carry deep, inside them the Love of Love. It is possible & desirable, then, to subvert on the original impulse rather than on the rationalization which so often exposes Truth & so often is paralyzed by Truth. Therefore, any dogma makes impossible demands upon the intellect as is thereby partially rejected. The

Notes for a book concerning
Argument August 1943.

Sometimes a picture rises in the mind for no apparent reason. I may be digging and my foot may hit the spade in a certain way and at that moment I have a glimpse of a road in the Pyrenees which I have walked some 25 years ago: not for the money (as previously cooked). I suspect it is not so much something I saw during the war, connected with some incident on that road, as the evocation of the memory. No, I suspect that the total configuration of ~~thought~~ ^{image} and sensation in the field, though concerned with extremely different experiences, happened to compare in ^{overall feeling} structure or pattern with ~~some~~ a tower of my adolescence while walking that road: and that this particular pattern had not come up before.

The mind, I believe, is constantly busy with the correlation of its patterns, and had I to name the content of the indelible year for life which, although it varies, so seldom is altogether lost, I should say, first, in terms of animal satisfaction, of accomplishment or pleasure, the ever growing store and ever-enlarging complication of patterns, were the essence. For the greater part of the day of our lives - things are the register - the ^{body} is roughly adjusted. Then working at spiritual occupations are ^{deeper} conscious of the spiritual long after they have ceased to work. The artist, of course, is then able to study a contemplative life, and not antithetical to recreation. I know that when I am

Figure 68 Adrian Stokes, Autograph manuscript, Notes for a Book Beginning August 1943. Argument; Instance and Details (1943), first sides. Pencil

Madame Curie could not^a have had the necessary strength and direction to a super-human degree had not there been magic for her in childhood in her father's case of measuring instruments.⁵⁶ These were identified with some positive principle of the family life. In the study^b of

genius, emphasis should be less on inherited talent but on the possible permutations of fantasy within a certain family life. All such strength comes from the parents inside. No genius, and indeed nothing in human life, is a bolt from the blue.

Notes for a Book Beginning August 1943. Argument^c

[f. 11r; fig. 68] Sometimes a picture rises in the mind for no apparent reason. I may be digging^d and my foot may hit the spade in a certain way^e and at that moment I have a glimpse of a road in the Pyrenees where I was walking some 25 years ago;⁵⁷ nor^f has this memory been previously evoked. I suspect it is not so much something I was doing in the field that corresponded^g with some incident on that road, and thus evoked the memory: no, I suspect that the total configuration of image and sensation^h in the field, though concerned with entirely different experiences, happened to correspond in direction, feeling or pattern with a momentⁱ

of my consciousness while walking that road; and that this particular pattern^j had not come up before.

The mind, I believe, is constantly busy with the correlation of its patterns, and had I to name the content of the indubitable zest for life^k which, although it varies, so seldom is altogether lost,⁵⁸ I should say that, in terms of animal satisfaction, of accomplishment, of idealism or whatever,^l this ever-growing store^m and ever-enlarging complication of patterns, were the essence. For the great part of the day of most lives – though not the night – the range is severely restricted. Those working at repetitive

a could not: <d> could not
b the study: the <m> study
c Notes for a Book Beginning August 1943. Argument: Notes for a <special purpose> book beginning August 1943. Argument
d I may be digging: I may {be} digging
e in a certain way: [Stokes 1980] in a certain sort of way
f some 25 years ago; nor: some 25 years ago: nor
g I was doing in the field that corresponded: I was doing {in the field} that corresponded
h configuration of image and sensation: configuration of <thought> {image} and sensation
i to correspond in direction, feeling or pattern with a moment: to correspond in <structure> {direction, feeling} or pattern with <so> a moment
j while walking that road; and that this particular pattern: while walking that road: and that this particular pattern [Stokes 1980] while walking on that road: and this particular pattern
k indubitable zest for life: [Stokes 1980] indubitable yeast for life
l of accomplishment, of idealism or whatever: of accomplishment {of idealism} or whatever [Stokes 1980] of accomplishment of idealism or whatever
m this ever-growing store: this ever growing store

occupations are deeply conscious^a of the repetitions long after they have ceased to work. The artist, of course, and those able to study a contemplative life, are most sensitive to evocation. I know that when I am [f. 12r] not driven,^b the majority of sounds create not only images^c and memories but what I can only call a configuration of experience, different kinds of experience brought into one pattern, while a succession of sounds will mean a succession of configurations that together compose a further, more subtle^d and more complicated experience. When my mind is attentive, each and every motor horn of different pitch will evoke an entirely different configuration. More matter-of-fact people, I know, under all circumstances would simply respond by thinking “that is so-and-so’s car”. Yet I believe some sort of configuration is there, not so conscious nor perhaps so elaborate. The hoot of a train is evocative to many people. Interwoven into every mental figure of this kind is^e the sense of being quite simply drawn along. And yet the hoot of a train fascinates all children, even though they have never been carried

in a train. The infantile satisfaction with this noise conjoined with smoke does, I believe, also underlie all the later images; and so^f with all configurations.^g It will always come back to something very simple; and here again is witness to the characteristic elaboration of the mental life wherein terms originally simple^h are expressed by elaborate patterns, by subtle structuresⁱ of correlation and distortion.⁵⁹ And again there is this pleasure, the pleasure of the very zest of life, in the symbol,^j in the single experience that typifies.^k

[f. 13r] A transition now to considering the nature of art and the impulse to create patterns is easy.^l Indeed, there is no need to point the analogy. Art typifies the mental flow in which much is expressed within a simple datum of the senses.^m

Within the terms of a particular stimulus the whole of a man’s experience is expressed anew in each moment of consciousness.⁶⁰ In the manner of a work of art, consciousness is a kind of distorted reflector of the manifold.⁶¹ Each aspect of the manifold has its echo

a *are deeply conscious*: are {deeply} conscious

b *that when I am not driven*: [Stokes 1980] that even when I am not driven

c *sounds create not only images*: sounds <evoke> {create} not only images

d *a further, more subtle*: a further more subtle [Stokes 1980] a far more subtle

e *every mental figure of this kind is*: every <configuration thus evoked will be> {mental figure of this kind is}

f *all the later images; and so*: all {the} later <configurations> {images}: and so

g *all configurations*: [Stokes 1980] all configuration

h *mental life wherein terms originally simple*: mental life <in which> {wherein} terms <in origin> {originally} simple

i *by subtle structures*: by <vast> {subtle} structures

j *the pleasure of the very zest of life, in the symbol*: [Stokes 1980] the pleasure of the very zest of life in the symbol

k *that typifies.*: that typifies. <so much related matter.>

l *the nature of art and the impulse to create patterns is easy*: the nature of art and the impulse to create patterns, is easy [Stokes 1980] the nature of art as the impulse to create patterns

m *the mental flow in which much is expressed within a simple datum of the senses*: the mental <life> flow in which much is <[illegible] experienced> {expressed} <in so little> within a simple <perception> {datum} of the senses

in this picture within the perspective of a particular stimulus.^a This effectual expression of what is manifold is achieved,^b as in a work of art, by intensive correlation, rationalization and, indeed, by distortion.^c Such activity is so old^d in us that we cannot trace without the greatest difficulty what was projected, distorted, rationalized.^e In this way the unconscious or semi-conscious is dragooned by consciousness.^f It is the fundamental activity of living,^g and it is an aesthetic activity.^h With the aid of reason man constructs infinite edifices from the ceaseless material of a few primary emotions, simple by themselves,ⁱ in combination infinite of nuance. Each fresh composition uses anew the material^j and the memory of all previous structures.^k⁶²

It is strange to me that no mystique has attached itself to this process, no philosophy.⁶³ For indeed, here we may perceive the matter [f. 14r] of the basic metaphysical terms, and first of all^l the original terms of dualism.

Every philosophy is based upon an opposition of terms. Its aim is either to describe their interaction and find the absolute in the interaction itself or to reduce the one to terms^m of the other and thereby create an absolute. Language is based upon oppositions,ⁿ since opposites define each other. It is worth while to contemplate, in a way that philosophy has not done before philosophizing,^o the generic pair of opposites in which our lives are cast. I am confident that here will be found all the philosophy that is needed, in fact all that is most profound. Those

a *of a particular stimulus*: of <the> {a} particular stimulus

b *This effectual expression of what is manifold is achieved*: <Such> This effectual expression of what is manifold <can only> {is} achieved

c *by intensive correlation, rationalization and, indeed, by distortion*: by intensive correlation, {rationalization} and, indeed, by distortion

d *Such activity is so old*: <This> {Such} activity is so old

e *we cannot trace without the greatest difficulty what was projected, distorted, rationalized*: we cannot trace without the greatest difficulty <the original material that> {what} was distorted, rationalized, <or sublimated> {projected} [arrow repositioning "projected" before "distorted"]

f *In this way the unconscious or semi-conscious is dragooned by consciousness*: <Thus> {In this way} the unconscious or semi-conscious are <internalized ordered> {dragooned} by consciousness

g *It is the fundamental activity of living*: <This> {It} is the fundamental activity of <life> {living}

h *and it is an aesthetic activity*: [Stokes 1980] as it is an aesthetic activity

i *man constructs infinite edifices from the ceaseless material of a few primary emotions, simple by themselves*: man <composes> {constructs} infinite edifices from the ceaseless material of a few <emotional drives> {[pen] primary emotions}, simple <in> {by} themselves

j *composition uses anew the material*: composition uses {anew} the material

k *of all previous structures*: of all previous structures <Nevertheless, like a good painting, each composition is individual, particular.> [this cancellation in pen]

l *and first of all*: [Stokes 1980] as first of all

m *to find the absolute in the interaction itself or to reduce the one to terms*: to find <an> {the} absolute in the interaction itself or to reduce {the} one to <{the}> terms

n *based upon oppositions*: [Stokes 1980] based upon absolutes

o *to contemplate, in a way that philosophy has not done before philosophizing*: to <examine> {contemplate} in a way that philosophy has not done<,> before philosophizing

cursed meaningless questions, as the one^a about the purpose of life, will be put out of court.

The new-born baby soon becomes aware that neither his mother^b nor the surrounding world is an extension of himself. Henceforth, to his dying day, there remains the huge division between himself and objects, people or things. Throughout life we seek to rival the externality of things that opposes itself to fantasy and by which it is constructed, and defined.^c The world of nature is not only a physical habitat and the material of science,^d not only the material of practical life, but the medium of every mood.^e Indeed without this canvass, as it were, on which to apply ourselves, by which we project and transmute as well as satisfy the simple animal needs,^f we cannot conceive the

inner flow of the mind or the activity [f. 15r] of the body. The body is obviously meaningless without an external world^g beyond it; but so too is the mind.^h Mental as well as physical life is laying out of strength within, in rivalry, as it were, with the laid-out instantaneous world of space.ⁱ⁶⁴ To project is to distort etc^j⁶⁵

That is the process, one of elaboration; whereas^k the fundamental spurs to action and to thought are simple and bleak.^l Their intermingling is rich, producing an infinite range. A man is the sum of all the meanings^m he has experienced. But it is very rare that he speaks or feelsⁿ in complete equilibrium, detached from immediate circumstance, or, rather, possessing immediate circumstances^o as the context of equilibrium of all

a *Those cursed meaningless questions, as the one*: Those <[cursed?]> {cursed} meaningless questions as the one

b *The new-born baby [...] neither his mother*: The new born baby [...] neither <the> {his} mother

c *it is constructed, and defined*: it is <defined> {constructed}, and defined ["that opposes [...] and is defined" written on opposite verso, inserted here at point marked by caret in pen]

d *The world of nature is not only a physical habitat and the material of science*: <so that t>The world of nature is not only a physical habitat and the <object> {material} of science

e *but the medium of every mood*: but the <mirror> {medium} of every mood

f *by which we project and transmute as well as satisfy the simple animal needs*: by which to <transmute as well as to satisfy {we satisfy as well as}> {we [illegible] project and} transmute and <sublimate> {as well as satisfy} the simple animal needs [Stokes 1980] [...] we project, transmute and as well satisfy [...]

g *without an external world*: without <{further}> <the extent of the> {an} external world

h *but so too is the mind*: but so too is the mind. <This cannot be sufficiently emphasized.>

i *Mental as well as physical life is a laying out of strength within, in rivalry, as it were, with the laid-out instantaneous world of space*: Mental <life and> {as well as} physical life is {a} <turning> outward {laying out of} <what is within> {strength within}, in rivalry, as it were, <of> {with} the laid-out instantaneous world of space [Stokes 1980] [...] is laying outward of shape within [...]

j [below "To" a caret; "etc" followed by a diagonal line in pen]

k *one of elaboration; whereas*: one of elaboration: whereas

l *the fundamental spurs to action and to thought are simple and bleak*: [Stokes 1980] the fundamental spur to action, to thought are simple and bleak

m *all the meanings*: [Stokes 1980] all meanings

n *he speaks or feels*: he <feels> speaks or feels

o *from immediate circumstance, or, rather, possessing immediate circumstances*: [Stokes 1980] from immediate circumstances, or, rather, possessing immediate circumstances

accumulated meanings. Nor does practical life encourage such detachment.^{a|66}

The most generalized apprehension we carry with us all the time is the certainty of life and of death.⁶⁷ A parallel relationship to the interdependence^b of subject and object. We strive to manifest our living (subject)^c in rivalry with the laid-out dispositions of the outside world. In the end, we do indeed in death (object) become solely a part of the inert outside world.^d As well as being opposites, life and death supplement each other. It is not surprising to find that the activities [f. 16r] of consciousness are dual and supplementary, namely the pursuit of fact^e necessary for practical life and for science, and the constructions of fantasy,^f 'objective' and 'subjective' respectively in character. The fearless

allocation, and thereby the further satisfying^g of these two activities, is the proper study of mankind. I repeat: it is obvious^h that fantasy should have no part in science; yet it has done soⁱ in all thought anterior to science, has blocked the emergence^j of science for thousands of years. But there will be emotional expression which is rationalized: that is the very breath of life. But if we use the word 'truth' where there is partiality, it should mean aesthetic 'truth'.^{k|68} The external world is the sounding board of the emotions. That is self-evident; nevertheless has seemed a discovery while contemplating the eternal poetry of Giorgione's Tempesta.⁶⁹ For instance,^l except in terms of aesthetic significance, it is meaningless, after using the idea of purpose constantly for the elucidation of fact, to harness this idea to the intimations of fantasy

a [followed by a diagonal line in pen]

b *the certainty of life and of death. A parallel relationship to the interdependence:* the certainty of life and {of} death. <[cancelled in pen] As far as they define one another, these are the absolutes that embrace all our experience, or, more exactly, their interdependence is the absolute.> <The> {[pen] A parallel relationship to the} interdependence

c *We strive to manifest our living (subject):* <In living, we> {We} strive <t> to manifest <ourselves> {our living} (subject)

d *the inert outside world:* the {inert} outside world

e *namely the pursuit of fact:* namely the <pursuit of fact> <{practic}> pursuit of fact

f *the constructions of fantasy:* [Stokes 1980] the construction of fantasy

g *the further satisfying:* [Stokes 1980] the further satiety

h *of mankind. I repeat: it is obvious:* of mankind. It is obvious ["I repeat:" written on opposite verso and here positioned at point marked by caret in pen] [Stokes 1980] of mankind. (It is obvious

i *yet it has done so:* [Stokes 1980] yet is has done so

j *anterior to science, has blocked the emergence:* anterior to science, has blocked the <development> emergence [Stokes 1980] anterior to science, blocked the emergence

k *But there will be emotional expression which is rationalized: that is the very breath of life. But if we use the word 'truth' where there is partiality, it should mean aesthetic 'truth':* But there <must> {[pen] will} be emotional expression <that> <{which}> is rationalized: <That> {that} is the very breath of life. But if we use the word <t> 'truth' <here> {where there is partiality}, it must <mean> {should mean} aesthetic 'truth' [Stokes 1980] But once the emotional expression is rationalized: that is the very breath of life... aesthetic 'truth') [editor's ellipsis]

l *aesthetic 'truth'. The external world is the sounding board of the emotions. That is self-evident; nevertheless has seemed a discovery while contemplating the eternal poetry of Giorgione's Tempesta. For instance:* The external world is the sounding board of the emotions: <as In this> {that} is <the> self-evident: <fact> {nevertheless} <that it> has seemed <almost> a discovery <in the contemplation> {while} <in> <{while illegible}> contemplating the <perennial> {eternal} poetry of Giorgione's Tempesta For instance [the initial two sentences written on opposite verso; here incorporated at point marked by caret in pen] [Stokes 1980] aesthetic 'truth'). For instance

and ask a question an answer to which is not a craving^a of pure reason as is supposed but of the desire for emotional correlation of a rather vulgar kind; to ask the question, then, what is the purpose of life, or what is the purpose of death. Our images are compounded with fact and with reason, vast rationalized structures

that hold in duress the fluid emotions, the grave and grand architecture of all mankind. Images encase all thought and are articulated by thought,^b but they are not primarily the products of thinking Consc.⁷⁰ I, even more than most men,^c live by fantasy. But I do not mistake it for truth.

Instance and Details (1943)

[f. 10v; fig. 68] The outside world is the sounding board of the emotions.⁷¹ The aesthetic attitude the only true one, applied to life. This sees each moment of consciousness, in terms of a particular stimulus, as an edifice constructed out of^d everything experienced before.⁷²

The belief in durable good is essential to well-being. Bereft of it altogether we die. The essence is the belief in the efficacy of love. We need the sense of optimism almost, at the centre of our being if we are to sleep well. It is far more important to human beings than truth, the discovery of which is often due to bitterness. How much truth can be borne? We know, all of us, or are capable of knowing, that religion is simply not true. But can we do without it, and if so, how? For assuredly the feeling of ultimate love, for everyday life and for certain situations in particular, cannot be withdrawn, even if the strength that ensues from it, is rarely drawn upon. It is at worst a shield from the exposure to nature in the raw which confronts if this

shield is renounced. The only way to do without religion or without any substitute rationalization is to welcome and foster the original sense of interior goodness both as a fantasy and as a fantasy that corresponds with^e the very working of life: for there is only love and death, and it behoves living creatures for their welfare, to carry deep inside them the love of love. It is possible and desirable, then, to subsist on the original impulse rather than on its rationalization which so often opposes truth and so often is paralyzed by truth. Moreover, any dogma makes impossible demands upon the intellect and is thereby partially rejected. The [f. 11v] private myth, known to the owner as myth, as a profound and necessary poetry, can possess all the beauty of organized religion. In future ages it will be seen that the ordinary man's conceptions of his mother,^f in her good and bad aspects, are conceptions more profound, more touching, more poetic than all the systems and dialectics of Good and Evil. If the belief or

a *a question an answer to which is not a craving*: a question <the> an answer to which is not <to satisfy> a craving

b *Images encase all thought and are articulated by thought*: Images {encase all thoughts and} are articulated by thought

c *of thinking Consc. I, even more than most men*: of thinking {consc}. I, {even} more than most men ["Our images [...] the products of thinking Consc." preceded and followed by vertical lines in pen]

d *constructed out of*: constructed <out> {out} of

e *fantasy that corresponds with*: fantasy <corresponding> {that corresponds} with

f *the ordinary man's conceptions of his mother*: the <concep> ordinary man's conceptions of <the> {his} mother

trust in the good object inside as one might call it, entails some degree of blindness to reality, it is permissible.^a A matter of degree. A certain amount of purely subjective disassociation^b in personal matters would seem almost inevitable.⁷³

Now, I would not claim that such a belief in the good inner object can equal in pervasiveness^c a living religion which possesses a god or gods who walk the earth, where the outside world is dizzy with an actual presence and with the miracle involved.^d Such exteriorization, too, carries the familiar process in a most dramatic form. Still, much meaning is destroyed: much prosaic meaning is lost in this zest for an all-consuming poetry. And this same poetry later settles down into a dull and distorting and enslaving prose,⁷⁴ the greatest of all shackles on human progress. We too^e must exteriorize the internal object. We follow the process of life knowingly, and all [f. 12v] the more willingly: above all,^f all the more consistently. Because of its falsity, much evil is done in the name of religion. But for us, the death instincts cannot play a part in our exteriorization of love except admittedly as a servant.⁷⁵ For were they equal or stronger than the love instinct, there could not be any further

picture of a belief in a good object, since that belief is directly inspired by the feeling of a good object which varies in strength, and must therefore be perennially renewed^g at the fount; unlike religious belief which for the most part is divorced from religious experience. And even religious experience is often dominated by fear and sense of guilt rather than by love. Our good object too, no doubt,^h is largely built upon a foundation of guilt feeling. It is there to fill the void.⁷⁶ Without it, we should be at the mercy of our sadism. Nevertheless it is a good object, it is the repository of love and generosity rather than the vehicle of guiltⁱ as are so many religious doctrines. For religion, not clearly seeing the compulsion to possess a good object,^j a compulsion that every human being shares and from which all religions grow, always overstates the case and is therefore confronted by what Christianity calls 'the problem of evil'. To meet this problem, and also because a tidy amount of [f. 13v] arrogance and sadism finds expression in dogma, the stress is shifted to guilt. We are today in a position to reverse the ontological argument for the existence of God, the oldest and most potent of all the Christian arguments. The ontological argument says that since

a *It is permissible*: It is permissible

b *purely subjective disassociation*: purely subjective disassociation

c *can equal in pervasiveness*: can equal in <pervasive> pervasiveness

d *and with the miracle involved*: and {with} the miracle involved

e *on human progress. We too*: on human progress We too

f *above all*: <over> {above} all

g *and must therefore be perennially renewed*: and <is> {must} <[rest?]> therefore {be} perennially renewed

h *Our good object too, no doubt*: Our good object {too}, no doubt ["too" added in pen]

i *of generosity rather than the vehicle of guilt*: of generosity <and not> {rather than} the vehicle of guilt

j *compulsion to possess a good object, a compulsion that: compulsion* to possess <g> {a} good object, a compulsion than

man^a finds within him the idea of God, therefore God must exist: there can be^b no other explanation for the possession of so sublime a conception. But we are in a position to say that since we possess the idea of a good object (i.e. God), and since without it we would very soon die, it is sophistry to conceive the power as also one

outside us.^c Indeed, the whole essence of the fantasy is that the good object is at the root of our imagination rather than in nature, the universe, the outside world known to science.^d It is we who are the gods in a godless world. And as it is with God, so it is with the Devil.⁷⁷

We are not now in a fresh world as lyrical as Giorgione's

Envoi (1944-45)

Again today we must reach a new communion between the inner and the external worlds. This time it is a godless outside world. We are would-be gods in a godless world. Give all over to science. It is the way of truth, the only way to peace of mind. And science will grow to proportions even more monstrous, monstrous that is, were they to be seen by the eyes of our generation uneasy and miserable in a half-way house amid a world afflicted. Give over everything to science without a qualm. For a new glory illumines the imaginative life, a purer imaginative life since it is conceived and called so after the victories of science. Yet it will be this imaginative life, aesthetic 'truth', fantasy, which will define by contrast the truth of science. Let us not be frightened to apply that word 'fantasy' to what we value most. Fantasy cannot be undermined if utter devotion is also paid to truth. The most profound object of contemplation is the relationship of fantasy with reality, between the partial and the impartial. To make the distinction absolute, to value both of its terms, will be the highest achievement of man.⁷⁸

The longer flights of fantasy, of course, attain aesthetic 'truth'.⁷⁹

Science and art, that is all.⁸⁰ Prose and poetry: and what a relief it is, the release from mumbo jumbo of every kind, from the prose-poetry of the ages⁸¹ which wears miserably thin, weft and warp tearing each other.

The belief in durable good is essential to well-being. Bereft of it altogether we die. The original essence is a belief in the efficacy of love. We need a sense of optimism almost at the centre of our beings if we are to sleep well. It is far more important to us than truth. How much truth can be borne? We know, all of us, or are capable of knowing apart from the compulsion of neurosis, that religion is simply not true. But can we do without it, and if so, how? For assuredly in everyday life and in certain situations in particular, the feeling of *ultimate* solicitude is indispensable, even if the strength that ensues is not much drawn upon. It is at worst a shield from exposure to Nature in the raw.

The only way to do without religion or without any substitute rationalization is to welcome and foster the

a *argument says that*: argument <[is?]> {says} that

b *exist: there can be*: exist: <since> {<for>} there can be

c *it is sophistry to conceive the power as also one outside us*: it is <absurd> {sophistry} to conceive the power as {also} one outside us

d *is at the root of our imagination rather than in nature, the universe, the outside world known to science*: is <well within> {at} the root of our <being as opposed to> {imagination rather than in} nature <or the outside world> the outside world known to science

original sense of interior goodness both as a fantasy and as a fantasy that corresponds with the very working of life: for there is only love and death,⁸² and it behoves living creatures for their welfare to carry deep inside them the love of love. It is possible and desirable, then, to subsist on something nearer the original impulse rather than on its more extensive rationalization which so often challenges truth and so often is paralysed by truth. Any dogma makes impossible demands upon the intellect. The private myth, known to the owner as a myth, can possess something of the beauty of organized religion, although for the most part it is voiceless and incommunicable. In future ages it will be seen that the ordinary man's conceptions of his mother, in good and bad aspects, are, where formulated, more profound, more touching, more poetic than all the systems and dialectics of Good and Evil. It may be found that the belief or trust in the good object inside, as one might call it, entails some degree of aversion from reality. Some degree of dissociation in personal matters would seem inevitable.⁸³

Now, I would not claim that such belief in the good inner object can equal the pervasiveness of living religion which possesses a god or gods who walk the earth, where the outside world is dizzy with an actual presence and with the miracle involved. Such exteriorization carries the familiar process in a most dramatic form. Still, much meaning is destroyed; much prosaic meaning is lost in the zest for an all-consuming poetry. And this same poetry soon settles down into dull and distorting and enslaving prose-poetry, the greatest of all shackles on human progress.⁸⁴ We too must exteriorize the internal object. We must follow the process of life knowingly, and the more willingly; above all, the more consistently. Because of its falsehood, too much evil is done in the name of religion. But for us, the death instincts will play a smaller part in our exteriorization of love except admittedly as a servant.⁸⁵ Were they equal or stronger than the love instincts, there could not be any further

pretence of a belief in a good object, since the belief is directly inspired by the feeling of a good object that varies in strength and must, therefore, perennially be renewed at the fount: unlike religious belief which, for the most part, is divorced from religious experience. And even religious experience is often dominated by fear and sense of guilt rather than love. The good object, too, no doubt, is largely built upon a foundation of guilt feeling. It is there to fill the frequent void.⁸⁶ Without it we should be at the mercy of our aggression. Nevertheless it is a good object, it is a repository of love and generosity, not the propounder of guilt feeling as are so many religious doctrines. For religion, not seeing the *compulsion* to possess a good object to counter hate, a compulsion, shared by every human being, from which all religions grow, always overstates the case and is therefore confronted by what Christianity calls 'the problem of evil'. To meet this problem, and also because an amount of arrogance and sadism finds expression in dogma, the stress is shifted to guilt.

We are today in a position to reverse the ontological argument for the existence of God, one of the oldest and most potent of all the Christian arguments. The ontological argument says that since man finds within him the idea of God, therefore God must exist: there can be no other explanation for man's conceiving of divinity. But we are in a position to say that since we harbour the idea of a good object (i.e. God), and since without it we should very soon die, it is a contradiction to conceive this power to be also outside us. Indeed, the essence of the fantasy is that the good object lives at the root of our imagination rather than in Nature, the universe, the outside world known to science that opposes itself to fantasy, and by which it is contrasted and defined. It is we who are the gods in godless world. And as it is with God, so it is with the Devil.⁸⁷

The world revealed by science cannot satisfy emotion. At great cost man has learned to defer his pleasure at the

behest of the reality principle.⁸⁸ Let the principle have full stature: the deeper satisfactions are then beyond its reach. Such true knowledge would only strengthen aesthetic fantasy so that they make each other poignant. Moreover, so huge is our partiality that all impartial thought is noble and sublime as well as useful. And the will to perpetuate, the compulsion to project in fantasy an ideal settlement of things, have their content and their beauty in the realization of an indifferent universe. So vast our partiality, it makes with the pressure of the indifferent universe, an aesthetic balance, provides all meaning with an aesthetic tang. Since it is his mode to suppress, to sublimate, to discover reality and then to project, only in the setting of natural law to which all phenomena, including himself, are subject, may man measure and contemplate in completeness man's desire. I should say, the *rest* of man's desire, since some part of feeling finds expression in impartial thought.

There is, then, again today a pungent dualism, as in the days of Giorgione, a more vivid current, as it were, passing between the poles of subject and object. Fantasy requires fact and vice versa. The uneasy masquerade of a frenzied fact is played out. We will seek truth and aesthetic 'truth';⁸⁹ we will increase the importance of art.

For we come to realize that artistic creation – and this point has been stressed over and over again – is the epitome of all living processes.⁹⁰ Stimuli conjoin as a pattern; action no less than utterance obtains its definite form from the mental flow. Within the terms of a particular stimulus the whole of a man's experience is expressed anew each moment of consciousness, just as in art the patterns of the mental life are made known through the data of the senses.⁹¹ Like a work of art, consciousness is a kind of concentrating reflector of the manifold spirit.⁹² By means of the perspective of a particular stimulus, every aspect has a place, however minute. There proceed ceaselessly correlation, rationalization, distortion. Always, something is expressed in terms of other things.

Substitution is the constant factor of mental activity. To create is to substitute. Consciousness is made up of reality sensations and of substitutions, of reality and its image. Man is alive twice over: he has the power both to live and to enlarge upon living. He is alive in reality and in image.⁹³

With the aid of reason, man constructs images from the ceaseless material of a few primary emotions. Each fresh composition uses anew the material of all previous structures.⁹⁴ To me it is strange that no mystique has attached itself to this process.⁹⁵

Every philosophy is based upon an opposition of terms. Its aim is either to describe their interaction and find the absolute in the interaction or combination itself, or else to reduce the one to terms of the other and thereby create an absolute. It is worth while to contemplate in a way that philosophers have not done before philosophizing, the generic pair of opposites in which our lives are cast. The new-born baby soon becomes aware that neither his mother nor the surrounding world is an extension of himself. Henceforth, to his dying day, there remains the huge division between himself and objects, people or things. Throughout life we seek to rival the externality of things. The world as we perceive it, our animal habitat, is the language of every passing mood or contemplative state. Indeed, without this canvas, as it were, on which to apply ourselves, by which we project and transmute as well as satisfy more direct biological needs, we cannot conceive the flow of the mind any more than the activity of the body. The body is obviously meaningless without a further external world: but so too is the mind. Mental as well as physical life is a laying out of strength within, in rivalry, as it were, with the laid-out instantaneous world of space. 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.⁹⁶

We carry with us all the time the certainty of life and of death, a relationship parallel to the interdependence

of subject and object. We strive to manifest our living (subject) in rivalry with the laid-out dispositions of the outside world. In the end, we do indeed in death (object) become solely a part of the inert outside world. As well as defining each other, our conceptions of life and death supplement each other. It is not surprising to find that the activities of intellect are supplementary, in the pursuit of fact for purposes of practical life and of science, and in the construction of fantasy: 'objective' and 'subjective' respectively in character. The fearless allocation, and thereby the further satisfying of these two activities, is the proper study of mankind.

I repeat; it is obvious that fantasy should not have part in science. Yet it has done so in all thought anterior to science, has blocked the emergence of science for thousands of years. All emotional expression is rationalized: that is the very breath of our life. But if we use the word truth where

there is partiality, it must be in the sense of "aesthetic truth". Our images are compounded of fact and of reason, vast rationalized structures that hold in duress the fluid emotions. Images encase thought and are articulated by thought, but they are not primarily the products of thinking.⁹⁷ Consciousness is no more of the mind than the surface is of the sea. And just as the surface of the sea lies opposite to the sky and, indeed, is thus defined, so does consciousness lie opposite to the external world. Mental processes, unknown in themselves, obtain entry to consciousness through speech. Symbolic substitution, even before speech, is natural to the infant. The basis of speech is substitution, the basis of all projection. To create is to substitute.⁹⁸

The external world is the sounding board of the emotions. That is self-evident: nevertheless, in contemplating the eternal poetry of Giorgione's *Tempesta*, it has seemed a discovery.⁹⁹



Figure 69 Adrian Stokes, *Garden, Carbis Bay (Little Park Owles)*. 1943. Oil on canvas

Background VII

The final portion of *OIL* was begun at or around Easter (25 April) 1943.¹⁰⁰ There are indications, however, that it was not all drafted in the immediately ensuing weeks or months, but was continued – or added to – at different times over a period of more than a year, in a sort of counterpoint to events different in kind and status but all progressive of, or occasioned by the war, as well as to work on other texts more or less related to it.

Three of those other texts – NBA, I&D and “Envoi”¹⁰¹ – accompany *OIL* VII here. Taken together they show that in 1943-44 AS found time for his own work to an extent unprecedented since the start of the war. For, in addition to the writing, he was able to consolidate his recent return to painting, producing, among documented works, a landscape of the garden at LPO [fig. 69] and at least four still lifes, three of which may be seen in Figure 70,¹⁰² while the other is reproduced in Figure 71. Presumably, these still lifes were all examples of what a little later he would refer to as his “bottle pictures”, which in his own estimate constituted a new phase of work and level of achievement and of whose ‘honesty’ he attempted to convince the writer and painter Humphrey Slater (1906-1958) during a visit the latter made to St Ives in 1946.¹⁰³ As Figure 70 demonstrates, they indeed seem prototypes of the many still lifes painted in subsequent decades. They also resonate with reflections in *OIL* on the phenomenology of objects, calling to mind, for instance, those dating from the turbulent first weeks of the conflict on the “blessed” or stabilizing outwardness and stillness of inanimate things, such as a “glass upon the table”, focus, theme and pattern of thought and feeling;¹⁰⁴ or again the poem *Addressed to the Household Orchestra* drafted on the penultimate verso of the present portion of *OIL* and expressive of the visual coherence – resistant to, but at the same time permeated by an imaginary music – of what might well be the objects of a painted still life: an assembly of individuals integrated and imbued with intention by the interplay of colour, tone and touch. And among the objects common to three of the still lifes just mentioned, and which they share with another dated 1945 [fig. 72],¹⁰⁵ is indeed a salt cellar, as invoked in the poem.¹⁰⁶

MM, meanwhile, had also continued to paint,¹⁰⁷ as well as to teach, this time at the Downs School, relocated, as mentioned earlier, to the nearby Treloyhan Manor hotel.¹⁰⁸



Around mid-May 1943 AS had “nothing to tell” SB either about himself or the Carbis Bay “coterie”, adding gravely, “I slip back: I mark time very conscientiously, which, over a long time is exhausting enough”.¹⁰⁹ A year later he described himself to the same correspondent as “lolling about in semi-coma”, but yet “struggl[ing] to go on with [his] own work in the evenings”.¹¹⁰ The tone belies his determination and the extent of his achievement. This was no doubt in some degree facilitated by PF’s continued assistance in the market garden, where they lifted their tons of potatoes, picked the fruit of their now 3000 tomato plants,¹¹¹ cut lettuce and peas, grew garlic and kept bees and chickens.¹¹²

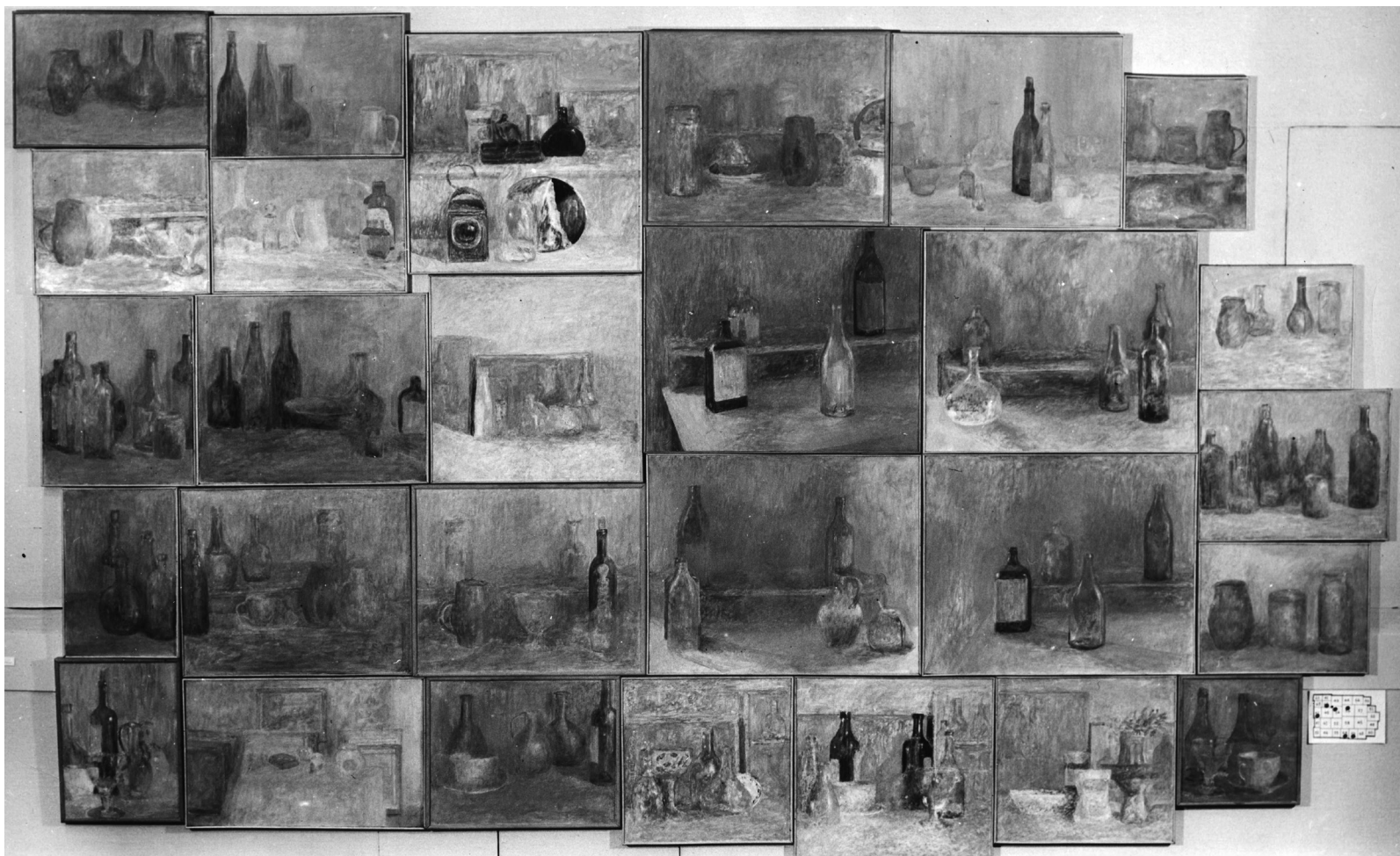


Figure 70 Unidentified photographer, *Twenty-Eight Still Lives* by Adrian Stokes, Marlborough Fine Art Ltd, London, 1965



Figure 71 Adrian Stokes, *Still Life*. 1944 and 1946. Oil on canvas



Figure 72 Adrian Stokes, *Bottles*. 1945. Oil on canvas

However, despite the help, in October 1943 the work was heavy enough for AS to seek advice from HR as to how to obtain official “release”, “on grounds of ‘Art’”, from his agricultural contribution to the war effort. Yet HR held out little hope. He saw “no other channel than Sir K. [KC]”, who when “a power at the MOI [Ministry of Information] [...] could work wonders”, but now seemed to be “under some sort of ‘official’ cloud”¹¹³ – and whom AS might not perhaps have cared to approach.¹¹⁴

AS’ determination may have been tempered by a sense that the war was at a turning-point. In February 1943 the Allies had won the long and bloody struggle for control of Stalingrad and they had also been victorious in North Africa. The invasion of Sicily that summer moreover accelerated the crisis within the Italian government which led to the arrest of Mussolini on 25 July¹¹⁵ and, in a few months, to the signing of the Armistice between Italy and the Allies (8 September 1943). Lastly, between 1943 and 1944 preparations were underway for the opening of the front in western Europe for which Stalin had been pressing since 1942; and these preparations incidentally saw Cornwall transformed from an area remote from the conflict to a training-ground for British, American and Canadian troops and a major staging area for the coordinated invasion of Normandy in June 1944.



Compared with IS, *OIL VII* marks a shift in emphasis. The essay, as Connolly had understood, launched an attack on contemporary intellectuals in the name of “a complete philosophy, a complete aesthetic” ignored or obfuscated by them. Consequent “attitudes to the contemporary scene” included only an oblique reference to the war, via mention of Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945) as personifying the Nazi propaganda machine, itself seen as the product of the Anglo-American advertising ethos and as scientifically exploiting the inevitably “magical cast” of “inner process”.¹¹⁶ By contrast, *OIL VII* starts by individuating the “keyword of [AS’] thought”, ‘substitution’, recuperated from *OIL I* and now promoted, not just in terms of its truth value but as the only possible harbinger of “a permanently better world”. Less theoretical, the outlook advanced here comprehends, not just the intellectual dishonesty of psychological exploitation, but “the universal suffering of warfare in the modern world”; and it is driven by a “force of necessity” which is ethically and, in a broad sense, socially oriented. AS here foregrounds “the means of maximum emotional equilibrium” as entailing “the harnessing to positive ends or the least destructive ends, of the destructive impulses”, what he calls “an aesthetic dispensation in the lives of men”.¹¹⁷

This aspect and theme are developed in a series of letters to HR written between January and February 1944, in response to the recently published *Education through Art* (Read 1943), a copy of which its author had sent “for circulation in Carbis Bay” the previous October.¹¹⁸ The book’s thesis was Platonic: “art should be the basis of education”,¹¹⁹ viewed as the purpose informing a “libertarian conception of democracy” – namely, “to develop, at the same time as the uniqueness, the social consciousness or reciprocity of the individual”.¹²⁰ HR argued that aesthetic education was fundamental to this process, as “a governing *mechanism* that can only be ignored at our peril”.¹²¹

In his view, two main principles were involved in the realization and definition of art:

a *principle of form*, derived [...] from the organic world, and the universal objective aspect of all works of art; and a *principle of origination* peculiar to the mind of man, and impelling him to create (and appreciate the creation of) symbols, phantasies, myths which take on a universally valid objective existence only in virtue of the principle of form. Form is a function of *perception*; origination is a function of *imagination*. These two mental activities exhaust, in their dialectical counterplay, all the psychic aspects of aesthetic experience. But art has other aspects – biological and social – and it is far from my intention to underestimate their importance. Indeed, the following chapters are nothing but an inquiry into the wider aspects of the aesthetic activity, and an insistence on its fundamental importance in all spheres of life. But that kind of phrase does not adequately represent the total nature of my claim, for I maintain that life itself, in its most secret and essential sources, is aesthetic – that it only *is* by virtue of the embodiment of energy in a form which is not merely material, but aesthetic. Such is the formative principle discernible in the evolution of the universe itself.¹²²

AS endorsed what he perceived to be HR's "main theme: the preponderance of an aesthetic process in life [...] more than any other needing emphasis".¹²³ He did not however always agree with him about how that process or conviction might be applied to education: HR's aesthetic categories "cut across [his] own". In addition, and above all, he objected to the selective use of Freudian theory made by HR himself and by the authorities cited by him with regard to the relation between art and the unconscious. "Freud is there", AS complained, "just when he suits and for the greater part of the book, might never have existed".¹²⁴ HR was accused of emulating "Jung and the others" and resorting to "the well-known appeasement way of castrating the dangerous beast":

The <psycho> views of the various psychologists and psycho-therapists that you quote express to me a simple aversion to face the facts of life. Aggression is just as primary if not as strong as love. Hence guilt. Man is as he is not because of some almost gratuitous taking of the wrong path, but because his present positions express a balance of forces whose opposition it is exceedingly hard to circumvent. We shall eventually gain far better control but only by recognizing the real situation, by realizing the strength of the destructive impulses, by thereby learning to harness aggression {far more} to constructive ends. You can't just cut it out [...] You most vividly describe the extent of the unconscious but there are very many pages of the book where one might well suppose you did not recognize the conception. Thinking, logic etc, also has its unconscious contexts

[...] {Even the learning of Latin can} be an expression of the whole personality.¹²⁵

Background VII
Paul Tucker

Citing a remark of HR's,¹²⁶ AS further retorted,

As for "the relationship of love which is natural to the state of nurture and protection into which the child is born" – certainly [illegible phrase cancelled] {Love is} always "natural" and in analysing some one like Hitler one would have to spend the time uncovering suppressed love just as with most individuals it would be mostly unconscious hate.

And returning to what he saw as "the main point", he asked,

will education as you want it help to harness aggression to constructive ends ie not merely <turning> {turn} it from the outside world on to the self and {to} other mechanisms that are harmful and encouraged by the education that you deplore. I think the answer is yes. I think reform of education at any rate to some extent as you visualize it, is almost a panacea, is far the most important of political issues.¹²⁷

In defence, HR invoked Freud's "inadequacies" in dealing with the subject of art and, more generally, in his "concentration on the individual rather than on society or social groups". This was the reason, he explained, why he considered the American Triggant Burrow (1875-1960) as "far the most important of Freud's lost disciples", never departing from "the basic physiological facts", but "recognizing the patient & the community as part of the same social fabric, and individual analysis as therefore hopelessly limited".¹²⁸

In the final letter to have survived from this exchange, AS rejoined, "But how can truth, if truth it be, be inadequate? It's not what one wanted, <maybe> maybe: that's a different matter".¹²⁹ He admitted he knew nothing of Burrow, though he was "ready to believe" he had "contributed a lot (not to psycho-analysis)" and intended to read him. *OIL VII* seems to offer evidence of such reading and to specify further grounds of dissent regarding the American.¹³⁰ The possibility that the brief discussion there of his work and of that of Erich Fromm (also commended in Read 1943) may date from the early spring of 1944 is strengthened by the pertinence to the exchange with HR of passages immediately preceding that discussion. For these too deal with questions of truth and '(un)pleasantness' and of "morale", affirming that frank admission of truth is the means to "a wiser corporate life and that much better bringing up of children and of education which would make all the difference to the life of society, and ultimately of the human race".¹³¹

Underlining that he was no convert to HR's basic idea and vision, AS deployed the language of IS and of his earlier endorsement of Read [1940] 1946 to clarify the reasons for his avowedly "priggish Freudian pest":

I am myself a <fanatical> fanatical would-be builder, an idealist no less than you; because you are so weighty an influence, one of the few who have not succumbed to any religion; and also, I am afraid, because I feel extremely lonely [...] There is a danger, as ever, of a reversion to the prose-poetry of the <past> {past} taking the place of the post-Freudian potential pure prose and pure poetry. In fact it is not a case of reversion. Very few are free of medievalism. Half in, half out is a sad position. This is the basic handicap of civilized man.¹³²

Perhaps AS' response to HR's book gained some of its intensity¹³³ from his reaction to the death the previous summer of GB, who, after his return to England from Pretoria at the beginning of March, had been killed on a training flight on 9 August. AS had immediately written to AOP,

I think I have had a more vivid sense of Graham, of an embodied and gifted intelligence, of a friend, than in the case of anyone else. I grieve for the painter lost. He cannot be replaced in any of our lives either as an artist or as a friend. Something most important goes from the background as well as the foreground.¹³⁴

It has been suggested that GB's death may have "reminded [AS] of the loss of another friend with whom he had spent time as a teenager in the Pyrenees", thus triggering, in August 1943, the writing of NBA, which in opening alludes to the involuntary memory of a road in that district walked on "some 25 years" earlier.¹³⁵ This seems unlikely, however, since not only is AS' chronology at fault,¹³⁶ but there is no reference in NBA to any sort of personal loss. Indeed, the substance of both NBA and I&D is not personal but in line with the prescriptions for a "complete philosophy, complete aesthetic" proffered in IS and based on the recognition "that the activities of consciousness are dual and supplementary, namely the pursuit of fact necessary for practical life and for science, and the constructions of fantasy, 'objective' and 'subjective' respectively in character".¹³⁷

If NBA and its companion-piece I&D are to be linked to any events to do with the war, it must rather be to those leading to the changed political outlook and alliance of Italy. Almost in closing, both texts make reference to Giorgione; NBA specifically to his *Tempesta*.¹³⁸ Both may have been drafted with a view to their insertion in the "book on Giorgione" which AS had taken up again at the start of 1940 and to which he returned in January 1944,¹³⁹ two crucial moments in the history of Italy's involvement in the conflict.

In drafting and re-drafting the book, AS seems to have conceived the idea of concluding it (and thereby also the multi-volume project on the Italian Renaissance begun in the late 1920s) with an "Envoi" that would point the contemporary cultural relevance of the preceding reflections. The substance of the "Envoi" was indeed included in a "second draft" of the "book on Giorgione" dated March 1944, where however it was not so titled or separated from the preceding essay on the *Tempesta*. Further evidence that NBA and I&D were both drafted with some such end in

mind is the fact that “Envoi” incorporates passages from both. The contemporary relevance of the study which had by now assumed the title *Venice. An Aspect of Art* was stressed in its “Preface”, dated “September, 1944”, and written, as AS immediately declared, at a time when the fate of the northern city, still occupied by the Nazis, “[continued] to be uncertain”.¹⁴⁰ Yet such relevance had been a dimension of AS’ project from its inception. The initial schemes for QC already referred to¹⁴¹ included a “modern part”, an “Introduction modern” and sections on “QC Aesthetic theory” and on “Us” as distinct from “The Renaissance”.¹⁴² The habitually dual focus of the aesthetic approach epitomized in those schemes is perhaps recalled – and not by chance in explicit reference to Venice – in this very portion of *OIL* VII: “Tea-time in the piazza at Venice. I try to equate the present with the surrounding past”.¹⁴³ And it is further elaborated in “Envoi”, which is presented in the book as “the series of abstractions which these volumes [i.e., QC, SR, Venice and perhaps C&F also] have clothed”; a philosophy mirroring for “today” that created by Giorgione in the fifteenth-century in “imbuing objects and their relation with aesthetic value”.¹⁴⁴

“Envoi” may thus be seen as the latest in a series of ‘summings up’ of AS’ thought, which includes IS, NBA, I&D and the letters to HR and builds on the realization, obtained through work on *OIL*, of its overall coherence – a realization to which the initial and (almost) final entries of *OIL* VII, with their focus on ‘substitution’ as “key-word” and “the conjunction of meanings” as “the ultimate object of contemplation”, give added articulation. The series would be crowned by *IO*, especially in its concluding pages, on a draft of whose “Preface”, AS would write, “Anything I have ever had to say is here crystallized”.¹⁴⁵

OIL VII may however have progressed beyond the completion of *Venice*, probably in September 1944 (by mid-October AS was correcting proofs).¹⁴⁶ Its final paragraph, spilling unusually but of necessity onto the verso of the notebook’s last leaf, may date from as late as December of that year. Its short reflection on the importance, for her vocation and development as a physicist, of Marie Curie’s fascination in childhood with her scientist father’s measuring instruments, may have drawn on biographical information gleaned or recalled by AS after seeing the film *Madame Curie* (1943), starring Greer Garson and Walter Pidgeon, which was shown the week before Christmas 1944 at the Scala cinema in St Ives.¹⁴⁷ This final paragraph may thus post-date the commencement, on 8 December and in a separate notebook, of *IO*, the book of which *OIL* was not a draft as such, but in which, as is amply demonstrated in this edition, substantial parts of it were re-used. As mentioned earlier, in 1940 AS had considered recasting *OIL* as a “case-history”.¹⁴⁸ The autobiographical character which this “case-history” eventually took, in “Part I” of the book – which, first titled “Inferno”,¹⁴⁹ centred on his childish apprehension of neighbouring Hyde Park as a figure of desolation – was clearly pre-announced, perhaps not long beforehand, in the final pages of *OIL*.¹⁵⁰ It is certainly no coincidence, lastly, that AS embarked on this new project in the wake, not only of the completing of *Venice*, but also of “the slackening of the Home Guard” that autumn.¹⁵¹ Indeed, he began *IO* only days after the final parade and ‘stand down’, on 3 December, of his battalion, the 14th (Hayle).¹⁵²

Meanwhile, family members and former LPO dependants were on active military service. AM had joined the WRNS on 27 May 1943, and by mid-October 1944 was reported to be “somewhere in Normandy”.¹⁵³ WS had become a bomb aimer for the RAF in Canada. Inquiring after him towards the end of September, SB remarked, “When I see Typhoons diving & plunging their rockets into Tiger tanks I often wonder if he is at the joy-stick”.¹⁵⁴ Not long afterwards he was informed that WS had “turned up” at LPO and that AS was “a bit worried about him”, as he had “lost a good deal of weight” and looked, so MM and PF also thought, “strained”.¹⁵⁵ In reply, SB considered it only natural that “the whole achievement” should have been “a strain on him”, and offered an illuminating memory of this otherwise elusive household member:

I remember him most clearly cleaning the tools in your shed: the way he looked after a <shovel> {spade}, scraped & polished it, let it slide under his fingers {<[illegible]>}, changed my whole vision of spades forever & helped me to understand him. <[illegible]> Much as he loved these tools, your mowing machine was his aeroplane & it follows logically <[illegible]> that he should fly & aim bombs with all the precision of which his keen eyes seemed capable. I do hope he will not get lost in the skies. We soldiers, mud-fish, always marvel at those strange men who drove among the stars. If he is still in Cornwall please shake his hand for me.¹⁵⁶

After more than a year’s training, SB was himself now in Normandy, a Forward Observation Post Assistant in the 9th battery of the 53rd Heavy Regiment Royal Artillery. His job in action, he would later explain, was to go in an “armoured carrier, with an officer and two signallers, to set up an Observation Post in the forward areas, and by radio transmission bring down fire on the enemy from our guns in the rear”.¹⁵⁷ His battery had landed on K-Beach (Juno) on 24 June 1944. The traumatic experiences of the next months, lasting until he developed jaundice and was flown back to England, were documented in his journal and partly too in letters to AS. These would later be returned to him, for the reason they might prove useful when he came to write about his experiences in the army, as, even before D-Day, AS had encouraged him to do.¹⁵⁸ Journal and letters thus formed the basis of *I am Lazarus*, published nearly twenty years later.¹⁵⁹

SB’s monograph on AW had been completed well before D-Day. The first to read it, perhaps in an intermediate state, had been BL, the previous spring. AS had then reported to SB that the “dear St Bernard” was “absorbed” by his book. “I am in no doubt”, he continued, “that through your imaginary communion with Wallis, you have translated to your purpose all your experience and suffering and perception in Cornwall”.¹⁶⁰ The TS had been submitted to BN for comment before 6 February 1944, when SB made a preliminary response to his accusation that it amounted to an “attack” on him and a breach of fair play. It was a question, SB countered, of “a difference of ideas” which the two had discussed “freely from time to time”, both in conversation and by letter. As to the accuracy of his account, evidently questioned by BN, especially so far

as it concerned himself, SB assured him he had “taken the utmost care” over “‘facts’”, having a “horror of misrepresentation or injustice”.¹⁶¹

By 3 April SB, now on exercises in Scotland, had been able to review BN’s comments on and suggested amendments to his TS. He was glad, he said, to have sent it him, as he felt he could now “go forward with understanding” rather than “submerged feeling”. Disoriented by discrepancies between BN’s current statements and those he [SB] had been “at such pains to record <co> accurately at the time”, SB proposed to proceed as follows. Where BN’s “new facts” differed from those given earlier, he would preserve the latter, “striking out [BN’s] name”. In the case of “difference of opinion – or apparent misunderstanding” he would accept the “new statements & fit them in [...] deleting the earlier”. With regard to discrepancy concerning the “exact<ly> nature of <thing> events at & before the funeral”, SB (unfortunately) preferred to “leave things <out> unsaid to avoid dispute all round <and> since several people have different opinions” and he did not think it necessary to argue about the matter.¹⁶²

What he found “most difficult to reconcile” was BN’s “new record of what [he] thought & felt about [AW] at the Workhouse”: “You say ‘not my words’ & such things, when in all honesty I assure you they are”. Other comments, he conceded, were useful. He hoped “to patch a new & final copy together” while he was “at home”,¹⁶³ that is, on leave in Cornwall, where he spent Easter (9 April). And so, on 14 April, emphatically thanking BN for his “suggestions”, SB was able to report that the book, “with all pre-arranged alterations”, had “gone in” to the publisher, Tambimuttu, to whose secretary he had personally delivered it.¹⁶⁴

The “pre-arranged” alterations included those requested independently by AS, who seems to have seen the book for the first time that Easter¹⁶⁵ and to whom SB wrote the day after its submission apologizing, as mentioned earlier,¹⁶⁶ for his “little quips” at AS’ expense – “not quips really”, he explained, “& not meant to hurt”.¹⁶⁷

In the same letter he reported that he had done “all possible about Wallis’ grave” before leaving St Ives. He had hoped BH might carve a headstone, but, realizing “she had work & worry enough”, approached the local “‘monumental sculptor’” instead. The cheapest option was a plain granite kerb stone for £20; the next cheapest a kerb stone with short headstone, with or without “granite chips” (to which however BL had strongly objected) for £25.14.6. This second option, though admittedly not beautiful was “unpretentious & not out of keeping with what Wallis might have liked”. The headstone might, SB thought, be inscribed, “ALFRED WALLIS / ARTIST AND MARINER / <DIED> {BORN} AUG 18 1855 <DAV> / DIED AUG 29 1942”. Lastly, SB asked if AS could think of a “fitting quotation” to add to the inscription, and whether a collection might be made to cover the cost (minus the £10 already promised by Peter Watson and the 10 shillings offered by SB himself). In the end, as will be seen, the idea of a kerb and headstone would be dropped in favour of a quite different solution, suggested and created by BL.¹⁶⁸

In his reply, AS thanked SB for doing so “well over the grave” and concurred that a subscription was “the only idea”:

I will give £5 and I should think Jim Ede is good for £5. Then there is Watson's £10 and with you, that makes £20-10, leaving some £5 more. Barbara [BH] should be good for £1. If the Flamingo is in funds, I am sure he would contribute. Who else is there? I am sure Herbert [HR] would give £1. Who else has got Wallises? Madame Wertheim?¹⁶⁹

He said he was unable to help contact "these people", claiming he did not know their addresses (though clearly this did not apply to HR, his frequent correspondent in this period). Nor, he added, would he himself "approach Ben [BN] and Barbara [BH], as he was "no longer on speaking terms" and declared that he would "sever relations entirely and finally for a great deal too much more than excellent reasons".¹⁷⁰

What AS did not say was that it had been BN who, by letter and only a few days before, had proposed that he and AS should not see each other until a month or so after the end of the war. He adduced AS' "permanent mistrust of [his] character" and the "periodic visits" in which he "pour[ed] forth all [his] grievances & harp[ed] on this eternally boring theme" of how he [AS] had "given [BN] so much", whereas he [BN] made "no return". Last but not least, there was what BN diagnosed as AS's "dual personality", whereby "instinctive & very real generosity" tended to transform into "a hard business deal", a duplicity that was "slowly but surely killing [their] friendship".¹⁷¹ Though (more than a month later) BN did apologize for what he wrote in this letter, recognizing "the appalling difficulties of [his] own character" and invoking the general strain on nerves due to the war, relations between him and AS were indeed severed until the start of 1945 at the earliest.¹⁷²

MM would later state that BN and AS had

mutually quarrelled over Sven Berlin, who was going to write a thing about Wallis; and Ben was going to write a thing about Wallis; didn't want SB to say something deleterious about Ben, so asked AS to make sure he didn't say anything nasty; and so as soon as Adrian had got that done, according to Adrian, Ben quarrelled with him [...]¹⁷³

This however seems to be almost the only source attesting that the quarrel had to do with SB and, ultimately, with AW.¹⁷⁴ And MM did not state whether the "thing about Wallis" which was the bone of contention was SB's article for *Horizon* or his later monograph. His work on AW was not mentioned in BN's critical letter to AS; nor did SB, in expressing, to one and the other,¹⁷⁵ his sympathy and sadness at their falling out seem to be aware that the cause lay with him.¹⁷⁶ It does nevertheless appear significant that the quarrel should have come to a head less than a week after SB's Easter visit to Carbis Bay¹⁷⁷ and only a day after he had handed in the MS to the publisher.



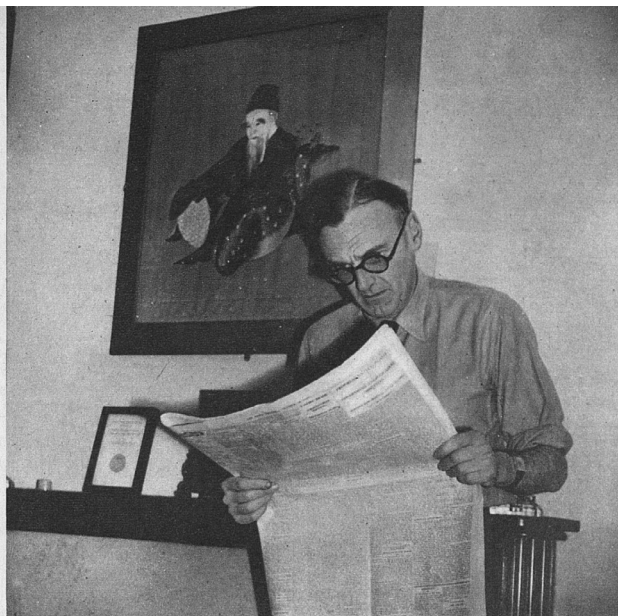
The MacLeods at Home

● Joseph MacLeod, one of the B.B.C.'s most popular wartime announcers, is going into the film business as managing director of Scottish National Film Studios.

He has had a varied career. Called to the Bar in 1928, he did not make law his living, but worked at various times as a book-reviewer, private tutor, actor, producer and lecturer in theatrical history. In 1937 he made a tour of theatres in the U.S.S.R.

An authority on Russian drama, Mr. MacLeod has also published a novel and several plays and poems.

His wife is a trained horticulturist and has lectured for the Ministry of Agriculture. Both the MacLeods speak Russian



Joseph MacLeod reads his newspaper beneath a picture that has accompanied him everywhere—the Chinese God of Longevity, depicted in Korean appliqué work

Photographs by
Pictorial Press



While Mrs. MacLeod darns, her husband relaxes with his pipe, and a first edition of "Lady of the Lake" given him by a listener

Figure 73
"The Macleods at Home".
The Tatler and Bystander,
13 February 1946

Another former LPO dependant, though only in a preliminary phase, the gardener Thomas Farrell, seems to have returned there some time in 1944. In the autumn of 1946, on learning that the house was to be sold,¹⁷⁸ he would write to AS expressing his sorrow at the news and grateful appreciation of his employers:

For my own part I have been in private service since the age of 14 years, and believe me when I say that I have never been happier or more content in my work than during the 3 years that I have been in your employ [...]¹⁷⁹

The extended Carbis Bay community had meanwhile acquired a new member in the form of another conscientious objector, the locally born painter Patrick Heron, who came to work for BL at the Pottery (potting having been classified as a reserved occupation), “arriving in Cornwall shortly before the West Country was sealed off in preparation for the Normandy landings”.¹⁸⁰ He thus came to frequent LPO; and AS would write to SB that “young Heron at the pottery” seemed to him “a promising painter”. SB’s pert comment was, “another bird to your museum”.¹⁸¹

Visitors to LPO in 1943-44 included AS’ “aged parents”, who stayed in the Porthminster Hotel in St Ives around the middle of September 1943. They had been preceded earlier that month by JM and his wife Kit [fig. 73],¹⁸² probably taking advantage of the fact that on 10 June JM had been suspended from reading the news on the BBC, owing to his alleged impatience “of BBC methods” and “independent approach to most of his work”. This included the matter of pronunciation, which “occasionally breached BBC guidelines due to his slight Scottish inflection”.¹⁸³ Some time afterwards, AS wrote to him of the “great comfort” he had taken from their visit: “There is nothing like an old friend”, he commented. “And for the first time I felt I had got to know a little that remarkable woman your wife. You are both good and tried souls”.¹⁸⁴ There seems to have been some question of JM’s returning to Cornwall the following autumn, when AS suggested he might stay at the Carbis Bay Hotel.¹⁸⁵ If he did make this trip, it may have been the last time AS saw him until the 1950s or later.¹⁸⁶

Earlier that year AOP too had returned to LPO. On sick leave from the Ministry of Information, she had been staying in South Cornwall with the painter Rodrigo Moynihan (1910-1990), an associate of the Euston Road School, and since 1943, like WC (now in Italy),¹⁸⁷ commissioned as an official war artist.¹⁸⁸ She would later remember how during her stay in Carbis Bay MM was often in St Ives seeing American soldiers and leaving TrS to be looked after, so she recalled, by AM.¹⁸⁹ This was remembered by her as a sign of a failing marriage, of which the ‘rows’ and personal anger recorded by MM on her calendar-diary were others.¹⁹⁰

Notes

1 Cf. ff. 54r, 58r, 254, 259; and compare this and the following paragraph with *OIL* III, f. 41r, 127, on “the new relationship between the pursuit of truth and the necessary activity of keeping up morale, a redistribution of application which is the basis of all real intelligence today”. And see the “Introduction”, 26.

2 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 168: “Were this road [the Freudian line or road of truth] widely used and accepted, truth thereafter would never be ‘awkward’: in other words, the pragmatic approach to truth would be identical with an abstract search for truth”); and the repeated stress in Vaihinger 1924 on the practical value of the logically false.

3 Cf. Vaihinger 1924, 121-2, on the antithetic error involved in the syllogistically obtained proposition “Socrates is mortal”, as analogically inferred from the proposition “Man is mortal”: “The first error consists in the formation of the concept ‘man in general.’ What is this ‘in general’? It is a pure piece of imagination, a fiction, a fictional conceptual construct. From the innumerable men whom we observe there gradually emerges a picture, a type, a scheme, in which the most general ‘characteristics’ of these similar phenomena are fused. This picture is a mere ideational construct, for in reality only particular men exist. This construct is known as the general concept ‘man.’”

4 Possibly an echo of the Terentian tag *Nihil humani a me alienum puto*; and perhaps too of Walter Pater on Pico della Mirandola (Pater [1893] 1980, 38): “he has a true place in that group of Italians who fill the end of the fifteenth century with their names, he is a true *humanist*. For the essence of humanism is that belief of which he seems never to have doubted, that nothing which has ever interested living men and women can wholly lose its vitality”. Cf. *OIL* VII, f. 58r, 255 and fn. 50.

5 Cf. *OIL* III, ff. 37r-38r, 123-4: “Only one thing [...] very little meaning at present”.

6 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 168): “Myth will abound [...] notions thus engendered”.

7 René, presumably a refugee from France or Belgium, has not been identified. Manfred Israel Zydower Freeman (1927-2023) was born into a Jewish family in Deutsch Krone, in Prussia (the district now lies in Poland). He came to England in July 1939, together with his sisters, Anita Rosel Soer (1929-2021) and Astrid Zydower (1930-2005), later a sculptor, under the *Kindertransport* scheme organized by a coalition of voluntary agencies called the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, later the Refugee Children Movement, and funded by the Central British Fund for German Jewry. Like the estimated 10,000 unaccompanied children who came to Britain in this way, the Zydowers left their parents behind. They never saw them again (they were thought to have survived until 1944). Anita would remember how they were “met and saved by an elderly lady, Mrs Freeman, on Liverpool Street Station, who had initially said she would only take my sister and myself, but when she saw my brother holding our hands tightly she could not part us and took the three of us to her house in Sheffield” (Gibson 2023, 199). The Zydowers were presumably three of the four Jewish children who in 1941 Arnold Freeman stated were maintained in his

home (“Background V”, 197). Between 1939 and 1942 Manfred was registered on the Home Office Aliens Department Internees Index as a “Schoolboy” and “Gardener” and as living at Latoka, Carbis Bay, PF’s address (archive ref. HO 396/106). In a letter of 8 August 2020 to PF’s daughter Pam, Manfred wrote, “The first person we met was your lovely dad Peter and your grandma Mrs Freeman [...] Peter was my teacher for a very long time, he was my friend, and I could never forget him”. In an earlier letter to Pam’s sister Penny (8 February 1980), Manfred remembered how PF had taught him “all sorts of things” and helped him in his college studies “day in, day out, sometimes till 12 in the morning. Peggy used to come in the room & said, Peter Manfred had enough today, let him go to bed”. He also remembered how PF and he grew leeks together, though he does not say whether they did so in the grounds of LPO, where it would seem from this passage in *OIL* Manfred did work, or in the garden at Latoka. In 1943 Manfred is said to have enrolled on a course validated by the British Institute of Engineering Technology (Gibson 2023, 199). He must still have been in Carbis Bay in 1945, when PF’s daughter Pearl was born, since in his letters to Pam and Penny he remembered taking her out for walks.

8 Cf. “Psycho-Analytic Reflections on the Development of Ball Games, particularly Cricket” (1956) (Stokes 1973, 50): “Is there a more subtle improvement upon warfare than such games [team games as developed in English public schools and affording outlet for aggressive energy and a shared libidinal bond with the mother]?”

9 Cf. *OIL* III, f. 42r, 128: “Art that records [...] repeated or reproduced”.

10 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 168): “Far, far more will be allotted to fantasy than was suspected in any previous age”.

11 Cf. *C&F* (Stokes 1978, II, 29): “it is always comparative nonsense, though, to speak of any shape in itself and as isolated. It may be isolated in space, yet the mind will find for it relations with shapes imagined or remembered”.

12 Cf. NBA, f. 11r, 261: “the indubitable zest for life which, although it varies, so seldom is altogether lost”.

13 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 168-9): “Far, far more [...] raked out thoroughly”.

14 Cf. J. Rivière on the smugness, cant and hypocrisy – indirect aggression – resulting from the denial of sexual and aggressive instincts in Klein, Riviere [1937] 1998 (49).

15 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 160): “Sometimes of an evening [...] as sleep should be”.

16 Fadiman 1940 contains contributions by WHA; the writer Pearl Buck (1892-1973); the economist Stuart Chase (1888-1985); the physicist Albert Einstein (1879-1955); the physician Havelock Ellis (1859-1939); the novelist E.M. Forster (1879-1970); the scientist J.B.S. Haldane (1892-1964); the zoologist Lancelot Hogben (1895-1975); the biologist Julian Huxley (1887-1975); the anatomist and anthropologist Sir Arthur Keith (1866-1955); the economist and political theorist Harold J. Laski (1893-1950); the writer and linguist Lin Yutang (1895-1976); the writer Emil Ludwig (1881-1948); the novelist Thomas Mann (1875-1955); the

philosopher and theologian Jacques Maritain (1882-1973); the poet Jules Romains (1885-1972); the philosopher Bertrand Russell (1872-1970); the writer and politician John Strachey (1901-1963); the writer and humourist James Thurber (1894-1961); the historian and journalist Hendrik Willem van Loon (1882-1944) and the writer Rebecca West (1892-1983).

17 Fadiman 1940, 37: "For as soon as a human being is born, perhaps as soon as he is conceived, life and death begin their opposing work in him".

18 Fadiman 1940, 89: "harmonious conflict of opposite tendencies".

19 Fadiman 1940, 131: "I do not believe that these [values] are absolute, or transcendental in the sense of being vouchsafed by some external power or divinity: they are the products of human nature interacting with the outer world".

20 Fadiman 1940, 153: "The fight between good and evil [...] is the struggle for mastery between the old inheritance and the new".

21 Fadiman 1940, 219: "In him [the human being] she [nature] lays herself open to the spiritual; she questions, admires, and judges herself in him, as in a being who is at once herself and a creature of a higher order".

22 Romains (or his translator) does not seem to use the term 'soul', but opposes scientific concern with physical phenomena to that with "spiritual or psychic phenomena" (Fadiman 1940, 245).

23 The reference seems to be to the distinction between personal individuality and "consciousness of something greater than ourselves - the immortal soul of the race" (Fadiman 1940, 362).

24 Cf. NBA, ff. 13r-14r, 263 ("It is strange to me [...] the original terms of dualism"); "Envoi", 270 ("With the aid of reason [...] to this process") and "Writing", f. 17r, 293 ("it is then the boundless mystique [...] the apparel of our passion").

25 See the "Introduction", 26.

26 Cf. "Background III", f. 34r, 120, and see the "Introduction", 23, and "Background VII", 281. In *IA*, concerned to explore "the character of art which so often embraces as the present the history of ourselves and of our objects", Venice would figure as exemplar, by virtue of its being the "largest, the oldest, the most varied aesthetic object that has survived today" (Stokes 1978, III, 295, 297).

27 A coastal village towards the northern end of St Ives Bay, north-east of Hayle and close to Godrevy Head and Island.

28 Trencrom Hill, an Iron Age hillfort, overlooking Mounts Bay and St Ives Bay.

29 Cf. *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 218): "Visits in childhood connected me with Cornwall and with my brother [Philip] who was killed in the first war. I had occasion once or twice to drive a car on the main road some ten miles behind and above the Newquay coast where we had been, above the villages whose spires were just visible in the remote sea-haze, whose names I barely remembered. It was raining on these drives from a riven mist, riven towards the sea so that I could distinguish in comparative brightness a panorama that stood for half-known feelings".

30 Cf. AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 9 May 1941], TGA 200214: "I now have two acres under cultivation and ache in every bone and I'm suffering from eye strain trying to detect the

embryo potato plants beneath the weeds. In that way, one is trying to clear ½ acre, literally by hand. These weeds, mostly charlock, covered the ground completely in four days".

31 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 11r, 44 ("Similarly, all of us have felt [...] increased clarity for us") and *OIL* II, f. 27r, 96 ("The well-known place [...] nor so objective"). A similarly synoptic view of the coast and scenes of former life, "distant and peaceful and strange", figures in the final part of Woolf [1927] 1970 (188).

32 Cf. the "Preface" to *IO*, dated November 1945: "In the nursery, that is where to find the themes of human nature" (Stokes 1978, II, 141).

33 Boswell [1791] 1980, 122: "After we came out of the church, we stood talking for some time together of Bishop [George] Berkeley's ingenious sophistry to prove the non-existence of matter, and that every thing in the universe is merely ideal. I observed, that though we are satisfied his doctrine is not true, it is impossible to refute it. I never shall forget the alacrity with which Johnson answered, striking his foot with mighty force against a large stone, till he rebounded from it, 'I refute it thus'".

34 See CAM, 297 on "the omnipresence of the external world as such" and see the "Introduction", 16-17.

35 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 168): "Science, the more fructifying line of knowledge or speculation, is hard to face when it impinges upon the current beliefs of society. Obvious instances are the Copernican revolution in astronomy and Darwin's theory of Evolution".

36 Cf. AS to HR 14 February [1944], HRP, SC MLUV, quoted in "Background VII", 280.

37 See the "Introduction", 25.

38 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 41r, 127, on the "new relationship between the pursuit of truth and the necessary activity of keeping up morale"; and see "Background VII", 279-80.

39 AS probably refers in particular to Burrow 1927, of which he owned a copy, and perhaps to a relatively recent book by Fromm (1942). He seems to have been prompted to read Burrow - and possibly Fromm also - by the importance accorded to them in Read 1943 and in HR's correspondence with him (see "Background VII", 279).

40 Cf. AS to HR Friday [28 January or 4 February 1944], HRP, SC MLUV, quoted in "Background VII", 278-9.

41 A reference to the so-called "Phoney War" of the winter of 1939-40 (see fn. 158 [85] and "Background III", 139).

42 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 146) on the "relentless animus that informed, to [his] mind, the face of the park", making it "the setting down in the external world of the sum of earlier desolations" and in particular an image of "the torn, attacked and divided mother without me, and within". See "Background VII", 281.

43 Cf. *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 255-6): "That vast yet economic (psychoanalysis seeks to augment a just economy) power to substitute at the behest of internal and external need, to poetize, is no more the necessity than the glory of man". See also the "Introduction", 19.

44 Cf. Klein [1932] 1997, 157: "in the earliest phases of development the child normally passes through anxiety-situations of a psychotic character".

45 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 159): “The broad confrontation [...] sunlit tangible world”.

46 On AS’ interest in and knowledge of physics see “Background VI”, 220.

47 Sir Arthur Stanley Eddington (1882-1944), astrophysicist, whose “Report on the Relativity Theory of Gravitation” (1919) introduced Einstein’s theory of general relativity to the English-speaking world.

48 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 169): “The essence [...] emotional outlet”.

49 Cf. AS to HR 10 January [1941], HRP, SC MLUV, quoted in “Background VI”, 215, and IS, f. 2r, 211 (“There is the obstinate presence [...] of a medieval prose-poetry”) and f. 4r, 212 (“a rotten medieval morale”).

50 Cf. ff. 50r-51r, 250 and *TA* (Stokes 1925, 68: “Thought fails us. It tries its hand at ‘higher’ things. But the systems and ultimate values, whatever be their inspiration, lead to hopeless contradictions and abstractions in theory and practice, as I have shown. I jealously guard, mind you, the ‘inspiration’ – it is the interpretation with which I quarrel, the interpretation of systematic thought and its values which, in the end, lack meaning and misguide, and cannot satisfy the lust for meaning”; 95-6: “I have been thinking to-day that a comprehensive view of life cannot disregard anything revered by any culture, e.g. superstition and mysticism. Here, too, there must be meaning of a sort, though it may perhaps be misapplied” and 132: “What is this ‘good,’ chiefly composed of restraint, to which we all turn at times? What is its value and what is behind it, and how exacting should be its demands?” Cf. also 84, on “the urge of meaning” and 8, 26, on “the inspiration of life”).

51 See the “Introduction”, 25.

52 Cf. *TA* (Stokes 1925, 229): “*The problem is to harmonize meanings [author’s emphases]*”.

53 Cf. *OIL* III, f. 38r, 124 (“We do not deal in unrelated essences”); IS, f. 1r, 210 (“During the last twenty years [...] relationship was my object”) and “Envoi”, 268 (“The most profound object of contemplation [...] highest achievement of man”). See too the “Introduction”, 19.

54 Cf. f. 50r, 259 (“an aesthetic dispensation in the lives of men”) and see the “Introduction”, 26.

55 Cf. *TA* (Stokes 1925, 228): “I do not regard facts as facts, so to speak, but facts as having meaning in their nature as facts and affording by contrast other kinds of meaning”.

56 Curie [1938] 1943 tells of Marie’s childish fascination with her father’s “surprising and graceful instruments”, whose “funny name” (“Phy-sics app-a-ra-tus”) she would sing out and “did not forget” (15-6). See “Background VII”, 281.

57 “25 years” is probably a slip, as it would place the experience in the summer of 1918, when WWI had not yet ended and AS was a schoolboy of fifteen. He may have been thinking of a visit made fifteen years before writing, possibly with AK (see “Background IV”, 162).

58 Cf. *OIL* VII, f. 52r, 253 (“The lust for life [...] in rare circumstances”) and f. 12r, 262 (“the pleasure of the very zest of life”).

59 Cf. *OIL* I, ff. 13r-14r, 48 (“The naked facts of life [...] the outer in terms of the inner”); f. 16r, 51 (“The motive forces [...] yet complementary colour”); II, f. 24r, 90 (“The few primary sources [...] surface of its bodies”); IS, f. 3r, 211 (“The few primary sources [...]

surface of its bodies”) and “Envoi”, 270 (“With the aid of reason [...] previous structures”).

60 Cf. I&D, f. 11v, 266 (“The aesthetic attitude [...] everything experienced before”) and “Envoi”, 270 (“Within the terms [...] moment of consciousness”).

61 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 18r, 54 (“it is thus that it [art] is the highest reflector of the whole process of human living”) and “Envoi”, 270 (“Like a work of art [...] the manifold spirit”).

62 Cf. I&D, f. 10v, 266 (“This [the aesthetic attitude] sees each moment of consciousness [...] everything experienced before”) and “Envoi”, 270 (“With the aid of reason [...] all previous structures”).

63 Cf. *OIL* VII, f. 54r, 254 (“it is surprising that no mystique seems to have been based on just that dualism”); “Envoi”, 270 (“To me it is strange [...] to this process”) and “Writing”, 293 (“it is then the boundless mystique [...] the apparel of our passion”).

64 Cf. IS, f. 1r, 210 (“Whatever we gaze at [...] instantaneous form of space”); “Envoi”, 270 (“Every philosophy [...] exquisite arrangement of space”) and CAM, 297 (“there is imputed [...] the physical world”).

65 Cf. IS, ff. 3r-4r, 212 (“To project is to distort [...] arrangement of space”) and “Envoi”, 270 (“Mental as well as physical life [...] To project is to distort”).

66 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 10r, 44: “So-called ordinary people [...] from present circumstance”.

67 Cf. IS, ff. 2r-3r, 211 (“We are alive [...] life and death define each other”); I&D, f. 10v, 266 (“for there is only love and death”) and “Envoi”, 269 (“for there is only love and death”).

68 Cf. “Envoi”, 270: “We will seek truth and aesthetic ‘truth’”. See also fn. 79.

69 Cf. I&D, f. 11v, 266 (“The outside world is the sounding board of the emotions”) and “Envoi”, 271 (“The external world [...] it has seemed a discovery”). Richard Read tacitly omitted this reference to Giorgione and the ‘contemplation’ of his *Tempesta* in the transcription he published in Stokes 1980 (41-2), perhaps so as not to weaken his assertion that “Stokes did not intend to publish” NBA, defined by Read “a self-communion for his autobiographies *Inside Out* (1947) and *Smooth and Rough* (1951)”. The omission is replicated in Stokes 2020. See “Background VII”, 280.

70 Cf. “Envoi”, 271: “Images encase thought [...] products of thinking”.

71 Cf. NBA, f. 15r, 265 (“The external world is the sounding board of the emotions”) and “Envoi”, 271 (“The external world is the sounding board of the emotions”).

72 Cf. NBA, f. 13r, 262 (“Within the terms of a particular stimulus [...] each moment of consciousness”) and 263 (“With the aid of reason [...] all previous structures”) and “Envoi”, 270 (“Within the terms [...] the data of the senses”).

73 Cf. “Envoi”, 269: “Some degree of dissociation in personal matters would seem inevitable”.

74 See fn. 81.

75 Cf. CAM, 298: “it can at least be argued [...] until we die”.

76 Cf. “Writing”, f. 18r, 294: “The prime cause [...] love and hate”.

77 The foregoing two paragraphs form the substance of four in “Envoi”, 268-9: “The belief in durable good [...] with the Devil”.

78 Cf. *OIL* VII, f. 58r, 259 ("My theme [...] object of contemplation") and NBA, f. 14r, 263: ("Every philosophy is based upon an opposition of terms [...] all that is most profound").

79 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 168: "Fantasy has an aesthetic 'truth', defined by and defining scientific truth. This interdependent relationship will become the ultimate object of contemplation").

80 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 169 (author's emphases): "*Art never quarrels with science*. Viewed as activities, at many points they approximate: viewed as expressions of truth, they define each other").

81 Cf. IS, ff. 2r, 211 ("the revival, the re-growth, of a medieval prose-poetry"), 4r, 212 ("horror at the displays of nearly all intellectuals with their unexpected religions, their peeping prose-poetry, their intellectual dishonesty") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 169: "On the side of thought man has rationalized neurosis and compulsiveness in terms of many speculative systems and religions; a kind of prose-poetry, detrimental to the purer prose of science which brings in its wake a purer and more voluminous poetry"). See the "Introduction", 25-6 and fn. 133.

82 Cf. IS, ff. 2r-3r, 211 ("We are alive [...] define each other"); I&D, f. 10v, 266 ("for there is only love and death") and NBA, f. 15r, 265 ("The most generalized apprehension [...] life and of death").

83 Cf. I&D, f. 11v, 367: "A certain amount [...] almost inevitable".

84 See fn. 81.

85 Cf. CAM, 298: "It can at least be argued [...] until we die".

86 Cf. "Writing", 294: "The prime cause [...] love and hate".

87 The foregoing four paragraphs are derived from two in I&D, ff. 10v-13v, 266-8 ("The belief in durable good [...] with the Devil").

88 The first sentence derives from a short text in ASP, TGA 8816.53, which begins with these words and constitutes a rough draft of parts of this and the next paragraph. For the "reality principle" see 33-4, fn. 129. Cf. CAM, 295, 296, 297, 298, and see "Background VIII", 302.

89 Cf. NBA, f. 16r, 265: "But if we use [...] aesthetic 'truth'"; and see fn. 79.

90 Cf. (e.g.) *QC* (Stokes 1978, I, 40: "Hence the mirror to living which art is"); Stokes 1934a, 63 ("It [the ballet *Petrouchka*] mirrors the successive layers of the human process, layers that are not smooth but cross-cut and widely inter-related"); draft of a note on the photograph of the entrance to the Mercerie, Venice (Stokes 1978, II, pl. 9; cf. 111) in ASP, TGA 8816.53 ("What is moving, what is <more> {less} shapely, less defined, what is unaccountable thus possesses a face as steadfast as the rose; what is inside, as it were, what <is in flux> {changes} attains epitome. Art is the parable of all living"); IS ff. 2r, 5r, 211, 213 ("Art is simply the prototype process of all human activity [...] I use 'art' in its very broadest sense, the creation of any epitome"); CAM, 295 ("The present aim [...] artistic creation is the epitome") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 162 ["And Art? It will already be obvious that it is here regarded as the epitome of the central process"]; 180 ["if living is conceived as the multimorph of expression, of which art is the useless epitome"]).

91 Cf. I&D, f. 10v, 266: "The aesthetic attitude [...] everything experienced before".

92 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 18r, 54 ("it is thus that it [art] is the highest reflector of the whole process of human living") and NBA, f. 13r, 262 ("In the manner of a work of art, consciousness is a kind of distorted reflector of the manifold"). Cf. too WHO, f. 4r, 58.

93 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 18r, 54 ("Thought processes [...] reality and in image") and IS, f. 3r, 212 ("To create is to substitute [...] He is alive in reality and in image").

94 Cf. NBA, f. 13r, 263: "With the aid of reason [...] previous structures".

95 Cf. *OIL* VII, f. 54r, 254 ("it is surprising that no mystique seems to have been based on just that dualism"); NBA, f. 12r, 262 ("and here again [...] correlation and distortion"), f. 13r, 263 ("It is strange to me that no mystique has attached itself to this process, no philosophy") and "Writing", 293 ("it is then the boundless mystique [...] the apparel of our passion").

96 Cf. NBA, ff. 13r-15r, 262-4: "Within the terms [...] instantaneous world of space".

97 Cf. NBA, f. 16r, 266: "Images encase all thought [...] products of thinking".

98 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 21r, 87-8 ("Consciousness is no more of the mind [...] opposite the external world") and IS, f. 3r, 211 ("Consciousness is no more of the mind [...] To create is to substitute").

99 Cf. NBA, f. 15r, 265 ("The most generalized apprehension [...] poetry of Giorgione's *Tempesta*") and I&D, f. 10v, 266 ("The outside world is the sounding board of the emotions").

100 See *OIL* VII, f. 50r, 249.

101 See 261-6; 266-8; 268-71.

102 Top row, second from left (Marlborough 1965, cat. 41: *Still Life I*, 1943); top row, second from right (Marlborough 1965, cat. 66: *Still Life XXVI*, 1944); second row, second from left (Marlborough 1965, cat. 68; Serpentine 1982, cat. 15: *Still Life XXVIII*, 1944).

103 AS to MM n.d. [postmarked 21 April 1946], EMM.

104 *OIL* II, ff. 30r-31r, 99 ("How blessed [...] our way of expansion"). Cf. "Writing", 293: "It is then we know best [...] the apparel of our passion".

105 A painting which came to be owned by the artist Derek Hill (1916-2000), who presented it to the National Trust in 1996. Titled *Bottles*, it is now at Mottisfont Abbey (<https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/bottles-220457>).

106 *OIL* VII, f. 57v, 258.

107 See "Background VI", 229.

108 "Background IV", 171; Mellis 1977.

109 AS to SB n.d. [after 10 May 1943], AGC.

110 AS to SB n.d. [31 March 1944], AGC.

111 AS to SB n.d. [after 10 May 1943], AGC; AS to JM [written on the back of a letter from W.S. Graham to JM dated 16 September 1943], JMP, NLS, Acc. 10509/1.

112 In the autumn of 1944 AS also acquired some ducks (AS to SB 11 October [1944], AGC).

113 HR to AS 11 October 1943, ASP, TGA 8816.241. The previous March SB, after asking AS about his gardening and whether he managed to do any painting, wrote, "I often half-wonder if you will join up. You were asking me about the 'Intelligence'. I <[illegible]> don't think it is too difficult to get into providing you have two languages {one being English}. I feel sure you could manage Italian or French. Anyway, keep out [of?] the ranks" (SB to AS 18 March 1943, AGC). AS

to AS' knowledge of languages, W.W. Winkworth would state, in a letter to Richard Wollheim (c. 25 February 1973, RWP, UCL; Janet Sayers' transcription), that he "could 'get by' in Italian, hardly in French, certainly not in German" and likened him to "the Confucian gentleman", who was "by vocation an Amateur", and to Churchill, for the reason "he really disliked people who pronounced a language too well". For his part PF would recall how AS had arranged to have help lifting potatoes from a group of Italian prisoners of war; and how "[a]t first they moved very rapidly but as the afternoon wore on they got slower and slower. And then Adrian had the brilliant idea of showing off his Italian both with encouragement and abuse from the row behind the Italians and when that failed he managed to secrete ten shilling notes at intervals in the Italian foreman or whatever you called him's pocket. And this worked wonders" (Freeman 1973).

114 In 1942 AS had written to GB, "I also am fond of Kenneth [KC], but it embarrasses me beyond words to meet him" (AS to GB n.d. [postmarked 13 May 1942], TGA 200214).

115 He was subsequently freed by Nazi forces and set up as head of the Italian Social Republic at Salò in occupied northern Italy.

116 IS, f. 6r, 214.

117 OIL VII, f. 50r, 249.

118 HR to AS 11 October 1943, ASP, TGA 8816.241.

119 Read 1943, 1.

120 Read 1943, 5.

121 Read 1943, 14.

122 Read 1943, 34-5 (author's emphases).

123 AS to HR Friday [28 January or 4 February 1944], HRP, SC MLUV. Cf. AS to HR 3 July [1951], HRP, SC MLUV (see "Background VIII", 301-2) and Stokes 1964 (195): "Read has constructed a novel case for art as a necessity for human beings. He writes in *Icon and Idea* of art as 'the primary process of definition'; he says that 'aesthetic activity preceded any coherent intellectual activity'. Such phrases help to suggest the long stand he has made - *Education through Art* is an early example of it - on the necessitous nature of the aesthetic process, not as a heightened activity, but as the prime base for any degree of culture".

124 Cf. OIL VII, f. 57r, 257: "Some of Freud is used".

125 AS to HR Friday [28 January or 4 February 1944], HRP, SC MLUV. Cf. OIL II, f. 29r, 97: "Aggression is altogether necessary in the human economy where put to constructive use".

126 Read 1943, 268.

127 AS to HR Friday [28 January or 4 February 1944], HRP, SC MLUV. Cf. "Writing", 294 ("One must understand [...] vast amelioration of happiness and productivity") and IO (Stokes 1978, II, 165-6: "We would have to recognize [...] a vast amelioration").

128 HR to AS 7 February 1944, ASP, TGA 8816.241.

129 AS to HR 14 February [1944], HRP, SC MLUV. Cf. OIL VII, f. 56r, 256: "What is unpleasant [...] character of things".

130 OIL VII, f. 57r, 257.

131 OIL VII, f. 56r, 256.

132 AS to HR 14 February [1944], HRP, SC MLUV. Cf. IS, f. 2r, 211 ("There is the obstinate presence [...] Yoga contemplation") and IO (Stokes 1978, II, 169: "On the side of thought [...] more voluminous poetry").

133 This was no mere "Jesuitical" exercise, he insisted (HR had referred to AS' letter as a Freudian "broadside" and complained that the Freudians were the modern Jesuits) or expression of proselytizing zeal.

134 AS to AOP n.d. [postmarked 15.8.43], TGA 200214.

135 Sayers [2015] 2018, 143.

136 See "Background IV", 162.

137 NBA, ff. 15r-16r, 280.

138 NBA, f. 16r, 265 and fn. 69 and I&D, f. 13v, 268.

139 See the draft so dated in ASP, TGA 8816.53.

140 Stokes 1978, II, 87.

141 "Background III", 135.

142 ASP, TGA 8816.10; 8816.15.

143 OIL VII, f. 54r, 254.

144 Stokes 1978, II, 134.

145 Loose leaf inserted in ASP, TGA 8816.4.

146 AS to SB 11 October [1944], AGC.

147 *St Ives Times*, 15 December 1944. The film however does not deal with her childhood, despite being based on Ève Curie's recent biography of her mother, published in English the previous year (Curie [1938] 1943).

148 OIL IV, f. 47r, 153; "Background IV", 156, and "Background VI", 216.

149 ASP, TGA 8816.3.

150 OIL VII, f. 57r, 257-8: "I could write perhaps of Hyde Park [...] a devastated mother".

151 AS to SB 11 October [1944], AGC.

152 *Cornishman*, 23 November 1944.

153 AS to SB 11 October [1944], AGC.

154 SB to AS 29 September 1944, AGC.

155 AS to SB 11 October [1944], AGC.

156 SB to AS 13 November 1944, AGC.

157 Berlin 1961, 21.

158 SB to AS 18 March 1943, AGC: "I have often thought of your suggestion that I should write a book about the Army. In fact I have been trying, but find it very difficult to be objective & sane about it".

159 Berlin 1961. SB's title refers to the New Testament story (John 11) of the miraculous resurrection of the brother of Martha and Mary of Bethany. It also quotes from T.S. Eliot's *Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock*, two lines of which are given as epigraph: "I am Lazarus come back from the dead, / Come back to tell you all, I shall tell you all". These are echoed at the very end of the book: "I was Lazarus come back from the dead" (Berlin 1961, 209). Curiously, however, AS seems to refer to himself as "Lazarus" in AS to SB n.d. [31 March 1944], AGC: "Accept this hurried note in reply to your vivid and welcome letter. Lazarus, even in his heyday, was not much of a hand at letter-writing".

160 AS to SB n.d. [after 10 May 1943], AGC.

161 SB to BN 6 February 1944, TGA 8717.1.2.209.

162 See "Background VI", 229-37.

163 SB to BN 3 April 1944, TGA 8717.1.2.210.

164 SB to BN 14 April 1944, TGA 8717.1.2.211. The MS would then go to a reader (the artist, poet and novelist Ruthven Todd [1914-1978], who by mid-May would recommend its publication as "a most important

book", though in need of literary revision (B. Jesse to SB 11 May 1944, TGA 20066.1.19.2). SB would sign a contract with the publisher on D-Day itself (6 June 1944) (Aarons 2016, 45).

165 He had asked to read it not long beforehand (AS to SB 31 March 1944, AGC).

166 See "Background VI", 236.

167 In 1949 AS would remark to BN that he had only seen "the original draft" of SB's book and hoped the published version had been "considerably altered" (AS to BN 8 March [1949], TGA 8717.1.2.4562).

168 See "Background VIII", 305 and Figure 76.

169 AS to SB 22 April 1944, NAL. In Webb 2025 (488) AS' contribution is unaccountably reduced to "three pounds". The "Flamingo", as yet unidentified, was someone who, according to Berlin 1945-87, "had given [AS and MM] a picture for a wedding present", which had to be exchanged for the one on the wall on his unexpected arrival at LPO. It seems that the Flamingo and perhaps his wife were also mutual friends of Peter Lanyon, BN and BH (see PL to BN & BH n.d., TGA 8717.1.2.2154). "Madame Wertheim" was the dealer and art patron Lucy Wertheim (1883-1971), who had met and bought paintings from AW in 1930 and who had exhibited work by him in her Mayfair gallery in 1934, 1935 and 1936, as well as loaning some to a touring exhibition organized in 1938 (Webb 2025, 395-6, 406, 511).

170 AS to SB 22 April 1944, NAL.

171 BN to AS 15 April 1944, ASP, TGA 8816.239.

172 See "Background VIII", 305-6.

173 Mellis 1997, Part I.

174 Lambirth 2010, 42 (where BN "tried to persuade Stokes to stop Berlin from publishing") may be based on Mellis 1997. Cf. Checkland 2000, 218 (where, in reference to Berlin 1943, BN is said to have "appealed to Adrian Stokes to dissuade Sven from publishing" and the "result" to have been "a stand-up row between the decent-minded Stokes and the determined Ben"; but no source is cited) and Sayers [2015] 2018, 141 (apparently based on Checkland 2000: BN is here said to have asked AS "to put pressure on Berlin to withdraw the account he had sent Connolly [for *Horizon*]" and AS is said to have "refused to do this and a stand-up row ensued between him and Nicholson"; but again no source is cited). Neither SB nor AW are mentioned in BH to MG 17 May 1944 (TGA 202016.7), where BH complains that the "Ben-Adrian affair" has had "nasty repercussions", taking on the character of a "family feud" from which she is not excluded and tells MG that she has written to MM to see "where she stands in the matter". The draft of what seems a reply from MM to BH, in the hand however of AS, who evidently composed it, incidentally states that "Adrian had done his

best to further Ben's wishes in the matter of Sven" (AS for MM to BH n.d., EMM).

175 SB to AS 6 May 1944, AGC; SB to BN 3 June 1944, TGA 8717.1.2.214.

176 Judging from Berlin 1994 (108), SB remained unaware of the reasons for "the break".

177 When on 10 April "A saved Ben from Sven" before "Sven came in" to LPO (Mellis 1944).

178 See "Background VIII", 314.

179 T.H. Farrell to AS 24 October 1946, ASP, TGA 8816.249.

180 Cooper 2003, 219.

181 AS to SB Thursday [after 26 December 1944]; SB to AS 30 December 1944, AGC.

182 For references to both visits see AS to JM n.d. [written on the back of a letter from the poet W.S. Graham to A. Drinan (JM) dated 16 September 1943 and presumably forwarded to JM by AS], JMP, NLS Acc. 10509/1.

183 Fountain 2022, 184, citing a confidential report from John Snagge, Head of Presentation, BBC, written in 1943.

184 AS to JM n.d. [after 16 September 1943], JMP, NLS Acc. 10509/1.

185 AS to JM n.d. [postmarked 8 October 1944], JMP, NLS, Acc. 10509/2.

186 See AS to JM 27 November 1954, JMP, NLS, Acc. 12964/16: "And now when do I hear from you, still better, see you? Its an awful long time since we last met in St Ives".

187 Laughton 2004, 95-118.

188 Laughton 1986, 148; Morley 2016, 209

189 Olivier Bell (AOP), interview with Paul Tucker, 2011. There is some doubt about the accuracy of this memory, however. Olivier Bell stated that during her stay with Moynihan he had painted her portrait, but was uncertain whether this was in 1944 or 1945. The portrait in question is dated 1944 (see http://www.faggionato.com/exhibitions/rodrigo-moynihan_1/artworks/2). And this date seems to be confirmed by a report of a one-man exhibition held by Moynihan at the Redfern Galleries in London in April 1944, which makes special mention of the Cornish seascapes shown, specifying that the artist had "recently been working in the Westcountry" (*Western Morning News*, 19 April 1944). More problematic is the reference to AM, given that she had left LPO in the summer of 1942 and would not be demobbed from the WRNS until after the war ended in 1945. Perhaps AOP's visit coincided with a period of leave, before AM left for France. Alternatively (but this seems unlikely) she was confused in memory with Janie Rogers (see "Background VI", 240).

190 See the entry for 14 May 1944 quoted in Lambirth 2010, 54 and Mellis 1944, entries for 30 March, 3 May, 5 May.