VIII. Epilogue
1945-46

Writing. February, 1945
Notes for insertion (possible) and for continuation to Inside-Out

[f. 17*r*] There is a point to be made about adolescence, youth and falling in love. That is the state most susceptible to view the outside world of objects in the manner of an artist. For, when we are in love, the other person, the other thing, both become objects of rhapsody in this their nature of complementary otherness.[1] It is then we know best that life is expression, that expression is finding what is within us in forms that are outside us:[2] it is then the boundless mystique of the human process,[3] of the majesty of the logic of things expressed,[a] of things in space, of a cup upon a table no less than of the starlit night sky,[b] becomes an apprehension dressed with the apparel of our passion.[c|4] And as it is with a specific state of love, so it is with youth and adolescence in general. For, from this angle, adolescence is to be defined as the period of life when the 'otherness' of things hits the mind plainly, freshly: the utter otherness, that is. Space and the world become enormous and desire is there to match it. The full range of the human sphere of action reveals itself: it is a

a *the majesty of the logic of things expressed*: the majesty of {the logic of} things expressed

b *than of the starlit night sky*: than {of} the starlit night sky

c *dressed with the apparel of our passion*: dressed with {the} apparel of our passion

revelation; often painful enough[a] since the last vestiges of the infant's close fantasy world disintegrate and there is little wood at hand to make new houses for the mind. There is, on the one hand, the full power for the first time to be 'objective', on the other a new limitless desire, vast hurried structures[b] [f. 18*r*] of sublimation without one speck of rust upon them. Artists at any rate keep the essence of this first rapture with the outside world as outside, no less than they keep the child's power of immediate fantasy which cloaks or clothes and mitigates for the child an apprehension of a desolating otherness.[c|5]

The prime cause of the whole cycle of substitution is the guilt resulting from the conflict of love and hate.[6] Owing to the resulting anxiety[d] of loss of the loved object which has also been hated, there tends to be, if guilt is not too strong, a shifting or dispersal of love to a variety of objects for safety, as well as a search for means of reparation upon substitute, as well as upon the original objects.[e] On the other hand, too strong a guilt inhibits the transference, due to the overwhelming despair. Civilization depends upon the right amount of guilt.

One must understand that most expressions of aggression, envy or sour grape denial, for instance, are modes of trying to cover up a feeling of inner hate and rotteness, to keep inside riches somehow. The lust for power is the same. It is not sufficient to deprecate these manifestations in and for themselves. All evil actions are safety valves for a force that is felt to be a greater evil. All that knowledge can do[f] is to improve upon the economy, but principally in a positive manner ie by discovering simpler means of feeling good inside, providing in society and in the development of capacity[g] of aesthetic experience easier means of inner riches.[7] At the same [f. 19*r*] time, a true knowledge of the depth of hate and of the mechanism of hateful thought and action as being already a self-preservative form of defence apart from the pleasure in the expression of aggressiveness, if in itself it cannot help the individual directly, will at least spur him on to see the necessity of grasping as many of the means open to him of feeling good inside. Possibly everyone does this already. Well,[h] at any rate, at present they have small understanding of this necessity for the other fellow. And it is apparent to me, at any rate, what a difference a degree of such understanding makes to the happiness of one's child. At the very least, understanding will make for better parents and happier children in the future. That is the only way, perhaps, of vast amelioration of happiness and productivity.[8]

A note might be useful to explain that Psycho-analysis is not exposing the roots to the effect of making everything meaningless except eating and love-making – a fairly common fear.[9]

a *a revelation; often painful enough*: a revelation: often painful enough

b *vast hurried structures*: vast {hurried} structures

c *which cloaks or clothes and mitigates for the child an apprehension of a desolating otherness*: which cloaks or clothes <fashion> and mitigates {for the child} an apprehension of {a desolating} otherness

d *Owing to the resulting anxiety*: <It causes> Owing to the resulting anxiety

e *upon substitute, as well as upon the original objects*: upon substitute, (as well as upon) the original objects

f *All that knowledge can do*: All that knowledge <can> {can} do

g *the development of capacity*: the development of <aesthetic> capacity

h *already. Well*: already: well

When deep longing[a] encounters a stretch of moonlit sea[b] through trees.
When deep longing through blackest trees[c] encounters a patch of moving moonlit sea

calm and cool delirium of consciousness[d]

Concerning Art and Metapsychology (1945)

[“]This kind of satisfaction, such as the artist’s joy in creation, in embodying his phantasies, or the scientist’s in solving problems or discovering truth, has a special quality which we shall certainly one day be able to define metapsychologically. Until then we can only say metaphorically it seems to us ‘higher and finer’”.

A little further on in *Civilization and ils Discontents*[10] from which this quotation comes, Freud sums up such activity as “making oneself independent of the external world, by looking for happiness in the inner things of the mind”.[11]

Of course, “external world” in this context refers to the curtailments that issue from cognizance of the reality principle.[12] Nevertheless, it is perhaps not irrelevant to introduce to this judgement the plea that the essence of artistic creation especially is the bestowing on pieces of matter the power to communicate a particular set of phantasies; or, as it might be expressed in more general language, the transposing to the external world of a formless inner nexus, through a medium of the external world, in terms of the external world.[13] Certainly, for a succeeding passage about the pleasures derived from contemplating works of art, the above consideration has a well-founded relevance.

“In the next method the same features are even more marked. The connection with reality is looser still; satisfaction is obtained through illusions[,] which are recognized as such, without the discrepancy between them and reality being allowed to interfere with the pleasure they give. These illusions are derived from the life of phantasy which, at the time when the sense of reality developed, was expressly exempted from the demands of the reality-test and set apart for the purpose of fulfilling wishes which would be very hard to realize. At the head of these phantasy-pleasures stands the enjoyment of works of art which through the agency of the artist is opened to those who cannot themselves create”.[14]

The present aim is not to question these judgements but to supplement them; not primarily to question Freud’s diagnosis either of the artist or the æsthete as much as the estimation of art that is implied, and indeed of many other forms of expression for which artistic creation is the epitome.[15] That they are phantasy projections is not in doubt. We are concerned as to whether in this kind

a *When deep longing* etc.: [Note in different pencil, added later?]

b *moonlit sea*: <{glimmering}> moonlit sea

c *through blackest trees*: through <the trees> {blackest} trees

d *calm and cool delirium of consciousness*: calm and cool <[deli?] {[.?.]}> delirium of consciousness

of phantasy projection there is to be found the general trend of synthesis and object-seeking on the part of Eros[a] which are ill described solely by the terms of illusion. Certainly, the wider the connections which are made, whatever the immediate 'subject', the greater the art: on the other hand, these wider connections also must fructify from the powerful validity of a 'form', perhaps simple, perhaps involved.

The deeper pleasure, then, devolves not immediately, at any rate, from the poignancy of the phantasy but from the poignancy of its articulation whereby new connections lie exposed in one form; from that which makes it art. Whether or not it can be isolated in front of any work of art, the æsthete carries with him a continuous and ever-growing appreciation of this quality of synthesis and of its fixture. The objection comes at once that this second pleasure is but an extension of the first; a pleasure in that phantasy attains such width, such fixture, such maturity. This pleasure, too, may be admitted: but it is difficult thereby to account entirely for the constancy of the æsthete's enjoyment in articulation, in an embodiment of phantasy, for instance, whose content, since it revolts him, he may barely notice. However much it may vary with the 'truth' or sublimity of the phantasies that are embodied, his chief delight resides in the power of expression, in the means of articulation, in the attainment of a synthesis that is self-subsisting owing to the interlocking palpability of its connections.

The expression of one thing or many things in terms of something else, or, as it might be called, substitution, is obviously a paramount characteristic of the mental life.[16] The artist and the æsthete would appear to have found cause for celebrating and admiring the mechanism in and for itself. But the æsthetic substitution is especially distinguished by the power to synthetize meanings. A synthesis of inner meaning put outwards to be on its own, as it were, in the open world, always characterizes the work of art.[17] The artist, whatever his incapacity before the reality principle, is a self-constituted priest of Eros, the synthetizer and the object-seeker.[18] Art is a kind of epitome, a 'useless' celebration of Eros permeating life and particularly culture. That is one aspect, but one we shall qualify in a moment.

By means of tricks of allusiveness, beneath the ægis of some defining form, the artist amplifies every synthesis with overtones and undertones. The work of art is a *multum in parvo*: attached to a definitive and limiting medium it generates meaning. Equally belonging to the character of art is the fact that this construction of meaning obtains in terms of sense-stimuli – this is true of literature (words as sounds, as rhythm) as well as the other arts – that it comes to us from the outside world. Now, the factor common to many forms of substitution is the substitution of outer things for inner; a characteristic, in part, of introjection as well as of projection since the former, if not always preceded by the latter, is of course always performed upon a cathected external object. It will be seen that the more general processes of substitution are here correlated with the synthetizing erotic instincts: whereas the contrasting substitutive phenomenon of regression is correlated, following Freud, with "the marked emergence of the death instinct". "Making a swift generalization", Freud adds, "we might conjecture that the essence of a regression of libido, e.g. from the genital to the sadistic-anal level, would lie in a defusion of instincts, just as, conversely, the advance from an earlier to the definitive genital phase would be conditioned by an accession of erotic components".[19] The pure death

a [Author's footnote] Cf. *Civilization and its Discontents* [Freud [1929] 1930, 97n]: "The contradiction between the tireless tendency of Eros to spread ever further and the general conservative nature of the instincts here becomes very noticeable; it would serve as the starting-point of enquiries into further problems".

instincts of *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920) would fit well into the scheme: except that it would imply that aggression directed towards objects was never a pure manifestation of those instincts. If there is no insistence on this point, only the neatness of the argument will be sacrificed. At any rate, in the fight with Eros, the death-instincts are made to suffer externalizing substitutions. Indeed, since what is outside can be better controlled, aggression, as is well known, becomes a common subject for projection. The predominant mechanism, the converting into other terms, including repression also under this phrase, is the outcome of the simultaneous demands of life and death, the struggle which "all life essentially consists of".[20] Again as the epitome, we shall in a moment view art from this angle.

It is perhaps astonishing that no general concept derived from the omnipresence of the external world as such, other than the reality principle, figures in psycho-analytic metapsychology. (And yet should one not expect that a figuration of the id – not its contents, of course, but a mere extent – would be ceaselessly attributed to the illimitable sky?) However, in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, Freud makes the biological point that the perceptual system is a kind of hardened rind that withstands an overplus of stimulus.[21] Against stimulus from within there is no such protection; and he finds the origin of the projection mechanism to be a defence against inner stimulus. In *The Ego and the Id* we read: "The part played by verbal images now becomes perfectly clear. By their interposition internal thought-processes are made into perceptions. It is like a demonstration of the theorem that all knowledge has its origin in external perception".[22] And: "It is easy to see that the ego is that part of the id which has been modified by the direct influence of the external world acting through the Pcpt.-Cs.: in a sense it is an extension of the surface-differentiation".[23]

If we take such passages in conjunction with those which infer that the libido is primarily object-seeking, passages which from different angles of approach attribute to the external world a constant relation to the psychical life additional to the frustrations which proceed from the reality principle, we begin to discern the possibility that the rôle of the external world, without any fundamental shifting of emphasis, might be given a greater prominence. As Dr. Fairbairn pointed out,[24] even after the discovery of Narcissism, there are passages enough in the works of Freud that suggest the libido to be primarily object-seeking: a view of the libido to which the present estimation of the character of art instantly attaches itself; since here are instincts that presuppose for their discharge a degree of otherness and lead on to a subject-object interchange.

The æsthetic object, taken by and large, has a certain extreme character as an object; for it is an ideal object: that is to say, its virtue to the phantasy is its completeness. As well as an abounding liveliness, as well as, maybe, an impression of growth, of a chrysalis stage in expression, of change, of exaggeration, etc., there is imputed to the communication that issues from the work of art a stability and a fixity of relations which would rival, and hence would partake of, the absolute otherness attributed to the very materials of a which it is made; to the physical world.[25] The generating relations of a work of art have the air of a set-out finality, of a diverse expression that is single, of a phantasy that has been detached from its originator to become an object,[26] as if he were able to make of his mind a stone which yet displays and manifests the contents of his mind. Art steals as a throne for the expression of the libido the image of an entity that is solely object, without relation; the image of the inert, of the surrounding rock, of death the absolute measure of completeness.[27] Whatever activities employ this *mise en scène* possess an æsthetic appeal.

The work of art, then, is primarily distinguished from the day-dream, with its smaller claim to shapeliness, by a seeming outwardness, a seeming otherness, by an appearance of reality.[28] It can at least be argued that art is a parable of the over-all aim of human activity to force by substitutions of every kind the completeness or externality of death to serve the purposes of Eros until we die.[29]

In 1911 Freud wrote of the artist: "The artist is originally a man who turns from reality because he cannot come to terms with the demand for the renunciation of instinctual satisfaction as it is first made, and who then in phantasy-life allows full play to his erotic and ambitious wishes. But he finds a way of return from this world of phantasy back to reality […] because dissatisfaction, resulting from the displacement of the pleasure principle by the reality principle, is itself a part of reality".[30] As mirror of man's over-all psychical situation, art, we are suggesting, contains a further and even more general connection with reality. We have paused for one moment to wonder whether psycho-analytic metapsychological theory has allowed sufficient weight to the perennial challenge of the wide, open, world of the senses, and whether psychical substitution in many of its aspects, viewed as the means of wider organization, will eventually obtain the nomenclature of some positive principle in addition to the frustration, denial and control with which, as the result of indisputable evidence, it is so justly associated.[31]

Background VIII

Of the two 'offshoots' presented here, only "Writing" may be dated with any precision, thanks to AS' superscription. This seems to imply that the draft of *IO*, begun, as seen, the previous December[32] had by now been concluded. That draft, however, did not constitute a complete and final version of *IO*, as published in 1947. The book would then comprise two untitled Parts. The first would present and comment on the planned autobiographical "case-history",[33] centring on the contrast between Hyde Park as experienced by AS in childhood and the "Rapallo experience" first examined in *OIL* III.[34] "Part II" would go on to consider "the classical achievement of Cézanne" and thereby "descant upon a continuous relation between emotions and the outer world".[35] By contrast, the 1944-45 draft consisted of three Parts, all of which corresponded to what would finally become "Part I". As already indicated,[36] the first two of these three Parts were entitled "Inferno" (Hyde Park) and "Paradiso" (Rapallo) respectively. The title of the third, "Commentary", was at some point corrected to "A Few Observations".[37] In 1946, the substance of "Part III", much of it transposed from *OIL*, was published – with the title "Inside Out" and with no explanation other than that it was "an extract from a book in preparation of the same name" – in the second number of *Polemic* **[fig. 74]**, a magazine edited by Humphrey Slater, whose first number had been announced as "mainly focused on four aspects of contemporary life – the discovery of the unconscious; the evolution of the problem of verbal meaning; the success of Marxism and the fundamental significance of the arts".[38]

Comparison of "Part III" as drafted in 1944-45 with the extract published in *Polemic* and with *IO* sheds light on the stages of the book's revision and on the place "Writing" had in that process. "Writing"'s third paragraph forms the substance of two in *IO*.[39] These are appended to a passage which is introduced by a quotation from the British psychoanalyst Joan Rivière (1883-1962)[40] and which deals with a theme touched on in a letter from AS to HR of the previous year: the need to recognize aggression as being "just as primary if not as strong as love" and to "harness" it "to constructive ends".[41] Absent from the 1944-45 draft, the passage headed by the quotation is found in the *Polemic* extract, but without the two appended paragraphs derived from "Writing".[42] This suggests that the text that appeared in *Polemic* had already been defined by the time "Writing" came to be composed in February 1945;[43] and that, while it represented a revision of the 1944-45 draft, it itself underwent revision before *IO* reached definitive form, perhaps around November 1945, when the "Preface" was dated.[44]

Further complicating this reconstruction are four short texts found on loose leaves inserted in two extant notebooks and explicitly or manifestly intended for inclusion in *IO*. One of these is apparently an earlier version of the third paragraph of "Writing".[45] Another carries the quotation from Rivière included in *Polemic* and in *IO*.[46] The third is a draft of the "Preface" to *IO*.[47] The fourth, which eventually found a place in the book's concluding pages, cites a recently published work by the physicist Erwin Schrödinger (1887-1961).[48]

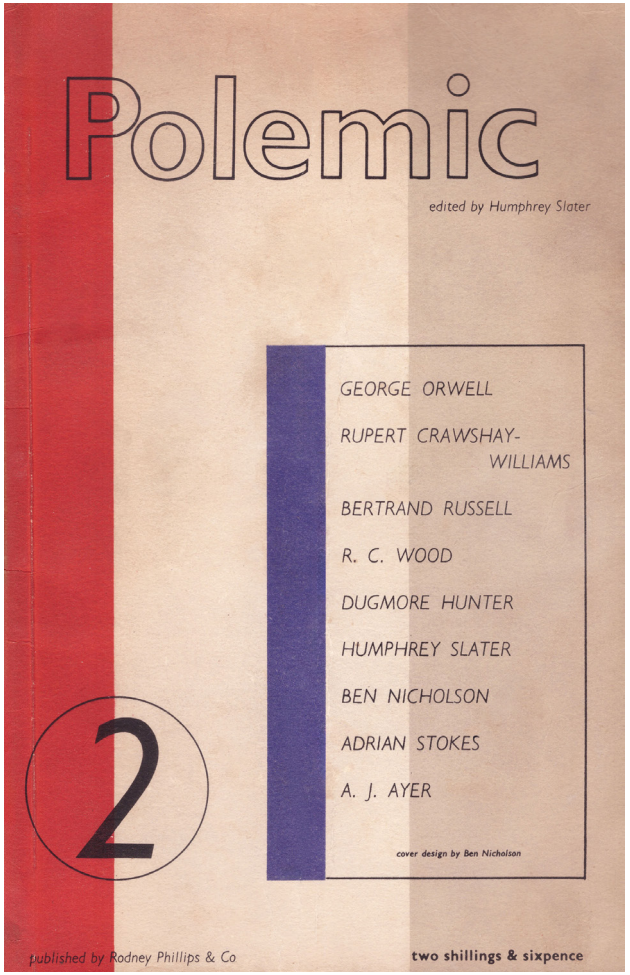


Figure 74
Front cover of *Polemic* 2 (1946), designed by Ben Nicholson

The issue of the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* in which CAM first appeared is dated 1 January 1945. It may not, however, have been published until the following spring. Writing to MM from London towards the middle of May 1946, AS thanked her for forwarding "letters and the P-Analytic Journal received today", adding that he was "glad that [had] appeared".[49] There seems to be no previous reference to the article in AS' correspondence, nor have a draft or notes for it come to light. The only reference to it in his writings, moreover, is found in the concluding section of *IO*, where it is cited in a footnote as a "more technical presentation" of the following argument:

> We need but to refer to another truism – a work of art is a communication in terms of the data of the senses – to point to a certain rivalry here with the exposed otherness of the external world. Not only is a work of art, as a datum of a sense or senses, an object in the literal meaning, but that object expresses the universal desire to translate life into an outward attachment. The libido, according to one aspect of Freud's metapsychological thought, is primarily object-seeking.[50]

In June 1946 AS received a letter from MK – then on holiday in Walberswick – saying she was pleased to have seen the article, which she had found "very good and interesting". She also commented on the extract from *IO* in *Polemic*, in which she thought AS had "tackled courageously and successfully the problem of presenting something very difficult to convey". She was looking forward, she told him, to seeing the book of which the essay "[seemed] to be the beginning", and also to reading *Venice*, of whose publication news had reached her. The appearance of these four publications led her to suppose that AS was well.[51]

The letter gives the impression MK and AS may not have been in touch since November 1940, when she had written to him from Pitlochry in Scotland (having in July been persuaded to join the family of a young analysand),[52] with advice on TrS' feeding and training and offering to discuss details with AS or MM.[53] "Your son", she wrote in 1946, "must be a schoolboy by now".[54]

AS does not appear to have been in direct contact with any other psychoanalysts in this period. He seems nevertheless to have 'kept up' with developments by reading the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, to which he certainly at some stage subscribed,[55] probably from before 1945, as in CAM he cites an article by the Scottish psychiatrist and psychoanalyst W.R.D. Fairbairn (1889-1964) which had appeared in the *Journal* in 1944.[56]

In AS' own later estimate – in a letter to HR of 1951, a propos of "the primacy, or near-primacy, of symbol, substitution, projection, whatever the aesthetic context is, characteristic of all cultural activity" – CAM was "a very short & bad paper" in which he had elaborated on a "simple point about substitution & art in [psychoanalytical] terms". This was that "[s]omething of the 'utterness' of death is captured for artistic expression" and that "Art is the {substitutive} epitome", pleasure in which "is due not only to the expression there of unconscious drives but because of the neatness or finality of substitutive Form <in> {with} which we are continually concerned,

in all activities".[57] His principal goal in writing the paper was to show that art presents a major challenge to Freudian theory in so far as this tends to subsume it under an idea of sublimation construed in terms of frustration and illusion and of a turning inwards, away from the reality of the external world. AS, by contrast, while recognizing elsewhere that "the belief or trust in the good object inside", the fount of art, "entails some degree of aversion from reality",[58] insisted that art is a practice and a process materially embedded in the external world[59] and thereby the supreme or extreme instance of substitution as he intended this, namely as a *positive* principle of mental life "derived from the omnipresence of the external world as such". This principle was thus in tension with Freud's regulatory 'reality principle'.[60] Rather than as one among several ways of seeking independence of the external world under the pressure of reality, AS suggested that art exploits the independence of the external world through the imaginative manipulation of materials, so as to form objects expressive of ideal completeness and stability.[61] The finality of aesthetic form was theorized as a compromise between the opposed forces of life and death, art as "a parable of the over-all aim of human activity to force by substitutions of every kind the completeness or externality of death to serve the purposes of Eros until we die".[62]

✢

By Christmas 1944, SB was in Park Prewitt Hospital in Basingstoke, Hampshire. Early in the new year he was transferred to the West Cornwall Hospital in Penzance, still "expecting to go back to the front for the Rhine crossing".[63] From Penzance he was able to make daily trips to St Ives and Carbis Bay, dressed "in 'hospital blues'" like the wounded of the previous war he remembered seeing as a child at Sydenham.[64] There were difficulties between himself and Helga which would lead to their separation; and partly to avoid this "break at home" he spent the afternoons visiting friends, among them AS and MM at LPO:

> They made me welcome and the atmosphere of space and culture and love of beautiful things did much to heal the mind after the senseless horrors of the battlefield. They were immediately so excited by my uniform of cobalt blue with a scarlet tie on a shirt of titanium white they simultaneously set about painting my portrait. This went on for some days. Margaret took on a full length reclining figure **[fig. 75]**. Adrian ventured a portrait head and shoulders which he painted almost politely, apologising for, as he said, having "forgotten to put in the mouth, Sven!" His son Telfer, then about four, had noticed it first and Adrian decided that was proof that the mistake was "genuinely primitive" so the mouth was left out.[65]



Figure 75 Margaret Mellis, *Sven Berlin*. 1945. Oil on canvas



Figure 76
Fae, *Memorial to Alfred Wallis by Bernard Leach, Barnoon Cemetery, St Ives*. 2011

In the event, SB did not return to the front, but was transferred to Hollymoor, a military psychiatric hospital at Northfield, Birmingham, where he took part in a programme of group psychotherapy.[66] He would be demobbed in Manchester on 8 May, the day on which, following Hitler's suicide on 30 April, the unconditional surrender of Germany was formally signed in Berlin by his successor, Karl Dönitz (1891-1980) and the Allies declared "Victory in Europe".

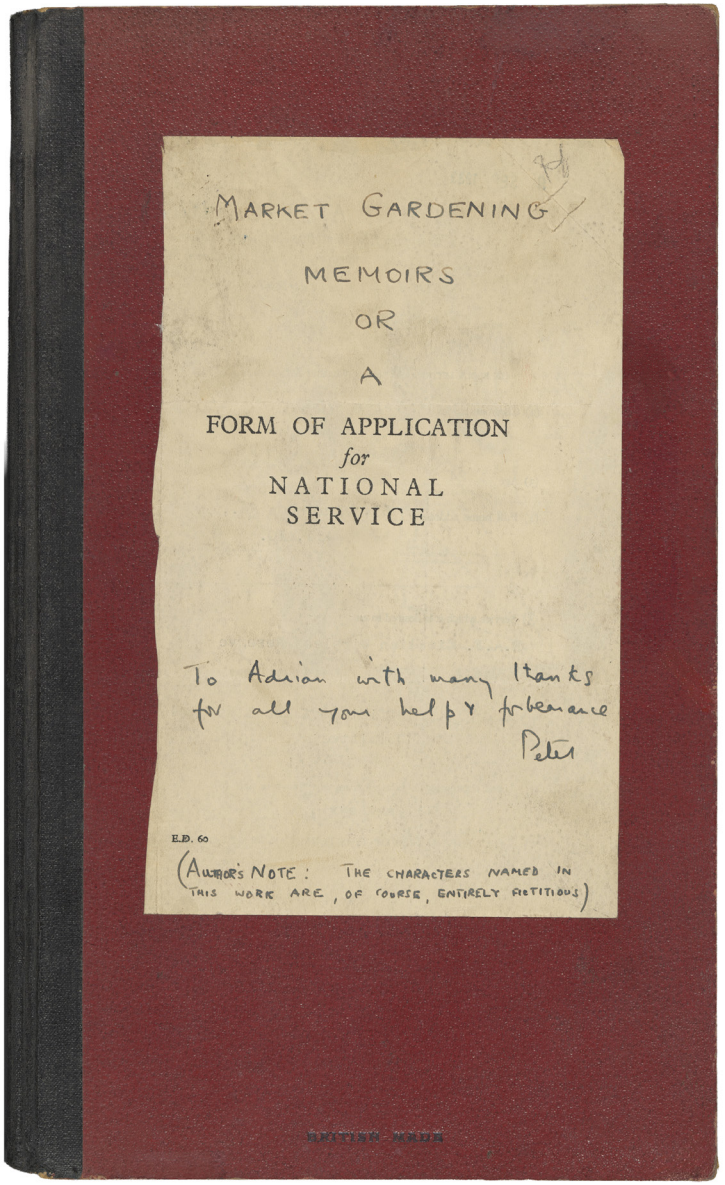
Before leaving Cornwall, SB surely inspected the set of painted stoneware tiles which BL had undertaken with a view to their use as a "pottery tomb" for AW, by now near completion, if not already complete **[fig. 76]**.[67] BL had made the suggestion and sent sketches to SB the previous year, when the latter had been organizing a collection to cover the cost of a headstone.[68] SB had responded enthusiastically, exonerating BL from making a financial contribution, given his recently altered personal circumstances (he had remarried on 24 May).[69] "The living are the most important", SB had stressed, "and those <next> to live next":

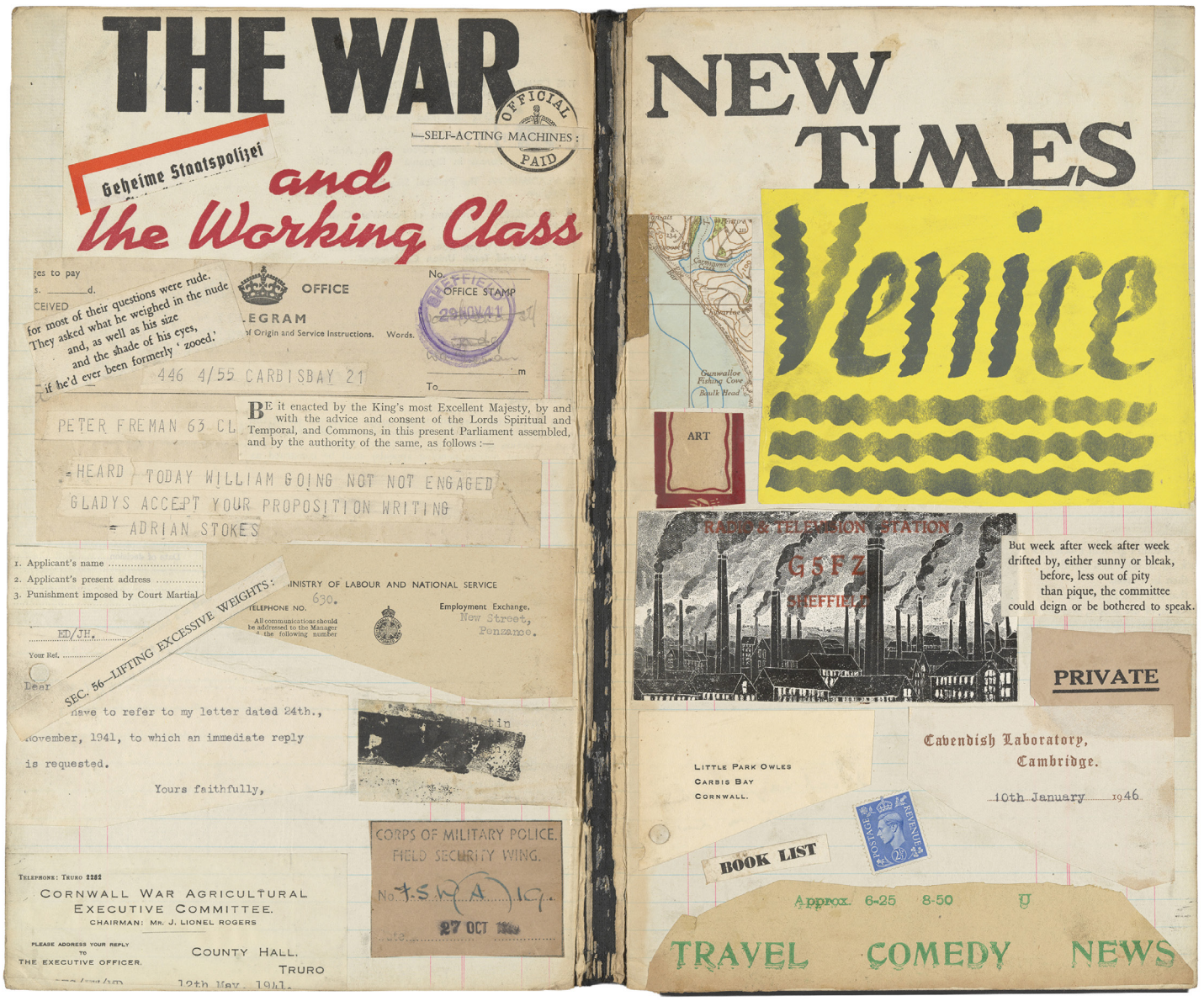
> All pottery – yes! Pottery & granite I cannot reconcile in my mind. I like your sketches & have written on them. But I cannot feel it is now <still> within my power to make a final decision – so many people have contributed. As far as I am concerned – well I'm more or less out of the picture, I had settled my mind about the situation & decided on the conventional thing feeling it met the requirements <in> under prevailing circumstances. Your offer to build a tomb alters everything, but I can only ask you to confer with Adrian when you see him about the paintings and as representatives decide which it is to be. Helga now has over £20 collected for <to> paying the expenses. I am not committed in any way to the local mason & need not employ him unless it is necessary. I like the quotation very much & think it should be used on the tomb whichever one is built. I shall be satisfied with the decision that is reached. Peter Watson as a third person might want to give an opinion. I feel you will make something beautiful & in keeping with Wallis if you did it.[70]

Perhaps SB witnessed the installation of the memorial during this period, though there seems to be no record of when this took place.[71]

The rift between BN and AS had meanwhile shown the first signs of mending, though full reconciliation remained some way off. On 10 January 1945, AS wrote to BH stating his intention to forfeit the sum owed him for the rent of Dunluce and (apparently) for payment of Olive Buttree, their cook, and which, as he explained, both he and BN had been obliged at the time considered a debt:[72]

> Apart from this sum, in that year and subsequently, I was already spending some £200 over and above my income and it had to come out of capital. My father was fairly benignant about this but not about the debt. I could not


MARKET GARDENING
MEMOIRS
OR
A
FORM OF APPLICATION
for
NATIONAL
SERVICE
To Adrian with many thanks
for all your help & forbearance
Peter
E.D. 60
(AUTHOR'S NOTE: THE CHARACTERS NAMED IN
THIS WORK ARE, OF COURSE, ENTIRELY FICTITIOUS)



Figures 77-78 Peter Freeman, "Market Gardening Memoirs, or A Form of Application for National Service". 1946. Collage

> risk his financial trust in me further and I assured him repeatedly I would be eventually paid back.
>
> The necessities of that situation on my side have {now} finally passed.
>
> Since the conditions of payment were not of an ordinary lending, I should like still to be paid for the framing, glazing and initial carriage of Ben's big picture. Transferring to this matter the £5 he sent me, it leaves £10 only.[73]

First BH, then, a couple of days later, BN himself responded gratefully to this proposal. BH on her part offered AS a sculpture and BN, acting on AS' own suggestion, a gouache in lieu of the money still owed.[74]

✢

Though Europe was now free, the war in the Pacific was not yet over. Still to come was the dropping of the first atomic bombs, over the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, on 6 and 9 August. PF would recall AS' reaction to the first of those events:

> Adrian came running up to our cottage and announced it, knowing he was first with the news, and at once there poured out of Adrian a long account of what atomic energy might mean to the world, because strangely enough we had discussed the possible implications of atomic physics and atomic […] energy, many months before, so it all came suddenly from a theory to a reality after the atomic bomb was dropped.[75]

The immense danger of the "atomic gift" would feature in the peroration of *IO* as a defining characteristic of current and foreseeable challenges to humanity's relation to the external world, with no guarantee that artistic creation might continue to function as pledge and token of that relation:

> The discovery of atomic power brings to a climax our situation of imaginative unpreparedness for the environment ensuing from the Industrial Revolution. If civilization should succeed in surviving and if unbounded leisure should come suddenly, there would be a problem no less serious than those which confront us now: and we cannot guess as to the character of the equivalence which at a distant date would be contemplated most deeply between the spirit of man and the material of the outside world. (It is safer, at least once, to use this circumlocution for the arts in the future.) The crafts which have nourished them would seem to be doomed. In work the opportunities for art

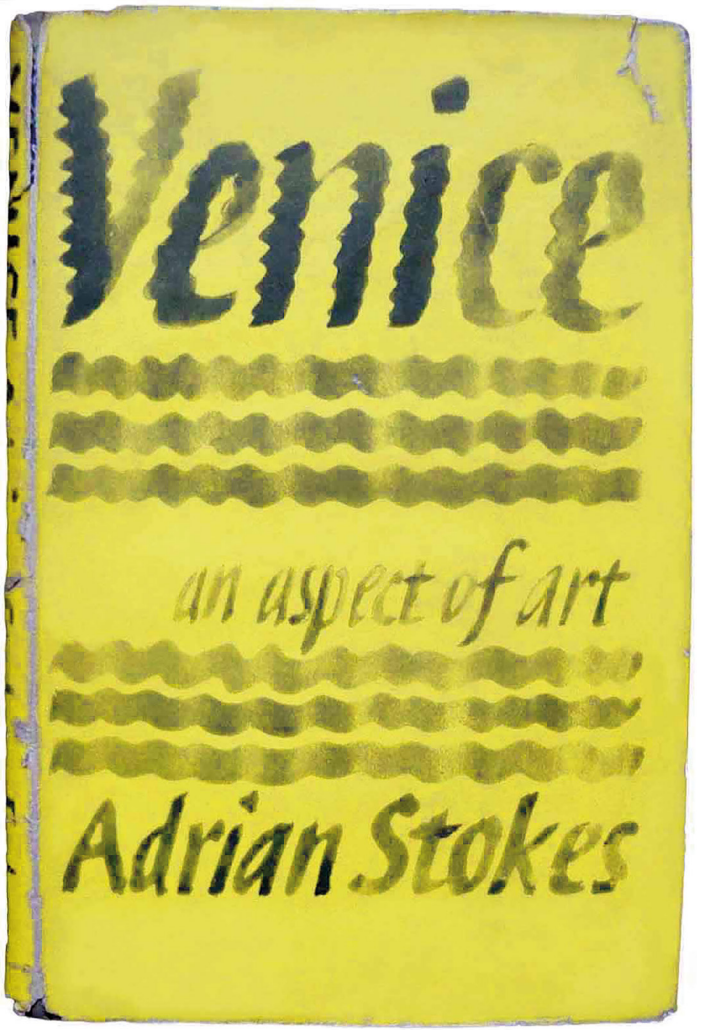


Figure 79
Dust jacket of Adrian Stokes, *Venice. An Aspect of Art*. 1945

> wane rapidly. But whether or not there would be the practice of art as now known to us, in my belief the aesthetic approach would eventually invade all rationalizations except those of science which define it.[76]

The formal surrender of Japan on 2 September 1945 finally brought the war to an end. Work in the market garden at LPO seems not to have been abandoned for more than a year after this, however, though largely carried out, perhaps on a reduced scale, by Thomas Farrell, who in October 1946 was able to report that he was in the process of digging up a potato crop of approximately twenty-two hundredweight (considerably less than the two tons of early potatoes lifted at LPO in 1941).[77] AS himself, as will be seen, was away from LPO, in London or at Pangbourne, for lengthy periods in 1946. Perhaps Farrell was once more assisted by WS. The fact that by the start of 1947 the latter was reported by MM to be "on the phone" might suggest this, but it might equally be a sign that he had meanwhile found more remunerative employment.[78] Certainly, PF had left LPO and Carbis Bay early in 1946. In mid-January he was in Cambridge looking for a place to live on transferring to the Cavendish Laboratory as a Research Assistant, as he was expected shortly to do.[79] It must have been not long afterwards that he compiled his "Market Gardening Memoirs" **[figs 77-78]** as a memento of his time at LPO and expression of gratitude to AS. In 1947 he would return north, becoming a part-time lecturer at Rotherham Technical College and (it would seem, concurrently) a part-time teacher in Engineering, afterwards Demonstrator at the University of Sheffield. Here he would remain until his retirement in 1969, having reached the rank of Senior Lecturer in 1962.

AS and he remained in touch and occasionally met. In a surviving letter of 1954 PF tells how the sight, in an exhibition at Sheffield, of an "Italian landscape" by AS[80] revived memories of Carbis Bay:

> You had chosen a prominent position on a South facing gallery wall, just as you were used to relax against the General's tool shed, and in the bright sunshine through the skylights it recalled all those pleasant memories of L.P.O.[,] of talks on art, on Freud, and of bowls of tea on the terrace.[81]

Venice, the first book – indeed, the first publication – by AS to have appeared in nearly a decade, came out in August 1945 **[fig. 79]**.[82] By October he had begun work on "Part II" of IO, dealing with the painting of Cézanne. And in November, as seen, he dated the book's "Preface". By the new year *IO* had evidently been submitted to Faber and Faber, who had published all AS' books since 1932. In the second week of January 1946, during the first of repeated and increasingly extended stays in London made this year, AS spent time at the publisher's entering new corrections to his MS.[83] Faber's seem however to have had reservations about the book. In advance of a (rescheduled) appointment with Richard de la Mare to discuss it, AS confided to MM that "[p]resent indications" were "not good" and that it was possible the book might be refused, in which

case he would have "to do something about another publisher".[84] That same month, however, a contract was signed,[85] albeit, as AS would later state, "under protest", they having been "so disgusted" by it;[86] and by May he was correcting proofs.[87]

In a footnote to *Venice* – as, in his misjudged review, the art historian Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-1983) had impatiently remarked[88] – AS had alluded to a "subsequent writing on Alberti".[89] That he already (in outline at least) envisaged the *Study of Alberti, Piero della Francesca and Giorgione* which would be published four years later under the main title of *Art and Science*,[90] is suggested by a series of notes, begun before leaving for London towards the end of December 1945 and continued through the spring, respectively headed "'Preparation for a book on Piero della Francesca and Giorgione" (December), "Notes on Alberti" (January), "Sigismondo and Alberti" (April) and "Notes for essay on Sigismondo and Federico [da Montefeltro], to follow that on Alberti" (May).[91] By this time AS had completed what KC, to whom he had sent it, in his appreciative reply called "the Alberti article" and "your essay",[92] possibly "Concerning Alberti", a typescript of which is among AS' papers.[93] And around this time too he agreed to write a volume on Cézanne for the Faber Gallery series, edited by Reginald Howard Wilenski (1887-1975), following "repeated requests" from the publisher and in an attempt, he would tell WRS, to "put them in a good mood".[94] This new commitment would involve "Cézanne research" in the library at the Victoria and Albert Museum (NAL),[95] as well, undoubtedly, as repeated visits to the National Gallery.

Concurrently, if he was not actually painting,[96] he was engaged in promoting his own and MM's work, which he seems still to have considered in almost collaborative terms. "Of the modern pictures I have seen so far", he had written to her in January, "I feel happy enough with our effort, and I feel that in London it would have been quite impossible so to have got down to anything".[97] On a subsequent visit, he attempted to correct some misunderstanding on the part of Duncan Macdonald of Reid & Lefevre, who seems to have heard report that a guest at LPO (Julian Trevelyan, AS thought) had expressed disappointment in his current painting as compared with his old.[98]

In July he exhibited with the St Ives Society of Artists, showing an "almost translucid" painting of Camellias.[99] In press reports he is listed as a "new contributor", though in a letter to MM of the previous April, describing the visit of Humphrey Slater mentioned earlier,[100] he refers to a painting apparently by him as currently hanging "in the gallery", presumably the Mariners' Chapel by now used by the Society of Arts for their exhibitions. Slater seems to have been interested in reproducing his and MM's paintings in *Polemic*, though for himself AS seems to have been unwilling for him to do so.[101]



This vigorous spate of work was soon disrupted by the emotional and domestic upheaval leading to and ensuing from the final break-down of AS' and MM's marriage, in which AM played a role which surprised all concerned, most of all the two sisters.

Background VIII
Paul Tucker

AM was formally demobbed on 7 November 1945,[102] but had certainly returned to Britain before then. She apparently spent the summer at her parents' home in Scotland: in writing to MM, then herself in Scotland, in late May, AS closed sending his "[l]ove to Andrew [AM]", adding, "Hope she is coming here soon".[103] There is no evidence that she did now go to LPO. Probably she went to London to be demobbed and remained there, staying with her aunt Eva and uncle Norman Wilkinson[104] in Highgate, in order to continue her ballet studies. AS certainly saw her in London, perhaps for the first time in over three years, in January 1946, when he took her to see *Henry II* and to meet Patrick and Delia Heron, with whom he was staying. "She looks well", he wrote to MM, "but pretty tired".[105]

It must have been shortly after this that AS realized he had fallen in love with her. Between this time and the summer they met repeatedly in London, where AS went to see her dance and took her to the ballet. Meanwhile, MM and he alternated at LPO, coinciding there for brief periods only.[106]

The protracted, unhappy crisis that followed – possibly impelling AS briefly to resume analysis with, or at least consult MK[107] – apparently had its onset in mid-May, after a significant meeting with AM, possibly at LPO.[108] MM seems to have learned of the situation from AS by the end of June. She had suspected that AS – now a "block of ice" towards her[109] – had someone else and, according to AM, was relieved to find out that this was her sister.[110] For her part, AM, troubled by feelings of guilt, would recall this as the worst time of her life.[111]

It is not easy to reconstruct the exact course of events, but it seems that divorce, the solution eventually arrived at, was not initially or consistently contemplated. Alternatives involved separation and some kind of arrangement whereby AS and MM remained married but AM represented an emotional outlet for him.

A further and more hopeless point of crisis was reached in mid-July, when AM wrote to AS that she did not want to marry him and did not "want to be anyones mistress but [her] own". She asked him to let her go, as he asked MM to let him go.[112] In response, AS pleaded for her "some continuing relationship on [her] terms", in a resolute and total declaration of love:

> You must realize that what has happened to me can only happen once in a life-time, that it hasn't happened before and can't happen again. Oh yes, I've been in love before alright but though violently, not to a hundredth this degree. For I do not believe that one can more than once lose one's identity, so to speak. I simply don't know myself any more nor any of my former activities. I am nothing except in relation to you. This will be extremely difficult for you to understand. You must think of your father, mother, brothers and sister and any one else you love, rolled into one, and how it would be if you were completely deprived of the whole lot, inside you as well as out, the feeling of emptiness, utter loss and lack of identity. Some tie, however slight, goes a long way. If I am cut off from you altogether, there is nothing of me surviving and, since in some way I

> have committed the whole of myself, as far as I can see there could be nothing. Your replica is not to be found. If I thought there was the slightest chance of an approximation I would search the world. I have never met or seen anyone the slightest bit like you in a certain combination of qualities, an angel who is not the slightest bit insipid, on the contrary, who is full-blooded, determined and very strong; loving quick, swift in willingness, intuitive, aristocratic in natural tact and thoughtfulness, responsive, understanding, intelligent, sensitive, observant, of an immeasurable happiness and goodness of heart and yes, I suppose it is relevant, divinely beautiful. A red, red rose in fact or a little oak-tree. I am entirely shackled by the combination, by you yourself whom I have known long.[113]

Meanwhile AM had resolved to speak with her parents. These, however, came to know of the crisis between AS and MM (but not yet, apparently, of the tie between AS and herself) from her brother Duff (1919-1955), after AM had confided in her sister-in-law Anne.[114] Her father wrote to MM in vigorous response that he considered the idea of a divorce "completely wrong". If AS were to desert her, then that *would* constitute grounds for divorce. She would then only have to ask him to come back and if he refused "the thing [would work] out". Yet the idea that divorce would free them to marry again seemed to him "quite mistaken":

> Two people like you & Adrian who have made such a hash of your marriage oughtn't to think of marrying again for a long time if ever. Adrian's ideas about marriage seem to me completely wrong. All sorts of psychological ties quite apart from sex are set up in a home & they can't be made as if they never had been. It seems to me that Adrian is just shirking the responsibilities of life.[115]

A fortnight later DM ventured an analysis of the crisis. Though explicitly regarding AS and MM as equally at fault, he was unsparingly critical of his daughter, urging her to "face up" to her faults and to take the situation "in the right way", namely, as a hard lesson:

> You never seem to have learned that you can't go your ruthless way & expect to have everything you want without paying the price for it. It is no good loving people in your own way, if you don't love them enough in the way they need to be loved.
>
> I don't for one moment think that Adrian is not to be blamed in many ways but you must admit that it was you who set your heart on marrying him without considering what he might expect of his wife. You thought once you were married you could behave as you liked. Marriage is only the beginning of a most difficult relationship.

> Is it possible for two artists to marry[?] – that is the tragedy. Have you ever realised what you have made other people put up with – everyone who has ever lived with you[?][116]

The full extent of the crisis must soon have become known to all; for by December AM's parents had given their permission for AS to marry her once he was legally free to do so.[117] The painful and occasionally squalid arrangements for divorce thus began, as well as the search for a state whose legal system would permit the marriage. In the end they fixed on Switzerland; and they were married in Ascona on 22 May 1947. Their son Philip would be born there the following year and though, as AS would later tell OR, these years were ones of happiness and though he had meant for them to stay there for ever (another "final retirement"),[118] they were legally able and financially obliged to return to England in 1950.[119]

Meanwhile, LPO had been sold.[120] This was of course a necessary and more practical solution than the one nurtured in fantasy by AM, who at one point had agreed to live there but had soon recanted.[121] She hated, though, the "idea of selling that Gdn. of Eden", suggesting that garden and house "should be put to sleep for 100 years and be discovered by Telfer[']s gr. gr. grandson anew grown with brambles & Peaches & Petunias".[122] And perhaps, in this adaptation of *Sleeping Beauty*, she was communicating, in her own way, the conviction exultantly expressed by AS to his (twice over) father-in-law, that in this crisis there was

> a power of love at work on the scale of Hitler's unending hate: and it is difficult not to believe that such love can put everything right in the long run and make everyone happy about it; that it inspires tact and patience and must finally disarm criticism when Anne & I are uproariously happy together[,] as we most certainly shall be.[123]

Notes

1 Cf. Stokes 1934a, 32 ("It [devotion to the ballet] is exactly like falling in love. A picture, an essence, has become wedged in the mind and one never knew it. All devotion no doubt has a similar genesis") and *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 239: "the state of being in love involves simple accountancy with the outside world. All is good in the sought presence, all counterfeit beyond […] The riches of love flow from the religious perception of a loved object assimilated within […] Unassailable love harboured within us is full security, as all the world acknowledges").
2 Cf. CAM, 297: "The generating relations of a work of art […] measure of completeness".
3 Cf. *OIL* VII, f. 54*r*, 254 ("it is surprising that no mystique seems to have been based on just that dualism"); NBA, f. 13*r*, 263 ("It is strange to me that no mystique has attached itself to this process, no philosophy") and "Envoi", 270 ("To me it is strange […] to this process").
4 Cf. *OIL* II, ff. 30*r*-31*r*, 99 ("How blessed that things […] shiftless ideas") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 162: "How blessed […] abstract, shiftless ideas").
5 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 10*r*, 44: "It is the artist's great pleasure […] thrust upon the appearance".
6 Cf. "Envoi", 269: "The good object, too […] the frequent void".
7 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 8*r*, 42-3: "The Woolworth turmoil […] can hope of our insides".
8 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 165-6): "We would have to recognize […] a vast amelioration".
9 Cf. Stokes 1933, 527 ("Analysis does not assault values, nor dispute them. It leads us to view life differently only so far as we have viewed it with an overplus of anxiety") and *OIL* III, f. 39*r*, 125 ("Psycho-analysis does not alter our values […] could have imagined"). Cf. also AS' remarks to SB concerning the effects of the psychotherapy undergone by the latter for trauma-related depression after his return from the front (see Aarons 2016, 59 and "Background VIII", 305) in AS to SB n.d. [late spring 1945], AGC: "As for being 'cured' of this excellent occupational therapy, painting, or fundamentally altered in your values, let me reassure you by telling you that I attended a Freudian <anay> analyst daily (except Sundays and six weeks holiday a year) for 6 <½> – I think it was six – it may have been 6 ½ or 5 ½ – its too late at night to reckon up. The highest activities remain the highest – truly the highest – whatever be the degree of frustration implicit".
10 Freud [1929] 1930, 33. AS' references, internal to his text, have been transferred to these endnotes. His own footnote has been retained, its internal references normalized.
11 Freud [1929] 1930, 34.
12 Cf. 33, fn. 129, and "Envoi", 270. See also "Background VIII", 302.
13 Cf. "Writing", 293 ("It is then we know best […] in forms that are outside us") and see the "Introduction", 16-17.
14 Freud [1929] 1930, 34-5.
15 Cf. 296, 297 ("Art is a kind of epitome"; "Again as the epitome, we shall in a moment view art from this angle"); IS, f. 5*r*, 213 ("I use 'art' in its very broadest sense, the creation of any epitome") and "Envoi", 270 ("For we come to realize […] all living processes").
16 Cf. *OIL* I, ff. 13*r*, 48 ("What I have to show [..] in terms of another"), 18*r*, 54 ("The basis of speech […] in reality and in image"); II, ff. 26*r*-27*r*, 95 ("I have long wondered […] interchange between the inner and outer life"); VII, f. 50*r*, 249 ("Substitution, the key-word of my thought") and *IA* (Stokes 1978, III, 296: "Of course almost every activity is the substitute or symbol of another"). See "Background VII", 281 and the "Introduction", 19.
17 Cf. *TEPT* (Stokes 1978, III, 151): "More than the rest of us, the artist is aware that what we see symbolizes the history as well as the aspiration of the mind: his task is to discover for them a felicitous embodiment in the outside world so that they be recognized as any object of perception is known, and better known the better the character of the object or scene represented has been seized in paint".
18 Cf. *GCE* (Stokes 1978, III, 84: "The Greek concept lives again in Freud's use of the term Eros for the libidinal and integrating principle that seeks objects") and an early draft (1951; ASP TGA 8816.193) of "Form in Art" (Stokes 1955): "We may wonder in passing whether aesthetic experience bears witness to Eros as object-seeker and <sympathizer> {synthetizer}, as well as to <Thonotos> {Thanatos} in our winning for emotion this completed or laid-out state of things inanimate"). inanimate". See also "Background VIII", 301-2.
19 Freud [1923] (1927), 57-8.
20 Freud [1929] 1930, 103.
21 Freud [1920] 1922, 29.
22 Freud [1923] (1927), 26.
23 Freud [1923] (1927), 29.
24 Fairbairn 1944, 70.
25 Cf. IS, f. 1*r*, 210 ("Each set scene […] instantaneous form of space"); NBA, f. 15*r*, 264 ("Mental as well as physical life […] instantaneous world of space") and "Envoi", 270 ("Every philosophy […] exquisite arrangement of space").
26 See fn. 13.
27 Cf. *OIL* III, f. 34*r*, 120 ("Human beings must vie […] as is this landscape"); NBA, ff. 14*r*-15*r*, 264 ("Throughout life […] world of space") and "Envoi", 270 ("Throughout life […] arrangement of space") See the "Introduction", 15.
28 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 19*r*, 56 ("Consciousness is a brisk dream […] differs from the real dream-state"); IS, f. 2*r*, 211 ("How unworthy […] outward-seeming") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 163: "Consciousness […] dream state").
29 Cf. I&D, f. 11*v*, 267 ("But for us […]as a servant".) and "Envoi", 269 ("But for us […] as a servant"). See the "Introduction", 15-17.
30 Freud, S. [1911] (1925), 19 (AS' ellipsis; the original reads "because this dissatisfaction").
31 See "Background VIII", 301-2.
32 And contained in the notebook ASP, TGA 8816.3; see "Background VII", 281.
33 See *OIL* IV, f. 47*r*, 153, and "Background IV", 155.
34 See *OIL* III, ff. 32*r*-33*r*, 117-19.
35 Stokes 1978, II, 171, 180.

36 See 141, fn. 9 and "Background VII", 281.
37 ASP, TGA 8816.3.
38 Stokes 1946, 51-60; *Times Literary Supplement* 22 September 1945 (Issue 2277). *Polemic* had a cover designed by BN.
39 Compare "Writing", ff. 18*r*-19*r*, 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").
40 Klein, Rivière [1937] 1953, 51.
41 AS to HR 14 February [1944], HRP, SC MLUV (where Klein, Rivière 1937 was commended as "the most human of all the orthodox [Freudian] treaties"). See too "Background VII", 278-9.
42 Stokes 1946, 57.
43 In an undated letter to SB evidently written in the late spring of 1945, after the latter's transfer to the Hollymoor psychiatric hospital (Aarons 2016, 59; see 302), AS wrote in eager anticipation of the publication of the magazine's first number "this summer", suggesting SB "must read" it (AS to SB n.d. [late spring 1945], AGC).
44 Stokes 1978, II, 141. The "Preface" misleadingly, perhaps pre-emptively, refers to "an earlier version" of "a section of the book" as already published in *Polemic*.
45 It is found on a leaf inserted in ASP, TGA 8816.53, on whose obverse is an unrelated text beginning "How impossible to write Elizabethan lyrics these days!".
46 On a leaf inserted in ASP, TGA 8816.30 (cf. Stokes 1946, 36; 1978, II: "'In its search for genuine goodness […] by two psycho-analysts").
47 On a leaf inserted in ASP, TGA 8816.30. Another draft is on a leaf inserted in ASP, TGA 8816.4 (see "Background VII", 281).
48 On a leaf inserted in ASP, TGA 8816.30 (Janet Sayers' transcription): "Some investigators discover in the ego a dread of being overpowered by instinctual forces *per se*. The ego as an organization fears the unorganized. Such organization (life itself, a physicist tells us, is but intensified molecular organization) would seem to involve a consciousness that is more than a filter between the external and the internal. Management of instinct by the organizing ego employing conscious thought, would further seem to involve the frequent enforcement on instinctual drives of a ramification, a projection, a substitution, culminating in culture. Some such line of thought gives a rationale for man's ceaseless substitutive activities, interprets, for instance, the value we so often attribute to the expressing of one thing in terms of another". This text (a little longer than the more completely transcribed portion given here) was intended for insertion after "ourselves speak there" and before "How blessed that things do not move" (Stokes 1978, II, 162). Schrödinger 1944 was advertised in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 2 December 1944 (Issue 2235) as available from 8 December. Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 181): "Some investigators […] the value of art".
49 AS to MM Saturday [18 May 1946], EMM.
50 Stokes 1978, II, 180-1.
51 MK to AS 11 June 1946, ASP, TGA 8816.235; quoted in Sayers 2012, 113.
52 Grosskurth 1986, 254.
53 MK to AS 21 November 1940, EMM; quoted in Sayers 2012, 112.
54 MK to AS 11 June 1946, ASP, TGA 8816.235; quoted in Sayers 2012, 113.
55 A substantial run of issues from his library is now in the Library of Magdalen College, Oxford, donated together with the majority of his books by Philip Stokes in 2023.
56 CAM, 297.
57 AS to HR 3 July [1951], HRP, SC MLUV. Cf. AS to HR Friday [28 January or 4 February 1944], HRP, SC MLUV on HR's "main theme, of the preponderance of an aesthetic process in life" as the one AS too felt "to be right" (see "Background VII", 278 and fn. 123).
58 "Envoi", 269; cf. I&D, f. 11*v*, 166-7: "If the belief […] would seem almost inevitable".
59 CAM, 295: "the essence of artistic creation […] in terms of the external world".
60 On the "reality principle" see 33, fn. 129; "Envoi", 270, and CAM, 295, 296, 297, 298.
61 CAM, 297: "As well as an abounding liveliness […] the contents of his mind".
62 CAM, 298.
63 Berlin 1994, 106; Aarons 2016, 56-7, 59. The "Rhine crossing" refers to Operation Plunder, which would be launched on 23 March.
64 Berlin 1994, 106.
65 Berlin 1994, 106; cf. 1945-87, 26. AS' portrait is not known to have survived.
66 Aarons 2016, 59; see also "Writing", 294, and fn. 9.
67 Webb 2025 (491) dates their completion to 15 March 1945, citing a letter from BL to D. Elmhirst written on that date.
68 See "Background VII", 283-4.
69 BL had married Laurie G.A. Cookes at a Bahá'í centre in London on 24 May 1944. They would give notice at the register office in Totnes on 7 July (Cooper 2003, 221).
70 SB to BL 11 June 1944, BLA CSCF, BHL/12045. As may be seen, the amount so far collected by SB was in excess of £20, not £19 as stated in Webb 2025 (488). By the previous 20 May SB had collected £17.10.0 (ten pounds from Peter Watson; five from AS; two from HR and ten shillings from himself). The difference appears to have been contributed by BN and BH, as requested by SB in a letter of 20 May and whom he thanked for responding "marvellously" on 26 May (SB to BN 20 May 1944, 26 May 1944, TGA 8717.1.2.205).
71 Webb 2025, 491. Webb repeatedly decries (2025, 481, 488, 491) the two-and- a-half-year lapse between AW's death and the installation of the ceramic memorial, leaving, she asserts, "in death as in life, Alfred […] overlooked". She takes no account of the historical and personal circumstances that understandably caused the delay and despite which the tomb was planned and realized, if not installed before the end of the war. She inaccurately rates that achievement as "almost entirely thanks to Leach", a tack that allows her to commend this "unique and fitting memorial" while deprecating the (in her view) mistaken assumption that AW would have appreciated being lain to rest (in SB's words) "among the expensive gravestones of respectable citizens and rich artists" (Berlin 1943, 46). Webb further complains that "Leach ended up out of pocket for the work", while yet reporting that he told SB "he would charge 'nothing for design, time, supervision etc.', which amounted to 'another £15 at least'" (Webb 2024, 489, citing a letter from BL to SB of 7 October 1948).

72 See "Background II", 110. The sum referred to probably corresponds to the £89.15.0 communicated to BN as "outstanding" the previous 21 July, in a letter which, moreover, apparently reports the cost of "framing, glazing and initial carriage of Ben's big picture" (presumably *June 1937*; see "Background I", 67) as £15.10.0 (AS to BN 21 July [1944], TGA 8717.1.2.4559).
73 AS to BH 10 January 1945, TGA 965.
74 BH to AS 13 January 1945, TGA 965; BN to AS 15 May 1945, ASP, TGA 8816.239.
75 Freeman 1973.
76 Stokes 1978, II, 181-2.
77 AS to MM Sunday [June 1946] (EMM) refers to the expected arrival of "the 4th June agricultural forms". See T.H. Farrell to AS 24 October 1946, ASP, TGA 8816.249, 83 (fn. 131) and "Background VII", 286.
78 He would marry Margaret Heaffey in 1948 and would remain in Cornwall: his marriage and his death in 2004 were both registered in Penzance (England & Wales Marriages 1837-2005, vol. 7A, 303; registry no. 71C; entry no. 002; information accessed via findmypast.co.uk 9 January 2025).
79 AS to MM Sunday [13 January 1946], EMM. Information regarding PF's career was kindly provided by Sheffield University Records and Archive.
80 The exhibition was one organized by *the* Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (precursor of the Arts Council) and the painting probably *San Materno, Ascona* (1949), acquired by the Arts Council in 1951.
81 The "General" may refer to AS' neighbour at Tremorna, Edward Bruce Forrest, the retired headmaster to whom he had intended to sell a garage in 1939 (see "Background I", 68). The letter relates news of PF's wife Peggy, her potting and gardening, of his three daughters, his parents and also of the three "quasi-Freemans", the Zydower siblings. It reveals how it was through AS' encouragement that Astrid had entered for open scholarships at the Royal College of Art and the Slade and had been awarded both, as well as the Princess of Wales Scholarship for the best British candidate in all branches of art.
82 See the "Introduction", 4.
83 AS to MM Sunday [13 January 1946], EMM.
84 AS to MM Sunday [13 January 1946], EMM.
85 ASP, TGA 8816.247.
86 AS to WRS n.d. [after 11 March 1949], EWRS, quoted in Sayers [2015] 2018, 155.
87 AS to MM Saturday [18 May 1946], TGA 202412. The book was published by 21 January 1947 (the date of a notice in the *New Statesman*).
88 Pevsner 1945.
89 Stokes 1978, II, 308-9, fn. 8.
90 Stokes 1978, II, 183-212.
91 All drafted in ASP, TGA 8816.57.
92 KC to AS 23 May 1946, ASP, TGA 8816.231.
93 ASP, TGA 8816.160A.
94 AS to WRS n.d. [after 11 March 1949], EWRS; AS to MM [26 May 1946], EMM. The Faber Gallery *Cézanne* would be published in 1947.
95 AS to MM Sunday [postmarked 26 May 1946], EMM.
96 At the start of June he wrote to MM from Pangbourne that he "[looked] forward to starting again" (AS to MM Sunday [2 June 1946], EMM).
97 AS to MM Sunday [6 January 1946], EMM.
98 AS to MM Sunday [postmarked 21 April 1946], EMM. For Macdonald see "Background III", 136, for Trevelyan "Background V", 199.
99 *Cornishman* 11 July 1946; *St Ives Times* 12 July 1946. According to Tate [1995] 1996 (104), AS exhibited a second painting, but this has not been identified.
100 "Background VII", 273.
101 AS to MM Sunday [postmarked 21 April 1946], EMM. One of the paintings exhibited this year may have been the still life seen in the bottom left-hand corner of Figure 70 (*Still Life XII* (Stokes 1965, cat. 52; 1982, cat. 19, where dated 1946).
102 Sayers [2015] 2018, 164.
103 AS to MM Monday [21 May 1945, postmarked 23 May 1945], EMM.
104 See 115, fn. 98.
105 AS to MM Sunday [13 January 1946], EMM.
106 AS was in London in January, MM in London and Scotland in April, returning to LPO in early May. AS then went to Pangbourne/London by car before 17 May, staying at W.W. Winkworth's from 20 May to 4 June. MM was in London by 22 June, staying with the Herons.
107 AM, interview with Janet Sayers, 2006; Sayers [2015] 2018, 168, 175.
108 AS to AM 7 August [1946], TGA 202412.
109 MM to AM 15 June [1946], EMM.
110 AM, interview with Janet Sayers, 2006.
111 Stokes Angus 2003, tape F21295B.
112 AM to AS 14 July 1946, TGA 202412.
113 AS to AM 7 August [1946], TGA 202412.
114 AM to AS 14 August 1946, TGA 202412.
115 DM to MM 12 August 1946, EMM.
116 DM to MM 28 August 1946, EMM.
117 AS to DM 1 December 1946 (draft), ASP, TGA 8816.228.
118 *OIL* I, f.12r, 47.
119 See DM to AS 21 June 1947, ASP, TGA 8816.228 ("Before your return to this country you must have a complete domicile established. It is only after that that the marriage would be accepted as valid") and AS to OR 1 June [1950], ORP, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2128 ("Owing to devaluation we have to leave Switzerland at the end of this month and return perpetually to England").
120 It was bought by John and Hilda Willson, who were "more or less settled" in the house by mid-April 1947 (J. Willson to AS 18 April 1947, ASP, TGA 8816.249). They in turn would sell it to Peter Lanyon in 1955 (according to a list of owners of and deeds to the house compiled by Carol Holland [LPOT]).
121 AM to AS 21 January 1947, TGA 202412 (Janet Sayers' transcription): "I am very, very glad the house is sold or as good as; I think with growing horror how nearly I said I would live there allright".
122 AM to AS n.d. [postmarked 22 June 1946], TGA 202412.
123 AS to DM 1 December 1946, draft in ASP, TGA 8816.228 (Janet Sayers' transcription).