The Outer and the Inner Life
A Wartime Work-in-Progress and its Offshoots

Adrian Stokes
edited by Paul Tucker



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Acknowledgements

It is now close on fifty years since I chanced to pick a copy of *Venice* by Adrian Stokes, then unknown to me, off a shelf in a second-hand bookshop in Oxford and was instantly transfixed by what I read, which yet somehow transported me, book in hand, to Venice, my mother's birthplace. I had never read anything that came so close to conveying the actual sensation and deep content of being in that city. It is therefore with immense pleasure and satisfaction that it is in Venice that this edition, the making of which has taken almost half of those fifty years, is now finally published.
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Paul Tucker

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For Ann and Ian

Introduction

Paul Tucker



Unidentified photographer, *Adrian Stokes with his Son Telfer*. c. 1942

Introduction
"The conjunction of meanings"

The Outer and the Inner Life (*OIL*) is the title given by the English writer and painter Adrian Durham Stokes (1902-1972) (AS) **[frontispiece]** to an extensive and, until now, largely unpublished manuscript, written in Cornwall immediately before and during the Second World War (WWII). In this edition it is accompanied by a selection of literary 'offshoots', mostly from the same period – textual derivatives revisiting it, supplemented by a textual antecedent ("Electric bulb!") which it revisits.[1] The circumstances – personal, domestic, national and international – and the mutable 'logic' of its composition will be reconstructed in a series of "Background" texts, each of which is appended to one of the eight sections into which the manuscript has here been divided,[2] and to an "Epilogue" containing 'offshoots' from the immediately ensuing years. This essay will focus instead upon the manuscript's significance within the context of AS' work as a whole.

Viewed chronographically, *OIL* mostly fills in what, from a scan of his publications, might seem an eight-year gap in AS' literary output, between the appearance of *Colour and Form* (*C&F*) and of the last in a substantial series of reviews and essays on ballet[3] in 1937 and that of *Venice. An Aspect of Art* in 1945.[4] It thus greatly enhances available accounts of his development, while also shedding light on his habits of thought and creative methods. In particular, it clarifies the place within his development of his preoccupation with visual art on the one hand and with psychoanalysis on the other.



Figure 1 Herbert Lambert (Elliott and Fry), *Melanie Klein*. 1927

That last question has divided readers. Some have seen AS' writing as falling into two distinct phases, in the second of which an explicit concern with psychoanalytical theory supervenes on a primary interest in art. Thus, as Stephen Bann long ago noted, by the end of his career AS had "forfeited the support of Kenneth Clark (and no doubt of other *bien-pensant* opinion)" through "unequivocal reference" to the theories of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) and of the Austrian-British analyst Melanie Klein (1882-1960) (MK) [**fig. 1**], with whom he had been in therapy throughout the first half of the 1930s.[5] In a review of *The Image in Form*, the anthology of his writings published a few months before AS' death,[6] the political philosopher and aesthetician Roger Scruton (1944-2020) dismissed his "penchant for psychoanalysis of Melanie Klein's variety" as having finally crushed his "sensitive perceptions" beneath an "immovable apparatus". Where, Scruton asked (with impervious complacence) "do the conclusions of analysis make contact with our conscious enjoyment of art?".[7] Almost a decade later the poet and literary critic Donald Davie (1922-1995) likewise declared his impatience with AS' later attempts "to relate his art studies" to accounts of "infantile behaviour" by MK.[8]

By contrast, in the first critical overview of AS' work, the "Introduction" to *The Image in Form*, its editor, the philosopher of art and mind Richard Wollheim (1923-2003), not only recognized his analysis with MK as "the crucial event" in the process whereby "the two themes of art and psychoanalysis" were gradually brought together in his writing, but insisted that those themes were both coeval and complementary:

> if Stokes's early work can be read much as though it belonged to the tradition of nineteenth-century aestheticism, it is to be observed that, throughout, there is a place reserved for psychoanalytic theory, at which it can be introduced when the moment is right. For from the beginning the notion finds acceptance that art is a form of externalization, of making concrete the inner world, and the evolution of Stokes's criticism can largely be accounted for by the increasingly richer view that is taken of the inner world and of how and by what means it works itself out.[9]

And further on in his essay, a propos of "the ways in which the later criticism is anticipated in the earlier", Wollheim noted that

> we might discern, even in the earliest writings, but markedly in *Stones of Rimini* [1934 (*SR*)], both a reference to and a reliance upon such connections or associations in the mind as psychoanalysis would assume to be not merely present but operative.[10]



Figure 2 Unidentified photographer, *Margaret Mellis*. 1942



Figure 3
Unidentified photographer,
Little Park Owles, Carbis Bay, Cornwall.
Before 1939?

A few years later, Richard Read would take his cue from these remarks and argue, not only that AS' "major works on art […] collectively […] seek to show how [it] reflects the resolutions of our inner life", but also that his life-work was devoted to "reconciling the otherness of art with mental processes", to elaboration of the "theory that art is a palimpsest of the mind".[11]

And yet, despite these remarks, in the most recent overview of AS' work, Thomas Evans has deemed it necessary to counter criticism of a supposed "'turn' towards Kleinianism" on AS' part. This he considers "erroneous", for the reason that MK's ideas – as Wollheim and Read both explicitly asserted[12] – may already be found in *The Quattro Cento* (1932) (*QC*).[13] He further points out that AS "was not generally a dogmatic exponent" of those ideas, "his metapsychological bent" prompting him to put them "to more philosophical ends".[14]

The arguments presented by Wollheim, Read and Evans are certainly in line with AS' own late estimate of his work. In introducing his penultimate book, *The Invitation in Art* (1965) (*IA*), he stated that "for nearly forty years" he had been guided by "one insight" alone; and that what he had written long before on the subject of Italian fifteenth-century art was the demonstration that there had been "no hiatus separating the old from more recent books".[15] *OIL* offers unequivocal and overwhelming support to this claim and sheds some light on what that idea may be taken to have been. It amplifies awareness of that "deeper level of unity" discerned by Bann, when it was first published, in one of the 'offshoots' presented here.[16] And it enhances our capacity to respond to what he then indicated as an intrinsic character of AS' writings, the invitation "as it were, to read [their] sequence […] backwards".[17] For this, among other things, is what AS himself was engaged in doing here.

Crucial in this regard is the manuscript's private, exploratory and hybrid character. By turns journal, commonplace book, critical commentary, discursive argument, confession, memorandum, psycho-literary experiment, introspective memoir, autographic pastiche, poetic sketchbook and manifesto, *OIL* can only be defined a 'work-in-progress' – not a book as such, nor even the draft of a book, but at most, as AS specified, "notes" towards an "eventual book".[18] Yet this too needs qualifying, since neither the book it envisages initially nor the one it cites in its final pages as "the book I want to write"[19] can straightforwardly be identified with any subsequently produced by AS, even though numerous passages from *OIL* were incorporated in *Inside Out* (1947) (*IO*).[20] For the possibility of the manuscript's partial re-use in this way only gradually became apparent to AS as the conception of *IO* evolved, partly indeed as a consequence of drafting *OIL*. In any case, even *IO*'s expansive subtitle – *An Essay in the Psychology and Aesthetic Appeal of Space* – seems not quite to encompass *OIL*, whose cohesiveness, moreover, though not always evident or easy to summarize, is not limited to that reflected back upon it by its repurposing in *IO*.

OIL was begun as a discipline likely to help AS overcome the sense that radically altered life circumstances – his recent marriage to the Scottish painter Margaret Nairne ("Peggy") Mellis (1914-2009) (MM) **[fig. 2]** and their removal from London to Little Park Owles **[fig. 3]**, at Carbis Bay, near St Ives, in Cornwall[21] – had brought long-sought happiness but had somehow also left him

"bereft" of "vision", of formerly habitual "[e]cstatic or even, perhaps, mystical contemplation".[22] The writing was also meant to instigate an elusive new and definitive phase of work ("a life's work"),[23] one he had perhaps considered for some time past[24] and whose actual inception was prompted by this new start in life.

The subject he set himself to investigate was correspondingly novel and ambitious in its generality. However thoroughly and for however many years his personal sensitivity to the relations between inner and outer experience may have been sharpened and deepened by interest in and actual acquaintance with psychoanalysis, they had not yet assumed for him the status of a subject of inquiry in and for themselves. *OIL* documents his intermittent and unsystematic but protracted and intent exploration of this subject, with deliberate, experimental reference to a range of interests:[25] painting, classical and contemporary ballet, poetry, philosophy, psychoanalysis, religion, morality, scientific theory, the cinema, tennis and cricket. Stimuli to reflection came from his reading and personal memory store, the coming and going of visitors to the house, its natural environment, the nearby town of St Ives, various activities and, not least, the war. The manuscript's especial significance is as a record of AS' 'discovery' that his work, before and since his analysis with MK, and despite its many transitions and transformations, exhibited fundamental continuity and consistency, an insight that prompted re-appraisal of his long-standing concern with visual art.

✢

OIL's main themes are all closely interlinked, but must here be isolated for clarity. All are introduced in the initial portion of the manuscript,[26] drafted in the most intensive phase of writing, between April 1939 and the outbreak of war five months later.[27] I shall indicate some of the ways they connect with AS' previous writing and experience and are developed within the manuscript and its 'offshoots' as well as subsequently.

The titular theme is enucleated in the manuscript's first paragraph:

> The object of these notes and of the eventual book (a life's work) is to mirror correspondence between the outer world as present to the senses and to the imagination, also activities and personal relationships, between the outer world, then, and the inner aspects of personality, the physical inside of the body, and fantasies connected with it. I would mirror then, all patterns to which the clue is our conception of ourselves, what seems to us enclosed within the physical body, everything of which the microcosm is the ego: and that <u>is</u> everything except that the outer world is essentially otherness or non-ego extending beyond the ego, a projection, therefore, of the ego in the form of non-ego. It must be shown, too, that the ego itself is largely made up of other

> people incorporated into it, and these find separation again and reciprocal relationship as 'otherness' in the outside world and as other people. Ourselves also divide into other people, however we conceive of ourselves apart from these identifications. And on the other side, the outside world gives the terms to the fantasies of the inner. Subject to the needs of the ego, the outer world gives the pattern to those needs. Moreover, the actuality of the outside world gives us the pattern of the actuality upon which the fantasies of the inner arise. On the other hand, the actuality of the outside world is a projection of the actuality of our own bodies. The interrelationship is myriad-sided. The one, however, that needs all the stress is the projection of our fantasies and their rationalization in the fact and theory of existence. Our power of thought is our power to project ourselves into terms of otherness.[28]

Clearly, the terms and concepts deployed here – 'ego', 'projection', 'incorporation', 'fantasy', 'rationalization', the divided self – bespeak familiarity, not just with the theories of Freud, but above all (unsurprisingly) with their development in the work of MK. The term 'ego', for example, is not here used in the structural sense it had acquired in Freud's later 'topographical' model of the mind, but as more or less synonymous with 'self'.[29] Furthermore, 'projection' and 'incorporation' (a variant of 'introjection') – concepts introduced or early adopted by Freud[30] – here plainly invoke a fundament of Kleinian metapsychology. Several years before, in a review of her *Psycho-Analysis of Children* (1932), AS had linked the process he would later describe as "ceaseless projection-introjection"[31] to MK's finding that "the infant is almost dominated by his destructive tendencies":

> It is this primary aggression, directed against himself, that, in Mrs. Klein's view, gives rise to the infant's original anxiety. His defence against it is its projection outside himself. There follow various and extremely complicated mechanisms, the absorption and re-projection of loved and hated objects, a thousand and one adjustments performed at the roots of a mind which as yet has but the smallest conception of actuality.[32]

And still more than this passage, the opening paragraph of *OIL* seems to reflect AS' awareness that since 1930 MK had stressed that the cycle of "identification" set in motion by destructive impulses and anxiety was dependent upon the evolving capacity for "symbol-formation". This she saw, not only as "the foundation of all phantasy and sublimation", but also as "the basis of the subject's relation to the outside world and to reality in general", thus crucial to "ego development".[33]

Despite its Kleinian cast, however, AS' opening paragraph omits any reference to psychical conflict, disorder or development, or even to the unconscious. The motivating "needs of the ego" are acknowledged but not themselves motivated or explicated in terms of distinct 'phases' or 'positions'. AS seems concerned to delineate, less a body of psychological doctrine than a synopsis of the (general) subject's relations to the "outer world" consequent upon or endorsed by such doctrine. He seems concerned above all to individuate an object of contemplation: the "correspondence" between self and world as thrown into vivid relief by psychoanalysis, the aspect assumed by the world as a result. What is envisaged in outline here is not so much a thesis concerning the mind as a mode of study immediately defined in terms of 'mirroring' and subsequently characterized as the 'showing' and 'producing' of "phenomena" and as entailing thematic 'illustration'[34] and 'poetry'.[35] A dozen or so years later, in addressing the then already controversial question of the influence on his writing of "a long and intimate acquaintance with the process and the literature of psycho-analysis", AS would again make recourse to the metaphor of "mirroring", specifying that the kind attempted was "unconnected with a scientific procedure", but equally "undivorced from an even longer preoccupation with the arts".[36] And a few years after that he would tell the poet and critic Herbert Read (1893-1968) (HR) that *S&R* and *IO* too were "not theoretical formulations but 'poetic' books written under the influence of Melanie Klein".[37]

In the early pages of *OIL*, drafted in the spring of 1939, AS writes that he is "but groping" for the theme of his writing and for the manner of presentation appropriate to it.[38] Towards the end of the war he would write, again to HR, that the "world picture that devolves from Freud badly needs contemplation by poets and thinkers who do not shirk".[39] We shall come back to the qualification "who do not shirk". More significant at present are the invocation of "poets and thinkers" as it were in one breath and the phrase "world picture", which, five years on from *OIL*'s commencement, perhaps conveys the essence of AS' elusive theme and method. It seems to connote an endeavour broadly characterizable as both 'descriptive' and 'philosophical' – as furnishing a representation of experience apt to enhance understanding of it and to orient it from a practical point of view. What AS seems to be "groping" towards at the start of *OIL* is a picture of the way Freudian psychology transforms experience, not personal experience merely, but the general structure of experience; a picture of how it translates, it might be said, into a phenomenology, a descriptive study of the general structures of consciousness and of the intelligibility of the world as the intentional object of human mind.

There is indeed a case for claiming AS as an exponent of the phenomenological "manner or style of thinking" which, around this same time, in his *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945), the French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1983) posited as having prepared the way for the coming to self-awareness of phenomenology as a philosophical method (incidentally, a movement of thought with which he associated Freud).[40] Its impulsive and affective dynamism aside, the Freudian "world picture" that AS aimed to articulate has some affinity with the

phenomenological outlook expounded by Merleau-Ponty. In the chapter titled "The Theory of the Body is already a Theory of Perception", the latter writes, "Our own body is in the world as the heart is in the organism: it keeps the visible spectacle constantly alive, it breathes life into it and sustains it inwardly, and with it forms a system".[41] A little later in *OIL* AS makes use of a cognate metaphor to characterize 'projection': "The process of projection", he affirms, "is the life-blood of living".[42] To the question, "What is Phenomenology?", Merleau-Ponty replies that it is the study of essences, but also that it is

> a philosophy which puts essences back into existence, and does not expect to arrive at an understanding of man and the world from any starting point other than that of their 'facticity'. It is a transcendental philosophy which places in abeyance the assertions arising out of the natural attitude, the better to understand them; but it is also a philosophy for which the world is always 'already there' before reflection begins – as an inalienable presence […] It is the search for a philosophy which shall be a 'rigorous science', but it also offers an account of space, time and the world as we 'live' them. It tries to give a direct description of our experience as it is, without taking account of its psychological origin and the causal explanations which the scientist, the historian or the sociologist may be able lo provide.[43]

Analogously (at least in part), AS declares,

> There can be no agnosticism today because we have ceased to formulate those metaphysical problems to which agnosticism applied itself. We do not deal in unrelated essences. Nor is there need at present to speculate about the ultimate nature of the inner and outer object.[44]

And the sense in which phenomenology held the 'lived' world to be an extension of the body and "always 'already there'" – not primarily as materially pre-existent but as a condition of the exercise of selfhood – seems reflected in AS' remarks in the opening paragraph of *OIL* on the interchange of worldly and bodily actuality, as also in the following passage, from a little further on in the manuscript:

> The waves on the beach beyond my room turn: not my thoughts but their rhythm, their resurgence, turn them into their own beauty. This motif, then, becomes deep as the sea and as restless, yet with pointed recurrence breaking upon a silence under the wide sky. My hot thoughts, then, are cool: their heat is now the vast motion of wave slowly toppling upon the myriad sand. But

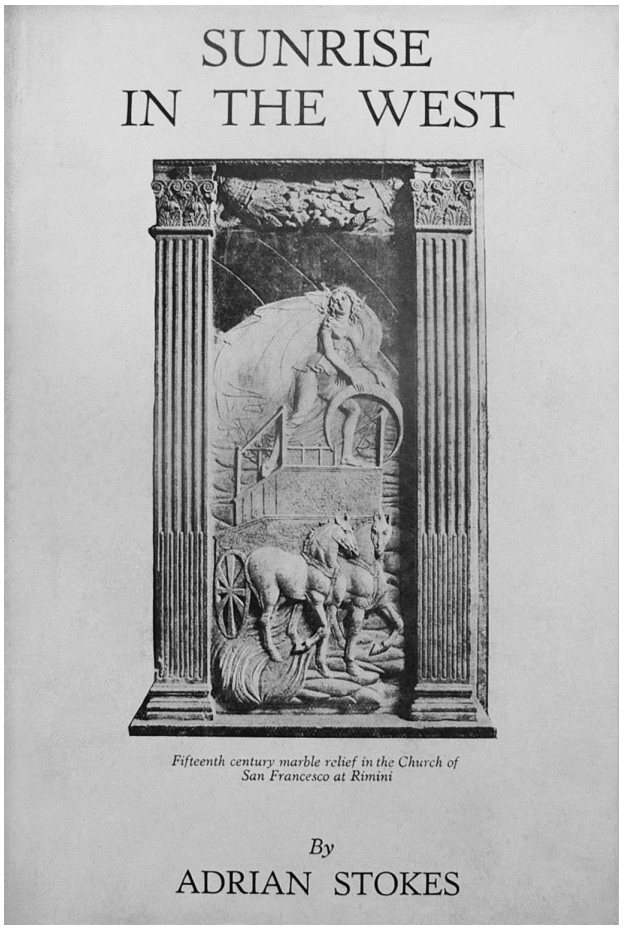
> whereas I reach out, the waves reach further, drowning my thought. Upon the sea ships float. Thus my thoughts float upon the unplumbed depths, rich in animal life, within. The sea is below my garden: the sea wets the land. It is not my thought, but I have taken it within me. It is not my thought. Perhaps it is the condition of my thought: I do not know it without my thought.[45]

AS' picture of the correspondence between self and world is of course psychologically motivated and of corresponding scope and complexion; but it shares something of phenomenology's philosophical base and bias. This emerges in the language of *OIL*'s opening paragraph, which mingles psychoanalytical lexis with terms such as 'not-self', belonging to the originally German philosophical tradition of Idealism.[46] The term's presence here seems an echo of the work of one of AS' main philosophical interlocutors in earlier years, the British Idealist F.H. Bradley (1846-1934), whom he had studied at Oxford and discussed in his first book, *The Thread of Ariadne* (1925) (*TA*). AS had there recounted how his aptitude and passion for philosophical analysis had been undermined, definitively, by the contradictory and self-destructive logic of metaphysical system, with Whole and Absolute tending to 'swallow up' Part and Relative, though dependent for very meaning on them. With regard to Bradley in particular, AS had told how he had been unable "to get further than Interdependence",[47] a theory which, within Bradley's system, constituted a negative critical step in the progress from Appearance to Reality, the 'taking up', as AS (echoing Bradley) phrased it,[48] of Appearance into Reality:

> But if the Absolute can swallow up the Part, if Appearance is only *incomplete* Reality – Reality made incomplete by our imperfections – if there is "really" only Reality […] then such conceptions can be given no meaning: there is no contrast and difference possible. Systematic thought is compelled to commit suicide.[49]

An instance of Bradleyan Interdependence was precisely the 'interchangeability' of 'self' and 'not-self'. Viewed in a metaphysical perspective, this was inconclusive and proof of unintelligibility. In the opening paragraph of *OIL* it is transvalued as vital to experience; just as in *C&F* chromatic interchange had been upheld as a principle of cohesion in a painted image.[50] The move parallels phenomenology's insistence, in the words of the American philosopher Robert Sokolowski (b. 1934), that

> parts are only understood against the background of appropriate wholes, that manifolds of appearance harbor identities, that absences make no sense except as played off against the presences that can be achieved through them […] that identity and intelligibility are available in things and we ourselves are defined as the ones to whom such identities and intelligibilities are given.[51]



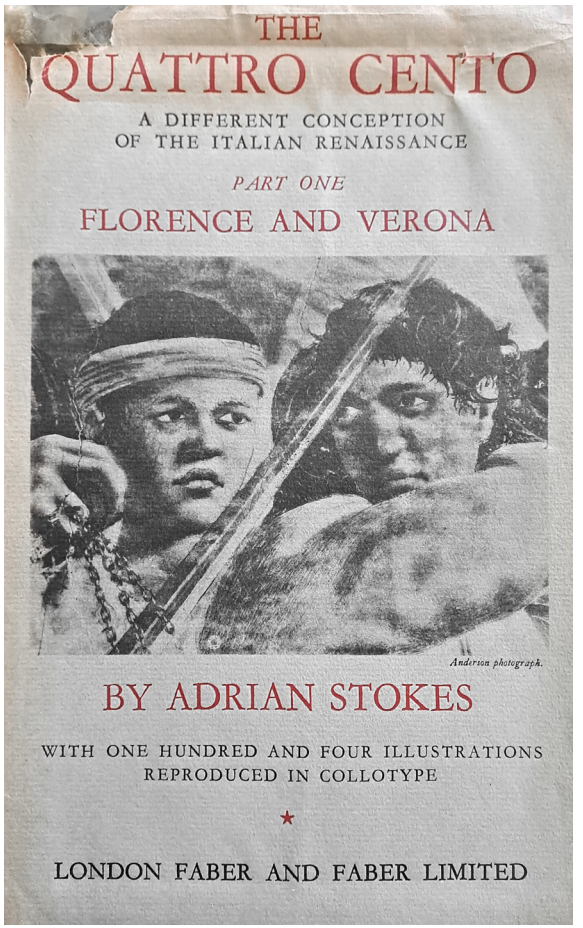


Figure 4 Dust jacket of Adrian Stokes, *Sunrise in the West. A Modern Interpretation of Past and Present*.1926
Figure 5 Dust jacket of Adrian Stokes, *The Quattro Cento. A Different Conception of the Italian Renaissance*. 1932

If the phenomenological understanding of 'system' is a function of "*reason's self-discovery in the presence of intelligible objects*",[52] something similar might be said of AS' psychoanalytically inflected "world picture", though in reference to an idea of self comprehensive of, but broader and deeper than reason. That picture and (in a para-psychoanalytical metaphor) the "economy of our spiritual life"[53] it is said to enact may perhaps be seen as a kind of bridge between the body-world of phenomenology and the Kleinian cycle of affective identification, ideally a "benign circle" whereby "in the first place we gain trust and love in relation to our parents, next we take them, with all this love and trust, as it were, into ourselves; and then we can give from this wealth of loving feelings to the outer world again".[54]

✢

It was perhaps in accordance with his initial intention to describe rather than explain that AS later struck out *OIL*'s opening paragraph and omitted it from the typescript he had made probably some time in 1940.[55] Yet despite this act of self-censure and even though the cancelled paragraph was immediately to have been followed by an "image"[56] (the first of many others), a considerable part of the manuscript is taken up by discursive examination of the theme initially established, as well as of others arising in connection with it and even rivalling it in primacy.

One such additional theme is that of "otherness", in its dual aspect of vital fund of meaning and deathly limit. In *OIL*'s fourth paragraph AS cites the "perfection of our awareness of otherness", in connection with the development from infancy to "adultness", presenting it from two points of view. The first concerns the difficult admission of the existence of other people, with their individual needs, perhaps reflecting some acquaintance with MK's conception of the 'depressive position', still in the process of formulation.[57] The second regards the possible consequences for the self of perfected "awareness of otherness", including the annihilation of its inner world: "we deny ourselves, deny the inner world, temper ourselves with the aspect of facts, drown fantasy with a hard-and-fast otherness".[58] The risk envisaged is that the outer world should appear a "vast and confused prison" or land to which entry is denied. If the "interchange between inner and outer" becomes fixed or congeals, if this life-blood ceases to circulate,[59] "we die". If, on the other hand, interchange is continually refreshed; if the vivifying co-extension and inter-mingling of the "external world" and of "consciousness" is affirmed, then the otherness of the outer world may assume an aspect of reassurance, accommodating the projection of happiness and presenting the pattern of beauty and order. "The more 'other'" our surroundings appear, AS remarks, "the more independence and strength they afford to the inside".[60]

Enter the "Mediterranean environment"[61] and, with it, art. AS had long responded to the reassurance and stimulus afforded by the former to the latter, particularly as manifested in works of the fifteenth-century Italian super-school which, in autoptic sufficiency, he had found out on the ground and which he had denominated 'Quattro Cento'.[62] The school, ever more broadly

construed, and the environment engendering it had been analysed in *QC*, *SR* and *C&F* and in his writings on ballet too.[63] A significant feature of *OIL* is its unforeseen review, about a year from its start, of the personal experience in which the potency of the Mediterranean and of Italy in particular had first been revealed to AS. At Rapallo in Liguria nearly twenty years earlier he had had the "perception of all that is generous, sure, triumphant and creative in the form of an outwardness".[64] The revival in memory and re-examination of what he saw to be "the great and dominant experience" of his life occasioned a first definition of his "central idea": "The standard […] of outwardness or self-expression, a standard for human activity as translated into objective form".[65] And this had important consequences for the 'after-life' of *OIL*. As already noted, portions of the manuscript would be re-used in *IO*. This book would further define "the Rapallo experience"[66] as part of an autobiographical "case-history", an idea hit upon in the course of drafting *OIL*.[67]

Meanwhile, AS interrogated himself as to "the message and the hope" which the memory inspired in him.[68] In previous writing, he noted, he had interpreted them "only in terms of sculpture and architecture". What now stirred in him seemed the force of youth itself and "that deep belief in life" which for him was "entirely bound up with the Mediterranean scene".[69] His analysis here of "the message and the hope" entailed, differently worked up in *IO*, collates diverse experiences and explanations: entry into what had seemed a "dream world of settled form", associated with the scholastic study of Virgil, "a pre-Christian world sanctioned by [his] mentors", but at the same time "pre-neurotic, pre-anxious, pre-London, pre-Heddon Court, pre-Rugby, pre-Oxford";[70] a "rebirth, or rather, in fantasy, a return inside the mother [he] had lost"; the sensation as it were of sonic plenitude transmitted by the landscape above Rapallo, acting on him like "a manna that provide[d] for every want […] the epitome of complete realization"; above all, the recognition that the source of this sensation was "no vague assurance" but, it seemed, nature itself, "spread and mounting before one, fixed and growing, changeless in the clearness of its cycles". The experience had communicated, "not so much a certainty derived from comfort as a certainty of conviction and of the means of action: a demonstration, not of the purpose of life, but what life can attain, an unmitigated definition sustained uniformly on the most varying levels".[71]

That "certainty of conviction", apparently originated by the Ligurian landscape, reflects back on the general conception of the work of art which emerges from *OIL* and its 'offshoots', namely, as reclaiming, for "love and life"[72] and through the concerted work of eye, hand and mind, the "utter otherness" of the material world.[73] In comparison with *QC*, *S&R* and *C&F*, there is a novel emphasis in *OIL* – hinted at already in *Sunrise in the West* (1926) (*SW*) **[fig. 4]**[74] – on the artist's interest in otherness *as such*, in the "external world" as "within us, not as an idea, but as something in its own nature external".[75] This would be taken up especially in an explicitly psychoanalytical paper (his first),[76] where AS would remark the absence in metapsychology of any "general concept derived from the omnipresence of the external world as such, other than

the reality principle".[77] That general concept, as yet unnamed, was recognized as intrinsic to the process and outcome of artistic creation:

> 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 […] 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 which it is made; to the physical world. 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, as if he were able to make of his mind a stone which yet displays and manifests the contents of his mind.[78]

✢

A third major theme in *OIL*, also introduced within the first few pages, and apparently superseding in importance the theme initially announced, is the "yet wider" one of "value or significance", which AS equates with "the expression of one thing in terms of another".[79] Such expression he terms 'sublimation', ascribing to this key psychoanalytical concept a breadth of meaning licensed less by its classical definition in Freud[80] than by MK's understanding, noted earlier,[81] of the process so designated as rooted in symbol-formation. Interpreted as "the expression of one thing in terms of another", sublimation, AS now sees, is "really [his] theme", while he identifies art as the "supreme symbol […] of value viewed thus".[82] This use of 'sublimation', in association with art, is endorsed later in the manuscript:

> One thing is put in terms of another thing that is rather different. It is interesting that this is the same process, perhaps in principle, as that of sublimation and of all art. I have long wondered how to give further reference for the value that we find in the function which seems to characterize all creative activity ie the value that lies in putting one thing in terms of another underlying all imagination, all projection of the inner life both in thought and feeling, and all interchange between the inner and outer life.[83]

The autobiographical reference here is almost certainly to an important but largely discarded draft of the opening "Jesi" chapter in *QC* **[fig. 5]**, in which AS had attempted a discursive

presentation of the aesthetic position more obliquely and diffusely expressed in the book. In this draft the argument proceeds from and elaborates on his quarrel with the "aesthetic attitude" promulgated by modernists of the Bloomsbury stamp and in particular by the champions of "Significant Form".[84] An important node in the argument is constituted by the following definition of beauty and the questions it prompts:

> Beauty <as far as Art is concerned> resides in the power of transcription, that is to say in the expression of many things in the terms of another one thing, the reduction of the many and the hithertoo [*sic*] disparate, to the one […] In such generalization and synthesis, and in the saying of one thing in terms of another, <[lies?] supreme merit [illegible]> {exists} an ever-present power {to satisfy,} to stimulate and {to} re-assure, all at once or each by itself if wanted by itself. Such is the aesthetic emotion[,] the exact content of which will vary according with the particular mood or state. Wherein lies the supreme merit of such generalization, synthesis and the <saying> {expressing} of one thing in terms of another whether by <simile> {metaphor} or paint or architectural construction, it is impossible to state except in a philosophical way. They are the <further>{possible} reductions of what is generally called Form, <so {the} essential> {{the} <and> perennial} characteristic of all works of Art.[85]

In *OIL*, the train of thought generated by reiterated assertion, in more general terms, of "the value that lies in putting one thing in terms of another" so far amplifies AS' conception of that value as to comprehend the very capacity for semiosis, the significative 'doubling' of reality in its sign or image:

> Analysis reveals the unconscious without the distortions of a glass. But distortion, however, is the very mode and matter of conscious life, the very property of mind and all that distinguishes us from the animals. We call the process of this distortion, sublimation, and it is a process which has a wonderful economy of its own.[86]

From a linguistic point of view, the conceptual development enacted in *OIL* entails the clustering of alternative and supplementary terms around the nuclear 'sublimation'. One instance is 'distortion' in the foregoing passage. 'Distortion' in turn attracts to itself 'transmutation' and – validating AS' apprehension of his current concerns as both new and old – 'externalization', a concept key to his early exposition of 'Quattro Cento' art[87] and, as seen earlier, cited by Wollheim in claiming that psychoanalytical theory was, as it were, latent in AS' writing on art.[88] In illustration of the "wonderful economy" of 'distortion', AS writes,

> By this means, as it were in terms of the external world, the undimensional acuteness of original feeling is given a length, breadth and depth, taking manifold forms in all the activities of man; in combination with other feelings, building constructions of every kind on the pattern, I feel inclined to say, of the external world. For the compulsion of this sublimating is to clothe feeling with some form or other, to find an embodiment for it, thus to externalize it. Apart from our activity, the external world itself that surrounds it, giving always the pattern of objectivity, of outwardness, serves as container of our general state. To inter-relate the inner and outer world is to measure sublimation by which men live, that divine process of transmutation of which the work of art is the model.[89]

Occurrences of 'sublimation' and 'transmutation' proliferate, not just in *OIL* but in its 'offshoots' too.[90]

Another semantic correlate, 'substitution', is, like 'distortion', used as an alternative to 'sublimation' in the early part of *OIL*:

> The external world is co-extensive with consciousness. For consciousness is largely made up of impressions from the external world and the power to order them. Thought processes, unconscious per se, obtain entry to consciousness via the function of speech. Symbolic substitution, even without speech, is as natural to the child as to anyone. It is fundamental: an inherited thought-disposition. The basis of speech is substitution, the basis of all projection of the 'everything' that we carry about in the unconscious. All creation is substitution. Consciousness is made up of reality sensations and of substitutions, of reality and of the image. Man is alive twice over: he has this power both to live and to enlarge upon it. He is alive in reality and in image.[91]

This passage would be reprised, first in IS, then in "Envoi".[92] It was perhaps as a result of such reiteration that in the closing pages of *OIL* AS explicitly elected 'substitution' as "the key-word of [his] thought", recognizing, in "the glory, the vitality and the poignancy of substitution", as epitomized by art, his "old theme".[93] Almost at the manuscript's close, however, in the context of a retrospective summary of his artistic and intellectual career, AS further enlarged the family of terms by means of which he had explored that theme:

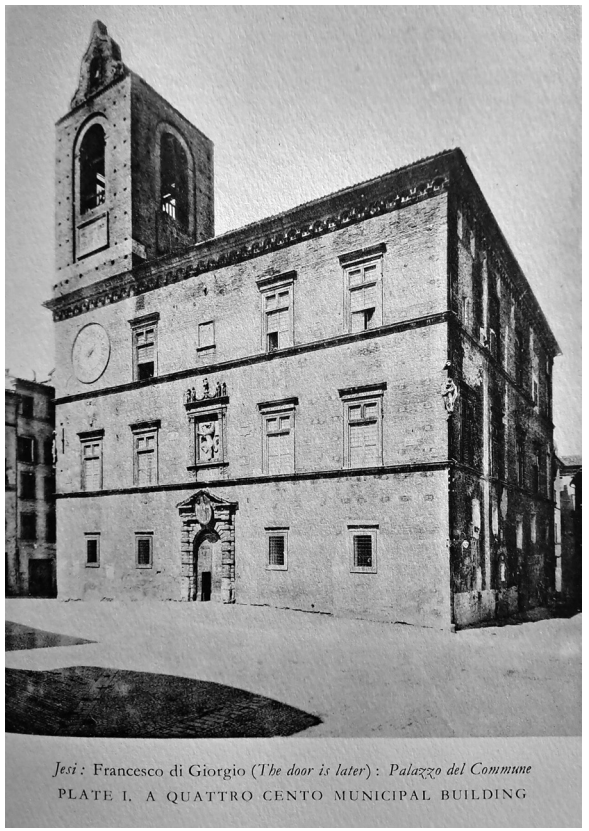
> My theme for the last 20 years has been that it is the conjunction of meanings, rather than this or that meaning snatched from the concourse, which must be the ultimate object of contemplation.[94]

Like its fellows, 'conjunction' requires to be understood verbally, as the name of a process or as designating the outcome of a process. The terms' affinity in this sense helps clarify that the now identified kernel of AS' thought was itself the fruit of twenty years' reflection on the nature of art. A further index of this is the use of the comparable term 'transcription' in the passage from the "Jesi" draft quoted above.[95]

'Transcription' and its semantic confreres are all evocative of transformation and/or constriction, collection and amalgamation, possibly too of interpretation and transvaluation. It is sufficient to augment the hint of contrary tendency, containment, concentration and definition to arrive at the sense of forcibly achieved stability, unity and concrete, phenomenal evidence communicated by many of the terms used by AS over those twenty years to characterize the work of art and the creative process giving rise to it: in addition to 'externalization' and 'transcription',[96] verbal nouns such as 'concretion', 'intensification', 'concatenation', 'translation', 'conversion' and 'transposition'; cognate and semantically related verbs, such as 'transpose', 'translate', 'convert', 'generalize' (also exemplified in the passage from the "Jesi" draft quoted earlier), 'symbolize', 'epitomize', 'crystallize', 'concentrate' and 'synthetize' (compare the use of 'synthesis' in the "Jesi" draft). The understanding of the material undergoing transformation may modify, but the terms describe a process which in its essential structure remains the same and which may be identified as a leading motif of AS' thought, traceable all the way through to his final publications. An example is offered by "The Image in Form" (1967) (IF), where, *mutatis mutandis*, it recurs in a description of the "nexus of meaning" that is projected by artistic form and that "we all recognize": "the power of an integrated communion between trends in concrete or corporeal terms".[97] The appended sequence of examples[98] has accordingly been extracted from writings dating from throughout AS' career.

A schema similar to the one outlined above for the group of verbal nouns is conveyed by cognate nouns such as 'epitome',[99] but also by metonyms such as 'emblem'. Wollheim instanced this, together with its adjectival derivatives, as defining a key characteristic of 'Quattro Cento' art:

> The fourth characteristic is the most difficult to pin down. Quattro Cento art is, we are told, 'emblematic', it has 'the power of emblem'. The concept of the emblematic, which disappears from Stokes's later writings, though not without a trace, falls into two parts, which are evidently if elusively related. The first is that the signs or symbols recurrent in the art render up their meaning readily: they are transparent to the eye, or at least translucent, and are what a whole school of aesthetic philosophers have called 'iconic'. The second is that the process of making the signs or symbols becomes itself symbolic or meaningful – perhaps, indeed, it is the only source of meaning in the arts, and the signs or symbols in which it issues acquire their meaning derivatively from it.[100]



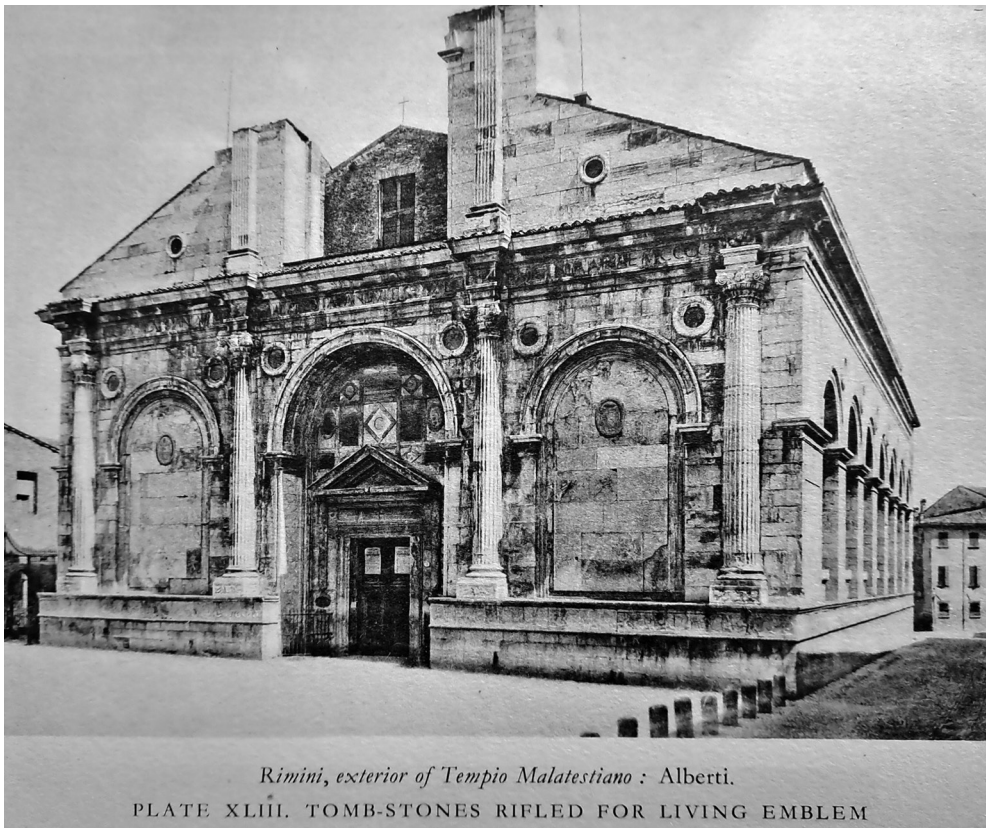


Figure 6 Alinari, *Exterior of the Tempio Malatestaiano, Rimini*. c. 1915-20. Plate XLIII, Adrian Stokes, *The Quattro Cento*. 1932
Figure 7 Alinari, *Palazzo della Signoria, Jesi*. c. 1915-20. Plate I, Adrian Stokes, *The Quattro Cento*. 1932

Wollheim did not specify how or where the concept of 'emblem' survived into AS' later writings. An instance of such survival is furnished by the extract from *IA* forming the penultimate in the appended sequence of examples. In addition (though Wollheim may not have been aware of this), it was tentatively revived in the mid-1950s, in a draft of an essay[101] relating to discussion in *GCE* of the 'ego-figure' and art.[102] More worrying than this lack of definite reference, however, is Wollheim's gloss on 'emblem' as intended by AS.

The concept is indeed "difficult to pin down".[103] This is because AS generally (if not always) intends the corresponding term figuratively. The key to this figurative meaning (or meanings) lies in the term's literal signification as a "figured object used with symbolic meaning, as the distinctive badge of a person, family, nation, etc." and especially as a heraldic device. This signification is overlooked by Wollheim, in favour of an explanation in terms of 'iconic' transparency.[104] This seems something of a red herring, apparently motivated by Wollheim's own theoretical concern with "representational seeing".[105]

In referring to "what a whole school of aesthetic philosophers have called 'iconic'", Wollheim presumably (if enigmatically) alludes to the semiological system of Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914). This defines an 'icon' or 'likeness' as a sign that relates to its referent by "community in some quality" and is distinguished, on the one hand, from an 'index', which requires a "correspondence in fact" or "real relation" between the two, and, on the other, from a 'symbol', which signifies by arbitrary associative convention.[106] The primary function of literal emblems, in the above sense, is not iconic but *symbolical*, as devices in which figural representation is *representative* of individuals or groups. Emblems may also act as 'indices' of prestige, expressive of ascendancy or of submissive homage. The paradigmatic relevance of literal emblems to AS' conception of 'Quattro Cento' art, especially as this focused on the *condottiere* Sigismondo Malatesta (1417-1468) of Rimini, is evident.[107] Even when, by the time he wrote *SR*, his enthusiasm for Sigismondo as cultural hero – "no other man", he had declared, had "made so vital an emblem of himself"[108] – had waned, aesthetic interest in the devices carved about the Tempio at Rimini persisted, their stylized forms seeming to release and restrain the display of "exuberant naturalism" and "stone alive" and thereby to re-present in microcosm the tense conjunction of the Tempio's ecclesiastical core (the Gothic church of S. Francesco) and the fifteenth-century encasement "clamped" onto it **[fig. 6]**.[109]

AS' *figurative* use of 'emblem' elaborated on the symbolical character of literal emblems, while yet signalling representativeness of two other, intertwined kinds, one regarding historically typical character and the other material summary and transposition, or embodiment and epitome. He reflected on the iconicity of 'emblem' in these senses in the draft of the "Jesi" chapter in *QC* cited earlier.[110] He there applied the term to art in general and, in a special and reflexive sense, to 'Quattro Cento' art in particular, viewed as historically rooted and yet heroically free of temporal association, by virtue of the aesthetic transubstantiation of materials. In this draft and in a series of apparently earlier notes made in a different notebook[111] AS considered – at

much greater length than in the published chapter – a visit made, perhaps in 1927,[112] to Jesi in the Marche, to see the fifteenth-century Palazzo della Signoria by Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1501) **[fig. 7]**.

AS' understanding of 'Quattro Cento' art as 'emblematic' seems first to have coalesced in the earlier notes, where the windows of Francesco's *palazzo* are compared favourably with a less integrally decorative style of architecture:

> The Quattro cento did not ornament. The windows of such a palace with their many lines of frieze appear as emblems, resting places of a million stars that jut out of the brickwork and light up the world. They are not fixed on. They come out. Like other emblems, like the metopes at Palermo, they have <that> an imperishable crustation of form and power of light-giving which Time cannot rub out.[113]

This hints at further layers of semantic complexity. The likening of the window-emblems to the "metopes at Palermo",[114] coupled with their characterization in terms of "crustation" (subsequently very fruitful), suggests that at work in the first metaphor may also have been the literal and etymologically exact but obsolete meaning of 'emblem': "An ornament of inlaid work".[115]

In the "Jesi" draft, the connotations of organic accretion and the sculptural inlaying and enriching of wall surface combine with representativeness of the historical and embodying kinds, which qualify one another. AS' first impression of the city of Jesi is there described as having "stimulated [the] sense of Time's oppression" and its buildings as hung about with "old emblems" like "a hundred faces of clocks that [had] stopped at different hours, emptying the present".[116] The ensuing argument, laced, as noted, with anti-formalist polemic, is complex, but may perhaps be summarized as follows. "All creation is emblematic": it necessarily "reflect[s] a temperament and an age". Art is *forcibly* emblematic in this sense and can disturb and oppress us in our modern anxiety "to forget [its] emblem side" and stress "its universal and ever-of-the-present" or aesthetic "quality". In so doing, however, we "turn a blind eye to a quality of Art without which it cannot exercise its greatest power nor bestow re-assurance upon the most hopeless state". Should there exist an art whose emblematic nature, while "intensely significant to us", did "not stimulate the Time-sense", we might derive from it "full aesthetic emotion, something too life-giving to be described" merely in terms of pleasure. Yet only "certain works" of the Italian Renaissance "merit this distinction" (AS intends those belonging to the class he names 'Quattro Cento': it is here, incidentally, he coins the term). "Art should be our emblem"; the art of the "militant" 'Quattro Cento', which proclaims our "triumph" to be "in the world" and "the triumph of Art". 'Quattro Cento' art is "[a]rt twice over […] art through and through. It is art and it expresses the passion for art".[117] This argument is reiterated in *QC*, but much compressed:

> Art is the symbol of all expression, of the turning of subject into object. The powers of artistic creation gained the deepest reverence of Quattro Cento heroes, not as a symbol of culture so much as a symbol of life. This is true of no other period. At that time the aims of life (not cultured life only) and of art were almost identified. All art has close relation to the life it mirrors, but at no other time could the emblematic significance of art be so personal, so individual, so particular. For the act of artistic creation was itself the specific symbol of release that men were feeling or desiring. Quattro Cento art, so to speak, is art twice over […][118]

And thirteen years later the point would be made again, and in similar terms, in *Venice*:

> I have said elsewhere that Quattro Cento building is art twice over; art in the usual sense […] but in addition primarily expressive of this very process, since the same kind of process was almost a compulsive one in many walks of life at that time. The near thing, the thing laid out in space, never before or since in its very nature held so much meaning. In some fifteenth-century architecture we possess the ideal expression of perfect expressiveness, perfect animation of what is inert. These buildings, then, are not expressive of any particular cultural idea but simply of the ideal of expressiveness itself. No abstraction in art has been more profound and more complete, but less circumscribing: witness the wealth of detail and of ornament it allows.[119]

Like the heraldic figures and devices it may exploit, 'Quattro Cento' 'emblem' proclaims ascendancy, but one (in the broadest sense) ethical in character. It manifests itself in works not primarily the badges and instruments of personal or collective power but the impersonal trophies of mundane existence achieved through the expressive or significative articulation of materials – or, as AS would phrase it in *IO*, "the rush to make inside things manifest as a superlative space".[120]

The escape from "spiritual torture and enhancement"[121] thereby effected by *condottieri* and artists of the past was prized by AS as an exemplar of *present* vocation to disclosure of self and world. In *OIL* AS states of the "Rapallo experience" that he had "always felt it to be new and contemporary".[122]

'Quattro Cento' 'emblem' is a pledge or token of expressiveness as such, regarded as an ideal, as being of supreme value in itself. In AS' later writings the concept of 'icon' plays an analogous role, but, with a significant shift of emphasis, in reference to the cohesive properties ("the inter-locking palpability")[123] rather than the expressive motor of artistic form. In IF it is of

such cohesion, again conceived as ideal, that artistic form is characterized as a pledge or token, or as "the icon of co-ordination".[124]

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To return to *OIL*, AS' early 'existentialist' advocacy, mediated and epitomized by the 'emblems' of the 'Quattro Cento', has its echo and development in the manuscript through art's assimilation to a second aspect of the theme of value or meaning, the ethically inflected "value in living" of which 'sublimation' – in the sense finally subsumed under the term 'substitution' – is said to be "the very heart".[125]

In recalcitrant response to the international conflict, *OIL* and its 'offshoots' work out this theme of "value in living" in terms of a practical philosophy predicated on unflinching acceptance of what AS deemed the ultimate facts of life, synthetized by the earlier cited "world picture devolving from Freud". The aim would be to put "the morale of the generality […] in an unassailable position".[126] This entailed the intellectual "duty and the opportunity" not to "shirk", to lapse into superstition or reliance on doctrine.[127] It was characterized by an undissimulated and unresolved but richly interactive dualism, of which *OIL* and its 'offshoots' explore various modulations, starting out from the opposition between the outer and the inner life and comprehending and conflating those between subject and object, reality and image, partiality and impartiality, life and death, Eros and Thanatos. The series of variations culminates in the formulation "interrelationship of fact and fantasy":[128]

> 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 […] 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.[129] Let the principle have full stature: the deeper satisfactions are then beyond its reach.[130]

OIL records how this new formulation of AS' "basic subject" came to him as (another) "revelation", a "new understanding of the relationship between inner and outer objects" as constitutive of "all mental processes". It records, moreover, his surprise in realizing that this formulation was the epitome of arguments rehearsed "long before acquaintance with psycho-analysis" in *SW*,[131] which had contrasted variant modes of opposition between two general attitudes of mind or cognitive principles. "Poetry", primitive and fantastic, involved a relation to nature innocent of 'otherness' and characterized by "the wiles of suggestion", as practised by "sympathetic magic".[132] "Prose", on the other hand, was said to have arisen through the self-denial of its contrary, thus

paradoxically enabling the "lyric wonder" at the heart of "Poetry" to fulfil itself, while "gradually impel[ling] an uncompromising search for the definite, the limits of which were not questioned".[133]

The realization that the complementarity of 'fact' and 'fantasy' was "the basis of all [his] thought" and that this "new enquiry" was in essence the same as that informing his early work further brought cognizance of the "reason for [his] preoccupation with art". For art, he saw, "embodie[d] the supreme blending of subject and object, particularly visual art".[134]

To the destructive mania of war AS opposed the "calm and cool delirium of consciousness",[135] whose acceptance entailed disillusioned assessment of "the 'problem' of illusion":

> very few people have ever conceived the fact of illusion as a qualification upon the range of truth, not so much in terms 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.[136]

This was a practical philosophy which retained the enthusiastic "impetus"[137] of metaphysics and religion while resolutely confining itself to what AS called the "aesthetic point of view",[138] modelled on art's intrinsic "conglomerates of attitude and experience".[139]

> 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 of the child: it is basic, and it is surprising that no mystique seems to have been based on just that dualism. 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, 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.[140]

As applied to life itself, indeed, the "aesthetic dispensation"[141] envisaged constituted the ultimate rebuff to the "aesthetic attitude" of the formalists.

Passages such as the foregoing more than justify a remark made over fifty years ago by Eric Rhode,[142] to the effect that to subordinate discussion of AS' writing to questions of art and aesthetic sensibility, though understandable, is "too limited", the "communion" with himself reflected in that writing extending "beyond art, or even the most sensitive forms of aesthetic response, to the widest concern with wholeness and the ways in which intelligence can bring

together sensation and thought".[143] In other words, if, as Wollheim suggested, AS' writing on art held a place reserved for psychoanalytic theory, the same might be said, in reference to his writing in general, of his concern with art itself, or indeed of any of the subjects that preoccupied him, such as ballet, or music, or again of activities such as painting. In each case the interest or activity not only found a place reserved for it, but that place was pre-disposed to centrality by an innately and richly comprehensive or (in the inclusive sense of the term insisted on by AS in later writing)[144] *transcendent* mind.

✢

OIL is a pivotal text: it occupies a central position in AS' career and work; and in the retrospective reading exercise commended by Bann it may act either as starting- or as end-point. In conclusion, therefore, some further indication may be given as to how *OIL* and its 'offshoots' foreshadow the ways in which, in the 1950s and 1960s, AS' concern with wholeness would be worked out in the light of developments in Kleinian theory and in the conviction that art offers a reflex of the role played by love "in the evolution of mind"[145] and a model of the integrated ego.

Those developments especially concerned the distinction between and interdependence of 'whole-object' and 'part-object' relations, associated respectively with the 'depressive position'[146] and its analytical obverse, the 'paranoid-schizoid position', which was not defined until 1946, after *OIL* and, almost certainly, the latest of the 'offshoots' presented here, CAM, had been completed.[147]

If not the name, the restorative tendency of the 'depressive position', to be equated by AS with his own concept of 'carving', is patent in the manuscript's definition of painting as the "taking things to pieces and putting them together again", thus as "a direct re-creation […] of a primary state".[148] There is no reference in *OIL* to 'part-objects' as such, or to the "predominance of enveloping states" characteristic of the correspondingly "early or primitive ego" in which AS would openly declare his interest in *GCE*[149] and which, in applying such states to the making and appreciation of art (under the categories 'envelopment', 'incantatory process' and 'invitation in art') he would associate with 'modelling'. However, a note here reminding himself to "investigate all that [he could] find out about the infant's first perception of otherness and of itself" and underlining the significance of the fact that "the distinction does not exist in the first place"[150] suggests the extent to which he was receptive to the implications of MK's earlier theory.

Let us return, finally, to the new emphasis in *OIL*, earlier alluded to, on the artist's interest in otherness as such. "It is the artist's great pleasure", AS writes, "and his inspiration to contemplate 'otherness'":

> It is he, as much as the scientist in his different way, who gives full value to the otherness of the outside world. Here, as an independent and more

> lasting structure, as soundly related forms, are the basic inside figures and motive powers both physical and mental. The emphasis, however, is upon the otherness of these forms and their structure, upon their independence of us, at least in the greatest art. The artist wills to get behind both immediate appearance and immediate fantasy or image that may be thrust upon the appearance.[151]

This passage reveals a significant shift in focus with respect to the attitude to artistic creation characterized in *QC*, as Wollheim showed, in terms of "the love of stone" and applied to "actual techniques", then reconceptualized in *SR* as 'carving' and, tied definitively to the artist's point of view, extended to "generalized ways in which the artist might regard his relation to the medium".[152] By contrast, in the above passage the artist is concerned with the apparent form of objects as a kind of interface between phenomenal reality and artistic image. This form is presented – emphatically – as apparent but not exhausted by appearance, only mediated by it. It is also presented as an image or fantasy correspondent to the "independence" of the "forms and structure" of things, not overlaying and obscuring them.

This conception of the artist's concern with otherness as mediate appearance and emergent image seems to anticipate the "character of a compelling apparition"[153] ascribed in IF to the "formal relationships" or "arrangements" of art which in coordination one with another and, it may be, with the subject represented, provide an ultimately corporeal "image for sanity" (read 'wholeness') – what in the 1950s AS had, as we saw, tentatively called the "body-emblem" in art and now termed the "icon of co-ordination" or "image in form":

> Integration or co-ordination of what? it will be asked. Some aspect […] of the integration of experience, of the self, with which is bound up the integrity of other people and of other things as separate, even though the artist has identified an aspect of himself with the objects, has transfixed the object with his own compulsion, though not to the extent of utterly overpowering its otherness.[154]

More in general, art's capacity to satisfy a demand for overall organization and self-subsistent otherness and, at the same time, to motivate affective absorption, posited by AS in his last writings, confirms and expands the culminating 'revelation' of *OIL*, namely, that all his prior work had been concerned with "the conjunction of meanings" – that conjunction which, in its manifestation as the beautiful, he had long before asserted, "is always expected of us".[155]

Appendix
A Key-Word and its Correlates

"the art of **conversion** is the art of civilization, common to all […] Art is the supreme achievement of **conversion**, man's greatest triumph in the fight to 'make something of' the dualism of existence." ("Jesi", ASP, TGA 8816.15, ff. 9*r*, 17*r* from front of notebook)

"That the Renaissance occurred when it did is due to many causes, on the aesthetic side chiefly, I think, to a unique concurrence of developed art-forms amassed through centuries from almost world-wide sources, giving the technique and the wealth of themes that could stimulate for their treatment, a general humanistic infusion, and for their finality, a **concretion** into mass-effect […] The Renaissance was an **intensification** of all forms." (*QC*, Stokes 1978, I, 40-1)

"And since the putto is unguarded, without reserve, he **symbolizes**, as well as the necessity, the *ideal* of emotional **externalization** that I have identified with the Quattro Cento spirit. He **symbolizes** the process of living, that lies between Life and Death, the **translation** outwards of the formless flux of passions, to definite, **concentrated**, objective form." (*QC*, Stokes 1978, I, 119)

"An undecorated wall, perhaps better than a decorated one, may give a strong impression of mass, but only when there are variations in its surface, mostly of colour or tone, that the eye with one flash discovers coherent, so that perceptions of succession belonging to any estimate of length or height or density, retire in favour of a feeling that here you witness a **concatenation**, a simultaneity, that the object is exposed to you, all of it all at once." (*QC*, Stokes 1978, I, 134)

"For the water and the water-life from which the marble was formed, in their stone-shapes **symbolize** also the cliff, the earth, its flower and its fruit. Such shells express the first geological **concretion** in the history of the marble, serve to **symbolize** the later fruitfulness of the soil which covered it from the skies." (*SR*, Stokes 1978, I, 255)

"The process of living is the attainment of expression, the **conversion** of inner ferment into definite action and thought. Expression always needs a framework: otherwise it tends to evaporate. The technique and conventions of ballet dancing serve as a framework by which experience may be **translated** into terms of movement, into a visual kind of music." (Stokes 1934a, 23)

"All art is the **conversion** of inner states into outward objective form. But whereas the objective form is the constant in art, the degree of outwardness thereby expressed varies a good deal. It is the pleasure of many visual arts to *intimate*, by means of the objective form, an inner state: whereas, in the highest achievements of European visual art, that same inner intensity is entirely **transposed** into something smooth, gradual yet immediate: time and succession are **converted** into spatial forms, not merely **symbolized** by spatial forms." (Stokes 1934a, 82-3)

"A history, a temporal process, an accumulated rhythm, lie outward to the eye, forms rooted in space. A temporal process has **crystallized** as a surface, as graduated texture, as chromatic relationship." (*C&F*, Stokes 1978, II, 21)

"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. 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 […] 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'." (CAM, 296, 297)

"There is danger that an extravagant and pseudo-dramatic gloss be pinned like a pasquinade on to the perfect intellectuality, on to the sheer walls of masterpieces: whereas, contrariwise, outwardness, extension, **sublimation**, **transformation**, fixture, like the oral impulse in early infancy upon the wider visual scene, are of the essence of human need. Art **epitomizes** such activity, drawing strength from the earliest accomplishments in the sphere of synthesis." (*S&R*, Stokes 1978, II, 247)

"The work of art is a self-contained object that **crystallizes** experience symbolically." (*GCE*, Stokes 1978, III, 114)

"The primacy of architecture, mother of all the arts, is not first as the school of proportion and design but as the universal witness to the luxuries of art, to the aesthetic **translation** of mental process, as well as the scenes of living, into the terms of an absolute substance or envelopment by an object." (*Three Essays on the Painting of our Time* [*TEPT*], *Stokes* 1978, III, 146)

"a study of the employment of the architectural background in Renaissance art and in the theatre, shows without question that they are treated as the **emblems** both of ordered beauty and of a psychological tenor, in general as the presiding example of the **conversion** of phantasy into substance and for bestowing upon phantasy an autonomous and enduring body." (*The Invitation in Art* [*IA*], Stokes 1978, III, 150)

"Form is the container for a sum of meanings while it is from a **concatenation** of meaning that form is constructed, meanings that have been **translated** into terms of spatial significance […] If one had to choose to say only one thing about modern art, it would have to be in relation to this, it seems to me, not as a matter of ideas, of rationalizations, but as a vivid necessity in regard to an **externalization** of the inner life, deeply qualified, as for an art activity it must be, by the social setting, by the look, by the quality of the external world on which the social setting has been projected." (*Reflections on the Nude* [*RN*], Stokes 1978, III, 336, 337)

Notes

1 "The Wrinkled Hide-Out", 57-9; "Electric bulb!", 132-3; "On Home Guard night-watches", 181-2; "In Short" (IS), 210-14; "Notes for a Book Beginning August 1943. Argument" (NBA), 261-6; "Instance and Details" (I&D), 266-8; "Envoi", 268-71; "Writing. February, 1945", 293-5; "Concerning Art and Metapsychology" (CAM), 295-8.
2 See "Note on the Texts and Editorial Criteria", 35-8.
3 Stokes 1978, II, 7-83; Stokes 1937a; 1937b; 1937c. The series of ballet writings (still too little known and appreciated) had been inaugurated in 1933 (Stokes 1933a). From 1934 to 1937 AS had regularly reviewed ballet for *The Spectator*. None of the articles and reviews and neither of the two ballet books (Stokes 1934a; 1935a), were included in Stokes 1972 or 1978. Conversely, a selection of them forms part of Stokes 2020.
4 Stokes 1978, II, 85-138.
5 Bann 1980, 30; cf. Wollheim 1980, 34. For AS' personal and intellectual relations with the art-historian and museum director Kenneth Clark (1903-1983) (KC), see *OIL* II, 94 (fn. 27); "Background II", 101-3; "Background V", 204 (fn. 67); "Background VI", 220; "Background VII", 277; "Background VIII", 311. On AS' analysis with MK see "Background III", 144 (fn. 38); Read 2002, 193-214; 2007; Sayers 2007; Stonebridge 2007; Sayers 2013; [2015] 2018, esp. 63-74.
6 Stokes 1972.
7 Scruton 1972, 215, 216.
8 Davie 1983, 30.
9 Wollheim 1972, 11 (see also 23). Wollheim returned to this question In a discussion of AS' life and work aired on BBC Radio the following year: "He [AS] didn't want to be a theoretical writer about art [in] the light of psycho-analysis, he never wanted that, so I think the first ways in which psycho-analysis affected him, was the way [*sic*] in which it both coloured the sensibility and also above all, gave him a way of describing sensibility" (Wollheim 1973).
10 Wollheim 1972, 23.
11 Read 1980, 37, 38.
12 Read 1980, 37-40; Wollheim 1980, 34; cf. Bann 1980, 30.
13 Stokes 1978, I, 29-180.
14 Stokes 2020, 24.
15 Stokes 1978, III, 267.
16 NBA, 261-6. See Bann 1980, 30.
17 Bann 1980, 30.
18 *OIL* I, f. 2*r*, 41.
19 *OIL* VII, f. 56*r*, 256.
20 Stokes 1978, II, 139-82.
21 See "Background I", 61, 62-8.
22 *OIL* I, ff. 12*r*-13*r*, 47.
23 See the first paragraph of *OIL*, quoted below.
24 The idea is perhaps implicit in the outline of MK's theories given in Stokes 1933b (see below).
25 See *OIL* I, f. 13*r*, 48: "I am sure of nothing, and wonder at everything and at nothing. I am interested in everything. Where is one to start to create?"
26 *OIL* I, ff.2*r*-21*r*, 41-57.
27 See "Background I", 61-77.
28 *OIL* I, f. 2*r*, 41.
29 Laplanche, Pontalis 1988, 130-43; Bott Spillius et al 2011, 319.
30 The first was introduced by Freud, in connection with paranoia, as early as 1895-96. The second was introduced by Sándor Ferenczi (1873-1933) in 1909 (Laplanche, Pontalis 1988, 229-30, 351; Bott Spillius et al 2011, 127-8, 374-5).
31 *Greek Culture and the Ego* (1958) (*GCE*) (Stokes 1978, III, 79).
32 Stokes 1933b, 529.
33 Klein [1930] 1998, 221.
34 *OIL* I, f. 13*r*, 48.
35 "Poetry", he writes in *OIL*, "cannot articulate the truth about ourselves directly, but it may do so, in terms of the not-self, in terms of otherness" (*OIL* I, f. 19*r*, 56).
36 "Foreword" to *Smooth and Rough* (1951) (*S&R*) (Stokes 1978, II, 215).
37 AS to HR 18 January 1960, Herbert Read Papers (HRP), Special Collections, McPherson Library, University of Victoria (Victoria BC, Canada) (SC MLUV).
38 *OIL* I, f. 12*r*, 47.
39 AS to HR 14 February [1944], HRP, SC MLUV.
40 Merleau-Ponty [1945] 1962, viii.
41 Merleau-Ponty [1945] 1962, 203.
42 *OIL* I, f. 16*r*, 51.
43 Merleau-Ponty [1945] 1962, vii.
44 *OIL* III, f. 38*r*, 123.
45 *OIL* I, f. 16*r*, 52.
46 Which incidentally provided Freud's English translators with their 'ego' for his 'Ich'.
47 *TA* (Stokes 1925, 70). The enduring importance for AS of this concept has long been recognized (Wollheim 1972, 21; Aldrich 1972, 132; Read 1980, 37; 1982, 51-2; Carrier 1986, 760; Read 1998a, *passim*; 2002, 19, 76-83; Sayers [2015] 2018, 25).
48 See e.g. Bradley [1893] 1930, 218, 227.
49 *TA* (Stokes 1925, 66, 69).
50 *C&F* (Stokes 1978, II, 31-4); cf. *GCE* (Stokes 1978, III, 109).
51 Sokolowski 2000, 4.
52 Sokolowski 2000, 4 (author's emphases).
53 *OIL* II, f. 28*r*, 97.
54 Klein, Rivière [1937] 1998, 340.
55 The TS also omits *OIL*'s title. See "Note on the Texts and Editorial Criteria", 35; "Background III", 136. AS' misgivings extended to some of the images (*OIL* IV, f. 45*r*, 149: "not so much at first, for instance, of lying in a bath and listening to shunting and feeling the shunting as an internal process"), though those objected to did find their way into *IO*.
56 The "Woolworth turmoil" and attendant scents (*OIL* I, ff.2*r*, 8*r*, 42).
57 "'Depressive position' is a mental constellation defined by Klein as central in the child's development, normally first experienced towards the middle of the first year of life. It is repeatedly revisited and refined

throughout early childhood, and intermittently throughout life. Central is the realisation of hateful feelings and phantasies about the loved object, prototypically the mother. Earlier there were felt to be two separate part-objects: ideal and loved; persecutory and hated. In this earlier period the main anxiety concerned survival of the self. In the depressive position anxiety is also felt on behalf of the object. If the confluence of loved and hated figures can be borne, anxiety begins to centre on the welfare and survival of the other as a whole object, eventually giving rise to remorseful guilt and poignant sadness, linked to deepening of love". The position had first explicitly been expounded in Klein [1935] 1998, while a more developed account would be given in Klein [1940] 1998 (Bott Spillius et al 2011, 84, 85). Cf. Klein [1937] 1998, 309-13, on the general capacity for identification with others as necessary for love.

58 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 16*r*, 52: "In the course of life […] indistinguishable".

59 See above, 12.

60 *OIL* I, ff. 8*r*, 10*r*, 43-4.

61 *OIL* I, f. 10*r*, 44; III, f. 31*r*, 117.

62 Bisecting and as it were transfixing the Italian chronological term, *Quattrocento*.

63 See for example Stokes 1935a, 164.

64 *OIL* III, ff. 31*r*-33*r*, 117-19.

65 *OIL* III, f. 33*r*, 120.

66 Stokes 1978, II, 158.

67 *OIL* IV, f. 47*r*, 153.

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

69 *OIL* III, ff. 31*r*-32*r*, 117-18.

70 Heddon Court (Cockfosters, outer London) was AS' preparatory school. He then attended Rugby School in Warwickshire and matriculated at the University of Oxford (Magdalen College) in October 1920. He was to have studied History but opted instead for the new "Modern Greats" degree, comprising Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Read 2002, 4-38; Sayers [2015] 2018, 7-8, 10, 13, 14, 66, 67).

71 *OIL* III, f. 32*r*, 119.

72 *OIL* VII, f. 52*r*, 253.

73 "Writing", f. 17*r*, 293.

74 Stokes 1926, 45.

75 *OIL* VII, f. 55*r*, 255.

76 CAM, 295-8.

77 CAM, 297.

78 CAM, 295, 297.

79 *OIL* I, f. 13*r*, 48.

80 Laplanche, Pontalis 1988, 431: "Process postulated by Freud to account for human activities which have no apparent connection with sexuality but which are assumed to be motivated by the force of the sexual instinct. The main types of activity described by Freud as sublimated are artistic creation and intellectual inquiry".

81 See above, 10.

82 *OIL* I, ff. 13*r*-14*r*, 48.

83 *OIL* II, f. 26*r*, 95.

84 See Leech 1980, 49; Tucker 2000, 129-31; Read 2002, 76-7, 82-3, 88-9, 208; Kite 2009, 42, 61, 112, 113; Haywood 2013.

85 ASP, TGA 8816.15, f. 13*r* from front of notebook.

86 *OIL* III, f. 39*r*, 124-5.

87 See e.g. "Pisanello" (1930) (Stokes 1978, I, 18-9): "And if the Italian climate is soft, no more exacting colour, no grander lines have been brought in entirety within the man, nor given out with equal success in painting. This encasement of Nature is hard enough for the tender spirit, such comparative softness is just supportable as clothing for the delicate nakedness of the soul, hardens that nakedness so as to be plastic. The fierceness of a young body may be all the more apparent for an encasement of gleaming mail, so Humanism brought within one circle of affirmation the rough to enhance the smooth and the smooth to enhance the rough. No such solidity if something be left over in the landscape or where the needs of the body are sacrificed to the 'inner life'. Externalization is the mode of existence, the activity of soul in the body and the mind. Freedom is when all can be taken in, and all given out created, so living progresses neither within nor without, just as among the pacific yet exuberant olive grove; by no path will one come upon stone gateways sharp with pink stucco, heavy with ivy, habituated to the idyll like statues in a wood. Nature humanized yet natural, outdoors approximating to indoors while houses make answering assurance, exterior staircases, flat roofs from which one steps to the higher terrace, loggias, suspended balconies, indoors approximating to outdoors, with the neutral shades beneath pergola and between the undergrowth, doubly restful". The image of the young body encased in gleaming armour was evidently suggested by the knight-saint (now identified as St Nicasius of Sicily) in Giorgione's Castelfranco altarpiece; see *SW* (Stokes 1926, 46-7). Cf. "Background I", 63, on LPO's Genoa-like relation to its landscape setting.

88 See above, 5. Another such term, 'compulsion', is also associated in *OIL* with 'sublimation', which is glossed as "compulsion outward" and identified as "perhaps, the basic distinguishing quality of man" (*OIL* II, f. 29*r*, 97).

89 *OIL* III, f. 39*r*, 125. The passage is immediately followed by a remark reiterating the non-explicative character of *OIL*: "That which is sublimated is not my subject except in so far as it is a proof of sublimation".

90 See the "Index", s.vv. "Sublimation", "Transmutation".

91 *OIL* I, f. 18*r*, 54.

92 IS, f. 3*r*, 212; "Envoi", 270. Cf. CAM, 297.

93 *OIL* VII, f. 57*r*, 258. See also "Background VII", 277, 281.

94 *OIL* VII, f. 58*r*, 259; cf. IS, 210. Cf. also *TA* (Stokes 1925, 230: "we should not regard the problems of 'life' as questions of existences and truths, but rather [as] a question of the combination of meanings") and *SW* (Stokes 1926, 29: "Systematic philosophy has been the attempt to discover a fact which is independent of all relations and conditions, an attempt the avowed content of which is a contradiction in terms. For, as we have said, facts are abstractions, and the essential nature of an abstraction is its conditionedness and relatedness").

95 ASP, TGA 8816.15, f. 14*r* from front of notebook.

96 Another example of the former, enhanced by a vivid oxymoron, occurs in the passage from "Pisanello" quoted in fn. 87.

97 Stokes 1978, III, 336.

98 See 29-30.

99 See "Envoi", 212 and fn. 22.
100 Wollheim 1972, 15-6.
101 "The Body-Emblem and Art" (Stokes 2006).
102 Stokes 1978, III, 77-141, esp. 89-115.
103 Or, as Peter Leech later put it, "resistant to analysis" (Leech 1980, 48).
104 For the definition see Oxford English Dictionary, online ed. https://www.oed.com/ search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=emblem&tl=true. Wollheim later rectified the oversight, to some extent, writing that AS' "uses of the word ['emblematic'] range from the most specific, the most literal – so the lily is Florence's emblem, the Tempio is encrusted with the emblems of Sigismondo and Isotta – to a highly generalized use in which the emblematic just *is* art. But in the most creative use, 'emblem' seems to gather together the sense of objectification of the inner, the revelation of something in the outer world that realizes or makes concrete a subjective state, and also the sense of something that can be looked at meaningfully only if it is seen as the product of work or of engagement with the material" (Wollheim 1980, 32-3).
105 Notably in *Art and its Objects*, which happens to have been dedicated to AS (Wollheim [1968] 1980, 16; see also 205).
106 Peirce 1867, 294; 1902.
107 See especially "Pisanello" (ASP, TGA 8816.210; Stokes 1978, I, 17-28); "Matteo de' Pasti" (ASP, TGA 8816.209); Stokes 1929; *QC* (Stokes 1978, I, 29-180).
108 ASP, TGA 8816.13.
109 Stokes 1978, I, 19, 266. For AS' use of 'encasement' in "Pisanello" see fn. 87. Subsequently, in an early version (1951; ASP TGA 8816.193) of "Form in Art" (Stokes 1955) the phrase "powerful over-all encasement" would characterize the beneficent "identity between contributory, even contrasting, qualities" secured by artistic form. Cf. also NBA, f. 16*r*, 266 ("Images encase all thought […] products of thinking") and "Envoi", 271: ("Images encase thought […] products of thinking").
110 The draft is cited in connection with the concept of 'emblem' only in Kite 2009 (113) and Haywood 2013.
111 In ASP, 8816.10, which contains what seems to be the itinerary of a tour that takes in Jesi. The notes are partly incorporated into the draft of the "Jesi" chapter in ASP, TGA 88816.15.
112 As may be seen below, the notes feature a comparison to the Metopes at Palermo, which AS may have seen when in Sicily with Osbert Sitwell in the spring of 1927 (see "Background IV", 160). The visit to Jesi might therefore have taken place in the summer of 1927 (in July AS was certainly in Venice), and the draft may date to not long afterwards. This would seem to tally with AS' reference, in a letter to his friend, the ecological campaigner and youth leader Henry Rolf Gardiner (1902-1971) (RG) written from Frascati at the start of April 1928 (for which see "Background IV", 161), to the "terrific work on the Renaissance" with which he had previously been getting on and also to Wyndham Lewis' *Time and the Western Man* (1927) as having "anticipat[ed] a good deal of what [he] was writing" (AS to RG n.d. [postmarked 2 April 1928?], Henry Rolf Gardiner Papers [RGP], Cambridge University Library [CUL], C4/6/1).
113 "Jesi", ASP, TGA 8816.10.
114 The sculpted relief panels originally set into the exterior of the fifth-century BC temple at Selinunte, on the south-west coast of Sicily.
115 *Oxford English Dictionary*, online ed. https://www.oed.com/search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=emblem&tl=true.
116 In Kite 2009 (114) this 'stopped clock' quality seems wrongly (if understandably) associated with 'emblem' in the 'Quattro Cento' sense, surely its contrary.
117 The phrase "Art twice over = QC" is found inscribed on the front paste-down of ASP, TGA 8816.15; cf. the text inscribed on a loose leaf inserted in the same notebook, a sheet of paper with the letterhead of the Hotel Elisabetta, Rapallo, where AS stayed in December 1926 (see "Background IV", 160): "All creation is emblematic / Art is emblematic / What else goes to make art / Art the emblem of the QC. doubly art. / Also a constructional quest. / No broader kind of release, art-emblem, the specific, / the unJudaistic religious emblem, Florentine, / Why the true QC is not [necessarily?] the best work". In quoting part of this text Kite (2009, 115) states it is written as a poem. The individual lines are more likely to represent section headings or points in the book's argument. The phrase "Art twice over" is again found on a loose leaf inserted in ASP, TGA 8816.14: "The whole book should go to show the use to which generalizations and abstractions can be put to give atmosphere, prepare the right state of mind, create a work of art, lead to the truth. / Art twice over and modern sense of waiting. / Constriction upon personality / General premises / Failure of conviction. Consistency must be externalized". See also fn. 119.
118 Stokes 1978, I, 41. Kite (2009, 113) nevertheless calls it "a very clear statement of the context of aesthetic debate in which Stokes framed his concept of emblem".
119 Stokes 1978, II, 103. Kite also points to this passage (2009, 115-6). Cf. the draft of *Venice*, probably dating from the early part of 1944, in ASP, TGA 8816.53: "Quattro Cento art is, so to speak, art twice over, the emblem of an emblematic urge without parallel. In no other art do we observe so clearly a compulsion to make of inner ferment an outward thing".
120 Stokes 1978, II, 158-9.
121 Stokes 1978, I, 40.
122 *OIL* III, f. 34*r*, 120.
123 CAM, 296.
124 Stokes 1978, III, 332.
125 *OIL* I, f. 13*r*, 48.
126 *OIL* VII, f. 56*r*, 256.
127 AS to HR 14 February [1944], HRP, SC MLUV.
128 *OIL* III, f. 37*r*, 123. The latter term is another instance of para-psychoanalytical lexis, this spelling, except in CAM, always being preferred to 'phantasy', evidently as a pledge of more comprehensive meaning, and despite possible "connotations of whimsy, eccentricity, triviality" (Laplanche, Pontalis 1988, 314), or perhaps because those connotations, enhanced a sense of the concept's opposition to 'fact'.
129 "One of the two principles which for Freud govern mental functioning. The reality principle is coupled with the pleasure principle, which it modifies; in so far as it succeeds in establishing its dominance as a regulatory principle, the search for satisfaction does not take

the most direct route but instead makes detours and postpones the attainment of its goal according to the conditions imposed by the outside world" (Laplanche, Pontalis 1988, 379). Cf. CAM, 295, 296, 297, 298, and see "Background VIII", 302.

130 "Envoi", 268, 269.

131 *OIL* III, f. 37*r*, 123, and "Background VIII", 302.

132 *SW* (Stokes 1926, 14-15).

133 *SW* (Stokes 1926, 28). See Read 2002, 91-2 for further characterization of these two principles, as well as of the "hybrid" and conjoint categories "Prose-Poetry" and "Prose and Poetry": "['Prose'] is the desire ['] "to get things straight", discover purposes, fix causes, pin conceptions by alternatives, positives and negatives, enjoy the compactness of system' (*SW*, p. 28). It is also called 'piazza consciousness', a mode of detachment wherein '[s]eated, we appraise life walking by and marvel at the art of compensating values' (*SW*, p. 105). 'Poetry', by contrast, 'is lived, not calculated' (*SW*, p. 107). In its pure form, prose is 'unmitigated calculation' (*SW*, p. 104), a mode of analytic thinking taken to an extreme that guards against the confusions of […] 'Prose-Poetry'. If 'Prose', as the dominant tendency of 'post-Reformation history in the West' up to the Industrial Revolution (*SW*, p. 57) represents the spread of science and of reason against the 'primitive' poetry of superstition, then prose-poetry is the failure to resist sliding back into bastardized forms of poetry. It is a condition in which the separate ingredients of prose and poetry 'lose their essence' as a result of facile combination (*SW*, p. 58) […] The final category, 'Prose and Poetry', transcends the others by flying furthest from the hateful compromises of prose-poetry, for its twin terms are not allowed to merge but instead are held against each other in a state of violent contention". As noted in Tucker 2013, AS' opposition of "Poetry" and "Prose", and above all his understanding of the former in terms of "lyric wonder", suggests a distant, perhaps indirect, echo of the aesthetic system of the Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce (1866-1952). This was built upon the opposition between two modes of human knowledge, intellectual and intuitive, to which the labels "prose" and "poetry" and "art" and "science" were among those applied (Croce [1902] 1909, esp. 42-3). In Croce [1912] 1921 (32) it is affirmed that "[a]rtistic intuition is always lyrical intuition". Cf. IS, ff. 2*r*, 211, and 4*r*, 212; "Background VI", 216-17; I&D, f. 11*v*, 267; "Envoi", 268, 269 and "Background VII", 280.

134 *OIL* III, f. 37*r*, 123.

135 "Writing", 295.

136 *OIL* VII, f. 58*r*, 259.

137 *OIL* VII, f. 58*v*, 259.

138 *OIL* VII, f. 58*r*, 259; cf. I&D, f. 12*v*, 266 ("The aesthetic attitude […] everything experienced before").

139 From a text in ASP, TGA 8816.57 beginning "People's selves, importance, filthy sensibilities" and probably dating from 1936.

140 *OIL* VII, f. 54*r*, 254.

141 *OIL* VII, f. 50*r*, 249.

142 The writer and psychotherapist (b. 1934).

143 Rhode 1973b, 1-2. KC expressed admiration for *Venice* in similar terms: "The blend of responsiveness to sensation & philosophy is unique" (KC to AS 6 September 1945, ASP, TGA 8816.231).

144 See, for example, "Psycho-Analysis and our Culture" (Stokes 1973, 135).

145 Rhode 2008.

146 See above in the text and fn. 57.

147 The term refers to "a constellation of anxieties, defences and internal and external object relations that Klein considers to be characteristic of the earliest months of an infant's life and continue to a greater or a lesser extent into childhood and adulthood […] The chief characteristic of the paranoid-schizoid position is the splitting of both self and object into good and bad, with at first little or no integration between them" (Bott Spillius et al 2011, 63). The concept was introduced in Klein [1946] 1997.

148 *OIL* II, f. 24*r*, 90.

149 Stokes 1978, III, 80.

150 *OIL* I, f. 18*r*, 54.

151 *OIL* I, f. 10*r*, 44.

152 Wollheim 1972, 19.

153 IF (Stokes 1978, III, 332). This apparition was perhaps itself prepared by the image of "the face at the window" which initiates *OIL* VII (209).

154 IF (Stokes 1978, III, 332-3).

155 "Jesi", ASP, TGA 8816.15.

Note on the Texts and Editorial Criteria

The Outer and the Inner Life (*OIL*) (1939-44)

Autograph MS in pencil, with some entries in pen, entered in a hard bound notebook (ASP, TGA 8816.12) with grey paper covered boards and dark green cloth spine; its front cover bearing a sketch in pencil of a head (possibly AS') in profile and its end-papers a printed device inscribed "FABBRICA DI CARTA, BUSTE E REGISTRI". The leaves are ruled, measuring 310 × 203 mm. Some leaves (ff. 3-7 and 9) have been detached, while the MS occupies the rectos of all extant leaves except the first (blank) and these have been numbered by AS "1" to "51". The versos are mostly blank except for corrections or additions to the text on the rectos opposite, or (towards the back of the notebook and with inverted orientation) for poems and other supplementary material. Only the last verso (numbered "52") forms part of the text of *OIL*. To facilitate its presentation and reading *OIL*'s continuous text has here been divided into eight sections, in part on the basis of dated passages. These, with other internal evidence, suggest the MS was written in the period 1939-44.

The notebook was evidently in use prior to the drafting of *OIL*, possibly in connection with the book on Giorgione which AS began to draft in 1937-38 (see "Background III", 135). The cancelled heading of f. 12*r* ("Castelfranco") refers to the painter's birthplace and complements the heading ("Castelfranco Madonna") of a loose sheet of MS (ASP, TGA 8816.201) whose dimensions (max. 310 × 202 mm) suggest it could have been detached from ASP, TGA 8816.12.

A typescript of part of the manuscript ("Discursive notes made in a diary preliminary to the writing of a book", ASP, TGA 8816.212) was probably made some time in 1940 (see "Background III", 136).

Short extracts only have previously been published (e.g. in Tucker 2013; Sayers [2015] 2018).

The Wrinkled Hide-Out (WHO) (1939/40?)

Autograph MS in pencil, occupying ff. 3*r*-5*r* (from the back) in a hard bound notebook with green marbled boards (ASP, TGA 8816.53). The front pastedown has a label reading "W. Straker, L.^{TD} / Printers, Stationers, / Account Book Makers, &c. / Ludgate Hill, E.C. / and Branches. / N.^{o} 1069 F Price [blank]"; and it is inscribed by AS in pen (below the label), "No 6 / 416257. / 23^{d} Nov 1943". The leaves are ruled and measure 227 × 175 mm. The MS shows inverse orientation with respect to f. 1*r* (a list of "House expenses <paid>" dated "1939" and relating to LPO), but not to f. 2*r* (a note on the planting and sowing of vegetables in the month of January, possibly dating from the winter of 1939/40; see "Background II", 108-10).

Not previously published.

"Electric bulb!" (1926)

Autograph MS in pencil, entered in a hard bound notebook (ASP, TGA 8816.15).

Not previously published.

"On Home Guard night-watches" (1951)

Extracted from *Smooth and Rough* (Stokes 1978, II, 223-5).

In Short (IS) (1942)

TS (ASP, TGA 8816.167) corrected by AS in pen; seven sheets measuring 253 × 202 mm. typed on the rectos and numbered top right. The lower carbon copy of this TS, marked 'B' and also corrected by AS, is ASP, TGA 8816.211.

Neither TS has previously been published in its entirety (extracts in Tucker 2016).

Notes for a Book Beginning August 1943. Argument (NBA)

Autograph MS, pencil with some corrections and additions in pen, occupying ff.11*r*-16*r* in ASP, TGA 8816.53 (see above).

An incomplete and inaccurate TS of NBA is published in Stokes 1980 (41-2) and reprinted in Stokes 2020 (285-8; as "An Argument").

Instance and Details (I&D) (1943)

Autograph MS, pencil with some corrections and additions in pen, occupying ff. 10*v*-13*v* in ASP, TGA 8816.53 (see above).
Not previously published.

Envoi (1944-45)

Extracted from *Venice. An Aspect of Art* 1945 (Stokes 1978, II, 134-8), but first written around March 1944 (see "Background VII", 280-1).

Writing. February 1945: Notes for insertion (possible) and for Continuation to Inside-Out

Autograph MS in pencil, occupying ff. 17*r*-19*r* in ASP, TGA 8816.53 (see above).
Not previously published.

Concerning Art and Metapsychology (CAM) (1945)

Published article (Stokes 1945).

Editorial Criteria

The text of *OIL* is continuous, if composite. For ease and breadth of comment it has here been divided into seven sections, on the basis of internal dating and other indications of the phases of composition (for which see the individual "Background" texts).

In transcribing this and the other MSS (and TSS) published here, the aim has been to produce a clean, readable text, but also to conserve record of their original state. Corrections and additions, on and above (or below) the line, have thus been incorporated into the text, while footnotes give account of these changes and also document cancelled text. This system has also been applied in the relatively infrequent cases in which spelling and punctuation have been adjusted.

In the footnotes to *OIL*, the TS of part of this text (see "Background III", 136) is assumed to carry the corrections made in the MS unless otherwise stated.

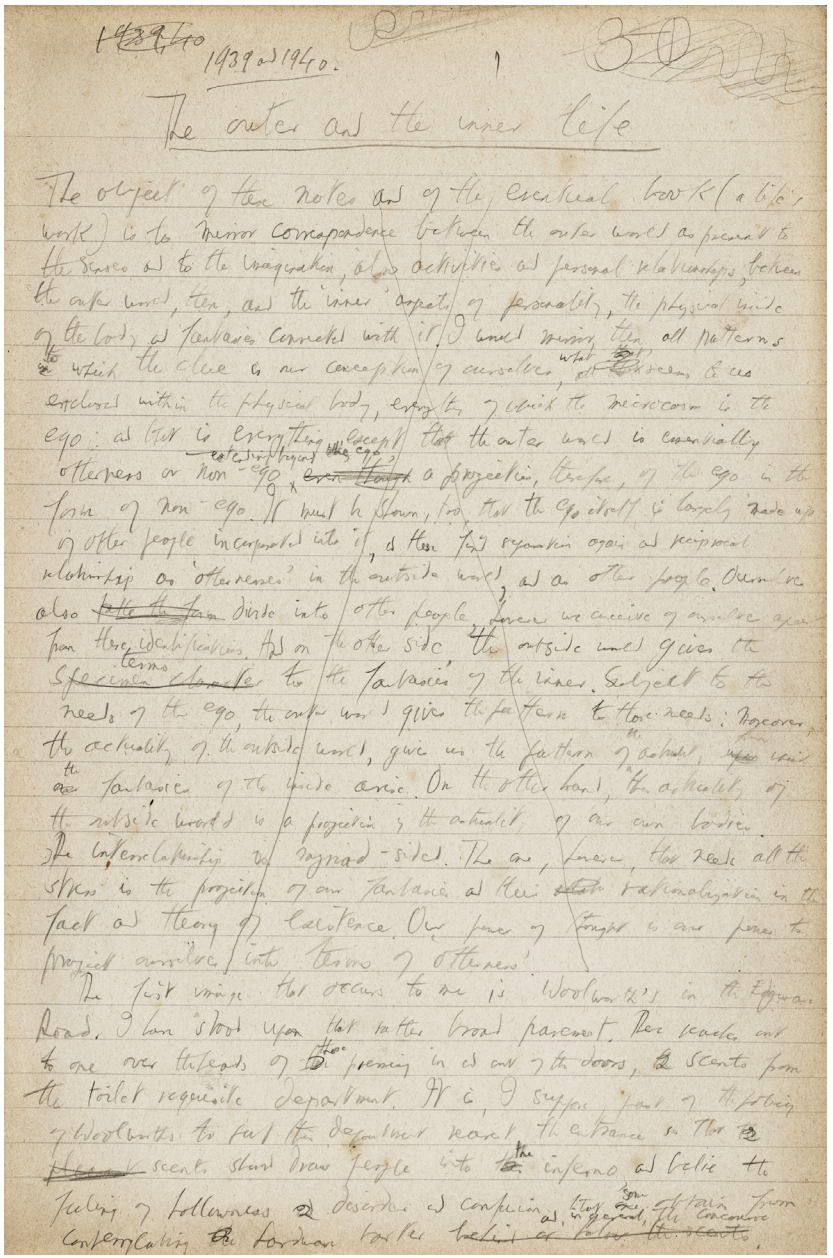
Typographical Conventions

<…> cancelled text in MS
{…} interlinear insertions in MS

THE OUTER AND THE INNER LIFE

OFFSHOOTS

Adrian Stokes



1939 and 1940.

The outer and the inner life

The object of these notes and of the essential work (a life's work) is to mirror correspondence between the outer world as present to the senses and to the imagination, also activities and personal relationships, between the outer world, then, and the inner aspects of personality, the physical inside of the body and fantasies connected with it. I would mirror then all patterns which the clues in our conception of ourselves, of the cosmos & ours enclosed within the physical body, except by which the microcosm is the ego: as that is everything except that the outer world is essentially otherness or non-ego, a projection, therefore, of the ego in the form of non-ego. It must be shown, too, that the ego itself is largely made up of other people incorporated into it, & that full separation again & reciprocal relationship as 'otherness' in the outside world, as other people. Ours is also divide into other people, hence we conceive of ourselves apart from these identifications. But on the other side the outside world gives the specific terms to the fantasies of the inner. Subject to the needs of the ego, the outer world gives the pattern to those needs: moreover the actuality of the outside world, gives us the pattern of actuality, upon which the fantasies of the inside arise. On the other hand, the actuality of the outside world is a projection of the actuality of our own bodies. The interrelationship of inward-outward. The one, hence, that reads all the stress in the projection of our fantasies as their rationalization in the fact & theory of existence. Our power of thought is our power to project ourselves into terms of 'otherness'.

The first image that occurs to me is Woolworth's in the Tottenham Road. I am about upon that rather broad pavement. Rare vacancy, and to one over the heads of the persons in & out of the doors, & scents from the toilet requisite department. It is, I suppose, part of the fetish of Woolworths to put the department nearest the entrance so that the scents shall draw people into the inferno of cellic the feeling of hollowness & desolation & confusion as, [illegible] in general, the concourse confronting the harbour [illegible] behind or below the scents.

Figure 8
Adrian Stokes,
Autograph manuscript,
The Outer and the Inner Life
(1939-44), first side. Pencil

I. "The object of these notes" 1939

[f. 2*r*][a] The object of these notes **[fig. 8]** and of the eventual book (a life's work) is to mirror correspondence between the outer world as present to the senses and to the imagination, also activities and personal relationships, between the outer world, then, and the inner aspects of personality, the physical inside of the body, and fantasies connected with it. I would mirror then, all patterns to which[b] the clue is our conception of ourselves, what seems[c] to us enclosed within the physical body, everything of which the microcosm is the ego: and that is everything except that the outer world is essentially otherness or non-ego extending beyond the ego, a projection,[d] therefore, of the ego in the form of non-ego. It must be shown, too, that the ego itself is largely made up of other people incorporated into it, and these find separation again and reciprocal relationship as 'otherness' in the outside world and as other people. Ourselves also divide[e] into other people, however we conceive of ourselves apart from these identifications.[1] And on the other side, the outside world gives the

a [f. 1*r* and 1*v* blank; f. 2*r* numbered top right] 1 [headed] The outer and the inner life [later inscribed top left] <1939, 40> 1939 and 1940 [doodles, top centre and right, cancelled]

b *patterns to which*: patterns <w> {to} which

c *ourselves, what seems*: ourselves, <all that {that}> {what} seems

d *non-ego extending beyond the ego, a projection*: non-ego {extending beyond the ego,} <even though> a projection

e *also divide*: also <take the form> divide

terms[a] to the fantasies of the inner. Subject to the needs of the ego, the outer world gives the pattern to those needs. Moreover, the actuality of the outside world gives us the pattern of the actuality upon which the fantasies[b] of the inner arise. On the other hand, the actuality of the outside world is a projection of the actuality of our own bodies. The interrelationship is myriad-sided. The one, however, that needs all the stress is the projection of our fantasies and their rationalization[c] in the fact and theory of existence. Our power of thought is our power to project ourselves into terms of otherness.[d|2]

The first image that occurs to me is Woolworth's in the Edgware Road.[3] I have stood upon that rather broad pavement.[4] There reaches out to one over the heads of those pressing in and out[e] of the doors, scents[f] from the toilet requisite department. It is, I suppose, part of the policy of Woolworth's[g] to put this department nearest the entrance so that scents should draw people into the inferno[h] and belie the feeling of hollowness, disorder[i] and confusion that some obtain[j] from contemplating hardware barter and, in general, the concourse[k] [f. 8*r*][l] and confusion of gleaming objects. Such a noise, such a wrench throughout! Yet there[m] upon the pavement, over people supposedly polyglot,[n] over the stridency, there are the louder scents, so that all this activity may seem wholesome, and expenditure,[o] as of healthy physical energy, should be economic and sound.[p] For we fear greatly inner disorder above all. The Woolworth turmoil[q] is an inevitable image of the inner physical processes as considered by the fantasies,[r] and so vast is the plan of

a *the terms*: the <specimen character> {terms}

b *pattern of the actuality upon which the fantasies*: pattern of {the} actuality <upon> {from} which <are> {the} fantasies

c *their rationalization*: their <relati> rationalization

d *The object of these notes* […] *terms of otherness*: [entire passage cancelled in pencil]

e *of those pressing in and out*: of <their> {those} pressing in and out

f *doors, scents*: doors, <the> scents

g *Woolworth's*: Woolworths

h *so that scents should draw people into the inferno*: so that <the pleasant> scents should draw people into <this> {the} inferno

i *hollowness, disorder*: hollowness <and> disorder

j *that some obtain*: that <one> {some} obtains

k *contemplating hardware barter and, in general, the concourse*: contemplating <the> hardware barter <behind or below the scents.> {and, in general, the concourse}

l [f. 2*v* blank except for large 'X' in pencil centre right; ff. 3-7 removed; f. 8*r* numbered top right] 2

m *such a wrench throughout! Yet there*: such a <wrench> wrench<,>! <y>Yet there [TS] such a wrench! Yet there

n *over people supposedly polyglot*: [TS] <over people supposedly polyglot>

o *and expenditure*: and <that> expenditure

p *economic and sound*: economic and <sound> sound

q *For we fear greatly inner disorder above all. The Woolworth turmoil*: For we fear greatly <inner disorder> inner disorder above all: <the inside of the shop is our inside> The Woolworth <fer> turmoil

r *fantasies*: [TS] <p>{f}hantasy [corrected in pen]

money digested[a] in this shop while so various the food, the goods and the bads, that the fantasy[b] will accept this good odour as reassuring, this good odour upon the pavement. A cheap odour, certainly, but gay in a vulgar manner, at any rate alive; and that is the most[c] we can hope of our insides.[5]

And we ourselves try[d] to put our goods, our odorous[e] goods, in the shop window; but it is happiest done[f] when but an earnest of activity, some of it bad, maybe, but active. We must not be hollow: our goodness, our wholesomeness, is limited. Sometimes we have stolen it from others, sometimes others shoplift from us; or, so we fear.[6]

The progression[g] from infancy to complete adultness is the perfection of our awareness of otherness.[h|7] This awareness is difficult, almost impossible, to keep at an absolute and consistent level. The existence of other people with the existence of all their needs divergent from our own, in conflict with our own, is never admitted consistently. They are not all the time as real to us as we ourselves are. In working out[i] our lives in the relationship of outer and inner, we employ also the power to disconnect. On the other hand the "progression from infancy to complete adultness[j] is the perfection of our awareness of otherness".[k] And in this progression, we deny ourselves, deny the inner world, temper ourselves with the aspect of facts, drown fantasy[l] with a hard-and-fast otherness.[8] The outside world, however, is but an escape into a larger prison, a vast and confused prison. At last[m] we take our fill of it: we find but ourselves again on the borders of this world: and thus, fantasy emasculated by fact throughout our being, we are ready to die.[n] The constant interchange between inner and outer has become [f. 10*r*][o] fixed: the ego appears only at the extremities of the outside world: or, conversely, the whole world closes in so that the area around our suffering is small and infused with it. We die. The interchange between inner and outer, so largely fixed in its broader principles in child-hood has

a *plan of money digested*: plan of <digestive mone> money digested

b *fantasy*: [TS] <p>{f}hantasy [corrected in pen]

c *at any rate alive; and that is the most*: at any rate alive: and that is the most

d *we ourselves try*: we <oursel> ourselves <d>tr y

e *odorous*: [corrected from *odours*?]

f i*n the shop window; but it is happiest done*: in the shop window: but it is happiest Done

g *The progression*: The <projecti> progression

h *the perfection of our awareness of otherness*: the <development of> perfection of our <feeling> {awareness} of otherness

i *as we ourselves are. In working out*: as we ourselves are. <In employing all the time, i>In working out

j *adultness*: [TS] adult<ness>hood [corrected in pen]

k *'progression* […] *otherness'*: [TS] progression […] otherness

l *fantasy*: [TS] <ph>fantasy

m *At last*: <When the> At last

n *throughout our being, we are ready to die*: throughout our being we are we {are ready to} die

o [f. 8*v* blank; f. 9 removed; f. 10*r* numbered top right] 3

become an unchanging pattern: every curve was long ago filled in.[a] The pull within, the pull without, have lost their power. No, not the pull within. It now consumes: the outer world is lost, it no longer exists (as in earliest infancy), and we are dead.

There are as many things inside as there are outside. That is why we are appalled very often by the immensity and confusion of the outside world. That is also why we are reassured by the outside world's beauty and order,[9] and project happiness into our surroundings. The more 'other' appear these surroundings, the more independence and strength they afford to the inside. Hence the great reassurance and stimulus to art of a Mediterranean environment. There are some environments whose 'otherness' is comparatively tenuous.[b] Here in Cornwall, for instance, I often have the feeling that what I see out of my eyes is literally a projection of pictures[c] in my head, as if I were a cinematographic film,[d] and the outside world were but a screen on which this film is projected,[e] put in movement and enlarged.[10] We summon the past to reinforce[f] so tenuous a present reality.

It is the artist's great pleasure and his inspiration to contemplate 'otherness'. It is he, as much as the scientist in his different way, who gives[g] full value to the otherness of the outside world. Here, as an independent and more lasting[h] structure, as soundly related forms,[i] are the basic inside figures and motive powers both physical and mental. The emphasis, however, is upon the otherness of these[j] forms and their structure,[k] upon their independence of us, at least in the greatest art. The artist wills to get behind both immediate appearance and immediate fantasy[l] or image that may be thrust upon the appearance.[11] So-called ordinary people rarely contemplate in the artist's fashion.[m] They cannot sufficiently disconnect appearance[n] from present circumstance. It is said [f. 11*r*][o] that the drowning man sees his life outside him as he dies.[12] Similarly, all of us have felt that we have seen an environment as it is only

a *every curve was long ago filled in*: every <letter> {curve} was long ago filled in [TS] <every curve was long ago filled in>

b *There are some environments whose 'otherness' is comparatively tenuous*: <They> {There} are <others, on the other hand,> {some environments} whose 'otherness' is <very tenuous> {comparatively} tenuous

c *projection of pictures*: projection of <fi> pictures

d *cinematographic film*: cinema{to}graphic film

e *this film is projected*: this film is <enlar> projected

f *to reinforce*: to <reinforce> reinforce

g *as the scientist in his different way, who gives*: as the scientist<s> in <their> {his} different way, <to> {who} gives [corrected from "give"]

h *more lasting*: more <indestructible> {lasting}

i *forms*: [TS] form

j *these*: [corrected from "this"]

k *and their structure*: and {of} their structure

l *fantasy*: fantasy<,> [TS] phantasy

m *the artist's fashion*: the <true> artist's fashion

n *disconnect appearance*: disconnect <the outside> appearance

o [f. 10*v* blank; f. 11*r* numbered top right] 4

when under sentence to leave it, when it is no longer part of our concern, a house or a room no less than a view. Previously, our thoughts about it have been tinged with anxiety,[a] and practical issues. When we first arrive, still more when we leave, are the times when we really 'see' the place in which we live.[13] Waiting for the taxi to the station after ten years' residence,[b] with nothing to do at all except to wait, we see the room, and we may feel upon us all that has happened there: nevertheless 'we see'[c] the room coolly,[d] as something independent, which no longer waits[e] upon our action. A row of tulips outside, is no longer[f] a cycle of the cares of cultivation in any sort of way.[g] We note the intervals and the rhythm of position in a manner more intense than has been possible before, and it is in these wider, more generalized, perceptions,[h] in terms of their calm length and their duration and their cycle, that we may view our life in that place.[i] Thus, deeper trends become apparent for us in the aspect of the outside world, owing to the latter's increased clarity for us. Such contemplation is near to the artist's contemplation. We see ourselves, between two courses of action, rooted in the soil of our lives, as the tulips are rooted in their soil.[14] Such long-range identification of ourselves and of the outside world is probably more fructifying than are those moments[j] in which we are astounded by the otherness of nature, contemplating,[k] maybe,[l] the fury of the sea upon the rocks. I am always particularly impressed by the action of submerged rocks, free to the air between two waves, for ever and ever in that brief moment throwing off the maximum water before the return of the wave.[15] But here, surely, as in all the sensations of vastness and of superhuman force and rhythm which this scene gives[m] to all the senses, we attend a parable[n] of inner economy and of those forces within us, seemingly foreign to us. We look upon Nature but at the same time we look upon a clearer distribution

a *with anxiety*: with <worry> {anxiety}

b *ten years' residence*; ten years residence [TS, corrected in pen] <residence> {stay}

c *'we see'*: [TS] we see.

d *coolly*: <coolly> coolly

e *which no longer waits*: {which} no longer wait<ing>s

f *is no longer*: [TS, corrected in pen] is no{t} <longer> {at all}

g *cultivation in any sort of way*: [TS] cultivation <in any sort of way>

h *wider*, more *generalized, perceptions*: wider, more generalized, <feat> perceptions

i *in that place*: in that place<, and in contrast to it>

j *Such long-range identification of ourselves and of the outside world is probably more fructifying than are those moments*: Such <perception of objectivity> {long-range <perception> {identification} of ourselves and of the outside world} is <proba> probably more <pure> {<intense> {fructifying}} than {are} those moments ["identification" and "fructifying" written on opposite verso]

k *contemplating*: [corrected from "contemplative"]

l *maybe*: may be

m *this scene gives*: <this scene presents> {this scene gives}

n *attend a parable*: attend <th> a parable [TS] attend the parable



Figure 9 Unidentified photographer, *Little Park Owles, Carbis Bay, Cornwall*. Early 1940s

of forces within ourselves, a [f. 12*r*][a] clearer interaction, one more Homeric,[b] more in style and therefore more disinterested, than is the case. We would that inner conflict were thus wind-swept, and that visitation of the deeper caverns of the mind were subject to such causes as those that govern tides.[c|16] And indeed they are, though it would take each of us all our years to trace such tidal movements in emotion, such governance[d] by the few essentials. And is it not a reminder of this in terms of breadth and space and freedom which bestows for us such grandeur in the scene?[17]

I mean this to be a journal[e] and that I should write in it every day[18] and thereby strike eventually the scheme and formula for a book. And if it is necessary to write something every day, few pages will have a direct relevance to my theme, the theme for which at present I am but groping. At present I have found neither the theme[f] nor its presentation. I possess only the general intention. From the beginning I hope that there will proceed a life's work. At least I shall sit at this desk every day for at least an hour. Unfortunately, at the moment, the moment of marriage, of owning a beautiful house **[fig. 9]**, of retirement, a final retirement, to the country,[19] my horizon has narrowed as never before. Finding a good deal of satisfaction within, the without as testing ground and as alternative void that may be filled, has greatly diminished in importance. Also I have reached an age———.[20] Ecstatic or even, perhaps, mystical contemplation, seems to have left me altogether. And I need this, I need it very badly for this work. For the moment, marriage, intimacy and happiness of a kind I have never known before, make this impossible, or so it seems.[g] And then I do not seem to have any memory store to draw upon. I cannot undo these tight rolls: I remember nothing.[21] And now I very much want [f. 13*r*][h] all the figures and the scenes of the past to visit me. And again, to the detriment of contemplation and of memory, I am not free, am still under the compulsion[i] to be effecting something, too frightened of failure and of loss of power; and of my present disconnection as a sign[j] of it. I feel no vision at all. Hitherto it has accompanied me. But if I sit here long enough, something will crowd near me again. The voice is naked at the moment. But I cannot let it be so. I have changed much,[22] much more than is possible for more than a few in history. But I cannot thus become bereft of vision. I will yet be free.

But when the world narrows thus, what is one to think? I was once an 'extraordinary' person, now, as a result of analysis, I am an 'ordinary' person? The world quite naturally contracts to the care of garden, say, as well

a [f. 11*v* blank; f. 12*r* headed] <Castelfranco> [and numbered top right] 5

b *Homeric*: [TS, corrected in pen] <h>{H}omeric

c *such causes as those that govern tides*: such <logic as the sea> {causes as those} <of the tides> that govern tides

d *governance*: [TS, corrected in pen] governan<ts>{ce}

e *a journal*: {a} journal

f *the theme*: the <theme> theme

g *it seems*: it <seem> seems

h [f. 12*v* blank; f. 13*r* numbered top right] 6

i *am not free, am still under the compulsion*: am not free, {am} still under the compulsion

j *and of my present disconnection as a sign*: and <that> {of} my present disconnection as [corrected from "is"] a sign

as a wife? Ineradicable genius could not thus be finally contracted. Does it depend upon the type of neurosis, apart from its cure? I shall now fetch down a volume of Keats and read some lines. But it is absurd: there is no hurry. I must just sit here long enough and not mind, not worry and doubt. Something will come though it may be of no value. The point is to become on good terms with myself. At present I am not.

I feel I own too clean a sheet.[23] I am sure of nothing, and wonder at everything and at nothing. I am interested in everything. Where is one to start to create? Perhaps I must find a more concise subject. I have never truly thought of others except philosophically. Perhaps I must write this while I study definite subjects,[a] write definite books. What I have to show, the phenomena I have to produce, must go to illustrate the yet wider theme of value or significance, which seems to be always connected with the expression of one thing in terms of another.[24] Sublimation, in fact, is the very heart of value in living.[25] That is really my theme.[b|26] The naked facts of life are few, little in themselves.[c] The thing-in-itself is always [f. 14*r*][d] cold and abstract.[27] Values spring[e] primarily in their relation[f] with one another, and thence, from their expression[g] in terms of one another, from the mingling of all classes of image, from sublimation, from the expression of the inner in terms of the outer, and of the outer in terms of the inner.[28] The supreme symbol, of course, of value viewed thus, is the work of art.

Can I bring multiform images of the x into relation with[h] manifold states of mind? Bitsey Grant,[29] all bits, small obstinate and all tricks, but with a young carrot swollen near the root to get hold of, tapering to a whip-tail, large, white, succulent: catch his power, take his central bit; lift it, make it show sinews. Now we have all the flopping of his hot hair as a white and swelling sinew. Or else this white carrot is long and weltering or like a thong nodding to the floor. This cannot be allowed: by pressure of the hand we shall lengthen it[i] and redden it and raise it horizontal, parallel with the floor and then it will raise many an inverted bow beseeching more pleasure with no longer a whip tail but a raw head, no longer its white dangling elastic carrot in some way debonair, challenging one very evident pervert to eat it. We prefer to eat this whole of Bitsey in the carrot stage and yet I don't know:[j] when eaten it is bits, no longer tender, white and flopping, potential and elastic in growth.[k]

a *study definite subjects*: study <[?a]> definite subjects

b *I mean this to be a journal* […] *really my theme*: [whole passage excluded from TS; in MS preceded and followed by "x"]

c *few, little in themselves*: few, <and> little in themselves

d [f. 13*v* blank; f. 14*r* numbered top right] 7

e *Values spring*: Values [corrected from "Value"] spring<s>

f *primarily in their relation*: [TS, corrected in pen] primarily <from> {in} their relation

g *from their expression*: <to> {from} their expression

h *into relation with*: <with states of> {into relation} with

i *lengthen it*: lenghen it

j *I don't know*: I dont know

k *Can I bring multiform images* […] *elastic in growth*: [whole passage excluded from TS; in MS preceded and followed by "x"]

Letter in New Statesman June 10 1939 headed Arachnophobia[a|30]

Sir, May I suggest that the dislike or fear[b] of spiders need not arise from some form of neurosis or psychological kink, but may merely be due to the startling celerity[c] with which a spider suddenly moves and drops – where, one knows not? That he has vanished with lightning speed, and may be climbing up or down one, causes momentary horror or disgust. This swift and sudden movement is also responsible for the alarm the mouse produces upon nervous people – their instinct is to jump on chairs to be out of the way. If spiders and mouse moved no faster than caterpillars, it is improbable that they would cause much dislike, still less fear! Melicent[d] Norris.

I find this a very interesting argument, just because it demonstrates a typical way of explanation,[e] applied to most of the difficulties in [f. 15*r*][f] life. You say the spider is frightening because spiders do such and such; and if they didn't do such and such they would not be frightening. Incidentally, they would not be spiders also.[g] In other words spiders would not be frightening if they were not spiders. This does not advance the argument as to why the particular activities[h] of spiders should frighten. It is not perhaps quite as stupid as that, since it is the shape[i] and appearance of the spider in relation to its quick fall which catches the imagination. But inasmuch[j] as the spider is perfectly harmless, fear of spiders must be founded on some particular set of frightening images[k] that its appearance and behaviour in relation suggest. Such an equation,[l] of course, is the characteristic and, probably, provides the only definition of neurotic fear.[m]

What are the psychological essentials on which the ordinary man subsists?[31] I mean, when one looks at some dirty town, featureless, gaunt, how does this prospect[n] feed its people; how does each environment find a place in people's lives? For here, sure enough, is nourishment for the basic images and their interplay.[32] No great poem or saga seems to have been written about the basic figures in men's lives. About this or that activity, about love, hate and death, retribution, but nothing that calmly reviews those

a *1939 headed Arachnophobia*: [TS, corrected in pen] 1939, headed Arachnophobia,

b *dislike or fear*: dislike of fear [corrected in TS]

c *celerity*: [TS] alacrity

d *Melicent*: [TS] Mellicent

e *explanation*: <explainat> explanation

f [f. 14*v* blank except for rectilinear doodle top right; f. 15*r* numbered top right] 8

g *frightening. Incidentally, they would not be spiders also*: frightening: <also> {incidentally} they would not be spiders also

h *why the particular activities*: why <they frighten> the particular activities

i *it is the shape*: it the shape [TS] it is the shape

j *But inasmuch*: {But} Inasmuch

k *set of frightening images*: set of <images> frightenng images

l *Such an equation*: <This> {Such an} equation

m *provides the only definition of neurotic fear*: {provides} the <only [illegible]> {<[illegible]> the} only definition, of neurotic fear

n *how does this prospect*: how <are> does this prospect



Figure 10
Unidentified photographer, *Carbis Bay from the Garden of Little Park Owles*. Early 1940s

things[a] that make life the same everywhere, that make it possible for men to find variants[b] upon the same images in any environment, and, hence, to make any environment habitable. It is not necessary, as it has been in all great literature,[c] to find exhaltation[d] upon the dramatic or exceptional, or even intense, plane. The great poem of the future will not be so: and this is where Eliot[e] is so old fashioned with his cold despair, his Graeco-Christian Eumenides.[33] So far as[f] people are concerned, some go better, some go worse: but all go the same way.[g] The father images, the mother images, the fact[h] of being alive and of ultimate death, are enough to explain all human activity. Outside us there is nothing beyond us: nothing except the outside world and its population.[i] All else that seems beyond us and outside us,[j] is within us. Oh the thin edge within upon which the sharpest mysteries blaze out upon the firmament, oh the immensity [f. 16*r*][k] of living feeling and probing thought, oh[l] the universal torment of heightened sensation and intuitive perception in a maze of mixed tendencies, oh[m] the singleness of desire amid the hidden forests. The process of projection is the life-blood of living. The motive forces are few,[n] few the plants of all[o] this confused foliage reaching out and above the very sky, foliage of contradictory, yet complementary colour.[34] Such mysticism and such poetry as Rilke's[35] is like the twitching legs of a dying animal, the convulsive and electric sum and total of a history in movement and animation, now paralyzed,[p] staccato and concentrated, short-hand, in decease:[q] the end-result of what was once in early child-hood a simple ferment.[36] In life, we repeat, we magnify, we complicate, we repeat; until the whole world is subsumed (child-hood's world

a *that calmly reviews those things*: that <[illegible]> calmly reviews those things [TS, corrected in pen] that calmly reviews {together} those things

b *variants*: [TS] variance

c *as it has been in all great literature*: <as [corrected from "to"?]> {as it} has been <the case of> {in} all great literature

d *to find exhaltation*: to find <its> exhaltation [TS, corrected in pen] to find <exultation> {exhaltation}

e *will not be so; and this is where Eliot*: will not be so: and this is where Eliot [TS, corrected in pen] El<l>iot

f *So far as*: [TS] As far as

g *some go worse; but all go the same way*: some go worse: but all go the same way

h *fact*: fact<s> [TS] fact

i *the outside world and its population*: the outside world<.> {and its population}

j *beyond us and outside us*: beyond us {and} outside us

k [f. 15*v* blank; f. 16*r* numbered top right] 9

l *oh*: [TS, corrected in pen] o<n>h

m *oh*: [TS, corrected in pen] <on> {oh}

n *The motive forces are few*: The <staple facets> {motive forces} are few [TS] The motivating forces are few

o *of all*: of <this> all

p *paralyzed*: <paralyzed> paral<i>yzed

q *short-hand, in decease*: [TS, corrected in pen] short-hand<,> in <disease> {decease}

was small) now distantly as befits an immeasurable physical world.[a] In the course of life we embrace more and more the character of the outside world, giving ourselves to it, taking it within us. In the moment of death we and it are indistinguishable.[b|37]

The waves on the beach beyond my room[38] **[fig. 10]** turn: not my thoughts but their rhythm, their resurgence,[c] turn them into their own beauty. This motif,[d] then, becomes deep as the sea and as restless, yet with pointed recurrence breaking upon a silence[e] under the wide[f] sky. My hot thoughts, then, are cool: their heat is now the vast[g] motion of wave slowly toppling upon the myriad sand. But whereas I reach out, the waves reach further, drowning my thought. Upon the sea ships float. Thus my thoughts float upon the unplumbed depths, rich[h] in animal life, within.[39] The sea is below my garden: the sea wets the land. It is not my thought, but I have taken it within me.[i] It is not my thought. Perhaps it is the condition of my thought: I[j] do not know it without my thought.[40] Rilke's Angels are [f. 17*r*][k] within.[41] Their origin no doubt was humble as were the figures of all religions.

An old-fashioned smithy was worked by an old-fashioned and even prosperous smith.[42] But what was really remarkable was his having six good-looking, strong and tall sons, all smiths, all working there. And how does the roof look when you have six strong sons working under it? It does not look the same, nor do the trees that stand in the middle distance from the window.

The central point about human beings (in contrast perhaps with animals) is that so often their feelings are evoked[l] indirectly. That is to say, when a particular object passes out of ken, it is evoked continuously, not only out of direct substitute objects[m] (such as a nurse or wife for a mother-figure) but from circumstances well removed (scientifically speaking from the nature of the first object), particularly things,[n] particularly states

a *now distantly as befits an immeasurable physical world*: <as> now distantly as befits <an immense> {an} immeasurable {physical} world, <under our pressing desires, conflict and anxiety>

b *indistinguishable*: indistinguishable. <to the true observer>

c *resurgence*: resurgance; [TS, corrected in pen] resurg<e>{a}nce

d *motif*: <note> motif

e *yet with pointed recurrence breaking upon a silence*: yet <as> with pointed recurrence breaking <up a> upon a silence

f *wide*: [corrected from "wider"?]

g *vast*: [TS, corrected in pen] <l>{v}ast

h *rich*: [TS, corrected in pen] <reach> {rich}

i *taken it within me*: [TS] taken it as a figure within me

j *my thought. Perhaps it is the condition of my thought: I*: my thought: perhaps it is the condition of my thought: but I [TS, corrected in pen] my thought: perhaps it is the condition of my thought: <but> I

k [f. 16*v* blank; f. 17*r* numbered top right] 10

l *evoked*: [TS] evoked

m *out of direct substitute objects*: out of {direct} substitute objects

n *well removed (scientifically speaking from the nature of the first object), particularly things*: well removed (scientifically speaking<)> from the nature of the first object) particularly things [TS, corrected in pen] well removed {,} <(scientifically speaking from the nature of the first object),> particlarly things

of the outside world. Thus, after child-hood, it may be that the deeper funds of emotion may only be stirred again when reflected back through images of exterior objects (not persons). Gigli singing the Neapolitan song, Santa Lucia,[a|43] evokes warmth and clarity of southern landscape, an ample life, fearless; and again,[b] in these terms, it may be that I experience warmth and security[c] much more poignantly than is possible in a way more direct. Thus, in men, images of the external world tend to take[d] the place of those objects of which they are the images.[e] This is our romanticism. We have ways and means of keeping things alive: we forget nothing; and the deeper sources[f] of our feeling are tapped by our environment, by external material objects, more easily and perhaps more loudly, than by[g] the human objects with whom[h] we repeat original relationships. The external world is the instigator of memory: the external world reflects every facet of the past – it is the past; for without[i] this mode of sublimation, much more of the deeper life[j] would remain pre-conscious and hardly ever stirred. Sublimation, then, continuous and various sublimation, is the best [f. 18*r*][k] distinguishing characteristic of man.[44] The chief characteristic it seems to me of this power of sublimation is its large dependence upon the external world. It would probably[l] not be psychologically true to say that our conception of the external world[m] is anterior to our conception[n] of ourselves. Nevertheless, it may be that this first conception,[o] taking mankind as a whole, has largely determined the latter. The two are, of course, interdependent. Temporally[p] speaking, of course, conception of ourselves comes first, not so much with reference to the inanimate[q] as to other people. I need to

a *Santa Lucia*: [TS] "Santa Lucia"

b *fearless; and again*: fearless: and again

c *I experience warmth and security*: I experience <the> warmth and security <of mother love>

d *tend to take*: [TS, corrected in pen] <tend to> {can} take

e *the images*: the <objects> {images}

f *romanticism. We have ways and means of keeping things alive: we forget nothing; and the deeper sources*: romanticism: we have ways and means of keeping things alive: we forget nothing: and the deeper sources

g *more easily, and perhaps more loudly, than by*: more easily and perhaps more loudly, than by [TS, corrected in pen] <lively> {loudly}

h *objects with whom*: objects <on> {with} whom [TS] objects with whom

i *of the past – it is the past; for without*: of the past: it is the past, for without

j *for without this mode of sublimation, much more of the deeper life*: for without <it we would not remember in the way> this mode of sublimation, much {more} of the deeper life

k [f. 17*v* blank; f. 18*r* has rectilinear doodle top right, numbered top centre] 11

l *It would probably not be*: [TS, corrected in pen] It would <probably> not be

m *our conception of the external world*: our <attitude to> {conception of} the external world

n *our conception*: our <att idea> conception

o *first conception*: [TS] former conception

p *Temporally*: [TS, corrected in pen] Tempor<arily>{ally}

q *to the inanimate*: to <the external objects> {the inanimate}

investigate all that I can find out about the infant's first perception of otherness and of itself. That the distinction does not exist in the first place is very significant.[45] In the course of life the distinction becomes clearer: only to fade again. The otherness of the external world is most vivid in the first full flush[a] of adult power. This clear apprehension and the sharp sublimations to which it then may lend itself is the fount of art, which, in turn, reproduces the equation[b] in terms of the adjustment between form and content and their mutual aid.[c] That is the basis of art and it is thus that it is the highest reflector[d] of the whole process of human living.[46]

The external world is co-extensive[e] with consciousness. For consciousness[f] is largely made up of impressions from the external world and the power to order them. Thought processes, unconscious per se, obtain entry to consciousness via the function of speech.[47] Symbolic substitution, even without speech, is as natural to the child as to anyone. It is fundamental:[g] an inherited thought-disposition. The basis of speech is substitution, the basis of all projection of the 'everything' that we carry about in the unconscious. All creation is substitution. Consciousness is made up of reality sensations and of substitutions, of reality and of the image. Man is alive twice over: he has this power both to live and to enlarge upon it.[h] He is alive in reality and in image.[48] This duality corresponds with the dual development[i] – up to 5[j] and again at puberty, a latency period[49] [f. 19*r*][k] lying between, one of the most suggestive[l] physical distinctions from animals.

Our projections are distortions: taken all together,[m] however, not so much distortion as infinite ramification from[n] the interplay of a few themes. We can only look upon the truth within in terms of the outside ramification, taking for our arrangement the exquisite arrangement of space.[50] The appearance, then, of the outside world may be our most profound apprehension of truth. We cannot probe the unconscious directly, and if we are to elucidate truth, even in the smallest matter, from what science has learnt of the unconscious, any worthy dissertation[o] will

a *the first full flush*: the {first} full flush ["first" added on verso opposite] [TS] the first full flush

b *reproduces the equation*: reproduces <this> {the} equation

c *between form and content and their mutual aid*: between form and content {and} their mutual aid

d *reflector*: [corrected from "reflection"?]

e *co-extensive*: {co-}extensive

f *with consciousness. For consciousness*: with consciousness: for consciousness

g *as to anyone. It is fundamental*: as to anyone: it is fundamental

h *this power both to live and to enlarge upon it*: this <to> power both to live and to <reflect> {enlarge} upon it

i *corresponds with the dual development*: corresponds with the <dual [?repeated]> {dual} development

j *up to 5*: [TS] up to the age of five

k [f. 18*v* blank; f. 19*r* numbered top right] 12

l *the most suggestive*: the most <sug> suggestive

m *taken all together*: [TS] taken altogether

n *ramification from*: ramification <made> from [TS] ramification grown from

o *any worthy dissertation*: any dissertation worthy [last word repositioned to before "dissertation" by an arrow]



Figure 11 Jean Valjean (Fredric March) in the Paris sewers. Screen capture from *Les Misérables*, directed by Richard Boleslawski (1935)

be so complicated, so full of reservations in the tracing of distortion, in sorting out the different layers of the mind, that[a] we can arrive at no kind of general apprehension. Speculative psycho-analysis is bound to become even more complicated than the old metaphysics. Our whole creativeness goes into distortion. It is therefore infinitely multiple: it cannot be cleared away; and were we ever able[b] to clasp the things-in-themselves, they would seem a nothingness.[c|51] We can best witness this very process of distortion and that which is distorted upon the screen of the outside world.[52] Every state, every distortion, every motive power, every phase of the remembered, the half-remembered and the forgotten is experienced by us in terms of our apprehension of the outside world. Poetry cannot articulate the truth about ourselves directly, but it may do so, in terms of the not-self, in terms of otherness.[53]

Consciousness is a brisk dream of all that is not conscious; the dream of utmost distortion.[d] But it is a dream made vivid, made real, by continuous contact with the actuality of the not-self; and in this way differs from the real dream-state.[e|54]

All the same, it would not be true to say that the world as presented to consciousness was a diffused reality. Indeed, there is an [f. 20*r*][f] element of exaggeration[g] that is well reflected also in the nature of art. Vast spaces, the outside world in all its immensity, is informed with our feeling, with images, maybe,[h] of our own insides. In a Victor Hugo film **[fig. 11]** one was shown once more the sewers of Paris. The hero, pursued, squanders his failing strength, carrying his girl,[i] foundering amid the subterranean mud and cataracts, amid the slipping, silky waters of dirt. Many the dangers in this tomb of suffocating, purposeful yet silent water; his head submerges. This vast under-water-way, which has such a firm hold on the imagination, with its occasional arches and dim lights from above, is most directly a magnification, indeed an intensification of images concerned with the inside of the body.[55]

The hot children of the street – the rustling nodding of poplar trees,[j] a green summer version of the heads, faces and hats of a crowd, the bivouacked skies of July in London.[56] The poplar trees[k] are tremulous with the greenness of the summer day.[l] Shouting, populous trees

a *of the mind, that*: of the mind that

b *goes into distortion. It is therefore infinitely multiple: it cannot be cleared away; and were we ever able*: goes into distortion: it is therefore infinitely multiple: it cannot be cleared away: and were we ever able

c *they would seem a nothingness*: <a nothingness would> {they would} seem a nothingness

d *Consciousness is a brisk dream of all that is not conscious; the dream of utmost distortion*: Consciousness is a {brisk} dream of all that is not conscious; <a> {the} dream of <much> {utmost} distortion

e *the real dream-state*: the {real} dream-state

f [f. 19*v* blank; f. 20*r* numbered top right] 13

g *element of exaggeration*: [TS, corrected in pen] element of {emphatic} exaggeration

h *with images, maybe*: with <pictures> images, may be

i *squanders his failing strength, carrying his girl*: [TS, corrected in pen] squanders his failing strength<,> carrying his girl

j *of poplar trees*: of <plane> {poplar} trees [TS, corrected in pen] of <P>{p}oplar trees

k *The poplar trees*: The <plane> {poplar} trees [TS, corrected in pen] The <P>{p}oplar trees

l *the summer day*: the <day> summer day

habituated to the crowds whose messages they emit to the sky like pigeons that carry[a] the latest score to Yorkshire. Yes, and isn't there a character to places that transcends their actual presentation to the eye, that through different circumstances and different ages, contrives thereby a variation on a theme? I feel thus about Lord's[b] and about cricket in general.[57] One could have found their counterparts in Marylebone even in the middle ages. The key is the summer sky of London, the particular sail[c] of the cumulus clouds.

Here, in St Ives in the season, the evening, as in Venice,[d] becomes corporeal with the strolling tourists. In a crowd thus taking its ease in the open,[e] the contemplation of a material object,[f] a patch of water, a breakwater, the side of a house,[g] includes one's longest questioning and ultimate hope; and these[h] are dramatized by the scene as by music. It is then[i] that I drop my thought into the uninhabited water. The delving into one's own being is upheld upon a light cord[j] amid the ease of the evening crowd. The deep things [f. 21*r*][k] sink out of sight yet belong to the scene[l] as might an amiable dog,[m] fathomless of course in animality,[n] yet genial in its possession of a master strolling on the front,[58] a part of the present crowd,[o] alive at this same moment before the world retires to bed.

The Wrinkled Hide-Out[59] (1939-40?)

Delicate and sure, tender swivel, coiling loosened wrinkled or else on leash before the inert body, waves of strict, tight feeling[p] telling to their tower. A head that raises, a neck that prolongs, rotunds.[q] The body asleep,

a *pigeons that carry*: pigeons {that} carry

b *Lord's*: Lords

c *sail*: [TS, corrected in pen] <sale> {sail}

d *the evening, as in Venice*: the evening, <air> as in Venice

e *In a crowd thus taking its ease in the open*: In a <crowded> crowd thus taking its ease {in the open}

f *a material object*; an immaterial object [TS, corrected in pen] a<n> <im>material object

g *a house*: [TS, corrected in pen] <the> {a}

h *ultimate hope; and these*: ultimate hope: and these

i *by music. It is then*: by music: It is then

j *a light cord*: a light chord [TS] a light cord

k [f. 20*v* blank; f. 21*r* numbered top right] 14

l *belong to the scene*: belong to <this> {the} scene

m *as might an amiable dog*: [TS] as much an amiable dog

n *in animality*: [TS, corrected in pen] in <an> animality

o *the present crowd*: the <crow> present crowd

p *waves of strict, tight feeling*: waves of <feeling> strict, tight feeling

q *a neck that prolongs, rotunds*: a neck that prolongs, <and swells> {rotunds}

recumbent, a sprawling stretch (in hot weather) of loose kidney. He moves within the shell, thinning, plastic. This is what can be formed with such delight, blind, pendant, waving, flopping up, all-over with movement yet with violent or soft glistening friction a strict cylinder that nods up and up upon the air, risen to the near-bursting of the seam; even so,[a] at the top padded sponge.[b] One that grows if swiftly struck, reaching out and over, a pulsating standard[c] of the body. One who, if held at the nose, grows and billows in face to such a pitch that finally every expletive falls and he falls down, notch by notch to droop of unknown size, filling what space of air. Sitting, red lips at the [instant?], like a cat sitting, encased, close to itself, an unused live wire cased in silk, a receiving station with unseen feelers, a strawberry with petals like a flower. A creamy soft and tallowed silence, allusive clots that delight in masking to make one coagulated risen length, a length that peers right beyond this agency with power to ram you with soft probe. The whiskered chaplet passes from the pit of the body,[d] round below on the swan-proud, purse-proud[e] swelling basket of pure layered flesh, soft, then, shifting wall of the two nested eggs.[f]

[f. 4*r*] Base and insolent[g] as weapon, now shrivelling, lolling empty, potentially fibrous, filling and dropping a little grapelike, in the recumbent body always moving, lengthening or broadening, or shortening and thinning, with each change, an alteration of angle. Sometimes[h] the shortening means a raising like the final receding word flung over the shoulder. When long yet loose curving over the laden purse, a conduit, a bridge, passing sensation or current on flesh. When [dangled?] a mushroom of the night. A gap between constriction and mere lengthening.[i]

Softer yet more dynamic ripple with voluble neck mounting from the store of wealth. Alive on its own, or else the reflector of all feeling.[j] An asparagus, rich and juicy, and dangled above the upraised mouth[k] it swells and elongates and tightens on its root.

A group of kidneys flung in port. Shrunken to a drop. A pouch of skins, yet the centre. A knob in the package. A red Indian's frayed and dirty wallet swinging beneath pomposity and on the whitest skin. An ant's nest with giant queen knob at the middle of a civilized being. Fried-looking. A numb and flabby dumb-bell hanging by threads, pulped. From this vegetable and insect mess the writhing worm may raise its head and dibble the air.

a *the near-bursting of the seam; even so*: the <b> near-bursting of the seam: even so

b *at the top padded sponge*: at the top <soft rubbered> {padded} sponge

c *a pulsating standard*: a pulsating <flag> standard

d *The whiskered chaplet passes from the pit of the body*: <Cha> The whiskered chaplet <that> passes from the pit of the body

e *round below on the swan-proud, purse-proud*: round below on the <swollen> swan-proud, purse-proud [corrected from another word beginning with "f"?]

f *the two nested eggs*: the {two} nested eggs

g *Base and insolent*: base and insolent

h *alteration of angle. Sometimes*: alteration of angle Sometimes

i *and mere lengthening.*: and mere lenghening

j *the reflector of all feeling*: the <toke> reflector of all feeling

k *and dangled above the upraised mouth*: and dangled <before> {above} the upraised mouth

Precious lumps in the stew of a starving man. A puncture and an enormous blind head[a] from the ruffed collar. This well-oiled piston, both bolt and case, when dry, dwindles to mere skins. Press[b] upon them and strength returns,[c] first as a steely suspension of eager steel over a chasm. A lowly bulb with a **[f. 5*r*]** long and heavy necked flower. In repose, a barbarian sleeping at full length before two cavernous chests[d] or huddled in cold. A worm on the nest that feeds from its eggs, or clasps them. This worm has swallowed the mother-bird who sticks in his throat. A cowardly yet forward mass of sponge grown upon the long irritation of a pin-prick. A crimson nonsense cleaving to the skin and the centre of the body. I flung him up and I flung him off, the gigantic farce.

a *A puncture and an enormous blind head*: A <small fish mouth and> {puncture [corrected from "punctured"?]} an enormous blind head

b *dwindles to mere skins. Press*: dwindle to mere skins: press

c *and strength returns*: and strengh returns

d *two cavernous chests*: two cavernnous chests



Figure 12 Adrian Stokes, *Near Zennor, Cornwall, Winter*. 1936-37?. Oil on canvas

Background I

OIL was begun in 1939 and almost certainly at Little Park Owles (LPO),[60] which AS had purchased on 7 March[61] and into which his wife MM and he had moved on 3 April.[62] Already indeed in the manuscript's fifth paragraph we find the phrase "Here in Cornwall […]".[63] Referential clues aside, however, the outline of an ambitious new literary project ("a life's work") with which it opens (and which had clearly prompted re-use of a large and still mostly blank notebook)[64] seems symptomatic of the changed life to which AS soon after alludes.[65] This first portion of *OIL* was at any rate drafted before the outbreak of the Second World War (WWII) in September 1939: close to the start of the ensuing portion is a retrospective reference to that critical turn of events.[66]

MM had been born in China to the Scottish missionaries David Barclay Mellis (DM) (1885-1961) and his wife Margaret ("Maisie") Blaikie Mackenzie (MMM) (1889-1970). After the outbreak of the First World War (WWI) the family had returned to Scotland so that DM could enlist.[67] By 1938 he had been ordained within the Church of Scotland and was Minister at Arngask in Perthshire. At fifteen MM had begun to study painting at the Edinburgh College of Art (where she later considered herself to have been Samuel Peploe's "best pupil").[68] She had met AS in September 1936 at the Cézanne exhibition then being held at the Musée de l'Orangerie in Paris, while on a travelling scholarship and studying with the painter André Lhote (1885-1962).[69] She had seen him again in the spring of 1937 in London and the following September at Sanary-sur-Mer in Provence,[70] where he had been painting at the villa owned by the writer Aldous Huxley (1894-1963) (he had begun to paint in the early months of 1936[71] while working on *C&F*). MM had then won a two-year fellowship which – "determined to see [AS] again"[72] – she had taken up in London, where he had returned earlier than planned because his brother, Geoffrey Durham Stokes (1900-37), a retired Lieutenant Commander of the Royal Navy, was critically ill (Philip, the eldest of the three Stokes brothers had been killed in action in 1917). Geoffrey had died in Eastbourne on 18 September.[73]

Following the publication meanwhile of *C&F* and MM's arrival in London on 1 October,[74] they had both begun attending the School of Drawing and Painting which had opened a few days later at 12, Fitzroy Street – where AS was now living, at no. 6[75] – and which, after its move to larger premises in February of the following year, would become known as the Euston Road School.[76] They had married on 14 July 1938, having become engaged only the previous month.[77] MM had thus been obliged to give up her scholarship.[78] The couple had honeymooned in Rapallo;[79] and on their return to England had set about house-hunting.

Even before the Munich Agreement (29-30 September 1939) – in response no doubt to a prevalent "feeling of doom"[80] – they had resolved to leave London for the country. The search for a house had first taken them to St Ives. It may have been here that in 1936 AS had started to paint.[81] He had returned there the following winter and, as he later recalled, had gone on "painting expeditions" with the young Peter Lanyon (1918-1964). The landscapes *Near Zennor,*

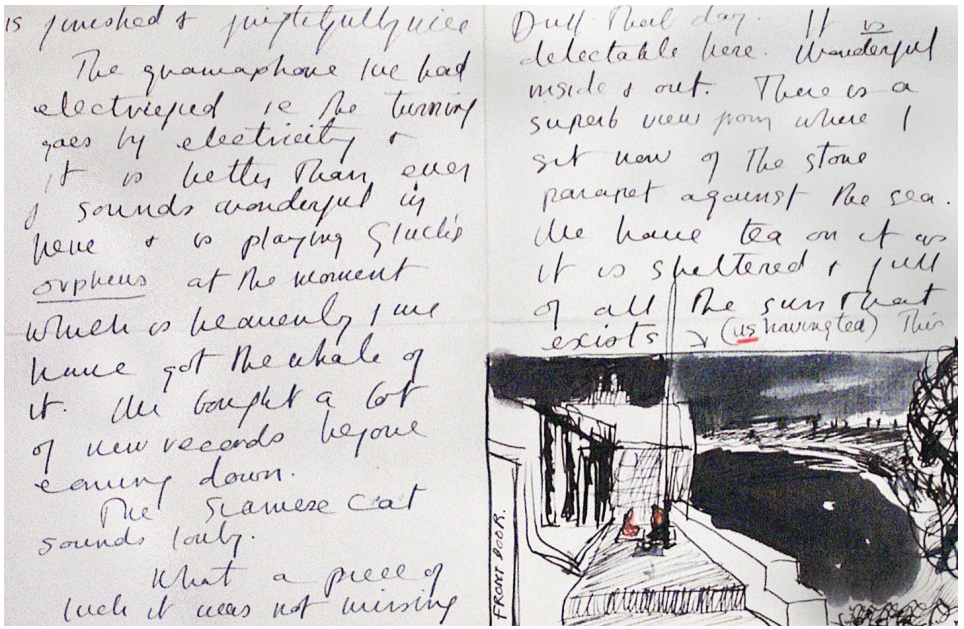


Figure 13
Margaret Mellis,
Autograph letter to her parents
n.d. [April 1939], with sketch
of Carbis Bay from the terrace
at Little Park Owles

Cornwall, Winter **[fig. 12]** and *Landscape, West Penwith Moor*[82] may date from this time.[83] In a letter written during his second stay he had professed his love of Cornwall to his friend the travel author and architectural critic Robert Byron (1905-1941) (RB).[84] He found it "very much like being abroad" and announced (in language pre-echoing *OIL*'s)[85] that he had "retired, possibly rather ignominiously" there.[86] Moreover, as MM would later recall, the presence of an established painters' colony had meant that, should war break out, a supply of paint was guaranteed.[87]

Among "improbable houses" then inspected had been a "beastly" one about two miles from St Ives and near Zennor, at Towednack,[88] above which AS had also considered having a home especially built, for the sake of "the best view of Cornwall".[89] He had asked ESW if "Paul" – probably the architect Geddes ("Paul") Hyslop (1901-1988) – might design one for him.[90] It seems he had even inquired whether Eagle's Nest, near Zennor, the home of the artist and author William Edward Arnold-Foster (1886-1951), "would what the agents call 'come on the market'".[91] Yet on a walk from St Ives towards Carbis Bay, MM and he had come on and both liked LPO, a "granite house" which, learning it was for sale, they had begun "nibbling after".[92] The "other possibility", AS had told ESW, was "the East Coast, Suffolk",[93] to which they had

accordingly gone on from Cornwall. Here they had thought of settling in Walberswick, which AS knew from before they had met. This plan however had come to nothing.[94]

LPO – its name no "Adrianism", as their friend Anne Olivier Popham (1916-2018) (AOP) would wryly suppose[95] – was in AS' view the "the nicest house in those parts"[96] and their efforts had now centred on it. Made of "honey coloured granite with a white limewashed roof",[97] it was discreetly finished with small ovoid finials and a lantern with copper-clad spire curving up to a ball and weathervane – the "central slatted feature" his first sight of which had aroused in AS a decisive "quick hallucination".[98] George Kennedy (1881-1954), a painter and architect with local connections,[99] had converted and enlarged what had been an outhouse, comprising garage and cottage, of the neighbouring property, Tremorna.[100]

LPO (mainly) comprises two floors, the upper slightly recessed at the front and in the centre so as to form a terrace bounded by a low wall (and in the 1930s at least commanding a view of the bay to beyond Hayle, as far as Godrevy lighthouse **[fig. 13]**).[101] Though regular in aspect, as if formed of a central body flanked by two small wings, the house is asymmetrical in plan and elevation, owing to its insertion in ground sloping down from above it to the lane at its back and, beyond that and more precipitously, to the railway line and the shore below. Levels are confused. The upper floor at the west end, coming flush with the drive leading from front gate to back,[102] doubles as ground. Indeed, located at this level, left of centre so as to leave room for the terrace and row of wall dormers behind it, is the front door, approached up an incline branching off from the drive **[fig. 14]**.[103] The lower and true ground floor, opening onto the garden in front, resembles an extended basement or cellar; except that, at the east or sea end, the house lies high enough above the lane to accommodate an actual cellar beneath it **[fig. 15]**. LPO perhaps reminded AS, in miniature and quiet calm, of the shuffling of aspects, "a-jostle at all angles", afforded by clamorous passage through steep-stacked Genoa, "the pleasure of [whose] house-tops and the different levels" he had so vividly evoked in *QC*, commending the city as "your best introduction to space, to the distant brought near".[104]

LPO is still set in extensive grounds, a walled courtyard on its north side and a long piece of land stretching south beyond the garden terraces to what would later be called Pannier Lane. In all, the property put up for sale in 1938 consisted of around four and a half acres.[105] This included a field (or fields) of one and a quarter acres with frontage on the main (St Ives-Lelant) road and a smaller field of a quarter-acre above the house which AS did not purchase.[106]

Negotiations had been complex and protracted. AS had dealt with the owner, Gwladys Lewis-Thomas (1876-1967?),[107] through two auctioneer-estate agents: James Lanham Ltd of St Ives, who had advertised the property in the *St Ives Times* the previous May **[fig. 16]**, and E. Mitchell & Sons of Penzance. Already in early September he had been prepared to offer £3000, which the Penzance agent had evidently understood to be the price asked, while yet considering it too high, since it "apparently exclude[d] the new garage and part of the grounds at the front entrance".[108] And the offer seems not actually to have been made until mid-October, through



Figure 14
Unidentified photographer,
Little Park Owles,
Carbis Bay, Cornwall.
Before 1939?



Figure 15 Paul Tucker, *Little Park Owles, Carbis Bay, Cornwall* (sea end). 2011

James Lanham Ltd.

have been favoured with instructions from Mrs. Lewis Thomas to offer for sale by public auction at an early date (unless previously disposed of by private treaty) all that

Granite build Freehold Residential Property

standing in its own extensive grounds known as

Little Park Owles, Carbis Bay

The house is luxuriously equipped and comprises 3 reception rooms, 4 bedrooms, dressing room, 3 bathrooms, kitchen and usual offices Garage for 3 cars.

Together with a FIELD of approximately 1½ acres with frontage on the main road, capable of development as building sites and a building plot of approximately ½ acre.

To view and for further particulars, apply to the Auctioneers

JAMES LANHAM LTD.,
High Street. St. Ives.

or to **BORLASE and VENNING,**
Solicitors,
Morrab Road, Penzance.

Figure 16 Notice of the sale of Little Park Owles, Carbis Bay. *St Ives Times*, 13 May 1938



nber 7, 1939

BLACK-OUT

Margaret Mellis and one of her paintings

GAVE UP FELLOWSHIP TO MARRY

Artists in Cornwall No. 41

MARGARET MELLIS, gifted young artist, gave up a special painting Fellowship to marry Adrian Stokes, the painter and author. The young couple have bought a charming house at St. Ives, and mean to live "happy ever after" in Cornwall.

Mrs. Stokes has dark hair and a pair of blue eyes that sparkle with fun.

"I was tremendously thrilled at winning the Fellowship but I didn't mind giving it up to marry Adrian," she said. "It was my winning a travelling scholarship that brought us together in the first place.

"I met my husband at an art exhibition in Paris in 1937. We started talking about painting, and went on . . . and on.

"He was about to write his book on painting, and we found we had lots of ideas in common.

"We talked art for two days. Then I had to go back to England as my scholarship had run out."

HONEYMOON IN ITALY

The young couple did not meet again for a long time. Meanwhile she had been working very hard.

"Then I won a special two-year Fellowship for painting," she continued. "This gave me a chance to go to the South of France. I met Adrian Stokes again, and later we were fellow students at the Euston Road School of Painting.

"We went to Italy for our honeymoon. At one place where we stayed I painted out of one window and my husband from the other."

Mrs. Stokes studied painting first at Edinburgh Art School. She has won three painting scholarships and has exhibited regularly at the Royal Scottish Academy and the Scottish Society of Artists.

Figure 17 "Artists in Cornwall no. 41" [Margaret Mellis]. *News Chronicle*, [7 December?] 1939

Lanham's. AS had then learned that Mrs Thomas actually demanded £5000 for the whole estate, but was willing to accept less for diversely delimited portions of it.[109] A final agreement had not been reached for another six months and seems to have entailed the payment of £3,300 for the entire property less one of three garages and the field(s).[110] Within days of the German invasion of Czechoslovakia (16 March) and of the warning issued by the Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940), to the German Chancellor, that "any attempt to dominate the world by force would be resisted" by Britain,[111] they had packed up and left London.

AS considered LPO "well separated in its parts", so "good for work and staying in".[112] Around a dozen rooms, not counting the three bathrooms, were more or less equally distributed 'upstairs' and 'down'. The front door opened on a small hall, off which, towards the back of the house, was the kitchen, with, to its left, a walk-in larder. In the opposite, south-west corner of this 'wing' was the sitting-room, where they hung a white relief by their friend, soon to be their house guest, the painter Ben Nicholson (1894-1982) (BN).[113] By all accounts, however, what dominated the room was the gramophone, with its "enormous speaker".[114] Between the two corner rooms was one initially used as the dining-room. In AS' view it had the only wall in the house suitable for the hanging of pictures, because not facing a window.[115] In their first summer this wall was almost entirely taken up by another work by BN, *June 1937*,[116] a large abstract painting which he had lent them "to get it out of London".[117] This would later be moved to one of the garages, probably when the dining-room was turned into a studio – eventually MM's – and they began to eat in the hall.[118] Also on display in these rooms may have been a work aesthetically opposed to *June 1937*, GB's *Thomasson Park, Bolton* (1938),[119] which the artist had given to AS and MM as a wedding present, and which AS would later characterize, to GB himself, as "extremely true to appearance, at the same time poetic and monumental".[120]

To the right of the hall, beyond the stairs leading to the lower floor was a passage lit by the wall-dormers, off which were a bedroom, toilet and bathroom. At the east end of the house, at the front, was the large bedroom initially shared by AS and MM, with access to another room behind it. MM would later recall how in the passages and bedrooms they hung paintings by Alfred Wallis (1855-1942) (AW),[121] the former mariner and retired marine scrap merchant then still living in St Ives who had been 'discovered' by BN and the painter Christopher Wood (1901-1930) in 1928. AS had got to know of AW through BN and at different times acquired "a good many" of his paintings.[122] In 1939 these would already have included *Voyage to Labrador* **[fig. 18]**, which had been purchased from the artist in St Ives in December 1936[123] and discussed in *C&F* (in what was the first published critical account of AW's work).[124]

Downstairs, immediately below the main upper bedroom was AS' room: his study and later also his bedroom.[125] This had a shallow bay window at the garden end, whose grid of white cames at that time enclosed a small round light. A painting of the view out through this window must have been among the first made by MM at LPO: she is seen standing before it in the photograph illustrating an article published by the *News Chronicle* in early December as part of its series on "Artists in Cornwall" **[fig. 17]**.

The room AS came to use as his studio was behind his study towards the back of the house.[126] His bathroom was in the corner diametrically opposite this. Beyond the stairs and also towards the back was a small room at a slightly lower level, entered down some steps. Known as the "cellar" (it probably housed their stock of wine),[127] it would soon serve as an air-raid shelter.[128] Between the stairs and AS' room was the "granite passage", probably so-called from the two stone piers marking its inner side. From here a door opened onto the garden.[129]

AS had initially intended to let this to a market gardener, who might also "pick the flowers".[130] In the event, perhaps because of MM's active (and in her own estimation knowledgeable) interest in it, and with the help of "a book called a real ABC of Gardening" and William, "an angelic gardeners boy",[131] flowers, fruit and vegetables were cultivated in abundance.

After less than a month's residence, AS was able to report to BN,

> We are more or less settled in now and it is really a very lovely place and house and I feel highly satisfied. But I have gone on from that to try and find out how it can be kept so. This has entailed lawyers and a very stubborn retired schoolmaster to whom I was going to sell a garage. There is, I believe, a good tennis club here, and the local paper says I have come to St Ives to compete for a place in the town's cricket team.[132]

The house in order and the garden in hand, there began a routine, games of tennis and perhaps cricket aside, of writing and painting. AM later recalled that when she first visited LPO that summer the paintings AS and MM were producing strongly resembled one another: pale still lives of which *Banquet* **[fig. 19]** may be an example.[133] They occasionally also drew from the model at Arnold-Foster's.[134]

The routine was punctuated by outings to the cinema – a favourite pastime throughout this period[135] – and by visits from relatives and friends. MM's family were there repeatedly and in varying combinations.[136] And staying at St Ives from just after their arrival in Cornwall was AS' "oldest friend" (as MM explained to her parents),[137] Adrian Arnold Kent (1903-1977) (AK), known to his friends as "Curly".[138] In the late 1920s AS and he had spent much time together in Italy, when they are said to have become lovers.[139]

AK had entered Bradby House at Rugby School in 1917, little more than a year after AS. He had left early to study painting and had attended the Camberwell and Slade schools in London.[140] This no doubt fitted him to offer technical advice when AS first attempted to paint, in the early months of 1936, possibly at St Ives,[141] more certainly at Dartington Hall in Devon,[142] where, since 1932, AK had participated in the utopian experiment in rural regeneration and progressive education pursued by the philanthropists Dorothy Payne Whitney (1887-1968) and her second husband, Leonard Elmhirst (1893-1974). AK had there become especially close to the English potter Bernard Leach (1887-1979) (BL) and the American painter Mark Tobey (1890-1976), with whom he had shared an exhibition in the Dance School in June 1933, before holding one of his own in the Barn Studio in March 1937.[143]



Figure 18 Alfred Wallis, *Voyage to Labrador.* 1936 or before. Oil on wood



Figure 19 Margaret Mellis, *Banquet*. 1939. Oil on canvas

AK had moved to Dartington together with Katherine Mair ("Kay") Facey (1903-1955), whom he had married on 26 March 1930 **[fig. 20]**;[144] and the couple's first child, Virginia, had been born there in December 1935 **[fig. 21]**. Until her resignation in November 1934, Kay had been the School Secretary and secretary to the recently appointed headmaster, William B. Curry. AK had been employed as an art educator and consultant on the Dartington Estate and as an art master at the school.[145] He had given talks and led discussions on art at the Hall and in 1934, he and Bernard Forrester (1908-1990)[146] had taken the Estate classes in art and pottery while Tobey and BL were travelling in Asia. In 1938 AK had moved with his family from Dartington to London, where in September he had started teaching at Marylebone Grammar School.[147]

During the Easter break of 1939 the Kents were staying at The Wharf on the harbour front at St Ives,[148] and they saw AS and MM on several occasions in the month of April.[149] They would have been visiting Kay's sister Elizabeth and her husband, the potter David Leach (1911-2005), BL's son and now manager of the Pottery his father had established at St Ives two decades earlier.[150] "They make lovely dark green, buff, honey, grey etc crockery", MM wrote to her parents, adding proudly that they had eaten off it the night before, when AK and Kay had come to supper.[151] And she would later remember how they used "a lot of Leach pottery in the house and Adrian asked Bernard to make us both a tea bowl; these were glazed pale green inside and out and one was fluted".[152] BL also "modelled a horse **[fig. 22]** for Stokes to place on his roof as an emblem of good luck".[153]

After hosting friends from the Euston Road School in June[154] AS and MM stayed with his parents at Pangbourne, near Reading. From here, cricket, an exhibition of French art at the Lefevre Gallery and, above all, the ballet (Wassily de Basil's Covent Garden season was underway[155]) would take them to London.

This apparently idyllic existence was threaded by anxiety, provoked not just by the deep personal misgivings privately examined in *OIL*,[156] but by the encroaching "prospect of war". "Throughout the first summer at tea-time", in AS' later recollection, this prospect "opposed the green-yellow of saffron cake".[157] In his own interview for the *News Chronicle* **[fig. 23]**, seemingly given after MM's, he told the reporter, "we are not allowing anything to interfere with our work […] we are painting hard".[158]

The first in a series of crises came only a week after their arrival at St Ives. News reached them over Easter of Italy's invasion of Albania on Good Friday (7 April). This immediately prompted a letter to GB in which AS declared, "We are ready for Olivia [AOP][159] and you at a moment's notice, should the need arise" and referring to this ominous development as "the moment I have long been dreading". "I am deeply affected by Italian behaviour", he explained,

> being so fond of Italians and Italy. "Fond" is not a good word because I have drawn everything from there. Consequently, I have felt uprooted all these last few years of fascism.[160]



Figure 20
Unidentified photographer, *Adrian and Kay Kent with Bernard Forrester, Dartington Hall*. After 1932?



Figure 21
Unidentified photographer,
Adrian Kent with His Daughter Virginia. 1936

Though GB, a "militant leftist" and vehement anti-fascist,[161] was perhaps unaware of this, AS' letter implicitly acknowledged that fascism had earlier attracted him. Ten years previously he had stated in a letter to RG, that it was "the only hope for peace in Europe".[162] And in an essay on Giorgione published in *The Criterion* the following year he had allowed himself to exclaim, "Not again until Fascism was the Italian standpoint so definite".[163] What he now rather understated to GB was his persistent unwillingness, despite the war of aggression against Ethiopia (1935-37), to renounce the 'pleasure' he had derived from Italian fascism. As recently as 1937, during the Spanish Civil War, this lingering sense of a cultural debt and irrational fear of being denied access to Italy had led him first to qualify and finally to withdraw a public statement rejecting fascism in general.[164]

So far as Italy in particular was concerned,[165] a turning-point seems to have come during the honeymoon spent there in August 1938. If not the actual promulgation of the fascist government's first racial laws (on 5 and 7 September), AS would have witnessed the social and political climate that fostered them, perhaps heard them discussed by his former mentor, the poet Ezra Pound (1885-1972) (EP), whom MM and he visited while in Rapallo, along with insistent talk of "the boss" (Mussolini) and Douglas Credit.[166] The possibility is suggested by a passage in a notebook probably drafted by AS on their return to England (it is dated "Sept. 1938"):

> One renounces the misguided heroic cause, Fascism for instance, not because there is anything more stirring today or tomorrow, but because to renounce it, and all the strength and discipline it may afford, is the first and weary step to a heroism less misguided, less destructive. You read on the walls of Italy "All national supremacy has had to be fought for" […] Ezra [EP] cannot wait, cannot make the one important renunciation of today, belief in the devil as well as of God. For him, bankers and Jews are the devil. And so he ends up thus, an intellectual if you please[,] crying "The 'reds' (in Spain) are bankers and Jews" or "Bankers and Jews are 'reds'".[167]

However ambivalent AS may have been about his part-Jewish origins, and even though from a legal point of view he would not have been targeted as a non-Italian Jew, having only one Jewish parent,[168] the legitimization of anti-Semitism in fascist Italy that autumn must have been a shock to him personally,[169] all the more so given what Italy signified for him, which was in turn what motivated his fear of being denied entry if identified as an anti-fascist. In a subsequent portion of *OIL* he would reflect on the "horrible reality" and "white menace" which the "clean-cut, clear world" epitomized by Italy might become, once apparently infected with "virulent poisons which are themselves fed with light", should we "get on bad terms with this world".[170]

Not long after moving into LPO and hoping to persuade them to visit, MM had written to her parents, "We dont think there will be a war until August unless in the next week".[171] And so it turned



Figure 22 Andrew Lanyon, *Horse by Bernard Leach on the Roof at Little Park Owles*. 1979

out. On 24 August, the day Parliament passed the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, she wrote in her desk diary:

> Lovely sunny weather terrible day listening to news. Bill marching up & down & round clasping his head in mortal terror. Every now & then a wry joke coming out. Nancy not upset. just waiting. I don't feel the horror yet either. Adrian calm. A drove them back. Waited for Eddy. Never came. Telegram Ben & Barbara. On the way.[172]

"Eddy" was ESW, "Bill" the painter William Coldstream (1908-1987) (WC), founder with Victor Pasmore (1908-1998) (VP) and Claude Rogers (1907-1979) of the Euston Road School, now in Cornwall with his wife, the painter Nancy Sharp (1909-2001), staying with her mother at Bude.[173] "Ben" and "Barbara" were BN and his wife, the sculptor Barbara Hepworth (1903-1975) (BH), with whom it had been arranged that, as soon as war seemed inevitable, they should leave London with their young family for the safety of St Ives. So on 25 August, around a week in advance of Germany's invasion of Poland on 1 September and of the arrival in Cornwall that same day of almost five thousand government evacuees,[174] as well as of Britain's declaration of war two days later, BN and BH and "their cargo of five" – the four-year-old triplets, Simon, Rachel and Sarah, their nurse and their cook – arrived at LPO by car.[175] They would stay until just after Christmas.

Means To Paint Cornwall As It Is

ARTISTS IN CORNWALL No. 40

ADRIAN STOKES, much-discussed modern painter, and his young wife, who is also an artist, are now living in St. Ives, in a lovely house that looks right out across the bay. There is a sun-dial in the garden and tall trees at the end of the lawn.

"We are enchanted with Cornwall and our new home," Mr. Stokes told a News Chronicle representative, "but we are not allowing anything to interfere with our work . . . we are painting hard."

I found them in their temporary studio. Mr. Stokes is preparing for his exhibition at the Lefevre Galleries. Mrs. Stokes, dark-haired with laughing blue eyes, and looking very charming in terracotta coloured trousers and jumper, was also busy painting.

They are very amused at being labelled modern painters.

"We are—and we are not," said Mr. Stokes.

"We like all painting that is good of its kind. We loathe the sort of pictures popularly known as modern —those dreadful things in blatant colours that seem to hit you in the eye.

"I want to paint landscape that is typical of Cornwall—the gaunt old mine stacks and the moors around Land's End."

Mr. Stokes first made his name with books on the Russian Ballet and Italian painting. He took up painting seriously six years ago. He studied drawing at the Slade and later went to Euston Road School of Drawing and Painting.

He has had work in the London Group Exhibition and the Artists' International, as well as art exhibitions abroad.



Adrian Stokes off for a bathe

Figure 23 "Artists in Cornwall no. 40" [Adrian Stokes]. *News Chronicle*, [before 7 December?] 1939

Notes

1 Cf. *IA* (Stokes 1978, III, 265): "It is a commonplace to say that we are partly made up of others and they of us. Viewed by psycho-analysis, however, the interchange can have the precision of a timetable and of formidable engines enacting it".

2 See "Background III", 136, for AS' exclusion of this opening paragraph from the TS of *OIL* and *OIL* IV, f. 45*r*, 149, for criticism of the general approach it epitomizes. See also the "Introduction", 11-15.

3 The Woolworth's chain of department stores formed the British division of the American F.W. Woolworth Company. The store on the Edgware Road in London had opened in 1914. Not long before the time of writing, it had been extended, acquiring a new Art Deco façade.

4 The Edgware Road was not far from AS' childhood home in Tyburnia (see Kite 2009, 9-34).

5 Cf. "Writing", f. 18*r*, 294: "One must understand […] to keep inside riches somehow". Cf. also Klein [1935] 1998, 266, on the ego's anxiety lest internalized good objects die: "Both in children and adults suffering from depression I have discovered the dread of harbouring dead or dying objects (especially the parents) inside one and an identification of the ego with the objects in this condition". For a more positive appraisal of the "produce of Woolworth's" cf. Stokes 1934a, 27: "millions of new cheap things that are not tawdry; bright nails, bright tacks, well-designed enamelled hooks, simple gleaming objects by the thousand within the reach of each stretching hand, balls of every texture, new as paint. They are not baubles or tawdry knick-knacks. Since they are serviceable the gaiety of these things lies with their simplicity and their newness".

6 Cf. Klein, Riviere [1937] 1998, 27-8: "One great reason why a *loss* of any kind is so painful is that unconsciously it represents the converse idea, that we are being exposed as *unworthy* of good things, and so our deepest fears are realized. When a person, whose sense of security is largely based on his greed – on the feeling that he has, or can get, as much as he needs of good things – sees that someone else has more than he, it upsets this self-protective edifice of security; he feels reduced to poverty, as if he had little – 'too little good' – in him. Not only has his unconscious protective defence vanished, but he feels in phantasy as if the others who have more must actually have *robbed* him of what had made him feel secure, which now is gone".

7 On the theme of "otherness" see the "Introduction", 15-17.

8 Cf. IS, 212-13: "It has needed […] science, prose".

9 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 159): "To fantasy, there are as many things inside as outside. It is one reason, surely, why we are often appalled by a casual or callous aspect; why we are reassured by the beauty and order of things".

10 Cf. f. 19*r*, 56 ("We can best witness […] outside world") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 159: "A contemplative mood in some surroundings discovers an otherness that is tenuous compared to the Mediterranean. Here in Cornwall, for instance, I sometimes have the feeling that what I see out of my eyes is a projection of pictures in my head […] and enlarged"). See *OIL* IV, 149, for criticism of this remark.

11 Cf. "Writing", f. 18*r*, 294: "Artists at any rate […] a desolating otherness". See the "Introduction", 27-8.

12 AS would later write to HR, "Your book [Read 1940] really does me good, weeks afterwards too. I am conscious of having had what is sometimes described as an 'experience': it is a long time since I had that from reading. I suppose that phrase means that a kind of telescopic sequence remains for ever pictured in the mind and symbolizes all experience as <does> {do} the visions of a drowning man" (AS to HR 10 January [1941?], HRP, SC MLUV).

13 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 27*r*, 96: "The well-known place […] nor so objective".

14 Cf. *OIL* VII, f. 55*r*, 254 ("Last night […] below, is seen together!") and NBA, f. 15*r*, 264 ("A man is the sum […] encourage such detachment"). Cf. also "On Resignation" (Stokes 1973, 71): "We shall have found that a beloved place never looked so beautiful as at the moment we had to leave it, probably for ever. The house is sold, furniture removed, luggage packed; we sit in a silent house awaiting a taxi for our own removal, a situation of no more care, involvement, responsibility. To gaze at the garden is no longer to include in the impression our concern: the moment has come when the struggling flower or weed demonstrates fully a singular peace. All perfection is close to death: there abides no further call for attack, gainfulness, and reparation: the mother is complete; we have ceased to try and restore her; instead we contemplate. It appears now that she was always whole as well as untidy and in pieces". These passages recall Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, in the middle section of which the Ramsays' now deserted house takes on an "air of pure integrity", a compound of "loveliness and stillness […] a form from which life had parted" (Woolf [1927] 1970, 147-8).

15 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 31*r*, 99: "We note the rebutment of the sea by the rocks".

16 These observations find an echo in *IA* (1965), where in reference to the relation to landscape AS remarks "the need of the psyche to project into surroundings a history of its development, to receive from this projection an image of the psyche's architecture constructed upon firm and ancient foundations" (Stokes 1978, III, 295).

17 The whole of this passage ("It is the artist's […] in the scene?") is reworked in *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 160-2).

18 Cf. ASP, TGA 8816.136, an earlier notebook inscribed on its first recto "Note-book of Adrian Stokes: it is intended that at least something will be written henceforward every day. This is also a scrap-book. December 30th 1937".

19 See "Background I", 62.

20 At the time of writing (spring or early summer, 1939) Stokes was thirty-six; see Background II, 61-3.

21 AS may have felt he had regressed to a position pre-dating his analysis with MK and the completion of *QC* (Stokes 1932), when his work was still "in a horrible muddle" and he had written to the poet Ezra Pound's mistress, the American violinist Olga Rudge (1895-1996) (OR), that he felt "completely undone – by England and my family. It's like losing my memory. Lost all touch with reality" (AS to OR n.d. [before 5 September

1927] and 5 September 1927, Olga Rudge Papers (ORP), Beinecke Rare Books and Music Library (BRBML), YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2125). The symptom is reflected in a passage in ASP, TGA 8816.15, dating from around this time and quoted in fn. 24 (142). It also formed the subject of a session with MK in April 1931 (ASP, TGA 8816.71): "Talked about bad memory after knocking on the door. S suggests more afraid of flow of words, of flow, of [?u], even than f perhaps. Also, unconscious brought up to c, because I don't avoid the inner difficulty altogether, but when the anxiety can't be dealt with, it is plainly forgotten. I pointed out that I forget happy and helpful states too – complete dissassociation [*sic*] – dream-state – waiting for things to happen, to change, to come alive as [O?] waits for them to die".

22 Cf. *OIL* III, f. 39*r*, 125 ("How I have changed").

23 Cf. "Listening to Clichés and Individual Words" (Stokes 1973, 17) on the 'neatness' of the phrase "to start with a clean sheet" as meaning to disown.

24 Cf. CAM, 296 ("The expression of one thing […] a paramount characteristic of the mental life") and see the "Introduction", 17-20. Cf. also *TA* (Stokes 1925, 64): "we can gather no *meaning* from any one conception".

25 Cf. ASP, TGA 8816.3: "Living is substitution, good living substitution as an art. The work of art has a certain (perhaps indefinable) validity".

26 See the "Introduction", 17-18.

27 An allusion to the Kantian concept of the *Ding an sich*. Cf. f. 19*r*, 56 ("were we ever able […] a nothingness") and ASP, TGA 8816.159 (a TS of notes dated 1947-49): "Reality, like death, has no corresponding 'feel' to it; whereas the pursuit of science, the contemplation of what science reveals, has a strong emotional side, truth itself resembles numbers to which, were it possible, no association and no images are attached. In attempting to grasp what is real, we are unable altogether to disentangle emotion. This consideration must be the modern version of appearance and the ding-an-sich".

28 Cf. NBA, f. 12*r*, 262 ("It will always come back […] of correlation and distortion").

29 Bryan Morel ("Bitsy") Grant Jr (1909-1986) was an American amateur tennis champion who had been a quarterfinalist at Wimbledon in 1936 and 1937. His slight build (5' 4", 54 kg) and prowess earned him the nickname "Itsy Bitsy the Giant Killer". Friends and relatives of AS – e.g. the engineer and conscientious objector Peter Freeman (1915-1994) (PF) in Freeman 1973 and AM and Telfer Stokes (TrS) in personal conversations – have commented on his fondness for nicknames, abundantly confirmed in his correspondence. In the present instance the appropriated "Bitsey Grant" is clearly phallic in reference. To exemplify the inner-outer interchange in this way may suggest persistence of the penis fixation analysed by MK, in her study of his clinical alter-ego "Mr B" (see Read 2002, 193-214; Sayers [2015] 2018, 63-74), as "the basis of his homosexual position" and as symptomatic of his inability to "restore [his mother] in the sexual act" (Klein [1932] 1997, 270). Erotically engaged but at the same time mock-heroically detached and dismissive, it is hard, however, to gauge the temper and function of this brief masturbatory and oral fantasy and verbal experiment, whether consoling, liberating or sublimating, and what light it casts on AS' marital intimacy at the time. A more elaborate experiment of the same kind resulted in WHO (57-9). For an insight into the psychological significance of "bits", see *OIL* II, f. 24*r*, 90, and cf. *OIL* III, f. 43*r*, 130 and fn. 60.

30 *New Statesman and Nation*, 17(433) (New Series), 898. The original letter opens "Might I suggest […]" and is divided into two paragraphs, the second beginning "If spiders and mice moved […]".

31 Cf. ASP, TGA 8816.15 on the "handful of experiences which stimulate every European": "Through changing present and the thus altered past, they continue to intensify living. For {they} reach down beyond the explicit <world> {veneer}. The images that such experiences provoke are not common to every man, nor are they similar for <each {a} man> {him} on each occasion. But <there are> a few images <that> are common, and in those all legends are steeped" (f. 8*r* from back, inverse orientation).

32 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 159): "I doubted, and I doubt, whether the material by and large of ideal inside things are to be easily found outside in terms of modern cities, or whether this outside can be converted to suitable inside nourishment". Cf. *IA*, which would pick up on the analysis in *Monet* (1958) of the cultural significance of Impressionism in terms of painterly compensation, "amid the ruins of architecture", for "the new aesthetic poverty of streets", stressing the "needed resonance for man-made surroundings" especially supplied by art (Stokes 1978, II, 294; III, 280-9, 294-5).

33 AS alludes to *The Family Reunion*, a play by the poet and critic T.S. Eliot (1888-1965), published in 1939 itself. Its main character, Harry, haunted, after murdering his wife, by the avenging deities of Greek mythology, the Eumenides, returns to his childhood home only to discover that it is the source of his family's unhappiness and that his pursuers are themselves at home there. He is compelled to leave, this time in pursuit of his pursuers, on a journey of expiation "through the purgatorial flame" (Eliot [1939] 1976, 98).

34 Cf. ff. 13*r*-14*r*, 48 ("The naked facts of life […] the outer in terms of the inner"); NBA, f. 12*r*, 262 ("It will always come back […] of correlation and distortion")

35 The issue of the *New Statesman* cited above (fn. 30) includes a review (900-2) by AS' old Oxford friend, the writer and music critic Edward Charles Sackville-West (1901-1965) (ESW) (see "Background I", 61-2, 76, and "Background II", 106, 108) of the translation of Rainer Maria Rilke's *Duino Elegies* by J.B. Leishman and Stephen Spender (Rilke [1923] 1939). Together with his cousin, Victoria Mary ("Vita") Sackville-West (1892-1962), ESW had published his own translation, the first in English, in 1931 (Rilke [1923] 1931).

36 In reviewing the new translation ESW had commented that the *Elegies* represented "the end-result of Rilke's thought and feeling"; see *New Statesman and Nation*, 17(433) (New Series), 900.

37 Cf. IS, 211 ("the gradual process […] the corpse"); NBA, f. 15*r*, 265 ("We strive to manifest […] of the outside world"); "Envoi", 271 ("We strive to manifest […] inert outside world") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 162: "In life […] indistinguishable". See also the "Introduction", 15-17.

38 See "Background I", 67; "Background VI", 220.

39 Cf. *OIL* III, f. 38*r*, 124: "We with our minds are mere vessels on the seas of our unconscious".
40 See the "Introduction", 12-13.
41 In his review of the *Duino Elegies* ESW had written: "It [the problem of all the greatest artists in their final period of creation] is, in the last analysis, the effort to solve the problem of the Pathetic Fallacy – of the, to the poet, evident life of inanimate objects. To Rilke some thing – a jug, a pillar – could be *felt* as a joy, or a pain; equally, that joy or pain could exist within him, hypostasised as an image – jug or pillar […] For Rilke, the Angel is the symbol of a kind of existence in which the two rhythms of life – that of the human being and that of the thing – are united in a single harmony"; see *New Statesman and Nation*, 17(433) (New Series), 902.
42 Given the following description, it seems unlikely that the smith in question was the one referred to in Freeman 1973 (see "Background VI", 218).
43 AS may refer to the recording of this Neapolitan song which the Italian tenor Beniamino Gigli (1890-1957) made (in Italian) with the conductor John Barbirolli for His Master's Voice in 1933. This may have been among the stock of records bought by AS and MM before they moved to Cornwall (MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM; AS to ESW n.d. [after Easter 1941], SIA: "A small collection of records have meant a great deal to me. I took your last advice and got several Mozart piano concertos"). TrS (Stokes 1997-98) has recalled how at "a very early age" he was allowed to clip the needles used to play records of ballet music by Tchaikovsky and arias sung by Gigli. For the gramophone see "Background I", 67 and fn. 114.
44 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 29*r*, 97 ("This compulsion outward […] in terms of it"); III, f. 39*r*, 124 ("But distortion […] all that distinguishes us from the animals").
45 See the "Introduction", 27.
46 Cf. NBA, f. 13*r*, 262 ("In the manner of a work of art, consciousness is a kind of distorted reflector of the manifold"); "Envoi", 270 ("Like a work of art, consciousness is a kind of concentrating reflector of the manifold spirit").
47 Cf. CAM, 297, citing Freud (*The Ego and the Id*) on the role of verbal images.
48 Cf. IS, 212 ("Mental processes […] in reality and in image"); "Envoi", 270 and 271 ("Consciousness is made up […] and in image"; "Mental processes […] basis of all projection") and CAM, 296 ("The expression of one thing […] a paramount characteristic of the mental life"). See also the "Introduction", 19.
49 In Freudian theory "the period which extends from the dissolution of infantile sexuality (at the age of five or six) to the onset of puberty, constituting a pause in the evolution of sexuality", and having "its origin in the dissolution of the Oedipus complex". It "represents an intensification of repression which brings about an amnesia affecting the earliest years, a transformation of object-cathexes into identifications with the parents, and a development of sublimations" (Laplanche, Lagache 1988, 234).
50 Cf. IS, f. 3*r*, 212 ("To project is to distort […] arrangement of space"); NBA, f. 13*r*, 263 ("With the aid of reason […] primary emotions"); "Envoi", 270 ("With the aid of reason […] primary emotions"; "To project is to distort […] arrangement of space") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 162: "Living is […] the infinite ramification of a few themes. And so, in the more profound contemplation of our lot, we may look upon the truth within in terms of an outside ramification, the exquisite arrangement of space").
51 Cf. ff. 13*r*-14*r*, 48 ("The thing-in-itself is always cold and abstract").
52 Cf. f. 10*r*, 44 ("as if I were a cinematographic film […] this film is projected") and *OIL* III, f. 38*r*, 124 ("In its larger facets […] in a glass").
53 For the "not-self" see the "Introduction", 13.
54 Cf. CAM, 298 ("The work of art […] appearance of reality") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 163: "Consciousness […] dream state").
55 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 163): "Yet even vast spaces are informed with our feelings, with images, maybe of our own insides. A film of *Les Misérables* shows once more the sewers of Paris. The hero, pursued, squanders his failing strength carrying the girl, foundering in the subterranean mud and cataracts […] images of the inside of the body". Film adaptations of the novel had been made by Raymond Bernard in 1934 and by Richard Boleslawski in 1935, both of which included the episode in which Jean Valjean escapes through the Paris sewers. AS might have seen either film in London – both were reviewed in *The Spectator* (14 December 1934 [Part I]; 3 May 1935) – or indeed both of them (and perhaps this is the meaning of "once more"). The 1935 version was screened in cinemas elsewhere in Cornwall between October and December 1939 (*Cornish Guardian*, 19 October 1939; *Newquay Express and Cornwall County Chronicle*, 12 and 26 October 1939; *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, 5 October, 16 November and 21 December 1939); and it would certainly be shown in St Ives itself in December 1941 (*St Ives Times*, 5 December 1941). The present passage, however, must have been written before 23 September 1939 (cf. *OIL* II, f. 22*r*, 88). AS was therefore probably writing from memory; and this might explain the curious slip (uncorrected in *IO*) whereby Valjean here carries "his girl" (or "the girl") through the sewers, rather than the wounded revolutionary Marius, as in the novel and as in both films. (In effectively assimilating *Les Misérables* to the genre of the Western, the mistake incidentally seems to confirm PF's sense that this was AS' favourite kind of film; see fn. 135.) Two details in AS' text – the hero is "pursued" and "his head submerges" – point to Boleslawski's as the film intended here, as these are both features of the relevant scene in that version, but are not present in Bernard's.
56 Cf. Stokes 1934a, 18: "the dull English sky like a tent of goatskin".
57 Cf. "Psycho-Analytic Reflections on the Development of Ball Games, particularly Cricket" (Stokes 1973, 45, 50): "With a study of each native air the cricket lover absorbs other qualities of the neighbourhood that more nearly suggest that he does, after all, cling by this means to an ideal of goodness. It is to drink in with the conflict a sunny day that a crowd arrives at Lord's: for, cricket seems to make the day even sunnier, and similarly the width of the sky, the size of the green. Contentment is of the kind that often leads to dozing: whether or not the game bores, it is remarkable, surely, that the sound of ball on bat should be so often accounted calming, soporific: these are inner objects that caress each other: the man in front of the Tavern at Lord's holding a glass of beer is for once appropriate to his surroundings […] From the game itself

we have the opportunity to feed richly off the wretchedness of our climate, the feebleness of the light, the plethora of grass. We chew the neighbourhood of village cricket […] This agricultural link [the unchanging length of the cricket pitch as constituting an agricultural chain] may recall the magical foundation on which fortune was believed to depend. I hope I may have said something that will help explain the homage of the spectators who approach and stare silently at these twenty-two yards during the lunch interval at Lord's. Even in so ugly an urban ground as the Oval we may become aware of a telluric significance to which potency of all the players, whether on the field or blazered in the pavilion, has contributed".

58 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 162-3): "The evening […] on the front".

59 WHO is placed here, not because it is known to have been written between April and September 1939, but because it evidently relates to the "Bitsey Grant" extravaganza in this first section of *OIL*. There are indeed no unequivocal internal or external clues as to when it was written. Dated texts in the same notebook (ASP, TGA 8816.53) span a period from 1938 to 1952. That WHO is physically adjacent to notes that must date from early in 1939 and (probably) the winter of 1939-40 and that it shares the phallic theme of the above passage in *OIL* suggest but cannot establish a date of 1939-40. Such a date might allow for its greater elaboration and freedom as well as its self-sufficiency. While it even more clearly reflects both "good" and "bad" aspects of AS'/"Mr B"'s penis fixation, WHO's vegetal and comestible metaphors are more varied and moments of lyricism leaven the burlesque it shares with the "Bitsey Grant" passage. Cf. *OIL* III, f. 44*r*, 131 and fn. 65.

60 Since 1985 known as Little Parc Owles, it now belongs to the Little Parc Owles Trust (LPOT), set up by its former owners Sir Geoffrey (1938-2017) and Lady Carol Holland (d. 2022).

61 According to a list of owners of and deeds to the house compiled by Carol Holland (LPOT).

62 Mellis 1939; 1977.

63 *OIL* I, f. 10*r*, 44.

64 See "Note on the Texts and Editorial Criteria", 35.

65 See the "Introduction", 8-9.

66 *OIL* II, f. 22*r*, 88.

67 Mellis 1993, tape F4129A; Lambirth 2010, 11-3.

68 Lambirth 2010, 14-5.

69 Mellis 1993, tape F4129B; Lambirth 2010, 16-8 (where the exhibition is incorrectly stated to have been held at the Jeu de Paume).

70 Mellis n.d.; 1937/1974/1975.

71 Wollheim 1980, 31; 1982; Read 1982, 53; 2002, 27. Cf. Marlborough 1965, [4] (1935); Sylvester 1988, 25 (not before 1935).

72 Mellis 1993, tape F4129B.

73 His death certificate (certified copy, Richard Wollheim Papers, University College, London [RWP UCL]) lists as causes of death pneumonia, post-encephalitic Parkinson's Disease and paralytic ileus.

74 Mellis 1937/1974/1975.

75 AS to ESW, letters dateable to late November and early December 1936, Edward Sackville-West Papers (ESWP), Berg Collection MSS, New York Public Library (BCMSS NYPL), folder 4/12, letters 6 and 7 and folder 12/12, letters 2, 3, 4 & 5; Mellis 1993, tape F4129B; Lambirth 2010, 22.

76 Laughton 1986, 146.

77 Marriage certificate (certified copy, RWP UCL); *The Scotsman*, 15 July 1938 (cutting in ASP, TGA 8816.251); AS to Ben Nicolson 20 July 1938, TGA 8717.1.2.4552; Mellis 1977; 1993, tape F4130A (where however MM gives both 14 and 12 July as the date of the wedding). Cf. Sayers [2015] 2018, 122 (16 July). AS had been thinking of getting married, though not to anyone in particular, already in the spring of 1936 (AS to OR n.d. [postmarked 6 March 1936], ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2128). MM would later state that they had seen a lot of each other after her arrival in London, but had not been having an affair, as had probably been supposed (Mellis 1993, tape F4130A). According to Hilary Spurling (2002, 31), in this period AS had had a three-week affair with Sonia Brownell (later Orwell) (1918-1980); cf. Read 2002, 28.

78 *News Chronicle*, [7 December?] 1939 **[fig. 17]**.

79 MM had been unwell since before the wedding and remained so for much of the honeymoon (AS to ESW n.d. [before 30 August 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 1; Mellis n.d).

80 In a letter to his friend, the South African painter and critic Frank Graham-Bell (1910-1943), who used and was known to friends by the name "Graham Bell" (GB) and was closely involved with the Euston Road School, AS would write, "What a feeling of doom one used to have at the A.B.C. I was always saying goodbye to the surrounding chimney pots" (AS to GB n.d. [after 28 October 1940], TGA 200214; cf. S&*R* (Stokes 1978, II, 246: "From an ABC restaurant in the month of Munich, I used to regard a dislocated perspective of chimney pots while reflecting that it was likely that not one of them would be extant in a year's time").

81 See below, 68.

82 Tate, London, T04123 (`https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/stokes-landscape-west-penwith-moor-t04123`). See further fn. 89.

83 In Marlborough 1965 (cats 7,9) both paintings are dated 1936 (if, that is, *Near Zennor*, listed as cat. 9, and described as on board, may be identified with the canvas of that title and of roughly corresponding dimensions purchased from the Marlborough that year by the Government Art Collection). AS would return to St Ives for a week in January 1938 (AS to ESW Monday [10 January 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL).

84 See "Background II", 104, 109, and "Background V", 183-5.

85 *OIL* I, f. 12*r*, 47.

86 AS to RB n.d. [January-February 1937], BRBML GEN MSS 605, box 14, folder 309.

87 Mellis 1993, tape F4131A.

88 AS to ESW n.d.[September 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 6.

89 In 1963 Peter Lanyon reminded AS that he had painted a landscape here "years ago" (P. Lanyon to AS 10 June 1963, ASP, TGA 8816.236). This had probably been at the start of 1937 (see above).

90 AS to ESW n.d. [September 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 6. Hyslop was "briefly the lover of the writer Raymond Mortimer and shared a home with him for the rest of Raymond's life" (De-la-Noy [1988] 1999, 122). There is a photograph of the young AS, probably taken at Oxford, in the Hyslop photograph album now at Princeton (Special

Collections, Firestone Library; https://graphicarts.princeton.edu/2021/04/20/geddes-paul-hyslops-photography-album/). Both Hyslop and AS are included in a list of names entered in his diary by ESW on 29 February 1928 and annotated in the margin, "The Colossus of Rhodes is built as far as this". Michael De-la-Noy ([1988] 1999, 122) suggests this may have been "a list of lovers and beloveds in order of preference". AS comes fifth and Hyslop sixth.

91 "A singularly inappropriate phrase for so isolated a house", he commented (AS to ESW n.d. [September 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 2). Eagle's Nest would later be the home of the painter Patrick Heron (1920-1999) (see "Background VII", 286 and "Background VIII", 312.

92 AS to ESW n.d. [September 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 6; Mellis 1993 (but this reports a maid at a window of the house saying it had been put on sale "today").

93 AS to ESW n.d. [September 1938], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 6.

94 AS had stayed at Walberswick with the Debenham family, who often visited there in the summer (Mellis 1993, tape F4130A). AS' former lover Violet Mary ("Mollie") Higgins (1901-1975) had married Gilbert Ridley Debenham (1906-2001) in 1935. AS' visit may have been in 1937, around the time he started at the School of Drawing and Painting in Fitzroy St: in a letter of 1941, a propos of his progress as a painter, he would remind GB of his (AS') early "efforts to draw at Walberswick" (AS to GB n.d. [postmarked 3 September 1941], TGA 200214). AS was interested in a house he had seen at Walberswick and had asked Audrey Debenham (1906-1986), Gilbert's twin, to let him know if it became available, which she failed to do (Mellis 1993, tape F4130A). Audrey's sister, the painter Alison Debenham (1903-1967), had owned the Martello Tower at Aldeburgh since 1936 and AS also considered purchasing this from her (Mellis 1993, tape F4130A; personal conversation with TrS, 2025). At the start of WWII the tower would be requisitioned as an anti-aircraft post (https://www.landmarktrust.org.uk/properties/martello-tower/#history-&-restoration); cf. Collins 1999, 71. See fn. 159.

95 AOP to GB, n.d. [postmarked 31 July 1939], TGA 200214. For a later photograph of AOP see Figure 55.

96 AS to ESW n.d. [14 March 1939], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 3.

97 Mellis 1977; cf. Stokes 1978, II, 218.

98 Cf. *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 218): "I had first glanced up at the house from the side-lane, below what was to be my room **[fig. 15]**. I had experienced a quick hallucination – a picture without figures as I gazed on a central slatted feature roofed with copper, carrying the weather vane – a sensation of small stature and the thronging cries of children issuing like bees from this granite hive". The lantern seems to have been modelled on a similar feature, also slatted and with a ball finial, on the roof of the early nineteenth-century Market House in Fore St, St Ives. The body of the lantern at LPO has since been rebuilt, perhaps after the fire that led to the remodelling of the central portion of the interior (personal conversations with Carol Holland, 2011) and has lost its distinctive slats and its weathervane.

99 AS to ESW n.d. [14 March 1939], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 3; Mellis 1977. Kennedy had married Mary, the daughter of the artist Millie Dow, owner by 1910 of Tremedda farm. This was managed by his stepdaughter Elsie Pilcher, later Mrs Maurice Griggs, whose mother-in-law was well-known to visitors (among them ESW) "as a landlady and provider of cream teas" (Symons 1992, 3-6, 142). AS and MM themselves had tea with her on this house-hunting visit, but she was unable to put them up (AS to ESW n.d., ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 12/12, letter 6). They knew or had an introduction to Kennedy, on whom they called on 21 February, before leaving London, only to find him out (Mellis 1939).

100 Carol Holland, personal communication, 2011.

101 Mellis 1977. See also *OIL* IV, f. 47*r*, 153; "On Home Guard night-watches", 181. The lighthouse had inspired Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* ([1927] 1970) (see fn. 14 [78]).

102 This identification of "front" and "back" dates either to the very end of Mrs Lewis-Thomas' time (see below) or else to AS' own. In an interview with Carol Holland in 2006, Dorothy Floyd, who was in service at LPO from 1933 to 1939, identified the main entrance to the house as that on its north side, off Wheal Margery, which leads down to the lane passing between the sea-end of LPO and Tremorna. She referred to that now on Pannier Lane as "the back entrance".

103 Cf. *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 217): "One walked in at the top floor of the house and could then go down to other rooms since the garden fell away in high, broad terraces".

104 Stokes 1978, I, 58-60. Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978 II, 157: "Meanwhile in a straight passage the train was passing houses on every level to the line, now above them, now on a level with the second storey, now at the foot, now crossing a great viaduct. I had the sensation of passing through the inside as well as along the outside of the houses: never before had I been so much at home"). See also the "Introduction", 16-17.

105 E. Mitchell & Sons to AS 19 October 1938, ASP, TGA 8816.249.

106 See immediately below and "Background IV", 172, and "Background V", 194.

107 Widow of Evan Lewis-Thomas, K.C. (1858-1935).

108 E. Mitchell & Sons to AS 9 September 1938, ASP, TGA 8816.249.

109 G. Cock (Director, J. Lanham Ltd) to AS 18 October 1938, ASP, TGA 8816.249.

110 Cf. G. Cock to AS 2 January 1939, ASP, TGA 8816.249; list of deeds to the house compiled by Carol Holland; note of expenses relating to LPO in ASP, TGA 8816.53, which lists, against the date 29 January 1939, a sum of £3000 as due to Mrs Lewis-Thomas and additional sums of £330, against the date 30 January, as owed to Borlase and Venning (solicitors, Penzance) and of £60.5.5, against the date 12 March, as owed to D. Mascie Taylor (a solicitor at St Ives). AS perhaps initially paid £3000, then increased the sum to £3300 or £3330.

111 *Times*, 18 March 1939 (quoted in Knox 2003, 410); cf. Mellis 1939.

112 AS to ESW n.d. [annotated 14 March 1939], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 3.

113 Mellis 1977.

114 Stokes 1997-98, tape F6062A. A list of "House expenses" for LPO dated between 22 January and 12 March [1939] (ASP, TGA 8816.53)

includes an "EMG Gramophone" priced £16.18. This seems to have been a wedding present from MM's parents: she informed them, soon after moving in, that she had had it "electrified" (MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM). In personal memories of AS communicated to Janet Sayers in 2007, the teacher and writer Albert Rowe (1915-2007), the grandson of the painter Alfred Wallis' stepson Albert Ward (see Rowe 2002), recalled being invited to LPO to listen to music, "chiefly […] Mozart", which, heard through the gramophone's "huge curled" and "state of the art" acoustic horn "was a revelation". He particularly relished the memory of "Adrian's delight at his listeners' delight". Cf. fn. 43. For Wallis, see below in the text.

115 AS to BN n.d. [before 22 April 1939], TGA 8717.1.2.4555.

116 Tate Britain, London, T00050 (https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/nicholson-june-1937-painting-t00050). See "Background VIII", 308.

117 MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM; Mellis 1981.

118 MM to MMM 13 January 1940, EMM. TrS remembers AS running against the painting with his car while it was stored in the garage (personal conversation, August 2025). "Peggy's room" (studio) was Identified by Ann Mellis Stokes Angus (1922-2014) (AM) in a personal conversation, 2011.

119 Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT, B1995.26 (https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:1443).

120 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 3 September 1941], TGA 200214.

121 MM would later tell Andrew Lambirth that eventually "Adrian took them down because everybody wanted to look at them and not at 'our things'" (Lambirth 2010, 43).

122 Mellis 1993, tape F4130A. Arts Council 1968 included thirty-one paintings by AW from AS' collection (twenty-one framed and ten unframed), as well as a sketchbook (the Grey Book; see "Background VI", 237, fn. 123). Of the thirty-one paintings, six were said to have been painted before 1936, two in 1936 and on pieces of wood given to AW by AS (the two later presented to the Tate, for which see the next note), while four were said to be late and nineteen had no date assigned to them.

123 Tate Britain (T00220), online catalogue entry (https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/wallis-voyage-to-labrador-t00220). Cf. Arts Council 1968, cat. 128 (*Voyage to Labrador*: "Purchased by Adrian Stokes in 1936"); Mullins 1967, 33 ("He [AS] first went to see him late in 1936, and found the little room crammed with paintings […] Stokes bought some on this occasion") and Mellis 1993, tape F4130A ("it was one of the first things he [AS] ever said when I went to see him in London [in the spring of 1937] he said there was this amazing painter and that he'd bought a whole lot and he thought they would be very expensive later on but at the moment they were only about 2 shillings and I was rather shocked because I thought it wasn't fair to buy them for such a rotten little price then when Adrian had plenty of money and I was really surprised that they thought it was alright to buy them for those prices"). (MM's testimony is inaccurately summarized in Webb 2025, 408: "Stokes told her he had bought Alfred's paintings for a few shillings in the belief they would become valuable later on".) AS would give *Voyage to Labrador* and another painting acquired at the same time, *Schooner under the Moon* (Arts Council 1968, cat. 124; Tate St Ives, T00219), to the Tate in 1958 (the first paintings by AW to enter a public collection in Britain).

124 Stokes 1978, II, 32-3. This analysis of a single painting predates and is considerably more penetrating than HR's rather bland and generic appraisal of AW' work in Read 1938; and it was roughly contemporary with the lectures on AW given in America by another collector of his work, Harold Stanley ("Jim") Ede (1895-1990), but not published.

125 AS would describe the room in *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 217-18): "My own room at the sea end of the house, half outside our garden boundary, looked on to the torsos or tops of many trees sapient, it appeared, in their arrest of the gardens and terraces of the gradual cliff. Beneath the nearer branches I could see across the bay to Hayle and to the sand dunes that curve round to the point of Godrevy lighthouse. The bay was often pure green; the wind would drive the surface sea-green wrinkles shorewards where they would be lost among the roots of the lower trees or be rediscovered after contact with the stabilizing, temperate earth, in the topmost plumes of firs".

126 Mellis 1981; 1993; personal conversations with AM and TrS.

127 MM to DM & MMM 24 April 1939, EMM: "We have got our cellar stacked with 70 bottles of wine from the wine society".

128 See "Background IV", 169.

129 If not by AS and MM, this may have been opened not long before they moved there. It does not seem to be present in Figure 14, which though forming part of EMM may have been taken in the previous owner's time.

130 AS to ESW n.d. [14 March 1939], BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 3.

131 MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM. William Dunstan Stevens (1922-2004) (WS) – not, as stated by MM to her parents, then fourteen – had worked under the former gardener, Thomas Henry Farrell (1897-1966) (Mellis 1981). After Mrs Lewis-Thomas sold the house, Farrell had gone with his wife Susan (1901-1970) to work for her at Newton Abbot, Devon, where they were registered on 29 September 1939 (England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/68761/006/14-15). WS would be the gardener at LPO until 1942, when he was called up (see "Background IV", 167, "Background V", 185, 191, 194, 198; "Background VI", 240, and "Background VII", 282). Farrell would return to LPO, probably some time in 1944 (see "Background VII", 286).

132 AS to BN n.d. [before 22 April 1939], TGA 8717.1.2.4555. The stubborn retired headmaster was Edward Bruce Forrest (1879-1959), formerly of the Wood Green County School and the King's School, Pontefract (*Wood Green, Southgate and Palmer's Green Herald*, 2 October 1942); see "Background VIII", 310 and fn. 81.

133 Another, *White Still Life* (Private Collection), is reproduced in Lambirth 2010, fig. 18.

134 Cf. Mellis 1977; 1939 (entries for 28 and 30 May).

135 The Royal, still (2025) functioning, opened that very summer, on 23 June (*St Ives Times*), replacing the Palace (which became the Palais de Danse and later still the studio of Barbara Hepworth, for whom see below) as St Ives' second cinema (the Scala, now a Boots chemist's, had

opened after WWI). According to AM (personal conversation), AS, MM and she would go to the cinema "as often as possible". And PF would recall how "Adrian liked going to the cinema [..] we used to walk down usually on Saturday afternoons he didn't mind what film it was, he liked Westerns, I think those were almost his favourite films at that time [cf. fn. 55]. The Lord Mayor of St. Ives owned the cinema palace and was well-known to Adrian" (Freeman 1973). The Mayor, William Cecil Drage (1887-1972), owned both the Royal and the Scala, as he had the Palace too. See "On Home Guard night-watches", 181; "Background VI", 225.

136 Mellis 1939.

137 MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM. She seems already to have met AK in London in April 1937 (Mellis n.d.).

138 And nicknamed by AS "'the white nigger' on account of his full lips and very curly hair", a tag he "didn't mind", reporting it "with a smile" (personal communications from Virginia Kennerley, AK's elder daughter [VK], 2012). AK was the son of Sydney Kent (b. 1866 in Jondaryan, New South Wales), a doctor from Bexhill-on-Sea, and Katherine Louisa Maud Parsons (1866-1945).

139 See "Background IV", 160.

140 See [Macleod] 1933, 15. At the Slade he had been awarded second prize for painting from the cast (personal conversation with Josephine Read [1924-2020], AK's second wife, 2012; information from Slade School).

141 In the spring of 1936, writing from Totnes, AS told OR that he had just been in Cornwall, but not that he had been painting there (AS to OR n.d. [postmarked 6 March 1936], ORP, BRBML, YCAL MSS 54, series II, box 79, folder 2128). If his first painting was indeed made on the lawn of the Porthminster Hotel in St Ives, as stated in Wollheim 1982, this probably was not, as there suggested, *Waiting for the Net* (1936), but the view of the hotel gardens (recognizable from contemporary photographs) exhibited in Serpentine 1982 (cat. 3) under the mistaken title *Landscape, Garden at Pangbourne* (present whereabouts unknown). Nor is there any evidence that AS' first painting, if made at St Ives, was so "on a short holiday […] with his friend Adrian Kent, who was deputed to discuss with him the theory of colour" (Wollheim 1982). This circumstance was perhaps inferred by Wollheim from the Preface to *C&F*, where AK is thanked as the author's "companion in the initial studies concerning colour" (Stokes 1978, II, 10). However, the dedication more probably refers to earlier discussion, during the time AS and AK spent together in Italy and/or painting at Dartington in 1936 and 1937 (see below and "Background IV", 166).

142 In an undated letter to RB sent from the Seymour Hotel in Totnes, probably before 7 March 1936 (it apparently refers, as still ongoing, to the Royal Academy's International Exhibition of Chinese Art, which closed on that date), AS reported that he was "living more or less at Dartington" and spending "most of [his] time trying to paint" (RBP, BRBML, GEN MSS 605, box 14, folder 309). He also reported that he was "now alright" after "two more operatons". AS' friend the connoisseur and collector William Wilberforce Winkworth (1897-1991) would later state, in a letter to the Director of the Tate Gallery (6 February 1973, TGA 734), that AS had taken to drawing after "a minor surgical operation and was in bed". This was probably in London immediately before moving to Totnes (where his doctor knew another who could supervise his recovery) (AS to RB n.d. [Isokon letterhead], RBP, BRBML, GEN MSS 605, box 14, folder 309). Totnes of course also had the advantage of being close to Dartington.

143 *News of the Day*, 9 June 1933, Dartington Hall Trust Atchive, South West Heritage Trust, Taunton (DHTA).

144 Kay was the daughter of Surgeon-Commander S.H. Facey, R.N.. After graduating in English from Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, she had worked as secretary to Richard de la Mare (1901-1986), a Director of Faber and Faber (from 1932 AS' publisher) (*Bexhill-on-Sea Observer*, 29 March 1930; VK, personal communication, 2012).

145 VK, personal communications, 2012; AK to BL 29 March [1933], Bernard Leach Archive, Crafts Study Centre, University for the Creative Arts, Farnham (BLA CSCF). AK had confided in BL that what he wanted from Dartington was time to do his own work "and a decent salary, paid for work which is concerned with building up by right education an appreciation & an understanding of artistic values – not just 'taste', but something more rooted in life – on the estate".

146 He is seen, seated to the right, in Figure 20.

147 *News of the Day*, January-March 1933; December 1933, DHTA; letters from AK to BL, BLA CSCF; VK, personal communications, 2012.

148 AK to AS & MM 6 April [1939], EMM.

149 Mellis 1939 (entries for 9, 21 and 29 April); MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM.

150 Elizabeth and David had met at Dartington. Elizabeth was then expecting their first child, John Henry, born 21 July (VK, personal communication, 2012).

151 MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM.

152 Mellis 1977.

153 Cooper 2003, 233. The horse (now in a private collection) was placed on the roof ridge above the sitting-room, as may be seen in Figure 52. The artist and writer Sven Berlin (1911-1999) (SB), who worked in the market garden at LPO in 1941 (see "Background V", 188-9), later recalled seeing and admiring on its roof a "pottery horse and rider" by BL (Berlin 1994, 229). Conversely, Sheila and Andrew Lanyon, widow and son of Peter Lanyon, who owned LPO between the 1950s and 1960s, have confirmed that the horse was without a rider (personal conversation, 2011 and personal communication, 2025). SB may have confused it in his memory with locally extant horse-and-rider groups made by BL and other members of the Old Cornwall Society in the 1920s, in an attempt to revive the antique Cornish tradition of equestrian ridge tiles (Sloan, Smith 2017). Curiously, though, the confusion seems justified by AS' reported remark to SB that BL's sculpture had "something to do with the first express post". The horse-and-rider groups have similarly been explained as traditionally signalling the presence of a post house (David Wilkinson, personal conversation, 2011). In Sloan, Smith 2017, on the other hand, they are said to relate to "the decorative tile tradition of the region" and in particular to medieval relief carvings of St George and the dragon, which, placed over doors, "marked a secure and safe place to visit".

154 Mellis 1977 mentions Victor Pasmore (see "Background I", 76), Thelma Hulbert (1913-1995) and Catherine Sinclair (1919-2007).

155 Mellis 1939. Among other ballets, they attended the première of *Paganini* on 30 June.
156 *OIL* I, ff. 12*r*-13*r*, 47-8.
157 Stokes 1978, II, 218.
158 If the series was published in sequence, the article on AS (no. 40) would have come out before that on MM (no. 41), which seems to have been printed on 7 December 1939 (there is a reference in a neighbouring article to Christmas preparations on the part of their home municipality – Acton – for evacuee children remaining in Totnes despite the general drift back to London after the first few months of the "Phoney War"). However, MM seems to have given her interview before 24/25 August, when AS had not yet responded to the *Chronicle*'s invitation (AS to BN, n.d. [before 24 August 1939], TGA 8717.1.2.4556).
159 GB and their friends called AOP Olivier (the unmarried name of her mother Brynhild, a cousin of the actor Laurence Olivier) to distinguish her from his wife Anne Bilbrough, whom he had married in 1937 but hoped to divorce and whose "real name", according to AOP (personal conversation, 2012), was Eileen. On 29 September 1939 she was indeed registered as Eileen A. Graham Bell and as living in the Martello Tower at Aldeburgh (England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6614A/025/37). GB, on the other hand, was registered (as a "journalist") at Rodwell House in Gipping, Suffolk, the home of Helen Anrep (1885-1965), where he was living and painting (England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6639K/006/16). Eileen would later marry Gerald Reitlinger (1900-1978). For the Aldeburgh Martello Tower see fn. 94.
160 AS to GB Sunday [9 April 1939?], TGA 200214.
161 Laughton 1986, 183-200.
162 AS to RG n.d. [postmarked 18 January 1929], RGP, CUL, C4/6/3; cf. Read 1998, 75, which quotes from "unedited tapes" of an interview with AS' Rugby friend, the scholar William Douglas Robson-Scott (1903-1981) (WRS) made for Rhode 1973a: "in the late 'twenties' Pound had deeply influenced his politics' so that he 'justified Fascism as a reaction against liberal democracy'".
163 Stokes 1930, 494.
164 Invited in June 1937 by Nancy Cunard (1896-1965) and others to submit a statement for or against Republican Spain, Franco and fascism to the *Left Review*, AS had responded, "I am against Franco and Fascism". A few months later he had asked to replace this with the statement, "I am against Franco and international Fascism". While "disliking it in the abstract", he had explained, he had never felt under obligation to condemn "in all its aspects, actual Fascism in Italy". It had even pleased him that the Italians had thereby demonstrated that they were not, as the English thought, "a race of organ grinders". If they had also shown themselves to be bullies, he disliked but could not condemn this behaviour, since it was the only way, he supposed, for them to avoid *being* bullied. If Mussolini had not held to the view that "Fascism was not for export", this was principally the fault of England, which had forced him "to throw in his lot with the detestable Nazis". AS declared himself ready to condemn the idea of fascism as "a cultural and international force", even though this might cost him entry to Italy, with which his "whole life [was] bound up". It would therefore be a relief to him, he confessed, if his statement were omitted altogether. And so indeed it was (AS to N. Cunard 10 August [1937] Nancy Cunard Papers [21.3 Letters regarding "Questionnaire on the Spanish war and poems about Spain"], Harry Ransom Center, Austin, Texas).
165 AOP (personal conversation, 2011) thought that AS and MM might have taken part in the preparation of a series of banners enlarged from Goya's *Disasters of War*, which GB had persuaded the members of the Euston Road School to paint for an "Arms for Spain" demonstration in Trafalgar Square. This took place on 12 February 1939 (Laughton 1986, 183, 198). By contrast, Read 1982 (54) states that AS and MM designed a "poster" for "an anti-Franco demonstration at Trafalgar Square in May [1938]" and reproduces a photograph of AS and GB in Trafalgar Square there dated "1938" (as it had been in Townsend 1976, when first published, uncredited [46]). Sayers [2015] 2018 (122) reproduces the same photograph, dating it "May Day 1938". Though there was a "mass march organized by the Popular Front […] against fascist forces in Spain" on 1 May 1938 (Laughton 1986, 183), Sayers seems to have confused this with the occasion for which the Goya banners were prepared a year later (Sayers [2015] 2018, 121). In any case, if the photograph was indeed taken at a political demonstration in Trafalgar Square, this cannot have been on 1 May 1938, as GB was in Bolton at that time. Nor could it have been on 12 February 1939, since he was then in Dublin (Laughton 1986, 188, 198).
166 Mellis 1993, tape F4130A.
167 ASP, TGA 8816.53 (passage dated September 1938).
168 His mother, Ethel Alice Stokes (1872-1951), was the daughter of Philip Leon (1839-1879) and Alice Montefiore (1848-1940) and granddaughter of Lewis Leon (1813-1877) and Rebecca Pollock (1808-1845). Her great-grandfather Judah (b. 1777) was the cousin of Sir Moses Haim Montefiore (1784-1884). According to MM, "Adrian was pleased about the Montefiore but not about being Jewish. He ignored all his mothers relations but he quite admired his grandmother who he could not ignore" (MM to R.Wollheim 18 May 1982, RWP UCL).
169 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 30*r*, 98.
170 See *OIL* III, f. 44*r*, 130-1.
171 MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM.
172 Mellis 1939.
173 Laughton 2004, 61. For a later photograph of WC see Figure 55.
174 *St Ives Times*, 1 September 1939.
175 AS to ESW n.d. [after 25 August and before 1 September 1939], BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 8; Mellis 1993.



Figure 24
Leonardo da Vinci,
A Woman in a Landscape.
c. 1517-18.
Black chalk on paper

II. "It means nothing to be disillusioned"
1939-40

It means nothing to be disillusioned. The world is what we make it. It is absurd to be so influenced philosophically by the world-picture of destruction, suffering and brutality today. One should have known that such awfulness has always been rampant. That our world is threatened with it should make no difference to one's deeper equanimity. It does so, of course, because such things become the focal point of our own anxieties, of our fear of destruction within. The outer situation seems to give a chance to all that we abhor within: and the world becomes empty. I have received a harsh internal blow over Italy[1] who has figured for me as a good mother.[2] Can I trust the Bay of Naples any more? I have become diffident on every point, with the help[a] of approaching middle age. Looking back on one's youth, one cannot forsake it: yet one can see the translation or sublimation of that super-energy into forms of hope and enthusiasm. The life-blood of middle age and old age is the same but mitigated.

Who can say "turmoil of the mind"?[3] The mind moves as does the wrinkling skin upon a calm sea.[b] The underneath is set and no less deep than is the sea[c] beneath the skin.[4] Body is as land, mind as sea. Consciousness is no more of the mind than is the surface of the sea.

a *on every point, with the help*: on every point: with the help

b *the wrinkling skin upon a calm sea*: the <sk> wrinkling skin upon <the sea> a calm sea

c *the sea*: the <skin> sea

And just as the surface lies bang opposite to the sky,[a] and, indeed, is thus to be defined, so does consciousness lie opposite the external world.[b|5]

The most one can expect of an art critic is[c] that he should thoroughly understand in what lies the merit of the kind of art that he prefers.

Intimation from the soil and from the sky brought along a warm wind, are images also of the within. Hitler, too, and all the crises[d] [f. 22*r*][e] are within us. And I see bare trees rising from a rhododendron grove[6] like certain paramount forces from the mind. They are what is evident[f] and of the day. They are extraordinarily clear. They are an image of the mind's aspiration, of the mind, the image-fabricator.[7]

The infinitesimal rareness of life, the sub-microscopic rareness of life in the universe – may it not be possible in a full realization of this for man to find a solidarity with his fellows and the natural world? Perhaps not, failing an astronomical interference[g] with his world.

The earth is between six and seven thousand times as old as man, and life is about a thousand times older than man. There are no more than ten thousand generations behind each of us. One representative from each generation would make a very thin crowd at Lord's. And yet we destroy each other; and yet[h] we destroy each other. Life is so rare, civilization brand new.[i] The war has been on three weeks and I have not had the heart to write in this book. Freud who died yesterday[8] is the only hope for our survival today. The truth he gave to the world cannot bear fruit[j] in this generation. There is small prospect for me and my friends[k] and the world I know.

There is only man and his stage; but you[l] cannot refer to one without the other. "Where every prospect pleases and only man is vile":[9] that train of thought[m] is not profound. Those who exclaim at the incredible meanness and dirtiness of human behaviour and [the] human condition[n] are not justified in finding[o] the true contrast to it in the freedom of the wind or the noble

a *the surface lies bang opposite to the sky*: the surface lies <bang> {bang} opposite to the sky [TS] the surface of the sea lies bang opposite to the sky

b *Who can say* […] *the external world*: [whole paragraph except interlinear "bang" in pen]

c *The most one can expect of an art critic is*: The most one can expect of an art critic {is} [pencil resumes here]

d *all the crises*: all the crisis [TS] all the crises ["crises" typed over "crisis"]

e [f. 21*v* blank; f. 22*r* numbered top right] 15

f *They are what is evident*: They are <[illegible]> what is evident

g *failing an astronomical interference*: <without> {failing} an astronomical interference

h *each other; and yet*: each other: and yet

i *civilization brand new*: civilization <brand> {brand} new

j *today. The truth he gave to the world cannot bear fruit*: today <->. <t>The truth he gave to the world <it> cannot bear fruit

k *me and my friends*: [TS, corrected in pen] me <f>or my friends

l *his stage; but you*; his stage: but you

m *only man is vile": that train of thought*: only man is vile", that train of thought

n *and [the] human condition*: and human condition

o *not justified in finding*: not <at liberty to find> {justified in finding}

downs rather than in the mental apparatus of Mozart. The freedom of the downs is but an image on a vaster and substituted scale[a] of nobility in man.

And then this mind. Reading this morning a book on prosody,[b] I was reminded of the morning lectures at Oxford. The serried hall, the brushed hair, gowns bent over notes, the still, heavy shoes,[c] the waistcoated, ash-faced lecturer,[d] the knowledge – the knowledge superimposed upon craving in bed that morning, matutinal anxiety and hurry and despair, so that the knowledge imbibed contained threat and [f. 23*r*][e] parched lust,[f] and each head its dismay.[10] To learn and to go to the lavatory[g] or have the wrong breakfast; the complexities of Aristotle became[h] synonymous with the complexities of one's inside, both mental and physical. It is the same in church and in religion. That cursory and passive spiritual spring-clean[i] in church and the very brush is oily, and evil breath comes out with the prayer. Nevertheless the ranks of worshippers stand and they kneel, each man docile and isolated in wickedness, or so he feels. The coils of doctrine are like his intestines: he faces east for the creed[j] just as he may eschew the left side to sleep on. But church gives space and dryness to his interior hall, filled though it be with dank prayer books and resounding heavy pews and fumbling hassocks.[11]

The furious impertinence of Hitler is but the bullying[k] and lying of all advertisement. We are fed each day, we of the modern world, on lying insistence[l] and the technique of hypnotic persuasion. The modern press is the child of advertisement. The most radical movement I can think of as a single cure to the modern world, would be one whose members undertook not to buy goods which advertised wherever a choice existed; or those which advertised least.[m] A successful movement of this kind would undercut all the modern and more pestilential varieties of exploitation of people's stupidity, a technique that is vastly more developed than it has ever been before. That technique has been built up[n] in

a *on a vaster and substituted scale*: on <v>a <vaster> vaster and substituted scale [TS] on vaster and substituted scale

b *prosody*: [TS, corrected in pen] <p>{P}rosody

c *the still, heavy shoes*: the still <sho> heavy shoes

d *the waistcoated, ash-faced lecturer*: the waistcoated <lecturer> ash-faced lecturer

e [f. 22*v* blank; f. 23*r* numbered top right] 16

f *the knowledge* […] *parched lust*: [TS, the phrases "craving in bed" and "and parched lust" entered in pen by AS in spaces left blank by typist]

g *go to the lavatory*: [TS, corrected in pen] go to <school> {the lavatory}

h *breakfast; the complexities of Aristotle became*: breakfast, <[illegible]> the complexities of Aristotle, became

i *passive spiritual spring-clean*: passive <spri> spiritual spring-clean

j *the creed*: [TS] the Creed

k *but the bullying*: but {the} bullying

l *on lying insistence*: on <insist> lying insistence

m *a choice existed; or those which advertised least*: a choice existed: or <in the latter case> {<where choice [illegible]>} those which advertised least

n *has been built up*: has been <learnt> {built up}

the advertising and journalistic professions. Napoleon was the founder,[a] and typically enough, the first modern journalist.[12] Exploitation, of course, would go on; and the organization[b] of the modern world makes it especially easy on a scale hitherto not thought of. One must try to undercut the roots of exploitation's modern growth. This [f. 24*r*][c] exploitation today is only greater because the scale is greater and because it has hastily taken the place with huge success of the stronger old forms such as religion.[13]

The few primary sources of action[d] may be compared with the very limited number of different types of atoms[e] of which the universe is composed, at any rate on the surface of its bodies.[14]

The theorem of equipartition[f] of energy is truly remarkable. Energy throughout the universe tends to equal out in extent.[g] The greater body does not absorb the smaller. Those stars that started with more than their fair share of energy are forced finally to hand it over to the lesser stars, so that in the long run there is equality. It is the same with the system of molecules.[15]

Painting, at its highest, is taking things to pieces and putting them together again;[16] a direct re-creation,[h] then, of a primary state, since the child is often bent upon putting together again what in fantasy[i] he has destroyed, bitten or torn to bits.[17] One wonders how much this same situation is a main-spring in all art.[18] Now, in painting, the most usual, historically speaking, manner of reconstituting[j] an object is to re-create an image[k] of the object or, generally speaking, the object itself as expressed by its essence, rather than its actual appearance. This is the manner of all conceptual art.[19] The further development, in European art at any rate, is to reconstitute this image, but only,[l] or very largely, in terms[m] of its actual appearance.[20] This is, I think, a great advance, even though it lends itself to every kind of perversion of the artistic activity, unlike the more direct image-making. The image is expressed unconsciously by a great artist in this way: most of his conscious attention is devoted to the systematizing of its appearance by which the image is expressed thus unconsciously. This

a *Napoleon was the founder*: Napoleon <is> {was} the founder

b *would go on; and the organization*: would go on: and the organization

c [f. 23*v* blank except for small doodle top right; f. 24*r* numbered top right] 17

d *sources of action*: sources of <the> action

e *the very limited number of different types of atoms*: the very limited number of atoms of different <character> {types} [the phrase "of atoms" is encircled and repositioned by means of an arrow] [TS] the very limited number of different types of atoms

f *equipartition*: [TS] equi-partition [correction in pen indicating de-hyphenization]

g *Energy throughout the universe tends to equal out in extent*: <Matter> {Energy} throughout the universe tends to equal out in <size> {extent}

h *together again; a direct re-creation*: together again: a direct re-creation

i *fantasy*: [TS] phantasy

j *manner of reconstituting*: [TS, corrected in pen] manner {of} reconstituting

k *an image*: <the> an image

l *this image, but only*: this image but only

m *only, or very largely, in terms*: only, <in terms> or very largely, in terms

is a more adult[a] and more subtle mode of organization, a greater adventure[b] for the creative faculty in which it may well be lost; just as it is so often by children as they grow up and attempt [f. 25*r*][c] in their drawing a greater fidelity to appearance. When all is said and done, amid our many experiments in painting, from abstraction and cubism to surrealism, I believe one day that it will be clear that the main stress of modern painting,[d] in spite of academic art, is a stress upon fidelity to appearance, an image expressed more thoroughly in terms of appearance.[21] Both Impressionism and Cézanne were a stress[e] upon appearance, a moving away from the conventions, particularly of light,[22] which are apparent in eighteenth-century and earlier treatment of composition.[f] The essence of appearance was not taken so literally:[g] it was not searched for. But the superficial aspects of appearance were skilfully blent,[h] since Renaissance times, with image-making. Post-Renaissance art may be seen as a half-way house between primitive image making and what one might describe as Cézanne's revolution; because[i] he is the big figure, even though his forerunners, as far back as Constable[j] and others, are numerous.[23] Attachment to appearance, of course, exists in variable degrees[k] in image-making art; just as[l] the image must come through in the art that consciously explores appearance, if it is to be true art. It is a matter of degree. Bad popular art expresses ignorance[m] of the foundation of art, of the re-creation[n] of an image or object in the aesthetic sense. Here we have an expression of the appearance without the image. A more profound attachment to the appearance could not bring this about. The image will find its way, not into mere disjointed or literal appearance,[o] but into an appearance that is systematized while not straying away from the basic proportions, both of form and tone and colour of the appearance. It is much more easily transmuted and expressed by a parallel image. The art of image-making

a *This is a more adult*: [TS] This is the more adult

b *a greater adventure*: an {greater} adventure

c [f. 24*v* blank; dried rose leaf inserted between leaves; f. 25*r* numbered top right] 18

d *it will be clear that the main stress of modern painting*: it will be <clear> {clear} that the main <line> {stress} of modern painting

e *Impressionism and Cézanne were a stress*: Impressionism and Cézanne <was> {were} a stress

f *which are apparent in eighteenth-century and earlier treatment of composition*: which <is> {are} apparent in eighteenth century and earlier <painting> treatment of composition

g *so literally*: [TS] so literally then

h *skilfully blent*: skillfully blent

i *Cézanne's revolution; because*: Cézanne's revolution because

j *as far back as Constable*: {as far} back <to> {as} Constable

k *variable degrees*: [TS, corrected in pen] vari<able>{ous} degrees

l *in image-making art; just as*: in image-making art just as

m *expresses ignorance*: <is> {expresses} ignorance

n *of the re-creation*: {of} the re-creation

o *disjointed or literal appearance*: disjointed {or literal} appearance



Scuola di Ballo

SCUOLA DI BALLO (The School of Ballet)
A comedy by Goldoni adapted by Massine
Music by Boccherini. Orchestrated by J. Francaix
Choregraphy by Massine
Scenery and costumes by Count de Beaumont
Scenery executed by Prince Schervachidze
First performed in 1933.

Scuola di Ballo is the third of what might be called Massine's Commedia dell' Arte ballets, the other two being *The Good-humoured Ladies* and *Pulcinella*. Only the latter, strictly speaking, deals with Commedia dell' Arte figures, but the same type of Italian *genre* belongs to all three.

The plot of *Scuola di Ballo* is taken from a Goldoni comedy. The iron lamp that hangs over the middle of the stage (the lamp is lit presently), the iron fan-work between the arches of the background, suggest in a form of lightness suitable to the stage, the water entrance, the cavernous hall to a Venetian palace, a meeting-place, an indoor *campo* where every Venetian plot may thicken. At the same time this hall is the airy *salotto* of Rigadon's dancing academy.

The ballet has a most charming and impressive opening. As the neat overture ends the curtain rises

13. *Scuola di Ballo*: Riabouchinska and Massine as Rosina and Carlino.

Figure 25 Raoul Barbà, *Tatiana Riabouchinska and Léonide Massine as Rosina and Carlino in* Scuola di Ballo. Plate 13, Adrian Stokes, *Russian Ballets* (1935)



Figure 26 Hugh P. Hall, *The Original Ballet Russe in* Scuola di Ballo*, His Majesty's Theatre, Melbourne, May 1940*

via a far greater degree[a] of appearance is much more difficult: it is also more adult, since the conscious mind exerts[b] a greater apprehension of actualities.[c] It is unlikely to produce so extensive an art as the earlier positions.[d]

[f. 26*r*][e] 'Pleasing the eye' in commerce rarely serves truth.[f] It is, very likely, the activity[g] most hostile to truth and to economy. All papers whose columns must reach the foot whether there is a lot or little to say, are a good example.[h|24] We pay very highly for the 'attractive' appearance of all merchandise, apart from advertisement. Such 'pleasing the eye'[i] stimulates credulity and belief in magic. What-looks-good-is-good formula belongs to our medieval mind,[j] to put it no further back. I cannot attribute[k] attractiveness of appearance in every day things, a flattering neatness for the most part, to the ideals of the ideal future.[l|25]

Leonardo combined in his work an engrossment with organic vitality and the classicism of his time. It is much the same in classical ballet. The Pas de deux[m] is Leonardesque both in feeling and in shape, the gradual building of the pale pyramid;[n] and surely the ballerina often merits Pater's description of the Mona Lisa, the bit about "wrought outwardly cell by cell upon the flesh".[26] Ballet is a product of the mannerist art that sprang from Leonardo. It is today the last art in the grand manner, and in classical ballet it has got behind its origin to its source, the initial crossing of the south with northern preoccupations, as found in Leonardo.[27] I find so very touching[o] the adagio pas de deux[p] that was danced by Riabouchinska and Massine in Scuola di Ballo **[fig. 25]**.[q] After the flurries and flirtations of the class, this pensive tenderness that carries up with it so much more than

a *via a far greater degree*: via <appearance> {a far} greater degree

b *the conscious mind exerts*: [TS, corrected in pen] the conscious mind {there} exerts

c *a greater apprehension of actualities*: a greater <control> apprehension of <a subject> actualities

d *positions*: [TS] position

e [f. 25*v* blank; f. 26*r* numbered top right] 19

f *'Pleasing the eye' in commerce rarely serves truth*: 'Pleasing the eye' {in commerce} rarely serves truth

g *the activity*: [TS, corrected in pen] <the> {an} activity

h *are a good example*: <is> {are} a good example

i *Such 'pleasing the eye'*: {Such} 'Pleasing the eye' [TS] "Pleasing the eye"

j *What-looks-good-is-good formula belongs to our medieval mind*: What-looks good-is-good formula belongs to <the> {our} medieval mind

k *I cannot attribute*: I cannot<, as does [Ben?]> attribute

l *the ideal future*: the <future> ideal future

m *Pas de deux*: [TS] pas de deux

n *the pale pyramid; and surely*: the {pale} pyramid: and surely

o *I find so very touching*: I find so {very} touching [TS] I find very touching

p *the adagio pas de deux*: the {adagio} pas de deux

q *danced by Riabouchinska and Massine in Scuola di Ballo*: by Riabouchinska {and Massine} in Scuola di Ballo [TS, corrected in pen] <done> {danced} by Riabou<s>{c}hinska in Scuola di Ballo

has gone before, all the childhoods[a] in a Goldoni Venice as held in reticence.[b] A warm,[c] candid but very young and reflective tenderness, and that reflectiveness carries one back through the ballet to all that lies behind it in dancing class and eighteenth-century Venice **[fig. 26]**.[d|28]

Vaihinger[29] writes in his Philosophy of 'As If', where[e] he is at pains to show that the basic contradictions of most concepts is due to their fictional nature: "they are conceived to enable or facilitate thought and are based on the principle of analogy although they are not true analogies".[30] One thing is put in terms of another thing that is rather different. It is interesting that this is the same process, perhaps in principle, as that of sublimation and of all art. I have long wondered how to **[f. 27*r*]**[f] give further reference[g] for the value that we find in the function which seems to characterize all creative activity[h] ie the value that lies in putting one thing in terms of another underlying all imagination,[i] all projection of the inner life both in thought and feeling, and all interchange between the inner and outer life.[31] "Scientific fictive judgments" says Vaihinger "(as distinct from the aesthetic fiction) can appear only at a high stage of human intellectual development. The fictive judgment has in its essentials only developed in modern times, partly in connection with the progress of mathematics, mechanics and jurisprudence and side by side with the recognition that objective events or entities and subjective attitudes may coincide in the final result, and yet not be identical. The ancient philosophers, on the other hand, in spite of their scepticism, were still bound by a naive theory of knowledge. An elaborate judgment of this type is, therefore, only possible in a period of advanced mental development".[32] "'Discursive thought' as Maimon says 'is a fiction'".[j|33] Philosophy has hitherto[k] run either to dogma or to scepticism. The Greek Cynics[l] were unable to bear the contradiction of thought and, on the dogmatic lines then prevailing,[m] repudiated it.[34] "Where the logical function actively intervenes,[n] it alters

a *childhoods*: [TS, corrected in pen] childhood{s}

b *as held in reticence*: as held in <reticence> reticence

c *A warm*: [TS, corrected in pen] <The> {A} warm

d *eighteenth-century Venice*: eighteenth century Venice

e *his Philosophy of 'As If', where*: his Philosophy of 'As If' where [TS] his "Philosophy of 'As If'", where

f [f. 26*v* blank; f. 27*r* numbered top right] 20

g *to give further reference*: give <more> further reference

h *in the function which seems to characterize all creative activity*: in <that> {the} function <that> {which} seems to characterize all <activity that is creative> {creative activity}

i *all imagination*: all <fantasy> {imagination}

j *"'Discursive thought'* [...] *'is a fiction'"*: 'Discursive thought' [...] 'is a fiction'

k *hitherto*: hithertoo

l *Cynics*: [TS, corrected in pen] <c>{C}ynics

m *of thought and, on the dogmatic lines then prevailing*: of thought, and on the dogmatic lines<,> then prevailing

n *repudiated it. "Where the logical function*: repudiated it. <It is a mistake to think we can understand the universe, [illegible] {we can} only know it.> 'Where the logical function

what is given and causes it to depart from reality".[35] "For the ponderous processes[a] of matter the swift-winged operations of ideas are substituted".[36] This is necessary for communication and for all practical purposes. A vast paper money circulation. One of the functions of art, maybe,[b] is as a corrective to the manufactured scaffolding of thought, particularly of that basic fiction of logic, substance and attribute, and the general assumption of sensation under categories.[37]

The well-known place when we are leaving it lies close to the eye. Previously, in comparison, there is a distance between me[c] and the thing. Previously the place has appeared[d] neither so near nor so objective.[38]

[f. 28*r*][e] In viewing the external world, degree of objectivity depends upon the degree of outward orientation, the degree in which[f] our immediate surroundings are regarded objectively.[g] Thus, in Switzerland probably, I have experienced on some perilous railway[h] the sensation that this line enters a man-made tunnel[i] passing through the inner recesses[j] of Nature, a forest whose undergrowth[k] one can penetrate in this way with one's eyes. Yet, often in England, the line will pass through a forest. I very rarely have the above sensation. The[l] travelling-in-England orientation is not sufficiently outward. This is a railway line with trees growing up to its very margin on both sides. I have not seen the track as something piercing a forest. The trees are little more than scenery to the track, backcloth to my propulsion. Very rarely in travelling are we aware that we are being drawn through the country, the pre-existent country,[m] on a recently constructed track. We feel this only when walking on the empty line. But the carriage in which we ride makes a little outside world, so closely identified as a container with ourselves, that it is not felt as a stranger in the forest: on the contrary, the forest is subservient to it, as scenery is to the actor's voice and person. Since the position of train and carriage in relation to the country is too little felt objectively, that country[n] also loses its objectivity. Since we are in our little substitute house, an image so enclosing,[o] we see the country almost as something that passes this house, like

a *reality". "For the ponderous processes*: [TS] reality…… For the ponderous processes

b *maybe*: [TS, corrected in pen so as to indicate words to be united] may be

c *between me*: [TS, corrected in pen] between <the> {me}

d *Previously the place has appeared*: {Previously} The <thing has> place has appeared

e [f. 27*v* blank; f. 28*r* numbered top right] 21

f *the degree in which*: [TS] the degree to which

g *are regarded objectively*: are regarded <as outwardness> {objectively}

h *on some perilous railway*: <in> {on} some perilous railway

i *this line enters a man-made tunnel*: this line <is an> {enters} a man-made tunnel

j *recesses*: recess [TS] recesses

k *whose undergrowth*: whose <trees> undergrowth

l *The*: [TS, corrected in pen] <The> My

m *the pre-existent country*: [TS, corrected in pen] the pre-existent {country}

n *that country*: [TS] the country

o *an image so enclosing*: <we see the country> {an image} so <close> enclosing

a lorry[a] seen from the dentist's waiting room or a cloud apprehended through the window at breakfast. Present circumstance thus does not allow[b] of a wider relationship with the object.[39]

We hate most of all things the hate inside ourselves. This hate is built around the image of hated figures that we have brought within us, and it is projected by us, as much of it as we can, on to other figures and things throughout our lives. It is the same with our love. Such[c] is the economy of spiritual life.[40] We take in, we [f. 29*r*][d] eject and spread.[41] Such also[e] is the process of sublimation. Aggression[f] is altogether necessary in the human economy where put to constructive use,[42] the most obvious and general mode being[g] the battle with Nature. Similarly, and positively[h] from a negative basis, vital force spreads beyond us on to a variety of objects alive and inanimate,[i] from the situation of guilt felt towards parents, dependence upon whom we strive to avoid by finding these other objects.[j][43] Psychical[k] compulsion is toward the spreading of our vital forces upon a wide area, except in the case of marriage, except in the case of propagation, when[l] the original nucleus is re-formed. This compulsion outward,[m] or sublimation as we may call it, is, perhaps, the basic distinguishing quality of man: the rest of the difference from the animal world can be explained[n] in terms of it.[44] All the numbness and all the churches, all the exhaltation; the turning[o] of millions to further ends,[p] away from the rotteness and cruelty, illness and injustice; all that hurt that goes with life, must be expanded into nothingness by a church, by fixed ideas and by solutions. And why?[q] Because we cannot bear the hate within us; we can bear it so much less than the hate without, the

a *passes this house, like a lorry*: passes <it> this house, {like} a lorry

b *Present circumstance thus does not allow*: [TS, corrected in pen] {Thus p}<P>resent circumstance <thus> does not allow.

c *Such*: <And> Such

d [f. 28*v* blank; f. 29*r* numbered top right] 22

e *eject and spread. Such also*: eject and spread: such also

f *Aggression*: Agression

g *general mode being*: general {mode} being

h *and positively*: and <negatively> {positively}

i *on to a variety of objects alive and inanimate*: <to> {on} to a variety of objects alive and <dead> {inanimate,}

j *finding these other objects*: finding {these} other objects [TS, corrected in pen] finding <there> other objects

k *Psychical*: [TS, corrected in pen] <C>{Ps}yc{h}ical

l *when*: [TS] where

m *This compulsion outward*: This outward compulsion ["outward" encircled and repositioned after "compulsion" by means of arrow] [TS] This compulsion outward

n *can be explained*: < [falls?]> can be explained

o *exhaltation; the turning*: exhaltation: the turning [TS] exaltation

p *to further ends*: to <a> further ends

q *solutions. And why?*: solutions: and why?

greatest danger of which is the provocation of our own hate. It is that which sears,[a] which consumes the spirit. The hate of others is evidence of our own. Wretchedness and dirtiness hurt us the more because we feel wretched and dirty, and, indeed, the authors of suffering. Were it not that men[b] suffer their own hate so badly, they could well face reality without the aid of magic. The asperity of things, even the fitfulness[c] of stray wood tossed upon the tide, would not trouble the spirit freed from anxiety.[45] And the basis of anxiety is dread of loss, and is guilt[d] due to what is felt to be the omnipotent and unrestrained power of aggressive impulse. In desperation men turn their hate against their hate. In desperation,[e] too, magnifying [f. 30*r*][f] it to be even greater than it is, they unloose their hate upon the world: they superstitiously fix[g] upon an object. That shall be hated, tortured, destroyed. And that, that artificial object of hate (so often the Jews),[46] stands for the hate[h] in themselves, that they would project, expectorate, destroy. In so doing they may use their hate with joy, in hating their hate. Instead of themselves, they torture others, and hate them the more because in so doing they hate themselves afresh. More and more must be tortured.[47]

I say that what[i] we consider to be the hateful part in ourselves is our own hate[j] ultimately. It is our own hate, at any rate,[k] that animates this corpus, whatever appearance it may present[l] to the mind. And now I see the narrow dining room[m] of a would-be old-fashioned hotel at Ipswich,[48] the outer wall lying leeringly along the mean provincial street. Inside are served buttons[n] of food on the small tables with their hateful cutlery. After breakfast,[o] the guests rush in an ensemble to the very few lavatories. You would expect a general constipation, especially from such food in such a place. But not at all. Each place has a strong and brutal fresh stench when you are lucky enough to get in. One is forced there to

a *sears*: [TS, corrected in pen] se<e>{a}rs

b *men*: [TS, corrected in pen] m<a>{e}n

c *fitfulness*: fitfullness

d *and is guilt*: and {is} guilt

e *their hate. In desperation*: their hate: in desperation

f [f. 29*v* blank except for "fresh", written opposite "stench" on f. 30*r*; f. 30*r* numbered top right] 23

g *fix*: [corrected from illegible word]

h *the hate*: <that> {the} hate

i *I say that what*: I say that that what

j *our own hate*: our {own} hate

k *hate, at any rate*: [TS, corrected in pen] hate, at <any rate> {least}

l *it may present*: it may <be> present

m *narrow dining room*: narrow <room> dining room

n *are served buttons*: are served <roasted> buttons

o [TS: passage from here to end of paragraph inserted, handwritten, by AS]

investigate[a] the antecedents to a commercial traveller's active day. How do men trot round[b] with such filth? How, when shaving, do they stand up against their cut-throat constipated faces into which they will proceed[c] amid the hateful cutlery to throw their glum breakfasts? Ah, there is hunger here,[d] there is passion here: that is how it is done. Hateful black boots are tucked under the tables, and things from last night's sleep are personified, though we know it not, on every side.

How blessed that things[e] do not move with our thoughts. The glass upon the table is still as I think,[f] imagine, fear and hate. [f. 31*r*][g] A little contemplation of its outwardness, a little scientific thought about an object or aesthetic appraisal, a sensation of outside of us, of space and the inanimate, stabilizes the world again, quite apart from action and work. Thus, this church, a huge inanimate emblem, thus, huge ideas: if it were not for the stillness of this glass upon the table we would not have them;[h] sublimation[i] would not be our way of expansion. At least,[j] not in the form of abstract, shiftless ideas.[49] Animus (of how many kinds, infinite in gradation) impinges upon every look, every remark, every unspoken and spoken thought. Above all, as we regard what is external, ourselves speak there.[k|50]

Boxed up, we leave the house for the harbour, for some space or panorama. The world expands; there is a sense of freedom. Yet this larger world still contains our thought, our previous thought; but it is now[l] on a larger scale, a different note. The anxiety it contains, so far from blown away on the free air, may be enlarged[m] as it fixes on the vast natural agencies. We note the rebutment of the sea by the rocks.[51]

a *brutal fresh stench when you are lucky enough to get in. One is forced there to investigate*: brutal {fresh} stench when you are lucky enough to get in. One is forced there to investigate [MS insert in TS] brutal and fresh stench. One is forced to investigate

b *trot round*: [MS insert in TS] trot around

c *faces into which they will proceed*: faces <?> into which they <then descend> {will proceed} [MS insert in TS] faces <?> into which they will proceed

d *hunger here*: [MS insert in TS] hunger <th> here

e *blessed that things*: [TS, corrected in pen] blessed <the> {that} things

f *as I think*: <as> {while} I think [TS] while I think

g [f. 30*v* blank except for two numbers ("25" over "12"), below them group of fine and lightly drawn pencil lines, and "may be" written opposite "enlarged" on f. 31*r*; f. 31*r* has slight rectilinear doodle top centre and is numbered top right] 24

h *have them*: [TS] conceive them

i *have them; sublimation*: have them: sublimation

j *expansion. At least*: expansion. <And there would be no abstract ideas.> At least

k *ourselves speak there*: ourselves speak there. <We are bound to everything>

l *our previous thought; but it is now*: our previous thought: but it {is} now

m *so far from blown on the free air may be enlarged*: <may {be}> so far from <being> blown <[illegible]> {may be} enlarged



Figure 27
Adrian Stokes,
Margaret Mellis.
1939? Oil on canvas

Background II

This second portion of *OIL* was probably written between September and October 1939, immediately after the outbreak of WWII. The now palpable threat of destruction and fear of invasion are reflected in an abrupt change in the tone and focus of AS' writing. Yet if his attention now turns to the general 'banality' of hatred and aggression, it is in an effort to maintain "deeper equanimity"[52] by considering how these negative impulses might be stabilized and sublimated through the contemplation of the "outwardness" of objects and natural phenomena[53] or constructively deployed, as in artistic creation.[54]

On 29 September (as throughout England and Wales, in accordance with the National Registration Act, passed two days after the declaration of war) the names, sex, marital status, profession and other details relating to members of LPO's augmented household – AS, MM, BN, BH, the triplets, their twenty-seven-year-old nurse, Kathleen Greey, and nineteen-year-old cook and housekeeper, Olive Buttree – were recorded in the National Register.[55] Entered under the same area code were the Russian Constructivist sculptor Naum Gabo (1890-1977) and his American painter wife Miriam Israels (1907-1993), who at BN's suggestion had also left London and had found shelter in Faerystone, a bungalow not far down the lane that gave access to the top or front end of LPO's drive.[56]

The influx of refugees brought domestic upheaval. AS' studio was made over to BN; and he probably painted, if and when he could, in his study. MM's studio was occupied by the triplets and their nurse, so she painted in the couple's bedroom. BN and BH, though unaccustomed to sharing a bedroom (she smoked and he was asthmatic), both had to sleep in the room off the upper passage, where BH also worked. Olive was given one of the small back bedrooms downstairs. When, after 1 September, WC and his wife Nancy returned to LPO, staying on for almost a fortnight,[57] they had to sleep in one of the passages.[58]

"It could work a good deal worse", AS reported to KC around two months later. "Painting goes on all over the house from time to time, and the clash of styles in so confined a space reverberates even after dark".[59]

That last remark is patently ironical. Synaesthetically reinforced ("reverberates"), the phrase "clash of styles" may be a hyperbolical allusion to prestigious artistic "battles" of the past.[60] Yet it resists elucidation, partly because little is known about the kind of work each of LPO's inmates was producing at this time. The white still lifes both AS and MM are said to have made, like her view of the garden through the window of AS' study, were probably painted in the summer.[61] On 29 April MM had "arranged flowers for [AS] to paint",[62] but the resulting work has not been identified.[63] Three days later AS had started a portrait of MM, possibly the one reproduced here **[fig. 27]**, which seems to have been painted in the sitting-room at LPO.[64] Other paintings AS is known or presumed to have made in the early months at LPO amount to a mere handful. They include a self-portrait, probably abandoned,[65] and two still lifes, one of uncertain date, the



Figure 28 Ben Nicholson, *Little Park Owles*. 1939/40? Pencil on paper

other untraced.[66] BH, on the other hand, was making drawings similar to Gabo's,[67] while BN continued to produce "paintings and reliefs even more precise and austere than before".[68] At the same time, though, on returning to St Ives, "a place of formative significance to him", he had also returned to landscape painting.[69] MM would later remember that she, AS and BN had gone on an expedition to Boltallack, where she and AS had painted and BN had drawn.[70] It may have been in these months, or not long after, that BN made a drawing of LPO seen from the garden, which he gave to AS **[fig. 28]**.

In his letter to KC, was AS casting MM and himself in the role of opponents to radical international modernism, with its tendencies to pure abstraction and Constructivism and whose leading representatives in Britain he was sheltering under his roof?[71] Did he imply – with a wink to KC as the foremost sponsor of the Euston Road School[72] – that he and MM were standing in for the now-departed WC, reportedly dubbed by MM BN's "painting enemy"?[73] And yet MM would later describe herself, while attending the School, as (artistically) a "hidden enemy": though she liked the painters personally, she "didn't want to go in their direction at all".[74] And the great enthusiasm shown by AS while a student there, later recalled by WC, was perhaps due to the School's explicit "offer of stylistic freedom" and to its being "a place where a new philosophy of perception could be tested":[75] in the words of the *Plan for Artists* (1937) devised by GB and WC, "the exploration and expression in paint, by actual experience, of the material world".[76] He probably sympathized less with the ideological bias that led some of its painters (GB and WC, for instance) to be labelled 'social realists', than with the fact that it favoured and facilitated his intuitive preference (later his habit) for always painting "in front of something […] almost entirely from looking at the object".[77]

At the same time, AS did not absolutely disdain the label "modern painters" when it was applied to himself and to MM by the reporter who interviewed him for the *News Chronicle* that summer. "We are – and we are not", he had replied. "We like all painting that is good of its kind. We loathe the sort of pictures popularly known as modern – those dreadful things in blatant colours that seem to hit you in the eye".[78] Viewed superficially, such equivocation might seem to contrast with his ardent promotion of BN, BH and the sculptor Henry Moore (1898-1986) in exhibition reviews published in the *Spectator* six years earlier, around the time he was writing *SR* and came to know them personally through RG's sister Margaret (1904-2005) (MG).[79] Yet his appreciation of their work was already coloured by those reservations regarding all stridently and self-consciously "modern" art – formalism, abstraction, surrealism – which he had expressed obliquely and provocatively in his preliminary *Spectator* article, "Art Today",[80] and would articulate more explicitly and cogently four years later, in a review, also published in the *Spectator*, of an exhibition of BN's paintings.[81] He there dissociated himself from "the cry for non-representation in art in and for itself", arguing that BN was "the leader of the very few real abstract artists in England":

> That is to say, I have always been able to discover in his non-representational work, and in very few other works of this kind, the slow elucidation and isolation of factors that are constant in all that is pleasurable in the process of visual perception. For me, abstraction in painting can mean nothing other than such separation from subject-matter (with the freedom that this entails) of the exercise for the eye which all good paintings afford.[82]

If AS' irony was intended to leave the "clash of styles" hovering between appearance and reality, another reason for this may have been the altered perspective that came from his having recently himself become a painter, and one not given to non-representation. Perhaps from this point of view he felt the need to radicalize his sense that "true abstract art" was informed by pleasurable constants in visual perception, and, through deepened apprehension of the objects of inner and outer experience, lend poignancy and magnitude to the concepts of 'subject-matter', 'myth' and 'symbol', used by KC in a controversial essay of 1935 specifically to counter the purity of BN's abstract works, which he mistrusted as "tasteful pieces of decoration" and "discreet and rarefied harmonies".[83]

Perhaps the "clash of styles" 'reverberated' for AS in the different and positive sense of stimulating him to articulate, in the present portion of *OIL*, a set of reflections on the nature of painting which, more radically than in 1937, undermined dichotomies of realism and abstraction, representation and non-representation, and even of 'low' and 'high' art, by sidelining "our many experiments in painting, from abstraction and cubism to surrealism" and suggesting that the common endeavour of European art did not *necessitate* separation from, or exasperation of subject-matter, in so far as it was exercised in the symbolical reconstruction of psychical objects and of relations to such objects through the material fabrication of images of things in the outer world.[84]

The clash of personalities was certainly real. In the letter to KC cited above, BN is by implication compared unfavourably with WC. The passage earlier quoted continues: "Bill and his wife were here for a time. I have always had immense respect for Bill but found him a bit wry. But I now have a great affection for him".[85] The comparison is again made, more freely, in a letter written around the same time to GB:

> Oh dear oh dear, how {I} wish you were here. The Mandarins, as Bill calls them, are too prim and tight for permanent hosting – its beginning to get on my nerves. With Bill here, though, it was splendid. I long for intimacy and not to have to bolster up boyish and mulish little worlds.[86]

MM would later recall what "very difficult people" BN and BH were and how they had "invaded the house".[87] In a letter to RB written on 16 October AS had employed the same verb in referring

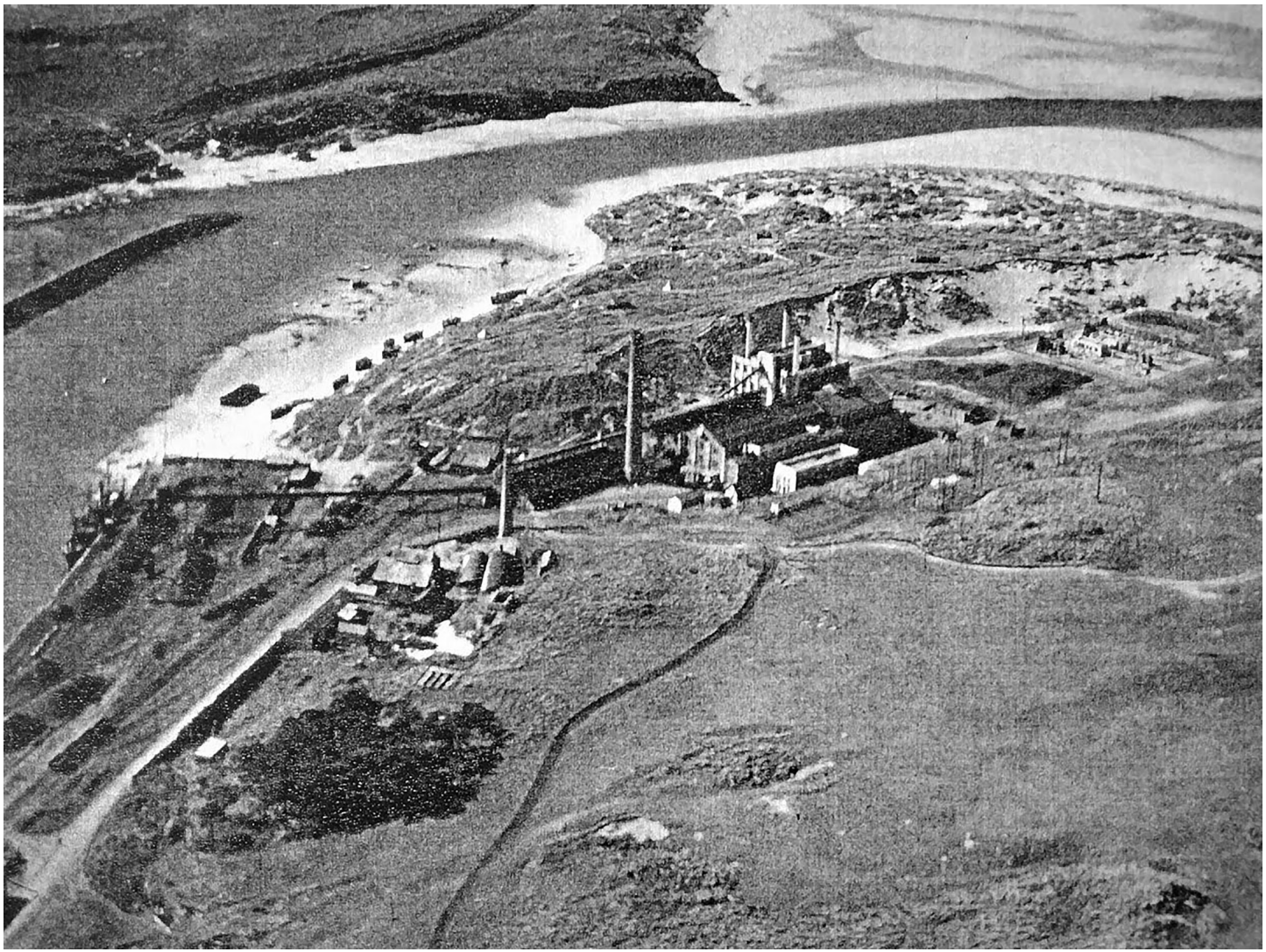


Figure 29 Unidentified photographer, *Hayle Power Station (Cornwall Electric Power Company)*. Late 1940s?

incidentally to their guests (his main purpose being to entice his friend to Cornwall).[88] MM would even state that BN and BH had facilitated the deterioration of their marriage.[89]

✢

Meanwhile, on 3 September Parliament had passed the National Service (Armed Forces) Act. In *OIL*, perhaps immediately prior to this date (as in its opening pages), AS had reflected gloomily on his age.[90] He would now have found that at almost thirty-seven he was not too old to avoid being called up. Whereas the Military Training Act of May 1939, in anticipation of war, had obliged men of between twenty and twenty-two to undertake six months' preparatory training, now all men between eighteen and forty-one were made liable for conscription. Registration, however, would be conducted in stages, by age-group, starting with the youngest and the unmarried.[91] This can only have aggravated AS' sense of "being at a loss what to do", as he later told KC in reference to the first days of the war.[92] One step he *had* taken in those days or weeks, as the National Register shows, was, like BN, to enrol as a Special Constable with the police force at St Ives.[93]

The uncertainty had of course begun before hostilities were officially declared. Not long after the arrival of the refugees AS had written to ESW,

> Should it blow over, we hope to see you whenever you can come. If there is a war do let me know, if you get a job, where you are working, and whether there is any chance of me joining you, and doing likewise. For the first few weeks, at any rate, I hope to be able to remain here. But later on, all one asks is to be among one's friends.[94]

And on 3 September itself he had similarly addressed RB:

> What are you doing or about to do? Do please bear me in mind if you need an assistant for some job suited to my capacities. If one is to have any choice, one does so much prefer to be near at least one friend. Otherwize [*sic*] I shall either work on the land here or apply for a camouflage job. I have Ben Nicholson and his entire family here and we are preparing plans for camouflaging the power station at Hayle which gives <electricity> {power} to the whole of Cornwall, and also for an adjoining Anglo-Persian oil dump. Failing more professional advice, they will probably try us.[95]

The camouflage had been BH's idea. The chimneys of the Cornwall Electric Power Company's station down the coast at Hayle, of which there seem at that time to have been four (Figure 29 was probably taken later), were visible from LPO and had seemed to the group "an absolutely



Figure 30 Abram Games, *Grow your own Food*. 1942. Colour lithograph

perfect target for anyone".[96] Their application accepted, MM, AS, BN and WC each made a design. These were then all executed by MM – the only one of the group with a head for heights – with the assistance of AS and BN[97] (WC having meanwhile left) between 18 and 23 September.[98] Here must be another reason for the three-week hiatus in writing *OIL* lasting from the start of the war to the day after the death of Sigmund Freud on 23 September.[99]

When war had been declared, ESW had immediately volunteered for the Personnel Department of the Red Cross in London;[100] and RB, after unsuccessfully applying to the Foreign and War Offices, had entered the BBC's European News Department.[101] AS seems soon to have given up the idea of joining either. On coming to hear of ESW's "intrepid" search for employment, he had countered with the news that at LPO they had done "some camouflage at Hayle" and "a good deal of agriculture in the garden". He hoped that later on it would be "somewhat easier to find suitable work". It was "very worrying".[102]

AS' choice of the term 'agriculture' in this context is indicative of his awareness of government measures aiming to ensure increased food production. These were now gaining momentum – the Ministry of Agriculture's domestic food production campaign **[fig. 30]**, generally known by the slogan "Dig for Victory", was launched that autumn[103] – but long pre-dated September 1939, in preparation for war. Already in 1936 the County War Agricultural Executive Committees established in WWI had been revived. And in late April 1939 the Agricultural Development Act had included the provision to pay "£2 per acre […] to farmers who ploughed-up permanent grass (land under grass for at least seven years) and who re-seeded or replanted it with wheat, oats, barely, rye, mixed corn or potatoes".[104] Agricultural work had moreover been listed among those "reserved occupations" regarding which "restrictions [would] be placed in peace time on the acceptance of volunteers for certain forms of enlistment or enrolment for service in time of war", as specified in a Schedule issued provisionally in January 1939 and subsequently revised.[105] On 11 September, the *Times* had published an article aiming, on behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture, to clarify "the position of workers in agriculture and allied industries in regard to military service":

> As the Prime Minister said in his recent broadcast, those engaged in the production of food have a task equally vital to national defense as that to be performed by our armed forces. By carrying on with their jobs they will be doing work of the utmost national importance.
>
> The revised schedule of reserved occupations issued by the Ministry of Labour includes a very wide range of agricultural and allied workers. None of these workers if of or above the age specified in the schedule [in some cases 30, but mostly 25] will be accepted for service in the armed forces. The schedule includes all those involved, whether as principals or employees, in general farming, fruit farming, poultry farming, gardening, seed growing, and nursery work, provided that they have reached the specified age.[106]

A "vegetable garden", with "greenhouse and potting sheds", already existed at LPO when AS purchased the property. It was located to the left of the drive as one approached the 'front' of the house. By "agriculture in the garden" AS probably meant the plan to enlarge this vegetable garden and transform a part of LPO's grounds into a market garden, in immediate response, it would seem, to the ministerial campaign. Early October found AS "working on the land as required and digging up the garden". He would "love really to become a proper unskilled agricultural labourer", he told RB, but at present there was no particular shortage of such in the area.[107] Around the same time he wrote to GB,

> There's plenty to do in the garden should you come here. Now the harvest is over they don't seem to want one on farms. Perhaps it would be a good idea to take an agricultural course. There should be a huge Omega farm somewhere for all of us.[108]

Other letters of this period also allude to AS' having helped on local farms, apparently during the harvest and perhaps in order to gain experience. It is not clear, though, whether he yet considered the cultivation of his own land as less a domestic expediency or patriotic 'requirement' than a solution to the problem of conscription, insofar as it might constitute alternative war work. He seems at one stage to have contemplated moving away from LPO and himself becoming a farmer. But on 16 October he reported to RB that he was "well set up in almost every respect for a long <seige> siege", the garden being "big and very fruitful", and that they were "growing quantities of vegetables", adding,

> I now have no desire to go further afield for a job, although I may take up a scheme to partner a man in a Devonshire farm. If one must become something else, I would choose to be a farmer […] But if I don't go to the Devonshire farm and if labour is short, I shall <work> {work} on a farm here.[109]

To KC, on the other hand, not long after this, he described himself as "luckily fixed here in the extreme west of England":

> Having saved up produce and cash for this war, I have no desire to take a job which could be done by someone else who is in need […] I have now duly settled <into> {on} farming and am <[illegible]> {negotiating} a partnership in a farm, and there I shall stay. Meanwhile, as well as helping on farms, we have been digging up this extensive garden and should be able here <as well> {also} to produce a good quantity of vegetables.[110]

By the end of the year AS was "busy breaking ground and swotting up agriculture".[111]

On 27 December, after a fractious Christmas, BN and BH and family left LPO for "a small house called Dunluce", located "a moderate distance away", as AS would phrase it,[112] in an area called Trelyon or Trehoylan; "and this relieved some of the tension".[113] AS "paid the rent of Dunluce to start with" and MM and he gave BN and BH "a whole lot of things like carpets and pots and pans, which had been [their] wedding presents".[114]

As soon as they had left, WS came to live in the house, where he probably slept downstairs at the back. "His father & stepmother have been beastly to him", MM explained to her mother:

> he was very unhappy at home with no space & rotten food[. U]p till now we[']ve been giving him lunch but as I haven't time to cook in the middle of the day we decided it would be easier to have him in the house altogether & eat the same meals.[115]

They had also begun to look for a cook, as Olive had gone with the others to Dunluce, and they had dismissed Martha, who in recent months had acted as maid.[116] They had considered employing an evacuee, but had then thought better of 'boxing' her up with WS ("they might have an affair") and in the end took on his fifteen-year-old sister Doris,[117] "a relief after Martha who banged & clattered about":

> She [Doris] makes no noise & is nice all the time & helpful & quiet. I have to go in and cook with her as a kitchen maid but am hoping to train her[,] to teach her to cook eventually. I[']m rather a good cook now luckily. William [WS] is very nice & helps an enormous lot in the house. He almost always helps Doris to wash up & he takes a great interest in getting everything nice […] She is improving too. IF she likes it she will be very good. When we go to the cinema we take them down & I think they like being here.[118]

These arrangements were outward signs of a more settled domestic regime, which may have favoured the renewal of intimacy between husband and wife. MM at any rate soon discovered that she was pregnant and on 10 March wrote to her parents that she calculated the baby would be born "on October 20th, 25th, 23rd or 28th", given "it was conceived on Jan 19th or Jan 22nd (my Birthday)".[119]

Notes

1 The invasion of Albania on Good Friday (see "Background I", 71) had been followed by the signing, on 22 May, of the so-called Pact of Steel with Germany, whereby the two countries recognized each other as political and military allies.

2 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 158-9): "Of course it is basic human relationships, above all, that my two landscapes describe. Hyde Park is especially a destroyed and contaminated mother, Italy the rapid attempt to restore […] Meanwhile an interest in art, especially visual art, developed the import of a reliance. I found a period which expressed the Rapallo aesthetic of life, the rush to make inside things manifest as a superlative space. When examining early Renaissance architecture and sculpture I at once recognized this passionate aim. I formed an aesthetic devolving from this art: bit by bit I was reconstructing the good mother amid continuous ruins". An identical reparative aim had been ascribed to "Mr B" (see 79, fn. 29) by MK ([1932] 1997, 273): "In contrast to his native town, which he thought of as a dark, lifeless and ruined place in spite of the fact – or because of the fact, as it became clear – that there was a lot of traffic there (i.e. continual copulation between his father and mother), he pictured an imaginary city full of life, light and beauty, and sometimes found his vision realized, though only for a short time, in the cities he visited in other countries. This far-off visionary city represented his mother once more made whole and reawakened to a new life, and also his own restored body". For the "Rapallo aesthetic of life" see "Background III", 136.

3 Perhaps a reference to the passage on "the Woolworth turmoil" as an image of "inner disorder" in *OIL* I, f. 8*r*, 42.

4 Cf. *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 219): "But it was useless to expect immobile days of a kind in which the movement of the water at the fringe of the tide is but a skin, an iridescent skin upon the stone. The sea worked beneath stillness, less the image of spatial magnitude than of the interfused depths of the mind".

5 Cf. IS, f. 3*r*, 211-12 ("Who can say […] opposite to the external world") and "Envoi", 271 ("Consciousness is no more of the mind […] opposite to the external world"). Cf. also the description of the cobbles paving a street in Italy in *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 232): "Composed in fan shapes […] they served as a shorthand for depths of the sea or of the mind".

6 The rhododendron groves of Carbis Bay are evoked in *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 221).

7 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 166): "Intimations from the soil […] the image-fabricator".

8 Freud died on 23 September in London, where the previous year, following the annexation of Austria in March, he had been persuaded and helped to find refuge from Nazi persecution by Ernest Jones (1879-1958), the President of the International Psychoanalytical Association and also of the British Psychoanalytical Society, later his biographer.

9 A common misquotation of two lines from the second stanza of the missionary hymn *From Greenland's Icy Mountains* (1819) by Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta (1783-1826): "What though the spicy breezes blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle; / Though every prospect pleases, and only man is vile? / In vain with lavish kindness the gifts of God are strown; / The heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone".

10 Cf. the extract from the passage in ASP, TGA 8816.15 starting "What is Western Civilization?" (WWC) quoted in fn. 19, 142.

11 Cf. *TA* (Stokes 1925, 173): "We go to church in our best clothes; we keep the church clean, and we wear serious faces and, if we can, serious minds. We divorce the non-familiar life, or subject it to subordination, patronizingly remembered in prayer") and also *IA* (Stokes 1978, III, 296) on the "aesthetic character of ritual", whereby, as in the experience of art, "each individual taking part rehearses his own development in terms, not of his own part, but of the total ritualistic meaning created also by his ancestors and his fellows".

12 Cf. Hanley 2002, ch. 2: "That Napoleon Bonaparte was the greatest eighteenth-century French master of propaganda is beyond dispute. What is most remarkable about Bonaparte's achievement, however, is the sophisticated manipulation of the press that he demonstrated from the very beginning of his public career".

13 Cf. IS, f. 6*r*, 213: "It is not enough […] most scientifically exploited".

14 Cf. IS, f. 3*r*, 211 ("The few primary sources […] surface of its bodies"); NBA, f. 12*r*, 262, 263 ("It will always come back […] correlation and distortion"; "With the aid of reason […] previous structures") and "Envoi", 270 ("With the aid of reason […] previous structures").

15 For PF's recollections of AS' interest in science, see "Background VI, 220.

16 Compare the whole of this paragraph with *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 166): "To paint a picture […] conventional, everyday, inartistic".

17 Cf. Klein [1935] 1998, 269-70, on the discovery by the ego, following its introjection of good objects as wholes, that these are "in a state of dissolution – in bits", leading to anxiety as to "how to put the bits together again in the right way and at the right time; how to pick out the good bits and do away with the bad ones; how to bring the object to life when it has been put together"; and Klein, Riviere [1937] 1998, 61: ("If the baby has, in his aggressive phantasies, injured his mother by biting and tearing her up, he may soon build up phantasies that he is putting the bits together again and repairing her"). Cf. also the passage from *TEPT* (Stokes 1978, III, 154) quoted in fn. 51 (144). The Kleinian psychoanalyst Wilfred Bion (1897-1979) was later to describe the process of scientific creativity in analogous terms, i.e. as entailing "a loosening of all the links that bind the elements into a theory, with a subsequent repatterning around a new focal point", termed by him (following the mathematician Henri Poincaré) "the selected fact" (Hinshelwood [1989] 1991, 263).

18 Cf. Klein [1935] 1998, 269-70, where it is stated that the anxiety-situations of guilt and reparation are at the basis of all depression and inhibitions in work and stress is laid on the "specific importance for sublimation of the bits to which the loved object has been reduced and the effort to put them together. It is a 'perfect' object which is in pieces", one whose perceived perfection compellingly "disproves the idea of disintegration". Cf. also Klein, Riviere [1937] 1998, 106: "Similarly, the

sculptor who puts life into his object of art, whether or not it represents a person, is unconsciously restoring and re-creating the early loved people, whom he has in phantasy destroyed". Not long after AS drafted these notes, the English psychoanalyst John Rickman (1891-1951), also an analysand of MK's, wrote of "how the artist can lead us into and out of the world of suffering. His creative activity is the Beginning of a New World built on the ruins of the old; those strokes of the brush in his phantasy build up bit by bit the good objects which he has destroyed and makes them come to life" (Rickman 1940, 308). AS later quoted this passage in an early version (1951; ASP, TGA 8816.193) of "Form in Art" (Stokes 1955).

19 Cf. *IA* (Stokes 1978, III, 271): "Most painting styles are what we call conceptual: objects are rendered under conformity to an idea of their genus, to hierarchic conception (with a comparative neglect of individual attributes and changing appearances) favouring the power to lure us into an easy identification with an expression of attitude or mood".

20 Cf. the draft of an essay on Giorgione's *Tempesta* (1944) in ASP, TGA 8816.53 ("For the mature artist as well as {for} the child, nature is the mirror of man, and in the highest moments of Western art the appearance of the object <not the concept> {rather than} a concept of the object [is] visualized") and *TEPT* (Stokes 1978, III, 154: "there has not been in the West an art reflective of the entire man as successful as the classical Greek and the Renaissance Art at its greatest, which strove to endow symbolic objects with the full value of their own appearances").

21 Cf. "Background II", 103-4.

22 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 172) on Cézanne and the distinction between conceptual art and an art devoted to the "quintessential structure" of appearance.

23 Cf. *C&F* (Stokes 1978, II, 43, 52) on the landscape painter John Constable (1776-1837) as instigator of a "plastic revolt" in painting, one of a succession of revolts necessary for the invigoration of the "inner light conception" of colour.

24 Cf. *SW* (Stokes 1926, 121-2): "Obviously, some average of uniform behaviour is necessary for continuous intercourse. But, like the daily newspaper which, whatever may be happening, comes out each day with every page filled and every column matching with the next, every article, every item finishing, as if by magic, at a point which enables the other articles to fill the column, and the columns to fill the page, never a word too much, never a word too little, each exact page devoted to a topic which has events of interest of equal volume and importance each and every day – so we seek to standardize our intercourse".

25 Cf. Stokes 1934a, 27, where, by contrast, the "simplicity and newness" of the "gleaming objects" sold at Woolworth's (*OIL* I, f. 8*r*, 42) is seen, not just as typifying a childish "toy world", but as symbolizing "an ideal adult culture". The cancelled phrase "as does [Ben?]", if correctly read, probably refers to BN.

26 Pater [1869, 1873, 1893] 1980: "It is a beauty wrought out from within upon the flesh, the deposit, little cell by cell, of strange thoughts and fantastic reveries and exquisite passions".

27 These reflections on Leonardo and classical ballet may have been stimulated by contemplation of a drawing of a nymph **[fig. 24]** reproduced in Clark 1935b (as too in Stokes 1935b, but without comment) and again in Clark 1939 (pl. 57), a book AS had acquired and read before the start of the war and on which, in terms that closely parallel the present passage, he commented in a letter to KC, written from Cornwall after 19 October (there is a reference in it to a letter of that date from KC to the *Times*, proposing the establishment of a Central Institute of Art and Design): "The Windsor drawing of 'a nymph' reproduction, a drawing that has seemed to me also one of the greatest, constantly reminds me – if not of Pandora herself, then {of} the spirit of classical ballet. Leonardo's strange amalgam, as you have shown it to me, of <[illegible]> {his particular} organic mysteriousness with classicism, of evasiveness with this sturdy yet poised female form, is reflected somewhat in the romantic-classical remote perfections of classical ballet? A Leonardesque though 19th century expression, Ballet belongs in origin to the Mannerist period. It is as if in the age of its greatness ballet had discovered some of the power beyond its sources: thus, Leonardo's welding of what is southern with what is northern is perpetuated in the sole art of today that preserves the grand manner. In the classical pas de deux, as in {the} ideal of ballerina beauty, one may discover a great deal of characteristic Leonardesque form as well as of expressiveness" (AS to KC n.d. [after 19 October 1939, TGA 8812.1.3.3046). Cf. also the earlier note on "The Amateur and the professional in art" in ASP, TGA 8816.136, where it is stated that "the absolute professionalism of the dancer compared with the writer or the painter" and "the necessity of an uniform craft to a very advanced degree" render the ballet "the sole surviving art that is traditional in the grand manner". A similar assessment of ballet is found in the last of AS' reviews for *The Spectator* of the second (1934) London season of de Basil's Ballets Russes de Monte-Carlo: "Ballet, alone of the arts, enjoys its High Renaissance, the flowering of a grand and historical style" (Stokes 1934b, 190; cf. Stokes 1934a, 128, for use of the phrase "High Renaissance of ballet"; and 36, 46, 85, 94 and 117 for repeated recourse to the northern-southern motif in explanation of the essence of ballet, especially in its contemporary Russian manifestation, and for its qualification in terms of the grand manner or style). Stokes 1937 (298) further states, "Ballet to-day is the most flourishing of the arts. the only art, one might say, not at variance with a magnificent European tradition, the only art that still develops fully and traditionally". For AS' interest in Leonardo in the St Ives years see "Background VI", 220.

28 *Scuola di Ballo* is a one-act ballet after Goldoni with music by Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805) arranged by Jean Françaix (1912-1997) and choreographed by Léonide Massine (1896-1979) for the Ballets Russes de Monte-Carlo. It was first performed in Monte Carlo on 25 April 1933, with scenery and costumes by Count Etienne de Beaumont. The dancers included Massine himself and two of the company's "baby ballerinas", Tatiana Riabouchinska (1917-2000), mentioned here, and Irina Baronova (1919-2008). AS would have seen it in the newly formed company's first London season at the Alhambra Theatre later that same year. He had included a "note" on the ballet in the Appendix to Stokes 1935a, from which Figure 25 is taken. He had there analysed the *pas de deux* cited here as exemplifying a general principle of dance: "In all dancing a pose is constructed by, and cannot be isolated

from, previous movement". Thus, Massine's briefly held resultant pose (not illustrated in the photograph) "is one of extension and grace, but the double turn [immediately preceding it] has bestowed upon it as well the character of a well-directed watchfulness". The dancer is compared to a man on a cliff "who shades his eyes to keep the horizon in view" and to a lighthouse, "a well-knit circular construction that rises unflinching against the sea and sky". His perfect poise likewise emits "a circular light". There is an evident analogy between the persistent dynamism of Massine's pose as construed in Stokes 1935a – around it "movement continues to play like lightning" – and the narrative and more broadly historical accretion of significance attributed here to the *pas de deux*.

29 The German philosopher and Kant scholar Hans Vaihinger (1853-1933).

30 The passage has not been found in Vaihinger [1911] 1924, though many there express a similar content. It may have appeared on the book's dust-jacket, which, if like that of other titles in the same series (e.g. Burrow 1927), may have carried an extensive presentation.

31 Cf. "Notes for Giorgione" (October 1938) in ASP, TGA 8816.53: "One suspects that all great periods of art have at their root superabundant images of interpenetration. Not only painting and the visual arts: [but?] above all, poetry. It is the <end> condition for putting one thing in terms of another, the basis of all aesthetic creating. It is a reflection of the basic allusiveness in art that we appreciators <love> {are <prone> prone} to <put one> describe the manifestation of one art in terms of the manifestation of another art. The compulsion to externalize, to make manifest is effected in the case of successful works of art by the {perfect} fusion of the elements that go to make it, principally matter and form. This activity is perhaps an extension of the fusion we make between a thing and its name, a thing and its symbol". Cf. also CAM, 296 ("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"); *TEPT* (Stokes 1978, III, 151: "Throughout consciousness one thing stands for another: we traffic all the time with symbols, in thought as well as in emotion; for, behind any feeling, behind the 'feel' of an argument even, there lurks another that is older and, as we proceed back, that is nearer to the source of its power over us") and *IA* (Stokes 1978, III, 296: "Of course almost every activity is the substitute or symbol of another"). See also the "Introduction", 18.

32 Vaihinger [1911] 1924, 95.

33 Vaihinger [1911] 1924, 156: "Modern positivism is on the way to asserting – indeed it has in part already asserted – that all categories are for it only symbols and fictions, that 'discursive thought,' as Maimon says, 'is a fiction.'" The Lithuanian philosopher Salomon Maimon (1753-1800) was a contemporary and critic of Kant's.

34 The Cynics are not specifically discussed by Vaihinger, but the sentence has parallels in ch. XXVIII ("The Fiction in Greek Scientific Procedure"), e.g. in the passage, "The Greeks lacked the independence of thought necessary for the application of such an instrument [the scientific fiction], an independence that shows itself above all in an ability courageously to tear oneself away from reality and yet, in spite of this deviation, not lose hope of returning to it again. The Greeks recoiled before the bold flight of thought which seeks to attain its goal by arbitrary and contradictory ideas" (Vaihinger [1911] 1924, 186).

35 Vaihinger [1911] 1924, 159.

36 Vaihinger [1911] 1924, 160. The expressions 'ponderous' and 'swift-winged' relate to the metaphorical contrast between metal and paper money introduced in the immediately preceding passage and developed in what follows. This elaboration and analogy are summarized in the subsequent two sentences in *OIL*.

37 For the artificial "edifice" of logical constructs as a "scaffolding" cf. e.g. Vaihinger [1911] 1924, 167. Cf. also *RN* (Stokes 1978, III, 339): "Art corrects abstraction".

38 Cf. *OIL*, I, f. 11*r*, 44 ("Similarly, all of us have felt […] in which we live") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 161: "The well-known place […] neither as near nor as objective").

39 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 159-60: "In contemplating objects […] relationship with the object"), where the sentence corresponding to the last in the equivalent passage in *OIL* is the first in a separate paragraph that continues, "Every contemplation of the world outside must have a context, must entail a projection from inside. It still remains true that such contemplation has an increased scope so far as it is depending upon a greater apprehension of otherness; upon an *exact* concatenation in the outside world".

40 Cf. Klein, Rivière [1937] 1998 for repeated use of the economic analogy and especially (16) for the expression "economics of our emotional life". See also the "Introduction", 15.

41 Cf. Klein, Rivière [1937] 1998, 12-13 ("My argument is that we fear more than anything else destructive forces operating inside us against ourselves […] The first step in reassurance against dangers to the self from within is thus made possible for us by projection"); 340 ("We hate in ourselves the harsh and stern figures who are also part of our inner world, and are to a large extent the result of our own aggression towards our parents. At the bottom our strongest hate, however, is directed against the hatred within ourselves. We so much dread the hatred within ourselves that we are driven to employ one of our strongest measures of defence by putting it on to other people – to project it. But we also displace love into the outer world; and we can do so only if we have established good relations with the friendly figures within our minds").

42 Cf. AS to HR Friday [28 January or 4 February 1944], HRP, SC MLUV, quoted in "Background VII", 278 and 279.

43 Cf. Klein, Rivière [1937] 1998, 4-8, where aggression is also traced to resentful feelings of dependence and the fear of deprivation which this situation entails.

44 Cf. *OIL*, I, ff. 17*r*-18*r*, 52-4; III, f. 39*r*, 124.

45 Cf. IS, f. 4*r*, 212: "The asperity of things […] spirit freed from anxiety".

46 Cf. "Background I", 74.

47 The passage "The hate of others […] must be tortured" occurs, slightly revised, in ASP, TGA 8816.3 (a draft of *IO*).

48 It is assumed in Sayers [2015] 2018 (123), though for no compelling reason, that this was a recent memory, from house-hunting in Suffolk the previous year; see "Background I", 61-2.

49 Cf. "Writing", f. 17*r*, 293 ("It is then […] apparel of our passion"); *IO* (Stokes 1978, II, 162: "How blessed […] abstract, shiftless ideas"). Cf. also "Background VII", 275-7.
50 Cf. *IO* (Stokes 1978, 162): "Animus […] ourselves speak there".
51 Cf. *OIL*, f. 10*r*, 44 ("Here in Cornwall […] put in movement and enlarged") and *IO* (Stokes 1978, 162: "Boxed up, I leave the house […] by the rocks").
52 *OIL* II, f. 21*r*, 87.
53 *OIL* II, f. 31*r*, 99.
54 *OIL* II, f. 29*r*, 97.
55 England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6705H/002/1-9 (the entry is incorrectly transcribed and AS indexed as "Adrian W. Stokes").
56 England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6705H/003/24-25. Cf. Mellis 1993; Checkland 2000, 184; Lambirth 2010, 36.
57 They left again on 12 September (Mellis 1939). It is not evident that they were present when BN and BH arrived on 25 August, as stated in Checkland 2000 (181).
58 Mellis 1977.
59 AS to KC n.d. [after 19 October 1939], TGA 8812.1.3.3046.
60 Such as the *querelle du coloris* which divided *Poussinistes* and *Rubenistes* at the Académie royale in seventeenth-century Paris, or the "Battle of the Styles" waged in mid-nineteenth-century London between supporters of Gothic and of Classical architectural designs for the new Houses of Parliament.
61 See Figures 17 and 19 and "Background I", 68.
62 Mellis 1939.
63 Unless it was a picture of tulips in a blue vase on an unstretched canvas formerly in AS' house in Hampstead (Estate of Adrian Stokes).
64 TrS (personal communication, 2025) identifies the pink armchair MM is seated in (also seen in Figure 44) as one AS had given her when they had first met. He also recognizes the domed set of shelves in the background as having been bought by AS at Heal's in Tottenham Court Road, London, where he and MM lived when first married.
65 AS to GB, n.d. [postmarked 9 October 1939] TGA 200214: "I now feel very depressed partly because I have been slaving away at a dingy self-portrait for a considerable time and it['s] very bad".
66 The first, *Still Life with Bottles and a Jar*, was put up for sale by Wooley & Wallis, Salisbury, on 11 December 2019 (lot 296), but was not sold. It was dated 1939 on the basis of a faint inscription on the canvas overlap at its back, transcribed in the lot entry as "Adrian's dark bottles 1939 (?)". In another place the overlap is initialled and dated by AS, but the date seems to have been corrected and is not legible. My thanks to Richard Kay of Wooley & Wallis for this information. The other *Still Life* was purchased by the composer Robert Still (1910-71), later co-founder with AS of the Imago Society, some time after it was exhibited at Leger 1951 (in whose catalogue it was not dated). It was lent by Still's widow Elizabeth to Serpentine 1982 (cat. 12, dated 1939).
67 Mellis 1981.
68 Stephens 2008, 57.
69 Stephens 2008, 58.
70 Mellis 1981; Lambirth 2010, 40.
71 Together with the architect Leslie Martin (1908-2000), BN and Gabo had recently edited *Circle. International Survey of Constructive Art* (1937).
72 Laughton 1986, 4-5.
73 Checkland 2000, 181; Lambirth 2010, 36.
74 Mellis 1993, tape F4129B.
75 Laughton 1986, 3, 4.
76 Quoted in Laughton 1986, 4.
77 WC in Rhode 1973a.
78 See "Background I", 71.
79 MG in Rhode 1973a; Kite 2009, 148, 164.
80 Stokes 1978, I, 305-6.
81 Stokes 1978, I, 315-16.
82 Stokes 1978, I, 311.
83 Clark 1935a; Hammer 2013.
84 Cf. "After Visiting Turin Picture Gallery", dated "Sept 1938", ASP, TGA 8816.53: "To those who understand nothing about painting, the very first thing they should be told is that the old masters made no attempt to reproduce the effect of daylight. Their lighting was the most conventionalized of their means to a picture; and nearly all the effects of lighting there seen <are> to stand for daylight, are extensions of candle-lighting. This was their essential means to a picture, Bassano or Veronese, their form and their sumptuousness was dreamt out of candle light. Cf a Belotto [Bellotto] of the piazzetta with the effect or remembrance, of the brightness there. For there is no attempt to reproduce either this brightness or the dagger blackness of the shadow and yet, conventionally, light and shade is the basis of their form. Now the impressionists turned their attention to the actual impression of daylight, the way forms hit you in the open. It is not so much a question of representing daylight or even of light and shade. These are minimized in modern painting; but the impression of daylight, remains and will remain in modern landscape painting, the way forms stand together in daylight". Considering the place of "anecdote" in "the whole aesthetic content", AS wondered whether "it is one of the awful ultimate truths that the literary interest in painting is basically right". Here is, as it were, the other side of the polemical and provocative use of "literary" in the review "Art Today" (Stokes 1978, I, 305-6; cf. Read 1998). Cf. also Mellis 1981, where MM remarks a propos of "a dreary academic exhibition in the St. Ives Gallery", probably seen around this time, that whereas it had depressed herself and BN, AS "had found something to be interested in", as "he didn't mind bad academic paintings".
85 AS to KC n.d. [after 19 October 1939], TGA 8812.1.3.3046.
86 AS to GB, n.d. [postmarked 9 October 1939], TGA 200214.
87 Mellis 1997, Part 1.
88 AS to RB 16 October [1939], BRBML, GEN MSS 605 Box 14: "I have a fair amount of miscellaneous books and some red wine, and the country is superb. In spite of the seven refugees there is room to read in peace as my own big room is not invaded by the others".
89 Mellis 1993, tape F4131B: "Ben and Barbara weren't very helpful. But I mean they hadn't been very helpful when they were staying in the house it made things more difficult not I mean it wasn't on, it was just how things were I don't mean they tried to make things difficult or anything but they did think that we would bust up and they did tell

other people which wasn't a great help. Because I hadn't any intention of busting up".

90 *OIL* I, f. 12*r*, 47; *OIL* II, f. 21*r*, 87.

91 The first required to register, from 21 October, were men aged between twenty and twenty-three.

92 AS to KC n.d. [after 19 October 1939], TGA 8812.1.3.3046.

93 AS seems to have been registered initially at LPO and subsequently at the Police Station; see England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6705H/002/1-9.

94 AS to ESW, n.d. [between 25 August and 1 September 1939], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 8.

95 AS to RB 3 September 1939, BRBML, GEN MSS 605, box 14.

96 Mellis 1993, tape F4130B.

97 Mellis 1977 ("Adrian and Ben hauled me up to the top of each chimney in a small rope cradle, then one of them shouted up directions. Each half inch on the design was as far as I could reach with both arms"); Mellis 1993, tape F4130B.

98 Mellis 1939. Cf. Lambirth 2010, 38, where it is stated that the camouflage system used was one invented by MM's uncle, Norman Wilkinson (1878-1971). A marine painter and illustrator, Wilkinson is sometimes credited with the invention of dazzle camouflage while serving with the Royal Navy in WWI. In WWII he was Inspector of Camouflage for the Air Force and from 1939 to 1942 responsible for the concealment of air fields.

99 *OIL* II, f. 22*r*, 88.

100 De-la-Noy 1988, 171.

101 Knox 2003, 421.

102 AS to ESW n.d. [late September/early October 1939?], ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 5.

103 Ginn 2012, 296 (where it is stated that "after a slow start, [the campaign] prompted a huge expansion in allotments, from 930,000 before the war to 1.7 million by 1943, and a growth in the number of private gardens with vegetables from three to five million".

104 Watford 2013, 39.

105 *Schedule* 1939; 1940; 1941.

106 *Times*, 11 September 1939.

107 AS to RB Wednesday [early October 1939], BRBML, GEN MSS 605, box 14.

108 AS to GB n.d. [postmarked 9 October 1939], TGA 200214.

109 AS to RB 16 October [1939], BRBML, GEN MSS 605, box 14.

110 AS to KC n.d. [after 19 October 1939], TGA 8812.1.3.3046.

111 AS to GB [before 27 December 1939], TGA 200214. The digging may have involved the entire household. On 30 November BN wrote to John Summerson that AS and BH were "concocting a market garden out of this place"; "rather a good idea, I think", he added, "we dig a good deal" (Bowness 1990, 784n).

112 AS to ESW 11 April 1940, ESWP, BCMSS NYPL, folder 4/12, letter 4. In September 1942 they would move to a larger house still further away, Chy-an-Kerris, on Headland Rd, the other side of Carbis Bay station (Tate [1995] 1996, 101; Checkland 2000, 214)

113 MM to DM & MMM 13 January 1940, EMM; cf. Mellis 1977.

114 Mellis 1981. AS may have paid or contributed towards Olive's salary for a period (see AS to BH 10 January 1945, TGA 965, quoted in "Background VIII", 305).

115 MM to MMM 13 [January] 1940, EMM. On 29 September 1939 WS had been registered (as a "domestic gardener") at 3, Trelawney Road, St Ives, the home of his father, Philip Stevens (b. 1888), also a gardener (England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6704H/009/5-9). WS' mother, Lucy Emma (or Emma Lucy) Morter (1890-1937), had died suddenly two years previously and in 1938 his father had married Maud F. Chaplin (1902-1957).

116 And who would be immortalized in MM's frequently repeated anecdote of BN's having just missed hitting her on the head when he threw BH's alarm clock out of their bedroom window in a rage (MM to DM & MMM n.d. [22 April 1939], EMM; Mellis 1981; 1993, tape F4130B; Checkland 2000, 181-2).

117 She was also present (registered as "Seeking Work") in Trelawney Road on 29 September, together with her brothers Philip A. (b. 1920; "Stationer's assistant") and Cyril (b. 1921; "Fisherman") and her sister Ann (b. 1926; "At School") (England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6704H/009/5-9).

118 MM to DM & MMM 13 January 1940, EMM. For the cinemas at St Ives see 83-4 (fn. 135); "On Home Guard night-watches", 181, and "Background VI", 225.

119 MM to DM & MMM 10 March 1940, EMM. The calculations, however, may be confirmation of what AM told Janet Sayers in an interview of 2006, namely, that the mutual decision to have a child was taken in the hope it might help their marriage.



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

III. "A wonderful still warm day" 1940

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

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

a [TS omits date]

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

c *remind*: reminds [TS] remind

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

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

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

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

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

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

e *hyacinth*: hiacynth

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

c *exhaltation*: [TS] exaltation

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

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

f *unexhalted*: [TS] unexalted

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a *adjuncts*: [TS] adjunct

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

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

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

e *world offered*: world <before> offered

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

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

h *are made*: is made

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b *a flame*: a <lam> flame

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

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

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

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

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

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

i *hears*: [TS] hears

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

k *buildings*: building [TS] buildings

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

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

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

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

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

c *interrelationship*: interelationship [TS] interrelationship

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

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

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

g *And I*: <I> And I

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

j *The unconscious*: <But> The unconscious

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

o *otherwise*: otherwize

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

h *although*: allthough

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

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

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

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

m *medievalism:* [TS] medaevalism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

h *cannot compete*: cannot <compete> compete

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

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

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

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

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

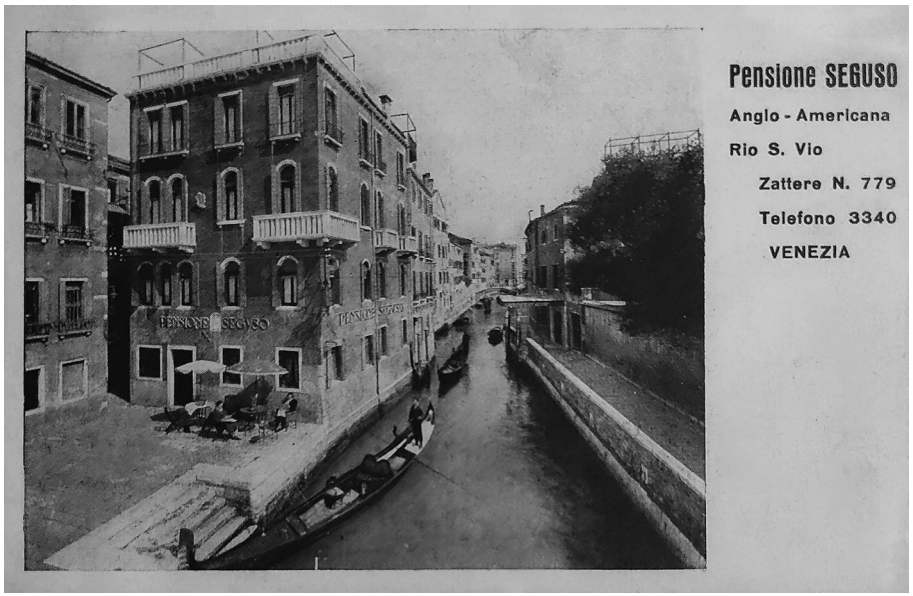


Figure 32
Postcard of the Pensione Seguso, Venice.
Early 1930s?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Moon's unaltered silver cage
Hung near the pounding sea

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

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

a *of objectivity*: of <roundness> objectivity

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

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

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

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

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

g *cannot fear*: cannot <then> fear

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

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

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

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

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

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

n [TS lacks a new paragraph here]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

g *Spring*: [TS] spring

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

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

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

k *the root*: [TS] the roots

l *could not*: [TS] will not

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

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

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

"Electric bulb!" (1926)

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

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

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

c *A paralyzed stare*: A paralized stare

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

d *Interaction*: Interraction

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

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

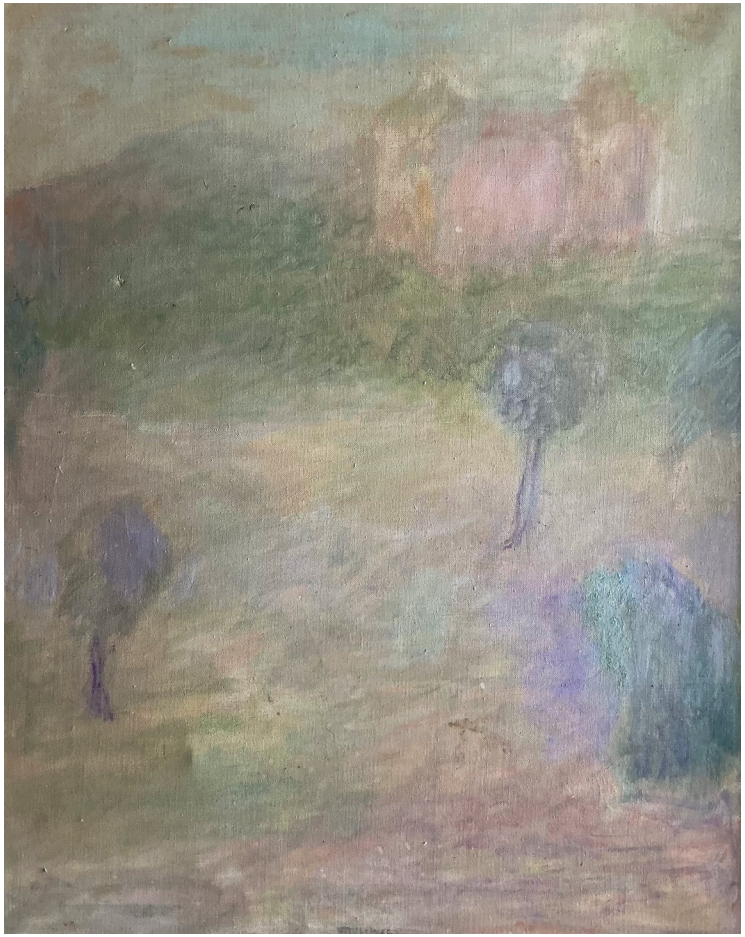


Figure 33 Adrian Stokes, *Italian Villa*. 1938. Oil on canvas

Background III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

✢

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



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



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

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

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

✢

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

3 See the "Introduction", 15-17.

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

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

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

7 See the "Introduction", 16.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

44 See the "Introduction", 18-20.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

69 See "Background IV", 156.

70 Stokes 1978, II, 85-138.

71 ASP, TGA 8816.9.

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

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

74 See "Background I", 61.

75 Stokes 1978, II, 71.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

84 Stokes 1978, II, 158.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

a *Otherwise*: Otherwize

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

c *appears; just as*: appears just as

d *Consciousness*: <But> Consciousness

e *conviction*: co{n}viction

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

g *this emotion*: this <emotional> emotion

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

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

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

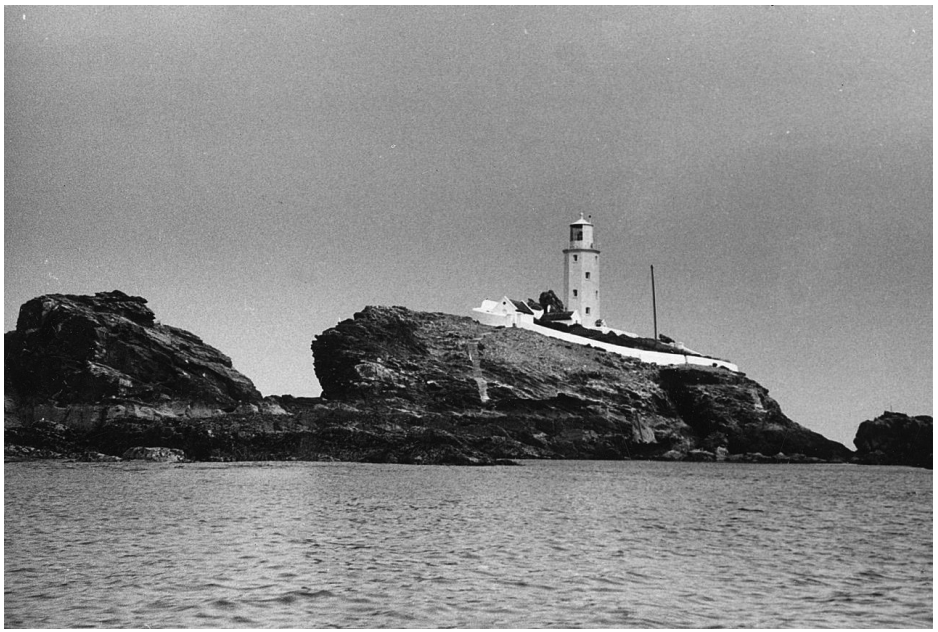


Figure 37
David Murray-Rust,
Godrevy Lighthouse,
Godrevy Island, St Ives Bay,
Cornwall. 1949

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

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

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

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

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

d *immobile*: <seen> immobile

e *as an incarnation*: as a incarnation

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

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

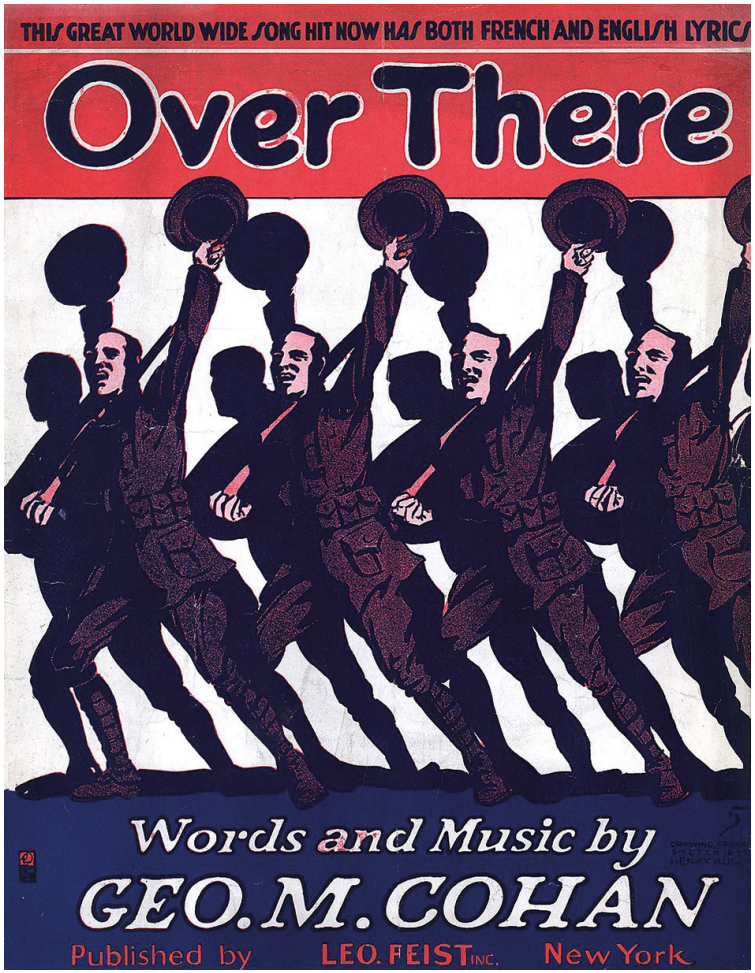


Figure 38 Front cover of George M. Cohan, “Over There”. 1917

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

g *the same feeling*: the the same feeling

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

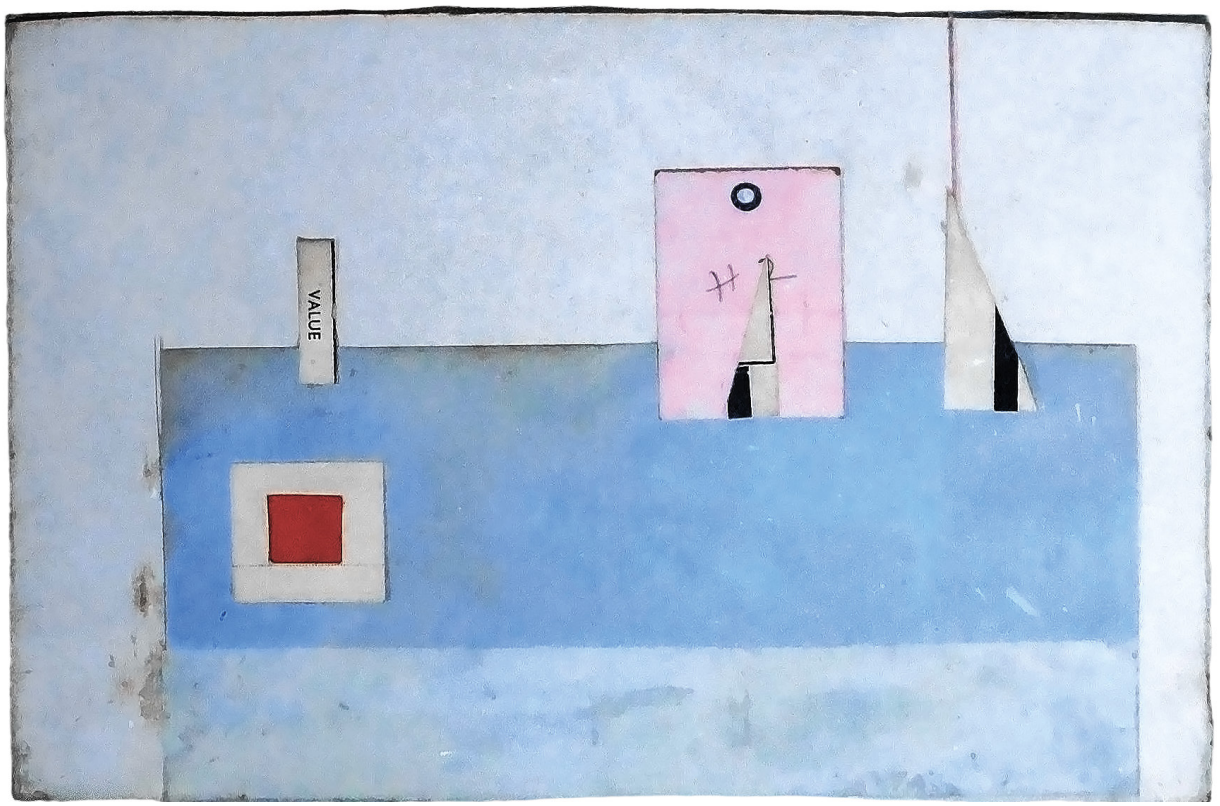


Figure 39 Margaret Mellis, *First Collage*. July 1940. Paper and card

Background IV

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

✢

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

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

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

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

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



Phyllis Bedells

School of Dancing transferred

For the duration of the War to

TRECARRELL HOTEL,
St. Ives, Cornwall

Classes Start September 25th, 1939

Resident Students,

Miss Phyllis Bedella has made arrangements with Mr. and Mrs. Dick, Proprietors of the above Hotel, for Students to be given special terms for Board Residence, which will include very comfortable bedrooms with h. & c. and full board in really delightful and healthy surroundings, where their studies will be continued under ideal conditions in a safe zone.

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

ROYAL ACADEMY OF DANCING

which are to be held periodically in various Provincial Centres.



Rocklands School

Evacuated from Hastings, now at

The Headlands, Carbis Bay,

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

NEXT TERM BEGINS SEPTEMBER 18

Apply Headmaster, St. Ives 414.

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

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

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

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

✢

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

37 Read 2002, 24-5, 103.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

53 VK, personal communication, 2012.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

75 See "Background I", 71.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

83 VK, personal communications, 2012.

84 *Times*, 10 May 1940.

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

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

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

88 See "Background VI", 240.

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

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

91 Stokes Angus 2003, tape F12925.

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

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

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

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

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

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

98 *Times*, 26 May 1940.

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

100 *St Ives Times*, 17 May 1940.

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

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

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

104 Stokes 1978, II, 220.

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

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

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

108 *Schools of England* 1928, 379.

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

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

111 Hammond 1954.

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

113 *St Ives Times*, 19 July 1940.

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

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

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

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

118 See "Background I", 63.

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

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

V. "I believe it is possible that this war really decides" 1941

[f. 48r ctd] Jan 3rd 1941 I believe it is possible that this war really decides whether it is to be man as a predatory animal or man as civilized. It is possible that it is similar to such a conflict as that between Cro-magnon man (homo sapiens) and Neanderthal man, another ape-branch from whom true man is not descended. It is possible that such rivalry[a] in evolution is an aspect of all giant wars, or at any rate that the German racial theories are the inheritance of an early evolutionary warfare. The spread of civilization, even in the earliest times, put an end to differentiation of species.[1] Study of evolution[b] gives a feeling of kinship with animals and even with plants, yes, and even with minerals. On the other hand, when considering these vast, blind and inevitable[c] forces, anything unnatural or civilized, however banal,[d] seems suddenly precious. Even the gathering at the sea-side boarding-house. It is a paradox that the artist, the hot-house flower of civilization, should so often be made to feel dead by the common exoticisms of civilized life, ie middle-class conventions. His sense of omnipotence compels him to bite the hand that feeds.[e] But, of course, his 'life-in-the raw' urge carries him only a minute part of the way back to Nature. He is, though, more aware of his ancestry, the truth within.

a *that such rivalry*: that <an aspect> {such} rivalry

b *evolution*: evolutions<s>

c *and inevitable*: and <[illegible]> inevitable

d *however banal*: <seems> however banal

e *that feeds*: that <feeds> feeds



Figure 48 Paul Tucker, *Interior of a Fisherman's Lodge, St Ives Harbour*. 2011

"On Home Guard night-watches" (1951)

On Home Guard night-watches I would leave my car, the means of agricultural transport, up a steep incline at the back of the cinema[2] where there was a car park used in the later years by the Americans. An adjoining engine that gave power to the cinema would be revolving with the busy, almost joyous reverberations of such apparatus at a fair. Above the hissing pumping and the throb, one heard from inside the pink, luxurious house, an immense voice, a galloping, a shriek of grinding brakes. Smell of this engine was not unpleasant and, by force of long association, seemed scented most strongly with that particular cellulose garnish upon violence that is, or used to be, inseparable from cinemas, a smell not distant from the one of the average hard-centred chocolate and of its nest of fibrous paper in the box. Here stood amid harsh accents and overstrong reverberations the house of day-dreams, offering more freedom, more light, particularly if you had come from the hills in the Land's End country, the probable venue for the Americans' recent 'exercise'. Their military expeditions and our own conduced to an image of St Ives as a nestling outpost upon the wilds; a more ancient, more comfortable, more wooded, but equally western small town in a Western film. And, as with earth-stubbed fingers, muffled, bristling with unwieldy weapons, I dismounted from my car behind the cinema, I could have imagined myself a member, however inefficient, of the Sheriff's posse. The wildness of the coast lay in wait outside. But, since at other times I was tethered to the earth, an element of being abroad invaded the context of those evenings; out of England, beyond enclosure. A quality of agelessness invested the Cornishmen with whom I should pass the night, as if they gathered moors within an ill-lit room. Several had served in ships and these talked of adventure in foreign parts measured against St Ives. I began to know the map of a St Ives day, enlarged by the presence in the Home Guard of so many bakers who used to leave us at four or five o'clock to make the bread.

In the wind and the companion cold of the harbour where we kept watch for many winter months, the parish church, the walled precincts beside the mole looked massive, Norman, a reminder of spaciousness to the guard-room shanty and wastes of sea. Our house, invisible in the distance round two inlets, hung in the trees, miraculously of stone. I would be back soon after seven. As I dropped to sleep there, the noise of the ocean, distant from my bed, would recede further and further like a shark that has been baulked and falls astern. Yet, after these nights, coffee with milk at breakfast was a necessary clothing against an ungovernable cold, to banish the thin spray, the pieces of equipment, the heaviness and bareness of the night and the ill-ventilation. Godrevy Rock with its spent lighthouse[3] had been finally cold and lonely in the dawn, glimpsed at the end of the bay between the trees while I was walking from the gate to the house.

On harbour guard in dark nights I felt the treelessness. Fishermen would come up with torches, up steps on to the tall pier, like passengers obtaining the street from the last underground train. The earth connoted in this darkness the ingrained dirt of crack-skinned fingers or unthawed fingers picking brussel-sprouts and washing gritty leeks with January water. A night wind blew at the deserted cinema corner, making the township very small. We were joined on to the war by tales and hearsay as we searched superciliously for flashes or strange lights, staring for hours into the night face of the sea. There were only the reprehensible black-outs of some houses: no one of us in over four years discovered an object of true suspicion. We had rounds with us on watch and a bigger arsenal at home. Not a shot was fired officially except at the ranges, amid the dunes, in a landscape

whose savagery it would be hard to equal. At notified intervals we were pitched against some of the elements for a short time, disciplined to see well-known roofs at unaccustomed hours of the night. To glance at them unchanged, though watched no longer, on the following day of utter fatigue, brought clearly to mind the brutal endlessness of the ways of wasting time.

In effect, we were in charge of the landscape. We sometimes used the 'lodges' of the fishermen **[figs 48, 54]**,[4] promoted above them as contemplators of the sea domain. Clamped for the night in the upper room of the drill-hall overlooking the narrow ancient street,[5] I felt myself to be a more official observer of the dwindling evening life of the town than were the old women at *their* windows, who were occupying a station perhaps inherited through several hundred years. Of such kind was my astounding promotion from rootlessness in the face of an enemy threat, whereas the others had been observing for generations, at windows, on the wharves, at street corners, staring at, perhaps resenting, the stranger, imitating a defensive watch and a pricking of ears; exaggerating perils and local lore, romancing in tobacco smoke, perhaps talking too much, perhaps getting excited about nothing. Indeed, the very old, retired, fishermen kept it up as we sat of an evening in their sacred 'lodges'. They were unwilling to look down on us or to resent our presence but they naturally tried to forget it. Gradually, very gradually, they would go to bed leaving the rest of the dark hours and the custody of St Ives to us. They had rarely spoken of a time later than thirty years before. It was, of course, absurd that they should surrender observation of the ocean or of the town to me, but I would look to the windows, to the black-out. Indeed, I had more duty to observe any occurrence than had the majority of respected citizens who could have been searching through the years for dereliction or oddity. The place I took, however, was more the one of an old woman at a window who had stared all her life at the house opposite: this was my choice of the privileges at hand. And so, emulating the cats in their possessive tasks, I would relish in the fading light the stone-faced dormer window opposite the drill-hall, searching each piece of flaking stone and mortar, as interweaved as the St Ives generations.

Background V

The present paragraph, probably drafted in its entirety on 3 January 1941,[6] comprises the only text added to *OIL* between that date and 7 December 1942.[7] The reasons for this second hiatus, longer than the first, are here considered with regard only to the first of the two years in question.

1941 saw, not just the intensification of the Blitz, with further, repeated bombing of London and of major seaports and industrial centres throughout Britain, but also the spiralling of the international conflict into dimensions truly warranting the epithet 'giant', already by implication applied to it here by AS.[8] While fighting in North and East Africa continued, the Axis powers' invasion of the Soviet Union in June led to the opening of a new theatre of war in central and eastern Europe, the Baltic states and the Balkans. And by the end of the year, after Japan's attack on the US naval base of Pearl Harbour on Oahu, Hawaii, and its invasion of US- and British-held territories in the region, fighting seemed set to spread across the Pacific, prompting America to enter the war on 8 December.

AS' brief paragraph not only foreshadows the multiplying of fronts and proliferating declarations of war, but also seems to mark a shift in attitude towards the conflict on his part. The inward struggle to maintain equanimity in the face of "the world-picture of destruction, suffering and brutality" which the war endorsed and of the recognition that "Hitler, too, and all the crises are within us",[9] here mutates into a more objective and historical, even epochal form of awareness, in which that struggle is recast as the collective drive to "civilization". This new perspective seems to entail a broader sense of social and cultural, even ethical alliance. Moreover, a letter to ESW written after Easter of that year suggests that AS had the perception that that sense was not personal merely, but widely shared, and that it was not, strictly speaking, political. In commenting on the articles on music that ESW was currently publishing in the *New Statesman*, AS wrote,

> In reading them with great care I have been enormously impressed – almost the only good things in the paper since the war. A great deal of thought that I have been able to take with me into the garden. Any news of the novel? Impossible I suppose at the present time? A great pity as I feel you to be in excellent vein in spite of everything. At any rate you can go on making use of your accumulated <erd> erudition and your long thinking. Why not then write a didactic book? A fine aesthete's book must now be felt at its true value more than <any> {at any} other time. All that nonsense about ivory towers must now have collapsed. At all times one has struggled out of politics to create and contemplate. For the moment no one would dare to deny this.[10]

1941 brought the first war fatality among AS's friends. In December 1940, RB had been commissioned to travel to Meshed in Iran to monitor Russian activity in the region. On 24



Figure 49 Sven Berlin, *Self-Portrait. Ahsburton*. 1941.
Ink and wash on paper

February 1941, before it reached the West African port of Takoradi, his ship was torpedoed by a German U-boat. His death would not officially be announced, in the *Times*, until September.[11]

This year was a critical one for AS in other ways also. Conscription now caught up with and even overtook his age-group. A few days after he dated the present entry, male subjects born in 1904 and those who had reached the age of twenty between 28 July and 9 November 1940 were obliged to register for military service.[12] On 29 January 1941 the King signed a Proclamation extending the application of the relevant Act of 1939 to six new age-groups: "young men of 18 and 19 years and older men of 37, 38, 39, and 40".[13] It was reported in the *Times* that men would "not be required to register after reaching the age of 41".[14] This, however, would soon prove not to be the case. Already modified in 1940, the National Service Act would again undergo amendment in April and in December 1941. First the possibility of calling men up for service in the civil defence rather than in the armed forces was introduced; then the range of subjects to whom the Act applied was extended from men aged between eighteen and forty inclusive to male and female subjects aged between eighteen and fifty. Thus, on 17 May 1941 AS was one of nearly 300,600 men born in 1902 who were required to register[15] – an event that for his more recently acquired friends solved the "legendary puzzle" of his age.[16]

On 29 September 1939 AS had stated his occupation to be that of "Professional author & painter".[17] Now, in registering at the local offices of the Ministry of Labour, he presumably declared himself a market gardener, so as to be covered by the Schedule of Reserved Occupations. He probably exhibited a certificate to that effect obtained from the Cornwall War Agricultural Executive Committee in Truro.[18] Market garden workers were currently reserved at the age of twenty-one. This would be raised to twenty-five in the revised Schedule issued in December and was due to be increased by one year each month of the following year, possibly up to an absolute limit of thirty, provided a gardener of that age were employed "whole time on food production and, in general, that the area devoted to food production in the garden in which they [were] so employed, [were] not less than three acres".[19]

Evidently, AS had long anticipated the necessity of establishing himself formally as a market gardener and had worked hard to achieve this, taking over, as seen earlier, an additional acre the previous autumn, possibly with a view to meeting the above specification of three acres. To ESW, some time after Easter 1941, he wrote that "[e]ver since the early days of the war, with the help of a boy [WS]" he had worked "some two acres of [his] own land, becoming a real market gardener and providing two evacuated schools and a hotel with vegetables".[20] His life, he recognized, in another letter to ESW, written towards the end of April, was "lucky", if "extremely harassing":

> I have never undertaken anything which made me as nervous and anxious as working land […] This is a large area of intensive cultivation, even for those born to it. I have no spare time, no days off, and go to bed at 9 o'clock. But things are easing up a bit now. What I produce so far satisfies the inspectors, and indeed earns their praise. If I am able ever to do my own work again I shall not resent this experience.[21]

He had earlier written in a similar vein, on two separate occasions, to GB:

> I have had to work even harder this winter than I did last summer. I supply a school up here with all their vegetables and sell to others as well. The seed question is worrying. After breaking oneself clearing up and ploughing up a field, you can't be certain of the seed potatoes. I did get one ton but they were rotten and I sent them back. I was told by everyone I wouldn't get any others, but so far I have managed to get ½ ton good seed. Farming is supposed to be bucolic but I find it a very temperamental occupation.[22]

> I toil away at vegetables and rarely go out of these grounds except for Home Guard, sometimes working through Sundays and into moonlight […][23]

If, after Easter, things in the garden were "easing up a bit", it was probably because around this time he obtained the part-time assistance of a conscientious objector, SB[24] – though this may well have increased the risk of "inspector hauntings".[25]

✣

SB had been born in Sydenham to a paper agent merchant of Swedish and Jewish origin, Karl (Kalle) Gustav Herman Berlin (1885-1972), and his wife Mary Louise Hughes (1882-1955), who, frustrated in her own desire to become a sculptor, encouraged artistic ambition in her son. He had come to Cornwall in 1938, together with his wife Phyllis Groom (1902-1959), known as "Helga", the stage name she had adopted as SB's Adagio dancing partner from 1934 until their marriage in 1937. Forced to leave their first home there, a primitive farmer's cottage facing the North Cliffs, where SB worked in the fields in exchange for a minimal rent, they had moved to Treswithian, near Camborne. Here he had been able to attend evening classes at the Camborne and Redruth School of Art and, in May 1939, had held his first one-man exhibition in the Community Centre.[26]

SB had been obliged to register on 15 June 1940, but had clamed exemption on moral grounds, coming before the South Western Tribunal in Bristol in November. In then asserting the unquestionable authority of his conscience, he had invoked the inability of Socrates and Joan of Arc "to communicate to their judges the validity of their visions" – an argument the regional press were quick to point out had 'boomeranged', in so far as the judge had reminded him that Joan of Arc had nonetheless felt the need to defend her country.[27] His application was however accepted and, though ordered to work on the land, he had somehow found work as a boilerman in a Milk Marketing Board factory. He had lost this job after the boiler had nearly blown up – on the night, as it happened, of the birth of his son Paul – as a result, he would later claim, of sabotage and hostility towards his pacificism. Deprived of his poor relief subsidy from the parish and in

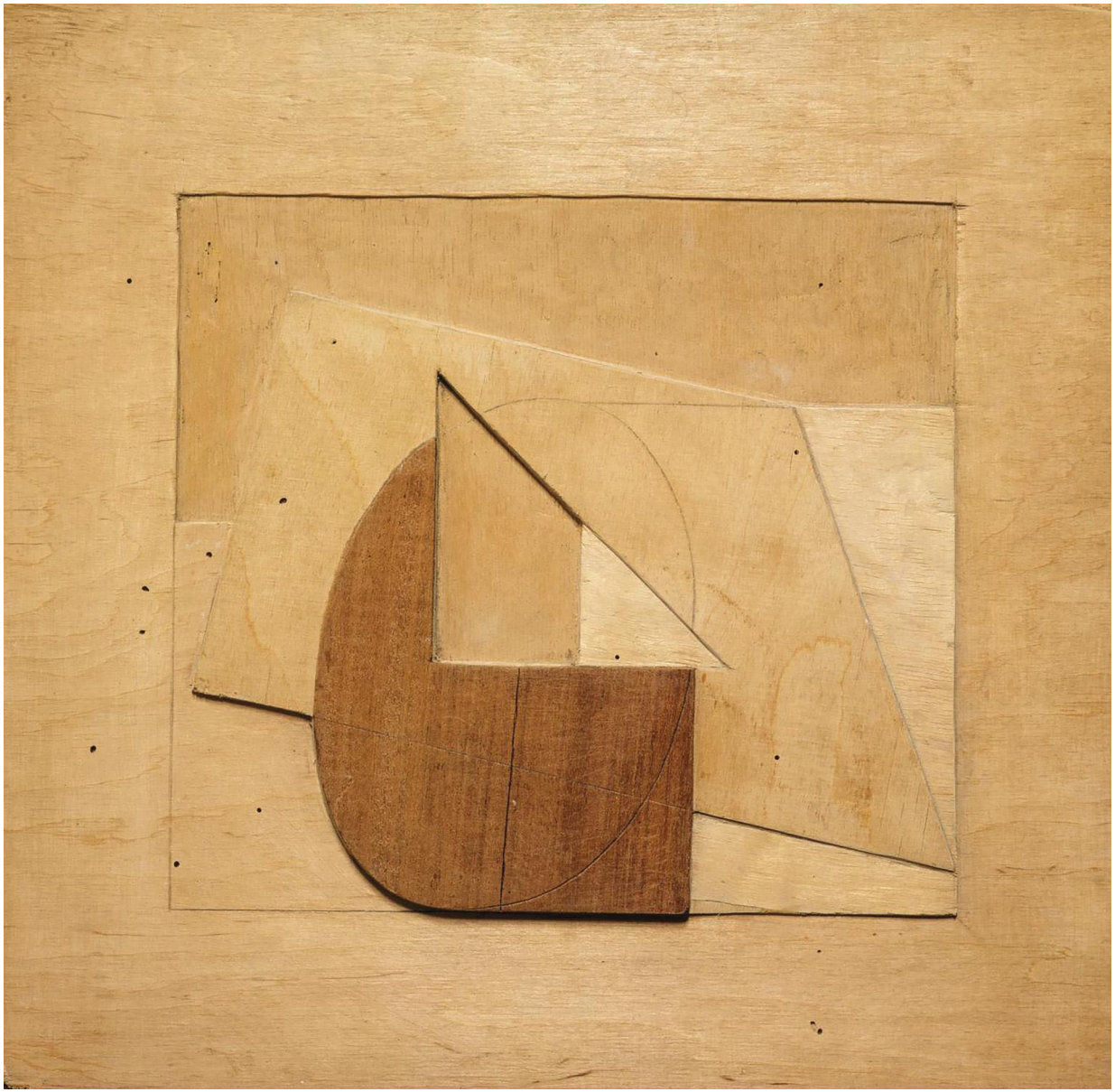


Figure 50 Margaret Mellis, *Relief Construction in Wood*. 1941

order to avoid imprisonment he had joined a pacifist community at Ashburton in Devon **[fig. 49]**, from where he had worked first as a coal-heaver and then as a gardener at a girls' school.[28]

Towards the end of April 1941, Plymouth had suffered a week of intense bombing. From Carbis Bay the conflagration had been visible as (in AS' words) "a pale glow in the night sky as if the moon was rising"[29] and (in Gabo's) "hellish fireworks".[30] In Devon, SB would later recall, the sky was "lit up by flames from the city"; and this vision of the "Dark Angel" of destruction seems to have precipitated his return to Cornwall.[31] He had there been interviewed for a job at Rocklands School by the headmaster, Wyatt Trevelyan Rawson (1894-1980),[32] a prominent member of the New Education Fellowship both before and after the war[33] and later described by SB as "a tall, bony, middle-aged, charming, etiolated man".[34] At LPO, for unknown reasons, he was referred to as "Rawlplug".[35] The post to which SB was now appointed, in preference, he later stated, to Wilhemina Barns-Graham,[36] entailed tending the school's kitchen garden and teaching art, as well, it seems, as dance.[37] And, as he further now learned, he "was to be shared […] as gardener" with AS.[38]

SB had probably started work at LPO, or had at least met AS, by 10 May.[39] Here, in what, just over three years later, after revoking his objection and enlisting, he would refer to as "the passive days" when he would "churn [AS'] garden with the passion of a mad Adam cursed by the hand of God",[40] he was "content to […] take a plant's eye view of passing genius", as neighbours and guests came and went "down the long drive to the house".[41] He would later consider this opportunity a sign that "certain people are contracted by destiny to be at a special time available for help or direction or guidance of some kind",[42] and as "at once a source of revelation". His "physical prowess" had earned him entry to "a closed community, an 'inner circle' […] of advanced artists".[43] His privileged encounter with the abstract art of BN, BH and, especially, Gabo – whom he later singled out as "the real genius in this group and the most inspiring"[44] – significantly affected his own work.[45] It had a similar impact on that of MM, whose collages (such as Relief Construction in Wood **[fig. 50]**) had by now "started to look like constructivist works", interesting Gabo himself,[46] and, before he had joined the RAF in March 1940, on that of Peter Lanyon.[47] Moreover, by giving him access to the homes and collections of AS, BN and BH, coming to work at LPO greatly stimulated SB's interest in the painting of AW[48] – an interest that would quickly become his "private obsession"[49] and lead to his publishing in 1943 an article in *Horizon*, alongside one by BN[50] – the first to be devoted entirely to AW – and, six years later, the first monograph on the painter (for which he would choose for frontispiece AS' *Voyage to Labrador* **[fig. 18]**.[51]

In his own estimate SB "fitted in well". It "did not disturb" AS the balletomane, he later averred,

> to find a young man with a dancer's physique digging in his garden. He was excited that I had met Massine and keenly interested in my long experience as an adagio dancer. When I was digging he used to say, "You look marvellous, Sven, just like Samson when you dig." It became for me a kind of dance.[52]

And yet, whatever truth there might be in these mythographic reminiscences, it would seem that SB's admission to the LPO circle, idealized by him as "this tiny cell of culture and creation Adrian had kept alive during the war",[53] acted to exacerbate tensions already present and help bring about a rupture between AS and BN.[54] Certainly, his book, by reason of its controversial emphasis on AW's poverty and the circumstances in which his life ended, instigated decades of contention, still persisting.[55]

After he had been at LPO a couple of months SB decided to seek AW out at his cottage in St Ives. He would later record how, on mentioning this to AS, he had learned that AW had been admitted to the former workhouse at Madron, near Penzance, now the Public Assistance Institution.[56] This must have been after 20 June.[57] Accounts differ as to how AS and MM had come to know of AW's removal. One would be given much later by MM:

> one day when Adrian Ben and I were going for a walk Ben said oh I went to see Wallis the other day and he said the next time you come I won't be here. And Ben had said oh really and didn't believe it and hadn't done anything and he'd gone again in a fortnight and Wallis wasn't there and all the paintings were there and they were going to burn them and Adrian and I were rather annoyed with Ben for being so for not having thought of something a bit sooner instead of waiting till the last minute like that.[58]

Another account would be given by SB in his monograph on AW:

> Stokes called to see Wallis a week before these inner forces, interacting with the external economic and objective pattern, had clinched and produced this crisis. Wallis had told them that he was too old and too ill to look after himself any more and was going voluntarily into the workhouse – that he would not paint any more. He evidently meant this about painting, because he didn't take any materials with him, though he sent for them later.[59]

SB indeed there further recounted how, following his admission to the infirmary at Madron and after being in bed for about a month,

> Wallis had asked for painting materials. Margaret Mellis, Adrian Stokes and Ben Nicholson succeeded in getting them from the cottage at the considerable cost of carrying away an enormous number of fleas, which were the centre of a ludicrous comedy at Little Park Owles.[60]

CITY MAN WAS IN THICK OF BARCELONA RAIDS

After six months in Spain, during which he was in the thick of the bombing in Barcelona, a Sheffield man, Mr. Peter Freeman, of Clarendon road, Broomhill, has returned home.

"I saw many of the casualties close at hand," Mr. Freeman told the "Daily Independent" last night, "and the mutilations were terrible. Human bodies were cut in half, and arms and legs strewn about the area of the raid."

Mr. Freeman stressed the fact that anti-aircraft guns were virtually useless against the bombers, which flew over Barcelona well out of range.

Mr. Freeman, who is the son of Mr. Arnold Freeman, Warden of the Sheffield Educational Settlement, has been in Spain six months, having undertaken the special work of reconditioning villas at Puigcerda, where there is a refugee colony.



Mr. Peter Freeman

For five weeks before coming home, however, he was in Barcelona, during the time when the air raid terror there was at its peak.

NEW TYPE BOMB

"The casualty figures were very much higher than published in the Government newspapers," Mr. Freeman said. "About 2,600 were killed and a square mile in the centre of the city was devastated.

"In the later raids they dropped a new type of bomb—a concussion bomb—which does not produce much shrapnel or make a deep hole in the ground, but it is a very high explosive type, and when it drops, buildings round about just crumble away."

Mr. Freeman said that sometimes the raids occurred about once in three hours, between three and six aeroplanes being used. They did not seem to aim at any military objective, but their purpose was to demoralise the civil population.

PRECAUTIONS IMPOSSIBLE

Air raid precaution measures were almost impossible. Generally bombs had been dropped before the warning sirens sounded, and eventually the population had to retire to the hills.

Mr. Freeman had one particularly narrow escape when a bomb dropped a block or two away from his house.

Figure 51
Newspaper cutting with article on Peter Freeman. *Sheffield Independent*, 7 April 1938

MM would tell this story many times, focusing especially on the paintings left in the cottage. The most succinct version of her account is the following:

> Ben, Adrian and I went to rescue the paintings. We found them piled up on a long table which stretched the length of the room. We became completely engrossed in turning them over and looking at them. I felt something biting my leg and so the other two said: "Nonsense, you are imagining it." But later when I looked down at my trousers they had changed colour from navy to rust, a swarm of fleas was moving slowly up each leg. When the others got bitten we bundled the paintings into a rug and took them back to the house and put them in the garage. Ben went off and walked into the sea fully dressed, white cap and all. He had no trouble after that, but we had fleas for six months.[61]

As will be seen, however, all MM's versions, and SB's account as well, are problematic.[62]

SB seems not to have worked for AS for more than a few months. He would later link their having to stop working at Rocklands and at LPO with Helga's having once more become pregnant:

> Although the school was one of advanced Free Education based on the writings of A.S. Neill and Rudolf Steiner, devoted to the spirit and mind of the younger generation, there was no place for the yet unborn and we were told to go. Once more we trailed our few belongings out on to the Zennor Moors with horse and cart to a cottage lent to us by Robin Nance […][63]

Their daughter Janet ("Greta") was born on 4 July 1942, so this cannot have been before the autumn of 1941; certainly after 10 August, when AS wrote in a letter to AM that "Bluebeard", apparently his nickname for SB, was still coming to LPO.[64] And this was indeed still a busy time in the market garden. At the start of that month WS had been on holiday, perhaps recovering from an illness,[65] and (rain permitting) there were "a great many things to sow and all the currants to pick as well as potatoes to get up and hedges to clip".[66] Perhaps SB stopped working there at the beginning of September, when AS was able to take five days' "holiday", mainly to help his parents "abandon a flat" in London.[67] There is no further mention of SB in AS' correspondence until February 1942, when he wrote to GB that a new C.O. – "not the one with a beard but a very nice ex-volunteer to Spain whom one could not fail to respect in every way" – had arrived.[68]

✢

PF would later recall having met AS "almost by chance […] in the early summer of 1941".[69] The "almost" is justified by the fact that he was very probably then visiting his grandmother, Edith



Figure 52
Unidentified photographer,
Margaret Mellis with Telfer Stokes at Little Park Owles.
1940-41

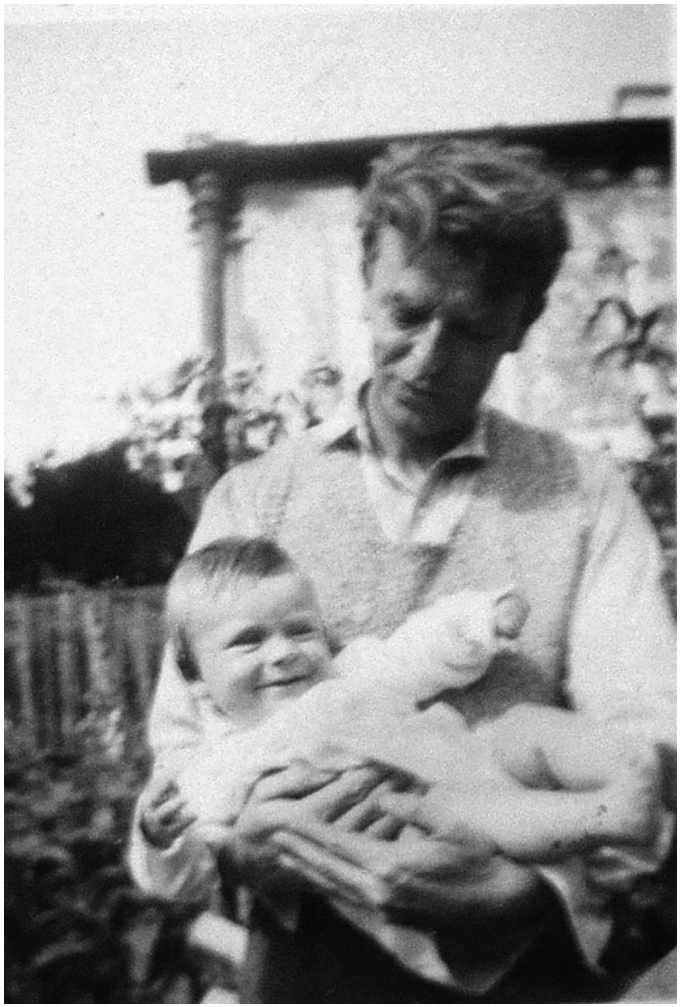


Figure 53
Unidentified photographer,
Adrian Stokes with Telfer Stokes at Little Park Owles.
1940-41

Marion Freeman (1853-1953) and aunt Ellen Dorothy ("Dolly") (1894-1986), possibly evacuated from London and now living in a house called Carn Dhu on the main St Ives-Lelant road, very close to the field which AS had taken over in the autumn of 1940.[70] They had perhaps already been joined by PF's mother, Edith Nora White (1882-1975), who was certainly in St Ives by February of the following year.[71] Learning that PF was "working on the land",[72] AS had suggested he join him in his "commercial enterprise". Doubtful, however, of his own, let alone an artist's ability "to run an enterprise of that sort", PF had let the matter drop.[73] By the late autumn, when SB had left and it would have been clear that WS must soon be called up (he had registered on 6 September), AS was faced with the prospect of managing the market garden on his own. So on 29 November he sent PF "a reply paid telegram […] repeating his original proposal".[74] PF would recollect having been "so taken aback" by the "business-like acumen" shown in this use of a reply paid telegram, that he "immediately wired [his] acceptance" of AS' offer.[75]

AS' assertion to GB that PF was a conscientious objector who commanded total respect seems to have been intended contrastively, though it is not clear whether the contrast intended was between PF and his immediate predecessor, SB (whom GB would have met when visiting LPO in the summer of 1941),[76] and their respective reasons for conscientious objection, or between the respect PF commanded and the disrespect widely enjoyed by objectors. A month or so after the start of the war GB had written to AS, "I feel one should really be a conscientious objector but I am so <determined> certain that Hitler is a bad thing that I feel I <[illegible]> may not refuse to join people who aren't so certain, in trying to put him down".[77] Might he have become less convinced that conscientious objection was morally the right choice? In any case, AS' repeated commendation to him of PF's political stance[78] shows the wish to signal his own approval. PF's subsequent assessment of AS' political orientation at this time was that he was "liberal, progressive, perhaps even anarchist":

> And I was also very far to the left, I'd been out in Spain, and this naturally interested Adrian and I used to spend a long time trying to analyse the situation as I had seen it in Spain, with regard to anarchism […] his ideas of anarchism were again that of an artist, mine were the ideas […] more of a professional, as I had seen anarchism being practised in Catalonia. I don't think he'd ever thought it out in a real political sense. He'd thought it out as everybody […] being or having ultimate responsibility for his actions[. He] didn't wish for any central direction, any governmental direction. He thought this was the ultimate ideal […] in a rather vague way[.][79]

PF was born in Sheffield, the eldest child of the socialist and anthroposophical educator and writer Arnold James Freeman (1886-1972) (AJF), described in 1940 by the Irish playwright and socialist George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) – one of his role models – as an "exceptional character" who had "spent his life in an attempt to achieve the spiritual regeneration and



Figure 54 Paul Tucker, *The Fishermen's Lodges on the Harbour Front, St Ives*. 2011



Figure 55 Unidentified photographer, *Graham Bell, Anne Olivier Popham and William Coldstream*. July 1941

aesthetic cultivation of the inhabitants [of Sheffield], mostly at his own expense".[80] PF's mother, Edith Nora, had graduated in the Art, Theory and History of Teaching from Bedford College, London, in 1904. Subsequently, she had taught at the North London Collegiate School.[81] Both originally from East London, the couple had married in 1914 and had moved to Sheffield, where AJF had been teaching for the Workers' Educational Association and had been offered work with the University Extension Movement.[82] In WWI he was granted exemption from military service on the condition he continue to lecture at, and undertake other work for the University.[83] In 1918 AJF founded and became the first Warden of the Sheffield Education Settlement.[84]

PF had graduated at Sheffield with a 1st Class Hons BEng in Electrical Engineering in 1937. For six months between 1937 and 1938 he had been in Spain, undertaking "the special work of reconditioning villas" in the refugee colony at Puigcerdà, Catalonia; and he had been in Barcelona during the bombing of the city **[fig. 51]**.[85] On returning to England in 1938 he had become a member of the Sheffield Coordinating Committee for Refugees, working with Czech, Spanish and Sudeten German exiles and also helping to set up camps for Spanish refugees in France.[86]

Like other men of twenty-four PF would have registered on 9 March 1940; and he appeared before the Yorkshire Tribunal for conscientious objectors at Leeds the following 3 May. "'If a wish to improve the social system is political, then I am afraid my conscientious objection is political,'" he told the Tribunal. His application was supported by AJF, who "said his son took a degree with very high technical honours, and out of hundreds of candidates he got a very good job at the B.B.C., which he gave up to do refugee work for a bare maintenance".[87] AJF endorsed this statement by pressing his own beliefs and actions: "He [AJF] had given his whole life to the service of humanity. Four Jewish children were maintained in witness's home, and his wife had rescued 40 children from Germany". In conclusion, PF was registered as a conscientious objector on the condition he carry out forestry work.[88] On 21 May 1941 (around the time he first met AS) he joined the Farm Training Scheme at Laurels Farm, Holton cum Beckering, in Lincolnshire.[89] He remained there until 18 August, when he left to work with the Wiltshire War Agricultural Committee.[90]

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In the first part of 1941, and no doubt throughout the year, AS' Home Guard duties involved night-watches at the harbour in St Ives: "We have to pass the boats by signal into the harbour and fire at them if they don't signal", he told GB in January.[91] Conditions in the guard room, on occasion one of the fishermen's "lodges" (shelters and meeting places) on the harbour front, of which three still survive **[fig. 54]**, often prevented constructive use of the time between watches; and in a later letter to GB AS bemoaned "the weekly night of boredom on the pier".[92] Yet an extended passage in *S&R* is evocative of inner oscillation between a sense of "rootlessness" and of honorary 'guardianship' of the landscape – by virtue of his agriculturally developed "strong tie with the Cornish soil"[93] – which belies the "brutal" lesson in "wasting time" thus imposed.[94]

Meantime, the household at LPO had once more augmented, not just from the arrival of AM and the birth of TrS **[figs 52-53]**, but from the appointment of a cook, a Mrs Horn (*alias* "the hornet"), who lived in the house with her evacuee daughter, Helena.[95]

As MM had promised her parents, a piano had been acquired for AM and had been placed in the granite passage.[96] Yet "there was nobody to teach" her and this course of study seemed unpromising. AS had then suggested she might learn to dance and had consulted Phyllis Bedells, whom he knew, and it was arranged that AM should attend her morning classes at the Palais de Danse, along with Mrs Horn's daughter (who would embarrass her by addressing her as "Miss Ann"). Every morning, before leaving for St Ives, she would take AS and MM morning tea, prepare TrS's bottles and see to his nappies. After the three-hour lesson she walked back to LPO and, before she could have her lunch, would have to get TrS to sleep. She was also expected to plan meals with or for the cook, which she would later remember had made her anxious. Towards July she took and (split tights notwithstanding) passed the first Royal Academy of Dance examination, in Exeter, after which she went back to Scotland for a month.[97]

On 10 August AS wrote her a letter full of news (and incidentally showing that they were now keeping bees and that the conscription of women was underway):

> Telfer is more lively than ever, correcting the news with his social cough demanding attention. The Spenders were [illegible] tomorrow for a time and the piano is still here. Bill Coldstream came for some nights and is coming again. He is absolutely wretched and lonely in Hackney […] You are missing a lot of fruit here. The mushroom bed is beginning, the potato digging has long been finished and the ground planted out. While the onions look as if they might eat one instead of the other way round. What lovely honey (and milk) you must have been having. We hope to raise some honey, perhaps today […] Milk has been plentiful because Peggy [MM] now drinks very little […] Molly has just gone and Seraphina still screams a lot. Ben [BN] and Barbara [BH] are still Ben and Barbara. Olive goes for her medical tomorrow. The weather has been like last summer since the day before you went, until it rained a bit this week. Gabo is now very haughty with the news, and leaves as soon as the Russian part is finished. The gramophone gets played very little […] I am about to have a row with Rawlplug about buying lettuces elsewhere when I have 300 going to seed. We have tens of thousands of early carrots. In early potatoes we lifted close on two tons. This is pretty good as farmers sometimes reckon 2 tons to the acre. The exemption inspector also came on his account when William [WS] was ill, said they were the best potatoes he had seen this year […] The hornet is knuckling under a bit. She took Telfer yesterday to a race meeting or gymkhana or something organized by Miss Passy.[98]

"The Spenders" were Stephen – who, after being evacuated with *Horizon* to Devon and teaching for a term at Blundell's School in Tiverton, had returned to London and had joined the National Fire Service[99] – and his second wife, the pianist Natasha Litvin (1919-2010). They had married on 9 April and had come to LPO the next day for their honeymoon, obliging AM to sleep in the granite passage and to cede the piano to Natasha.[100] SB would later recall having seen and heard Spender's "beautiful Russian mistress […] who used to play Chopin on the piano in the lower room of the house, the music moving to me across the lawns".[101] He would have been referring, though, to the couple's second visit to LPO, anticipated in the letter to AM just quoted and also in the following, from AS to JM:

> Stephen Spender is here again and has been questioning me about Drinan. He says he admired the poems in New Writing very much. Now that he is married again and going to live somewhere, he wants to collect all the books he admires, and would I ask Drinan to send him a copy of his last book. He thinks one was sent originally, but he has lost it. So, if Drinan cares, he can send Spender a copy c/o Horizon. His only criticism of Drinan is that he is inclined at times to be turgid. Obviously his admiration is great […] I should not be surprised if Stephen were spying for Fabers. He was seeing Eliot at Faber last week. I think he is convinced that I am Drinan.[102]

WC **[fig. 55]**, on the other hand, was now posted to Horfield Barracks, Bristol, as Camouflaging Officer for a large area in the West Midlands and south-west England. He was "wretched" no doubt on account of ongoing divorce proceedings and his unsatisfactory relationship with Sonia Brownell.[103]

There were other visitors too, owing not least to the fact, as stated by AS in a further and apparently unsuccessful invitation to ESW, "that this and other places near, [had] to assume the role of Palermo and the south of France for those who [had] less interest in Cornwall" (less interest than ESW himself, one infers). The early summer brought MG (who lent AS Arthur Koestler's recently published *Darkness at Noon*) perhaps with Desmond Bernal.[104] It also brought the Surrealist painter Julian Trevelyan (1910-1988), who came to Cornwall "periodically to inspect the camouflage of pill-boxes"[105] and who, as AM would remember, "slept on the floor" on bedding, afterwards "rolled up", and wore "wine-coloured pyjamas".[106]

Yet the most eagerly anticipated and certainly, for AS, the most memorable and intimately gratifying visit was the first made to LPO by GB and AOP **[fig. 55]**.[107] AS evidently felt close affinity with GB, manifesting keen, even urgent affection for him; and GB in return prized his friendship.[108] As seen earlier, a visit had first been solicited well before the war had begun.[109] And in later confessing to GB his growing irritation with "the Mandarins", BN and BH,[110] AS had pointedly deplored *his* inaccessibility and incommunicativeness: "As usual I don't know where to write to you".[111]

Between August and September 1940, "overjoyed" to receive a letter from GB but regretting their decision to go to Wales[112] rather than come to Cornwall (thus foregoing "the choice of studios lapped by the sea"), AS had again tried to persuade GB and AOP to visit LPO:

> At the moment we cannot put up two people for much more than a week. But that's still perfectly easy. Wouldn't the Admiralty pay your fare back if you had to go? Even so, I know it is far too short unless you are going to stay on in St Ives. You have no idea how beautiful it is – and stimulating. I think nobody has failed to find it so. But I expect it is too late. Maybe you will be sent to Plymouth and will then be able {to make} it here at intervals.[113]

And that autumn, after the birth of TrS, AS had suggested that if AM should at any time decide to return to Scotland, he might let GB know "in case Olivia [AOP] might be free, and might desire to take her place. We can think of no one we would prefer to have. It is worrying", he added, "she should still be in London".[114]

A little later, "an exciting, inspiriting letter" from GB had briefly revived in AS "the old feeling of looking forwards to the post".[115] The letter opening with these words elicited an intense response from GB, now in the RAF and stationed at Bodorgan, on the Isle of Anglesey:

> You cant imagine what sensations your letter roused in me – all the feelings of love and admiration I have for you fill me. Imagine the dreary scene – a school dormitory but not inhabited by fresh young people but dull complacent ones, raining and cold. I have a cold myself. Your letter so alive with intelligence and imagination calling to mind the days when we were philosophers trying to understand what was going on within and without. What horrible lives these people lead who are unmoved by poetry or indeed by anything which does not appear to affect their {physical} comfort. They are ordinary people with ordinary virtues, but why they live I cant imagine. When I read your letter I think of your limestone, and the ecstatic feelings I had when finding myself in the South of France, I first felt in sympathy with you. Things like wine and olives, the symbols of a frugal creative life. It is a month now since I shed a tear <[illegible]> in honour of a hero. Of course I don't think you love Cézanne personally the way I do. Still you must see what a train of images and feelings your letter roused in my sleeping intelligence.

And GB closed with the tantalizing news that he might be transferred to Torquay, in Devon, adding cautiously "but it isn't worth guessing or wishing".[116]

The transfer failed to materialize, however, because on 12 January 1941 GB broke a leg while playing football and was taken to Carnavon and Anglesey Infirmary in Bangor.[117] Later that month AS and MM were "truly moved to read so gradually (as in an E M Forster novel)" of GB's "most painful accident", but equally excited to hear he might spend his sick leave at LPO.[118] News of a maltreated toe was succeeded by two months' silence, leaving AS "entirely worried" and, retracting his earlier warning of the "small strain on the domestic arrangements" which the temporary accommodation of two might entail, emphasized that, if GB *were* to come, he would not "be wanted to do anything" and "could easily stay in bed all the time".[119]

A final solicitation – now in reality the merest hint of a hope – closed a letter of encouragement which must have been written towards the end of April or early May, so after the removal, on 18 April,[120] of GB's plaster:

> I have a vivid picture of you in a white room watching a hedge on your left, at right angles to you, coming into leaf. I feel I am doing the same. The mind beneath is rich but there is little on top. There is no leaf for us this year. It is in the past, and about the future we cannot dare to hope. I too feel I shall produce much better leaf if circumstance should ever allow. But don't be incredulous about your recumbent hedge. If not dead, we shall arise […] Hoping, as always, to see you some time. Do you realize that except for our wedding party and one <night> evening last May, we have not seen each {other} <since the end of 1937 or beginning of 1938 when you went to France> {for two years}?[121]

GB and AOP at last came to Carbis Bay that summer, staying at LPO from 28 July to 2 August. In letters written later in the year AS would hark back to the "one day" he had been able to spend "entirely" with them as "an anchor in [his] mind" and as the "one nice day of the war", on which he depended "more and more". "It would be perfect", he ventured, if GB "were sent to one of the aerodromes" nearby. "I still cling to that idea", he insisted, adding, "You have made me feel that nearly all those I have seen in the last two years are not my friends". And perhaps part of this feeling had been GB's capacity, on which AS remarked, to stimulate him to think about painting, his own included, and to look forward to the time he might once more be able to paint. He felt his "meagre skill" might perhaps have improved as a result of an earlier experience of teaching at a local school, as yet unidentified but possibly Rocklands, where both MM and AM seem to have taken classes the following year.[122] And GB and AS had no doubt also discussed the Euston Road Group exhibition that had opened in May at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[123] Alarmed by GB's "talk of a possible life without painting", AS had retorted that, if conditions in Britain were reduced even "half way" to those of Poland, AOP and he "had better join" them at LPO, and they would all "just hold life together". "But if things are at all possible", he went on, "you must return to the centre of things or come and paint down here, which is of course what I would prefer".[124]

Notes

1 AS unwittingly falls prey here to something of the same atavic prejudice as he imputes to the Nazis, in categorically opposing Neanderthals and Cro-Magnons and casting the former in the role of the brutish opposite of "anything unnatural or civilized" and "true man". Prejudice of the kind would not begin to be dispelled for several more decades, when it would be shown that, though diverging hundreds of thousands of years ago from a common ancestor, modern humans and Neanderthals not only co-existed after the arrival of the former from Africa, but also interbred (it is now thought around 50,000 years ago), leaving the genomes of all present-day non-Africans with a small percentage of Neanderthal DNA. Moreover, there is currently mounting, though still controversial evidence of Neanderthal behavioural and cognitive complexity, manifest in purportedly intentional forms of "graphic symbolism" long pre-dating the arrival of modern humans and transmitted over time, thus disruptive of those assumptions of linear progression previously constraining interpretation of the Neanderthals' place in the evolutionary scheme (see e.g. Garcia-Diez 2022; Romagnoli, Rivals, Benazzi 2022; Sümer et al 2024; Iasi 2024).

2 The Royal Cinema (see "Background I", 68 and fn. 135; "Background II", 110).

3 See "Background I", 63; *OIL* IV, f. 47*r*, 153 and Figure 37.

4 See "Background V", 197.

5 Originally the Teetotal Methodist Chapel, on the corner of Chapel Street, now (2025) a shopping centre.

6 See *OIL* V, f. 48*r*, 179.

7 See *OIL* VI, f. 48*r*, 209, and "Background VI", 215.

8 *OIL* V, f. 48*r*, 179.

9 *OIL* II, ff. 21*r*-22*r*, 88.

10 AS to ESW n.d. [after Easter (13 April) 1941], photocopy in SIA.

11 Knox 2003, 432, 435-6.

12 *Times*, 17 January 1941; Slack 1942, Appendix I, 318.

13 *Times*, 30 January 1941.

14 The article continues, "The first of the new age classes to register will be the youths of 19, and the last will probably be the eighteens […] In explanation of the new Proclamation the Ministry of Labour and National Service says:– '[…] Registration of further age classes will be accompanied by an amendment of the existing Schedule of Reserved Occupations. These amendments, besides raising the existing age of reservation in a number of cases, will make reservation depend to an increasing extent upon the actual work being done by the man for whom reservation is sought and not simply upon his age and occupation […] The 1922 class (18-year-olds) will probably be left until the last, and may not be required to register for some months".

15 Slack 1942, Appendix I, 318; *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, June 1941, 115.

16 GB to AOP n.d. [postmarked 20 May 1941], TGA 200214.

17 England & Wales 1939, ref. RG101/6705H/002/2.

18 A requirement specified in *Schedule* 1941, issued in December.

19 The Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour (Mr Tomlinson) in reply to Sir P. Hannon during a debate on Military Service (gardeners) in the House of Commons on 22 July 1941 (Hansard online: `https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/1941-07-22/debates/53d37053-033b-40a4-8e93-1a898f3a1451/MilitaryService(Gardeners)`). Cf. "Background IV", 171-2, and "Background VI", 243, fn. 54.

20 AS to ESW n.d. [after 13 April 1941], photocopy in SIA. In *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 218), AS would write, "During six years, except for Home Guard, for the sale of vegetables, for market garden purchases, I rarely went outside the two and a half acres" (not from reclusiveness or misanthropy, as presumed in Wilkinson 2017 [27]).

21 AS to ESW n.d. [after Easter, 13 April 1941], photocopy in SIA.

22 AS to GB n.d. [postmarked 11 January 1941], TGA 200214.

23 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 7 April 1941], TGA 200214.

24 See "Background I", 71, fn. 153.

25 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 29 January 1942, but probably dating from early December 1941], TGA 200214. The allusion was almost certainly to "that awful agricultural inspector, Mr Rowe", probably A.E. Rowe, District or Distributing Officer of the Cornwall War Agricultural Executive Committee (see *Western Morning News*, 15 January and 30 November 1943), who, AS had warned SB, was apt to be "looking over the hedge" at inopportune moments (Berlin 1945-87, 24; cf. 1994, 107).

26 Aarons 2016, 1-25.

27 *Morning News*, 13 November 1940. SB had told the Tribunal, "I do not intend to allow the State or any individual to interfere with the course of my progress while I am still in possession of the power of self government and the faculty of contemplation". Cf. Berlin 1994, 91 ("But the papers in Cornwall took it up and reported it in full as 'Pacifist faces Boomerang Argument'. I was derogated and the good will my show had built up was gone in a day. Public opinion turned against me, especially as I was living on the Parish. The board of Guardians complained and threatened again to expel me from Cornwall as D.H. Lawrence had been expelled in the first war. The Cornish are spy-mad in war time and trust nobody but themselves. I was arrested but not charged for drawing in the street and in a churchyard which was also HQ of the Local Defence and for 'signalling to a German submarine from the North Cliffs'").

28 Berlin 1994, 92-8; Aarons 2016, 28-9.

29 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 9 May 1941], TGA 200214.

30 Diary entry for 21 April 1941, quoted in Bird 2008 (57).

31 Berlin 1994, 98; Aarons 2016, 30-1.

32 Son of the engineer, spiritual healer and footballer, Frederick Lawrence Rawson (1859-1923) and Evelyn Trevelyan Cazalet (b. 1866).

33 Rawson later completed the history of the Fellowship begun by W. Boyd (Boyd, Rawson 1965). He was one of the chief organizers of the British Commonwealth Conference, held in London in 1931 (*St Andrews Citizen*, 6 February 1932). Rocklands School was wound up in 1944 (*London Gazette*, 2 January 1945) and Rawson went on to teach at Bryanston and Cranborne Chase. He was Chairman of the North Dorset

Liberal Association after the war and Liberal candidate for Dorset South in 1950.

34 Berlin 1994, 100. In a private memoir, the decorative artist George Oakes (1927-2017), who attended Rocklands in 1940-41 together with his sister Judith (b. 1930), would describe Rawson as "an irascible man who taught us French and maths" (Oakes 2005-10). In Wilkinson 2017 (14-5), Liza Spitzova from Lelant, who modelled for BH, is said to have worked at Rocklands at this time and to have referred to its headmaster as "'Ratty Rawson'".

35 "Rawlplug" was a contemporary brand of wall plug. In AS' and MM's correspondence "Rawlplug" is often cited in tandem with someone nicknamed "the wild goose", apparently a female and possibly Rawson's German wife, Hilde Neuffer (1897-1980), the daughter of the actor and director Dagobert Neuffer (1851-1939), of Hungarian Jewish origin. Formerly married to the violinist Max Strub (1900-1966), Hilde Rawson was herself a musician: when registered in 1939, at Rocklands School, Hastings, together with her son Harald Strub (1923-1988), later a cellist, her occupation was stated to be "Unpaid domestic duties & violin teacher" (England and Wales 1939, ref. RG101/2493L/022/33). She is perhaps to be identified with the "Hildegarde" who visits the author-narrator in the first chapter of SB's autobiographical *I am Lazarus*, and who is there said to have come into his and his wife's lives "like a sudden wind, almost a gale at times, driving everything before her": "She plotted, she counter-plotted, she altered all one's relationships with friends and with enemies. Behind this there was a burning hatred for Nazism which, when her political plans went wrong, she directed on the society around her. She wanted to change the world, to reshuffle all life's furniture. It was the force of her people turned on its head" (Berlin 1961, 3). On being informed by AS in December 1944 that a "letter from the wild goose" had "recently been wafted" to LPO, "headed with a note by Rawlplug himself", SB would reply, "How strange that the call of the wild goose should come again on the wind in the west – had it the note of migration? Is it possible that she may fold her huge wings in <her> your garden before long? As the war matures I feel the difficulties between herself & Rawlplug must have deepened considerably, & I wonder on whom she takes her revenge, & over whom he pours his milk of human kindness. <A complex [illegible] relationship.>" (AS to SB n.d. [after 26 December 1944]; SB to AS 30 December 1944, Anthony D. Green Collection (AGC).

36 Berlin 1945-87; 1994, 100. For Barns-Graham see "Background III", 139.

37 In a TS entitled "SB in Cornwall 1934-1953" and signed and dated in October 1964 (AGC), SB would write, "I worked as Gardener and taught children painting. My wife taught dancing". In Berlin 1994 (100), he wrote of the interview, "And Helga could teach dancing, although I was never forgiven for including her in her absence, in a joint commitment that included work she hated". Cf. Oakes 2005-10, which records that SB "had come to the school to teach art from being a dancer, sort of Latin American, he taught the girls a sort of modern ballet" (confirmed by Judith Oakes Wehrwein, who writes in a personal communication, 2025, "I have a strong memory of Sven Berlin. At the time, I understood him to be a former dancer. He attempted to teach us girls the rudiments of ballet"). Oakes 2005-10 further states, of one of the teachers at Rocklands, that she had come from a school previously attended by Oakes, Ocklye House, a Montessori school at Crowborough in East Sussex, and, startlingly, that she "became the mistress of Sven Berlin".

38 Berlin 1994, 100; cf. Berlin 1945-87, 34, where Rawson is reported to have told SB, "I want you to work part of the time at Adrian Stokes[']market garden. It will more properly meet your condition of exemption from military service. Working only at the school wont be enough and I dont want to upset the authorities". Cf. also Mellis 1981, 46-7 ("And Adrian went to see the headmaster and the headmaster said he had got a couple there and […] he could lend the man out and the man was Sven Berlin and he did the stoking for the school. The schoolmaster had found Sven and Helga, who was just about to have a child, absolutely starving somewhere so he took them in and I don't know what Helga probably did"); and Mellis 1993, tape 4131A ("there was a school which had been evacuated from London and they hired out somebody they had found and we had to pay them. Well the person they found was Sven Berlin because this school master had found Sven and Helga in absolute poverty and they sort of got them to the school and Helga was did a job there with the sort of matron and Sven did the sort of odd jobs and things").

39 This was the day Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess (1894-1987) was arrested in Glasgow after making a solo flight there with the intention of holding peace talks with the Duke of Hamilton. SB would later recall how AS had come "hurrying towards [him] with the news that Rudolph Hess had dropped into Scotland in a parachute and his cleaning lady, who had told him before it was announced, declared that 'Hess carried a typewriter, Mr Stokes, my 'ansome, that typed out terrible diseases'" (Berlin 1994, 107). However, in Berlin 1945-87, this episode is said to have been recounted to SB by AS when painting his portrait in 1945 (see "Background VIII", 302 and Figure 75).

40 SB to AS 29 September 1944, AGC.

41 Berlin 1994, 106-7; Berlin 1945-87, 24. Cf. Mellis 1993, tape 4131A: "So he [SB] came to work and then Ben [BN] and Barbara [BH] used to come over quite a lot so we introduced him to them and I used to bring tea out at 4 o'clock everyday and everybody came and ate it on that balcony and Sven rather enjoyed tea actually he was the kind of person that didn't really like working very hard so Adrian had to keep him going all the time and he always stayed and had tea much longer as long as he possibly could".

42 Berlin 1996, 157.

43 Berlin 1994, 100-1.

44 Berlin 1994, 101. The passage continues, "I called him the Asian Bowman after a drawing by Pisanello. To go for a walk with Gabo was like passing through the invisible frames of existence when every tree, every flower, every stone and star was transformed into a beautiful construction".

45 Evidence of the impact on SB of Gabo's work in particular at this time is offered by the memoir of George Oakes, in whose view SB "really thought of himself as an artist, very bohemian, he was a good draughtsman, drew landscape rather in the fashion of Van Gogh, I remember I thought this very clever and envied his ability. He also made up small three dimensional abstracts painted on sheets of glass.

He became associated with the then St Ives school. Although I cannot remember exactly I'm sure he must have introduced us to the wider art world, the post Impressionists and people like Ben Nicolson and Barbara Hepworth" (Oakes 2005-10; for BH's presence at the school see fn. 43). Aarons 2016 (15) instances a "raffish pencil self-portrait dated 12 October 1941" and featuring "a small 'construction' in the corner" as an example of SB's experimentation in this period with abstraction and constructivism, inspired and encouraged by Naum Gabo". An apparently similar drawing, dated 1942, was put up for sale by Dreweatts, Newbury on 11 July 2024 (lot 65).

46 Mellis 1993, tape F4130B. The following spring, BN would choose two of MM's collages to show, alongside work by himself, BH, Peter Lanyon, John Wells (1907-200) and Gabo, in the exhibition *New Movements* 1942 (Mellis 1977; Stephens 2008, 60).

47 In the summer of 1939, disoriented after his return to Cornwall from London, where, at AS' suggestion, he had studied for two months at the Euston Road School, Lanyon took lessons from BN, again at AS' suggestion, producing works such as *Box Construction No. 1*, 1939-40 (Pier Gallery, Stromness) and *White Track*, 1939-40 (Tate St Ives) (Garlake 1998, 15-7; Checkland 2000, 186).

48 He later recalled seeing his first AW in the "morning", "Quiet" or "Waiting Room" at Rocklands just before his interview with the headmaster (Berlin 1945-87, 34; 1949, 105; [1949, 1992] 2000, 88; 1994, 100). According to one account of this episode (1994, 100), it was SB's co-interviewee, Wilhelmina Barns-Graham (see "Background III", 139), who identified the artist for him. According to another (1945-87, 34-5), it was Rawson (perhaps its owner) who told him "about Ben Nicholson and Christopher Wood discovering Wallis painting in his cottage in 1928" and explained that BN and BH "lived only a few door{s} down the road from the school" and that they "had a great collection of Wallis' work and would not be difficult to meet". According to this same account, indeed, SB did immediately meet BH, at lunch that day in the school's dining-hall, where he found her sitting next to Rawson's "German wife", and was invited by her to go and view their collection. To judge from SB's description of the painting (1994, 100: "It was of a ship coming into harbour, but the sea, the houses and the harbour itself were turning round it like a wheel of which the ship was the axis. It was a new experience and I realised that this is how it must feel to be in a ship at the wheel steering it into harbour. It was painted in low tones of brown and green and white"), it must have been similar in composition, though not in colour, to *St Ives Harbour* (1932-1933), which the previous year BN had presented to the Museum of Modern Art, New York (`https://www.moma.org/collection/works/38737?artist_id=6229&page=1&sov_referrer=artist`).

49 SB to AS 18 March 1943, AGC. In Berlin 1941-42 AW himself (along with AS) figures in a list of persons SB intended to interview, showing that he had begun his researches well before the painter's death on 29 August 1942.

50 Berlin 1943; Nicholson 1943.

51 Berlin 1949; [1949, 1992] 2000. See "Background I", 67 and Figure 18 and "Background VI", 230, fn. 91.

52 Berlin 1994, 101; cf. Berlin 1945-87, 34.

53 Berlin 1994, 106.

54 See "Background VII", 284, and "Background VIII", 305-8. Webb (2025, 438) even claims, it is not clear how justifiably, that tension between AS and BN over AW – specifically, resentment on BN's part at AS' befriending of AW – predated BN's removal to Dunluce and even motivated AS' offer to pay its rent.

55 As is repeatedly stressed in Webb 2025.

56 Berlin 1949, 105. Apparently inconsistent with this account is a letter from AS to BN written after the publication of Berlin 1949: "I made a point of showing them [his framed paintings by AW] to everyone while at the same time, illogically, owing to a scruple about his being your protégé so far as he was anyone's, I never visited him or saw him after 1939 when you were in St Ives, until I went with you to Madron. I saw him no more than 3 or 4 times in all. § It is very unfortunate that we didn't know of his illness, of his incapacity and of the workhouse threat and what it meant to him" (AS to BN 8 March 1949, TGA 8717.1.2.4562 [Janet Sayers' transcription]). Webb 2025 (493) implies that AS was being dishonest here. However, that he avoided seeing AW after the beginning of the war for the reason stated is in part at least confirmed in Mellis 1981 (41): "Well, when we first went down there we sort of looked after him only he was Ben's property so to speak so after Ben came we didn't go to see him quite so much because Ben went to see him then"). Also, AS may have meant it was unfortunate they had not known of his illness, etc. prior to the situation's becoming critical in the summer of 1941.

57 Webb 2025, 461.

58 Mellis 1993, tape F4230A; cf. Nicholson 1943 (53): "One day, on knocking at his door, I could get no answer and discovered from a neighbour that he had been ill and had been taken to Madron Institute".

59 Berlin 1949, 105; [1949, 1992] 2000, 88.

60 Berlin 1949, 111.

61 Lambirth 2010, 43, quoted from an interview with the author.

62 See "Background VI", 237-8.

63 Berlin 1994, 102; cf. 1992, 16. Robert ("Robin") Nance (1907-1990) was a Cornish cabinet maker, then serving in the army. Rocklands does not appear to have been a Steiner school in any formal sense, i.e. specifically a Waldorf school, as might be inferred from Aarons 2016 (30) and Wilkinson 2017 (12). Interestingly, though, Hilde Neuffer's parents were friends of Steiner's, who was godfather to her brother Harald (d. 1917) (Steiner [1925] 1977, 221; Seig 2014, 106).

64 AS to AM n.d. [10 August 1941] TGA 202412.

65 AS to AM n.d. [10 August 1941] TGA 202412.

66 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 3 September 1941], TGA 200214.

67 He also "spent ½ hour with Victor [VP] and ¼ hour at the National Gallery", where he encountered KC, who wanted to show him "Graham's" new pictures. To AS' shock, this turned out to be a reference, not to GB, but to Graham Sutherland (1903-1980), whose work AS found "[m]ore or less meaningless" (AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 29 January 1942, but probably dating from early December 1941]). In writing to ESW two years later about his essay on Sutherland for the Penguin Modern Painters series (1943), AS would express a more

favourable, though still highly qualified assessment of the painter, as the epitome of a certain "type of romanticism", possessing "a great deal more purely visual worth than was to be expected"; and he would tell how he had met Sutherland "for a few moments" in Cornwall (where between June and December 1942 the artist made sketches of miners and the underground workings of Grevor tin mine, Pendeen, near St Just, for the War Artists Advisory Committee [Tate [1995] 1996, 101]); and how he had "liked him very much" (AS to ESW n.d. [1943], photocopy in SIA).

68 AS to GB n.d. [end of February 1942], TGA 200214. AS had previously informed GB, "William [WS] has to go in the New Year and I have a C.O coming to work. How shall we drill in 2 tons of early potatoes and sow the carrots and onions. He is a very nice chap called Peter Freeman who organized refugee camps in Spain and is, I believe, exempted on political [illegible] grounds. But I have seen him for only a few hours" (AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 29 January 1942, but probably dating from early December 1941]). PF was not, as stated in Lambirth 2010 (34), an evacuee.

69 Freeman 1973.

70 See "Background IV", 171-2. On 29 September 1939 PF's grandmother and aunt were registered at 1, Barnoon Terrace in St Ives. By 21 February 1941 a "Mrs Freeman" was living at Carn Dhu (she advertised for a garden seat in the *St Ives Times*, giving that address). In the interview cited in fn. 119 (177), Arthur Rogers remembered a Mrs Freeman, associated by him with PF, as living at Carn Dhu.

71 See "Background VI", 222, 226.

72 A probable reference to the training undertaken at Holton cum Beckering (see below).

73 Freeman 1973.

74 The telegram would subsequently be incorporated into Figure 77.

75 Freeman 1973.

76 See below. SB's depiction of AS in his autobiographical writings is almost invariably, perhaps a little ingratiatingly, flattering. A different note, hard to decipher, seems to emerge in a letter to his wife Helga written towards the end of the war: "I've been laying here thinking of earlier days in the war: days at Rocklands when Paul was <a> quite a <q> tiny fellow & I was a respectable schoolmaster. Rawson playing Brassbound on the lawn. Adrian turning up to an end of term garden party in a <lime> <lily> {lime} green suit, very nervous, smiling out of the side of his face, saying 'Really, Sven, how terrifying. I dont know any of these people!' Only there because he sold vegetables to the school. Contemptuous really. Laughing to himself. What ridiculous levels this war has reduced us to – our hopes and ideals – even our most ordinary requests from life seem out of proportion <[illegible]> as time goes on. That was a world of strange people" (SB to Helga Berlin 17-18 December 1944, AGC). The reference to "Brassbound" is to an outdoor performance of the play *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* by George Bernard Shaw (in which Judith Oakes Wehrwein took part, personal communication, 2025).

77 GB to AS n.d. [after 9 October 1939], ASP, TGA 8816.230.

78 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 29 January 1942]; n.d. [end of February 1942], TGA 200214.

79 Freeman 1973.

80 Gibson 2023, 15, 17, 63.

81 Gibson 2023, 153.

82 Gibson 2023, 154.

83 *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 7 September 1916; cf. Gibson 2023, 20, 157.

84 His brother Ralph (1880-1950) was a civil engineer who helped design the Sydney Harbour Bridge (opened in 1932). Of their siblings, Frank (1890-1955) was also a bridge designer, whereas Peter (1888-1953) was Labour MP for Brecon and Radnorshire (1929-31) and for Newport (1945-56).

85 See also *South Yorkshire Times*, 24 February 1939. According to Sheffield University Records and Archive, PF was an Instructor under the Spanish Republican Government's Ministry of Education from 1937 to 1939. According to his daughter Pam (personal communication, 2025), during the Civil Wat PF helped orphaned children.

86 *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 14 February 1939, 7 March 1939, 2 June 1939, 19 June 1939. PF had also acted the part of Titus in his father's play *St Paul*, whose British premiere was given at the Little Theatre, Sheffield – "the heart of the Settlement's activities" – in June (*Shefield Independent*, 11 June 1938; Gibson 2023, 185).

87 *Sheffield Independent* (11 June 1938) also reported that PF had "relinquished a B.B.C. appointment to engage in relief work in Spain on behalf of the International Voluntary Service for Peace".

88 *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 3 May 1940; cf. Makin 2022, 35 ("Mercantile marine, forestry, land work").

89 The farm had been purchased that spring by the Community Land Training Association via the Peace Pledge Union and a public appeal for funds in *Peace News* (Makin 2022, 8-10). A prominent member of the Union was John Middleton Murry (1889-1957) (who had written a Preface to *TA*).

90 Makin 2022, 35. PF's training at Holton covered "Draining. Muck spreading. Milking – hand & machine. Ploughing. Market garden. Hand distributing artificals [*sic* = fertilizers]. Horse harrowing. Beet singling. Hoeing. Binding. Mowing grass. Silage. Hay etc. Fertilizer distributing [with] horses". For PF's work at LPO with AS and later career, see "Background VI", 217-21.

91 AS to GB n.d. [postmarked 11 January 1941], TGA 200214.

92 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 9 May 1941], TGA 200214.

93 *S&R* (Stokes 1978, II, 223). PF would later say of him, "I felt he was natural to Cornwall […] he really had […] an attraction to the soil" (Freeman 1973).

94 See "On Home-Guard night-watches", 182.

95 AS to ESW [after 13 April 1941], photocopy in SIA.

96 See "Background I", 68, and "Background IV", 167. The piano seems to have been hired (see the letter from AS to AM quoted immediately below) and was delivered by the Penzance removal firm of R.P. Andrewartha (later Riviera Furniture Removals, Ltd), giving rise to AM's nickname at LPO, "Andrew".

97 AS to AM n.d. [10 August 1941] TGA 202412 (Janet Sayers' transcription); AM, interviews with Janet Sayers, 1998, 2006; Stokes

Angus 2003, tapes F12925, F13549; AM, interview with Paul Tucker, 2011.

98 AS to AM n.d. [10 August 1941] TGA 202412 (Janet Sayers' transcription). "Molly" was possibly the nurse who helped deliver TrS (see AM to MM n.d. [autumn 1953?], EMM). "Seraphina" was Nina Serafina Gabo, born 28 July 1941. For Olive Buttree see "Background II", 101, 110. Miss Passy was the headmistress of another evacuated school, the Brush End. The Horse Show and Gymkhana was held on 9 August (*Cornishman*, 14 August 1941).

99 Cf. AOP to GB 27 February [1941], where it was reported that Spender was reserved as editor of *Horizon* and was to teach at The Downs, Malvern, where WHA had taught before going to America.

100 MM Diary 1941 (EMM); MM 1977 (TGA 7817.6); AM, interview with Janet Sayers, 2007.

101 Berlin 1945-87; cf. Berlin 1994, 107.

102 AS to JM n.d. [after 10 August 1941], JMP, NLS, Acc.10509/5 (cf. Fountain 2010, 300, 315). That spring three poems from the sequence later titled *The Men of the Rocks* had appeared in *Folios of New Writing* 3, 64-7. On JM's pseudonym see "Background III", 139. "Eliot" is the poet and Director of Faber and Faber T.S. Eliot (see 79, fn. 33).

103 Laughton 2004, 77-80.

104 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in letters from GB to AOP postmarked 7 April and 9 May 1941], TGA 200214. For Bernal see "Background III", 139, and *OIL* VI, f. 49*r*, 205.

105 AS to GB n.d. [early May 1941], TGA 200214.

106 AM, interview with Janet Sayers, 2006.

107 For their second visit see "Background VI", 228-9.

108 GB to AOP n.d. [postmarked 27 May 1941], TGA 200214. GB told AOP that the poet Robert Waller (1913-2005) was going on a cycling tour and hoped to call on AS. "I hope they will both enjoy it", he commented. "Though both poets they are very far apart and Adrian is as devout in his paganism as Robert is in his Christianity. Those two and Tommy [the painter Thomas Carr (1909-1999)] are really my favourite friends. Theyre more generous than Bill [WC] can bring himself to be. Its funny to think of Robert's serious Christianity confronted with the old Galleazzo, Gattamelata, Malatesta, Sforza Stokes".

109 See "Background I", 71.

110 See "Background II", 104.

111 AS to GB, n.d. [postmarked 9 October 1939] TGA 200214.

112 GB had been in south Wales earlier in the summer for the Recording Britain scheme.

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

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

115 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 7 November 1940], TGA 200214.

116 GB to AS n.d. [GB to AS [between December 1940 and January 1941], ASP, TGA 8816.230.

117 GB to AOP n.d. [postmarked 14 January 1941], TGA 200214.

118 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 3 February 1941], TGA 200214.

119 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 7 April 1941], TGA 200214.

120 GB to KC n.d. [3 May 1941], TGA 8812.1.3.203.

121 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in a letter from GB to AOP postmarked 9 May 1941], TGA 200214.

122 See fn. 80 (243). Possibly, however, the school in question was one for girls (see below in this note); though according to Oakes 2005-10 Rocklands was then attended by only a few boys. During his visit AS had told GB in confidence of his disappointment at the response of WC and VP when they had been shown certain "olive pictures" he had painted in Italy, probably in 1938 (see "Background I", 61, and "Background III", 139, and Figures 31 and 33). In now excusing this as the attitude of "excellent artists" to the work of a "wayward pupil", he instanced his own resentment when, two months after teaching them, he had had to choose "the best of the girls' pictures for a school exhibition" (perhaps the festival organized in July 1941 by the Association of Schools Evacuated to Cornwall, for which see "Background IV", 171), and had found that these were by the pupil "to whom [he] could teach very little" (AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in letters from GB to AOP postmarked 3 September 1941], TGA 200214. The former episode seems related to an experience recounted by the painter Lawrence Gowing (1918-1991) in Rhode 1973a. Gowing, who had himself studied at the Euston Road school, confessed to not having known what to say when, shown paintings – to his eye "disconcertingly amateurish, strangely unemphatic[,] almost fortuitously smeared" – which AS had brought back with him from Italy (presumably in 1938, but Rhode's confusing presentation of Gowing's testimony makes it unclear whether the pictures in question might not rather have been those painted in 1937 at Sanary [see "Background I", 61]).

123 Reviewed (nominally) by Sonia Brownell in May issue of *Horizon*.

124 AS to GB n.d. [enclosed in letters from GB to AOP postmarked 3 September 1941 and 29 Jan 1942], TGA 200214.



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

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

[f. 48r ctd] Dec 7th 1942

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

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

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

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

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

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

c *which watches*: which <also> watches

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

In Short (1942)

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

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

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

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

d *to alter*: to allter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

f *What attitudes*: What attitude{s}

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a *the range*: the <image> range

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Background VI

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

✢

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

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

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

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

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

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

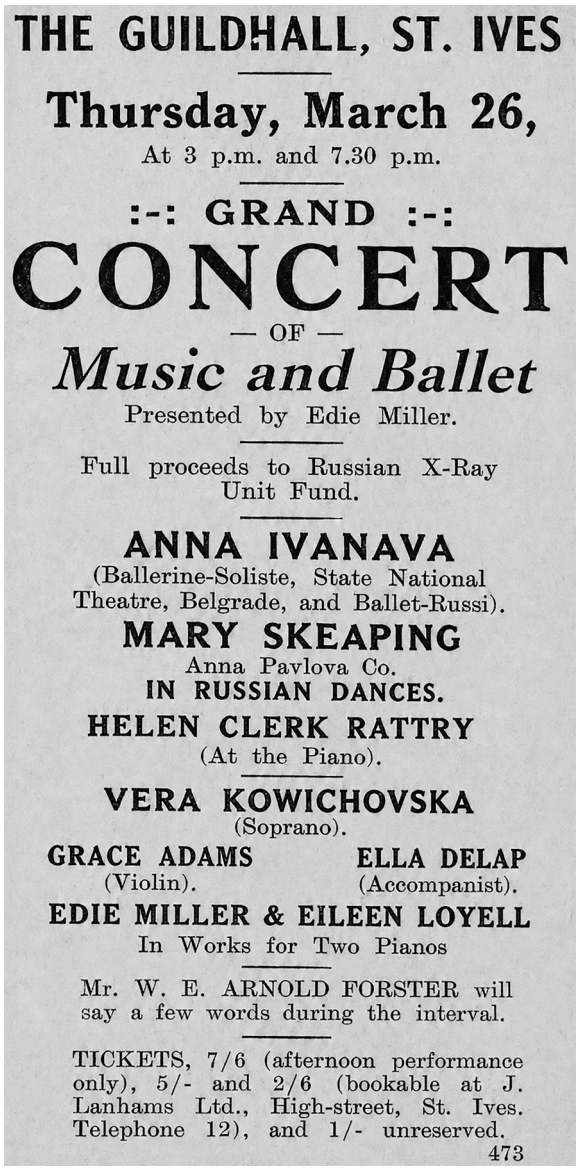
> He had a […] more earthy or more practical idea of time for instance – his times were judged in the manner of […] sense-perceptive images – for instance […] he thought of time as related to the whistlings of the train going through the cutting at Carbis Bay, [or] when he was summoned to tea on the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

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

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

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

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



THE GUILDHALL, ST. IVES

Thursday, March 26,

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

:-: GRAND :-:

CONCERT

— OF —

Music and Ballet

Presented by Edie Miller.

Full proceeds to Russian X-Ray Unit Fund.

ANNA IVANAVA

(Ballerine-Soliste, State National Theatre, Belgrade, and Ballet-Russi).

MARY SKEAPING

Anna Pavlova Co.

IN RUSSIAN DANCES.

HELEN CLERK RATTRY

(At the Piano).

VERA KOWICHOVSKA

(Soprano).

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

EDIE MILLER & EILEEN LOYELL

In Works for Two Pianos

Mr. W. E. ARNOLD FORSTER will say a few words during the interval.

TICKETS, 7/6 (afternoon performance only), 5/- and 2/6 (bookable at J. Lanhams Ltd., High-street, St. Ives. Telephone 12), and 1/- unreserved.

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SEE RUSSIA!

SOVIET LIFE EXHIBITION.

AT LANHAM'S GALLERY, ST. IVES.

OPEN DAILY, 11 a.m. to 6 p.m., until, and including, SATURDAY, February 14th.

A SHORT ADDRESS EACH AFTERNOON AT 3 P.M.

Wednesday: MISS MARGARET KENNEDY.
Thursday: N. GABO, Esq.
Friday: MRS. ARNOLD FREEMAN.
Saturday: W. E. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Esq.

Also SALE OF TOYS, GRAMOPHONE RECORDS and BOOKS.

The profits of the Exhibition will go to the St. Ives Committee for Soviet Aid-Mobile X-Ray Unit Fund. (Treasurer: F. J. A. Woore, Esq, National Provincial Bank Ltd. St. Ives).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

✢

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

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



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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Background VI
Paul Tucker

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

✢

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

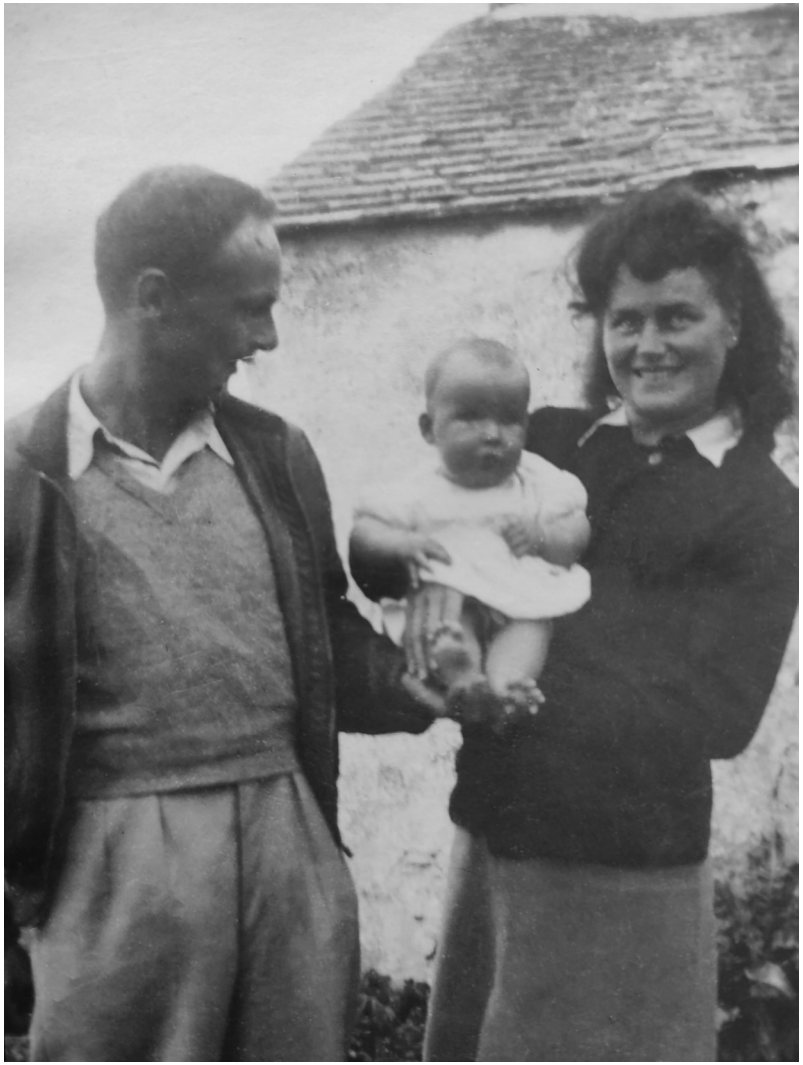


Figure 64
Unidentified photographer,
Peter Freeman and Peggy Dobson with their Daughter Pearl.
1945



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

✣

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

1 See fn. 55 (243).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

85 Webb 2025.

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

87 See 232-3.

88 Webb 2025, 470.

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

90 Webb 2025, 409, 429.

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

92 Webb 2025, 446.

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

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

95 Webb 2025, 477-8.

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

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

98 Berlin 1994, 103.

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

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

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

102 Mellis 1977.

103 Webb 2025, 477.

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

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

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

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

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

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

109 Webb 2025, 477.

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

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

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

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

114 Webb 2025, 476-80.

115 Webb 2025, 477.

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

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

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

119 Webb 2025, 484.

120 Webb 2025, 484.

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

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

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

124 Berlin 1949, 115.

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

126 Mullins 1968, 44.

127 Freeman 1973.

128 Berlin 1949, 115.

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



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. 50*r*][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. 49*v* blank; f. 50*r* 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. 51*r*][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, are[i] 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. 50*v* blank; f. 51*r* numbered top right] 44

e *otherwise*: otherwize

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.[8] 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. 52*r*][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*: embarassing

d *brazenness*: brazeness

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

i [f. 52*r* 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. 53*r*][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.[f|15]

[f. 54*r*][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. 52*v* blank; f. 53*r* 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. 53*v* blank; f. 54*r* 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. 55*r*][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 Crom[28] 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 grass[30]

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. 54*v* blank; f. 55*r* 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 quaint[i] 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?[j][32] 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. 56*r*][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. 55*v* blank; f. 56*r* 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. 57*r*][g] morale, but to the pursuit of truth, cannot be over-estimated.[h|38] 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 days[41] 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. 57*r* 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. 58*r*][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 Eddington[47] – 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. 58*r* 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 a[i] more satisfactory mode, the essential dualism.

a *posit*: posite

b of view: of <vew> view

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

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

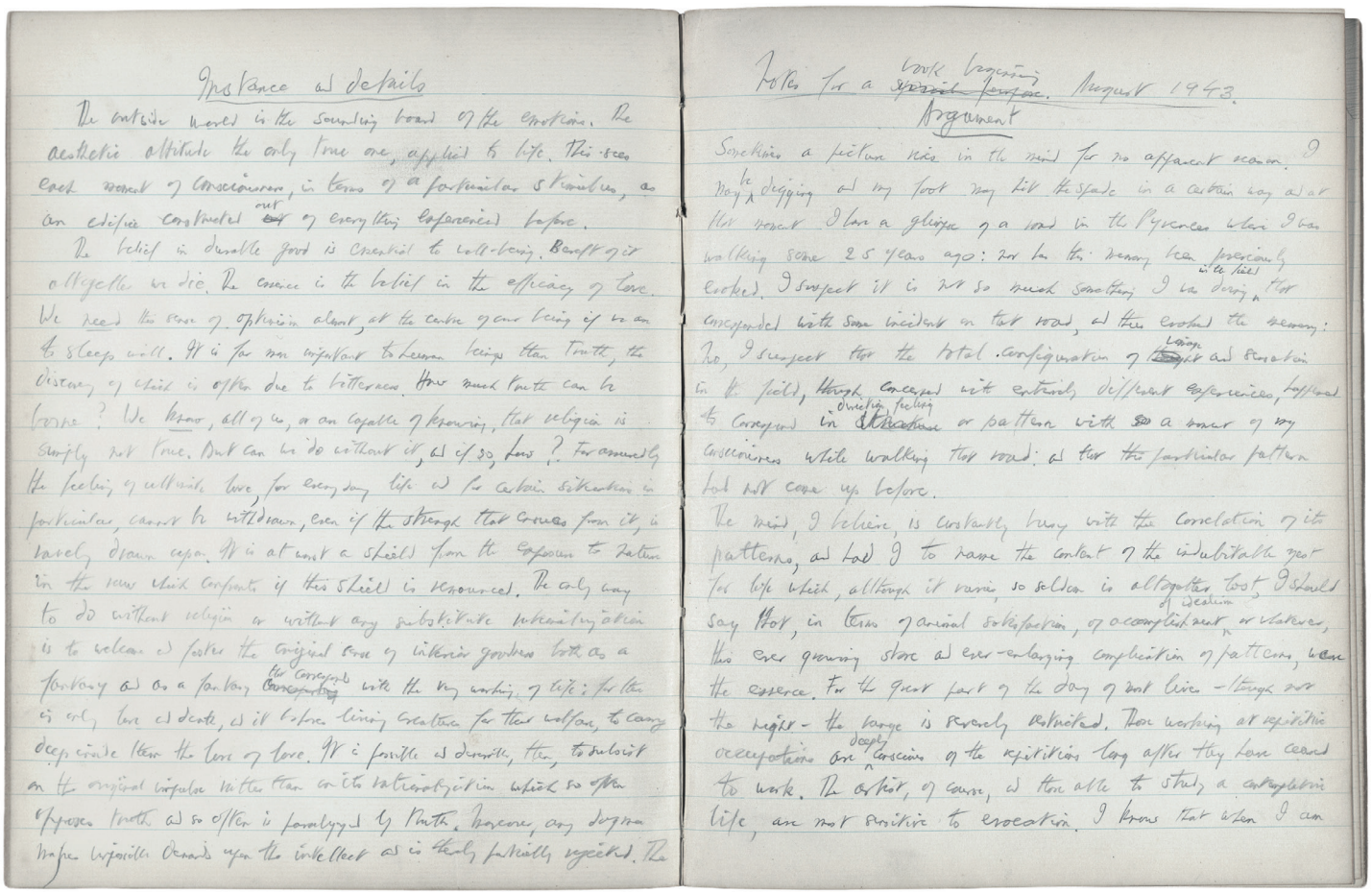
e *ever conceived the fact of illusion*: ever <realized> {conceived} the <fact> {fact} of illusion

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

g [f. 58*v* numbered top right] 52

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

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



Importance of details

The outside world is the sounding board of the emotions. The aesthetic attitude the only true one, applied to life. This seeks each moment of consciousness, in terms of a particular structure, as an edifice constructed out of everything (experience) before.

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 this 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, as an 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 everything life and for certain situations in particular, cannot be withdrawn, even if the strength that comes from it is rarely drawn upon. It is at least a shield from the exposure to pattern in the new risk confronts if this shield is renounced. The only way to do without religion or without any substitute whatever is to welcome and foster the original sense of hitherto goodness both as a tendency and as a feeling corresponding with the very working of life: for then is only love to devote, and it before living creatures for their welfare, to carry deep inside them the love of love. If 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 paralysed by truth, moreover, any dogma makes impossible demands upon the intellect as is thereby forcibly rejected. The

Notes for a book beginning August 1943.

Argument

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 at that moment. I have a glimpse of a road in the Pyrenees where I was walking some 25 years ago: not as the memory has previously evoked. I suspect it is not so much something I was doing at the time that corresponded with some incident on that road, as that evoked the memory: no, I suspect that the total configuration of vision and sensation in the field, though connected with entirely different experiences, happened to correspond in structure or pattern with some corner of my consciousness while walking that road: as that particular pattern had not come up before.

The mind, I believe, is constantly busy with the correlation of its patterns, and led I to name the content of the indubitable quest for life which, although it varies so seldom is altogether lost, I should say that, in terms of mental satisfaction, of accomplishment or of decision or whatever, this ever growing store 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 occupations are deeply conscious of the repetitions long after they have ceased to work. The artist, of course, and those able to study a contemplative life, are not sensitive to evocation. I know that when I can

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 moment[i] 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. 12*r*] 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 structures[i] 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.[k|62]

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.[i|64] To project is to distort etc[j|65]

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 feels[n] 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 so[i] 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. 10*v*; 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. 11*v*]** 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. 12*v*]** 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 guilt[i] 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. 13*v*]** 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 permissable

b *purely subjective disassociation*: purely subjective dissassociation

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 ages[81] 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]

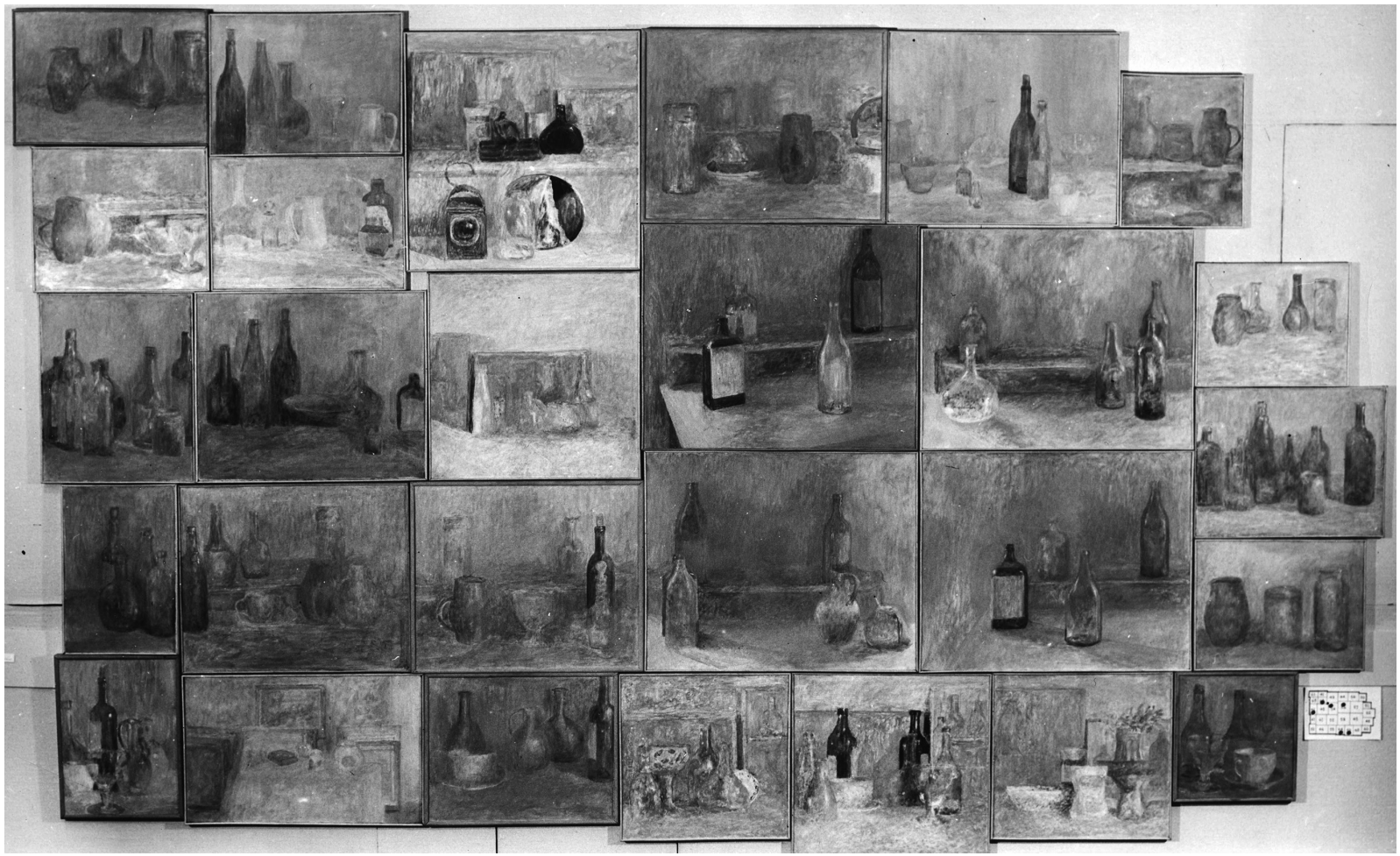


Figure 70 Unidentified photographer, *Twenty-Eight Still Lifes by Adrian Stokes*, Marlborough Fine Art Ltd, London, 1965



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 July[115] 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]

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 Trigant 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 intensity[133] 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 to[141] 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 Easter[165] 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 Bay[177] and only a day after he had handed in the MS to the publisher.



The MacLeods at Home

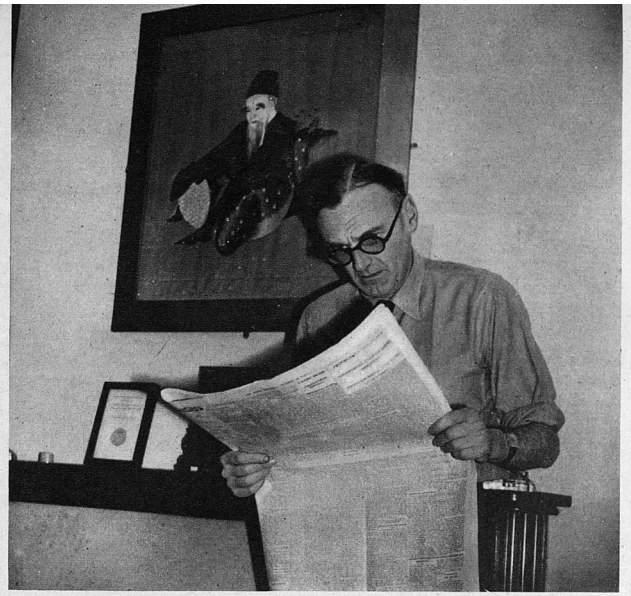
● Joseph MacLeod, one of the B.B.C.'s most popular wartime announcers, is going into the film business as managing director of Scottish National Film Studios.

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

Photographs by Pictorial Press



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



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. 41*r*, 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 Miranola (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. 58*r*, 255 and fn. 50.

5 Cf. *OIL* III, ff. 37*r*-38*r*, 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 fist 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. 42*r*, 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. 11*r*, 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. 13*r*-14*r*, 263 ("It is strange to me […] the original terms of dualism"); "Envoi", 270 ("With the aid of reason […] to this process") and "Writing", f. 17*r*, 293 ("it is then the boundless mystique […] the apparel of our passion").

25 See the "Introduction", 26.

26 Cf. "Background III", f. 34*r*, 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. 11*r*, 44 ("Similarly, all of us have felt […] increased clarity for us") and *OIL* II, f. 27*r*, 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. 41*r*, 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 (psycho-analysis 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. 2*r*, 211 ("There is the obstinate presence […] of a medieval prose-poetry") and f. 4*r*, 212 ("a rotten medieval morale").
50 Cf. ff. 50*r*-51*r*, 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 reverenced 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. 38*r*, 124 ("We do not deal in unrelated essences"); IS, f. 1*r*, 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. 50*r*, 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. 52*r*, 253 ("The lust for life [...] in rare circumstances") and f. 12*r*, 262 ("the pleasure of the very zest of life").
59 Cf. *OIL* I, ff. 13*r*-14*r*, 48 ("The naked facts of life […] the outer in terms of the inner"); f. 16*r*, 51 ("The motive forces [...] yet complementary colour"); II, f. 24*r*, 90 ("The few primary sources […] surface of its bodies"); IS, f. 3*r*, 211 ("The few primary sources […] surface of its bodies") and "Envoi", 270 ("With the aid of reason […] previous structures").
60 Cf. I&D, f. 11*v*, 266 ("The aesthetic attitude […] everything experienced before") and "Envoi", 270 ("Within the terms […] moment of consciousness").
61 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 18*r*, 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. 10*v*, 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. 54*r*, 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. 1*r*, 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. 3*r*-4*r*, 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. 10*r*, 44: "So-called ordinary people […] from present circumstance".
67 Cf. IS, ff. 2*r*-3*r*, 211 ("We are alive [...] life and death define each other"); I&D, f. 10*v*, 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. 11*v*, 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. 15*r*, 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. 13*r*, 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. 18*r*, 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. 58*r*, 259 ("My theme […] object of contemplation") and NBA, f. 14*r*, 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. 2*r*, 211 ("the revival, the re-growth, of a medieval prose-poetry"), 4*r*, 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. 2*r*-3*r*, 211 ("We are alive […] define each other"); I&D, f. 10*v*, 266 ("for there is only love and death") and NBA, f. 15*r*, 265 ("The most generalized apprehension […] life and of death").
83 Cf. I&D, f. 11*v*, 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. 10*v*-13*v*, 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. 16*r*, 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. 2*r*, 5*r*, 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 multiform of expression, of which art is the useless epitome"]).
91 Cf. I&D, f. 10*v*, 266: "The aesthetic attitude […] everything experienced before".
92 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 18*r*, 54 ("it is thus that it [art] is the highest reflector of the whole process of human living") and NBA, f. 13*r*, 262 ("In the manner of a work of art, consciousness is a kind of distorted reflector of the manifold"). Cf. too WHO, f. 4*r*, 58.
93 Cf. *OIL* I, f. 18*r*, 54 ("Thought processes […] reality and in image") and IS, f. 3*r*, 212 ("To create is to substitute […] He is alive in reality and in image").
94 Cf. NBA, f. 13*r*, 263: "With the aid of reason […] previous structures".
95 Cf. *OIL* VII, f. 54*r*, 254 ("it is surprising that no mystique seems to have been based on just that dualism"); NBA, f. 12*r*, 262 ("and here again […] correlation and distortion"), f. 13*r*, 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. 13*r*-15*r*, 262-4: "Within the terms […] instantaneous world of space".
97 Cf. NBA, f. 16*r*, 266: "Images encase all thought […] products of thinking".
98 Cf. *OIL* II, f. 21*r*, 87-8 ("Consciousness is no more of the mind […] opposite the external world") and IS, f. 3*r*, 211 ("Consciousness is no more of the mind […] To create is to substitute").
99 Cf. NBA, f. 15*r*, 265 ("The most generalized apprehension […] poetry of Giorgione's Tempesta") and I&D, f. 10*v*, 266 ("The outside world is the sounding board of the emotions").
100 See *OIL* VII, f. 50*r*, 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. 30*r*-31*r*, 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. 57*v*, 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]> dont 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. Anyhow, 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. 6*r*, 214.

117 *OIL* VII, f. 50*r*, 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. 57*r*, 257: "Some of Freud is used".

125 AS to HR Friday [28 January or 4 February 1944], HRP, SC MLUV. Cf. *OIL* II, f. 29*r*, 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. 56*r*, 256: "What is unpleasant […] character of things".

130 *OIL* VII, f. 57*r*, 257.

131 *OIL* VII, f. 56*r*, 256.

132 AS to HR 14 February [1944], HRP, SC MLUV. Cf. IS, f. 2*r*, 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. 15*r*-16*r*, 280.

138 NBA, f. 16*r*, 265 and fn. 69 and I&D, f. 13*v*, 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. 54*r*, 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. 47*r*, 153; "Background IV", 156, and "Background VI", 216.

149 ASP, TGA 8816.3.

150 *OIL* VII, f. 57*r*, 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.

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]

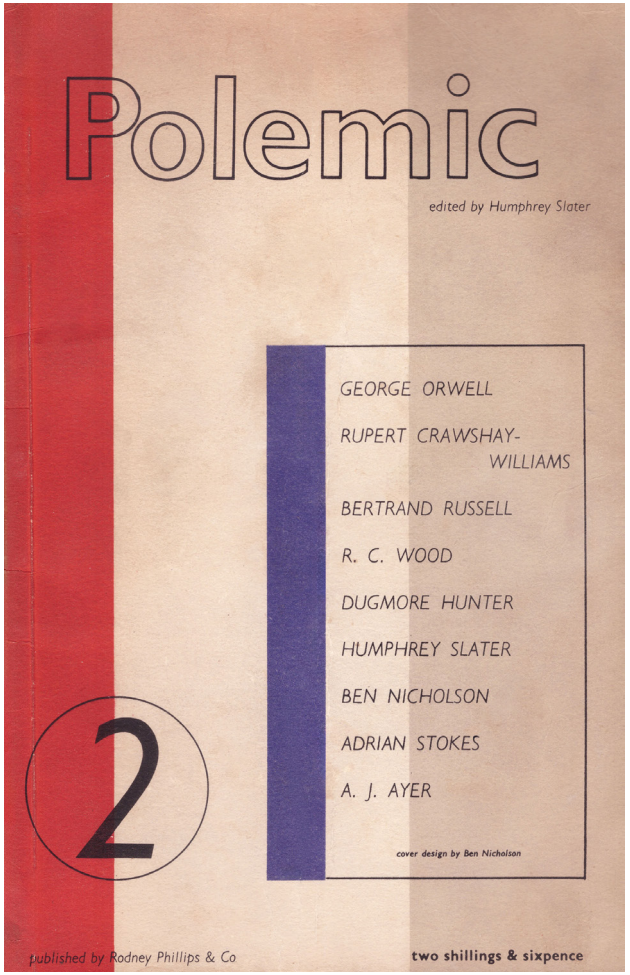


Figure 74
Front cover of *Polemic* 2 (1946), designed by Ben Nicholson

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".

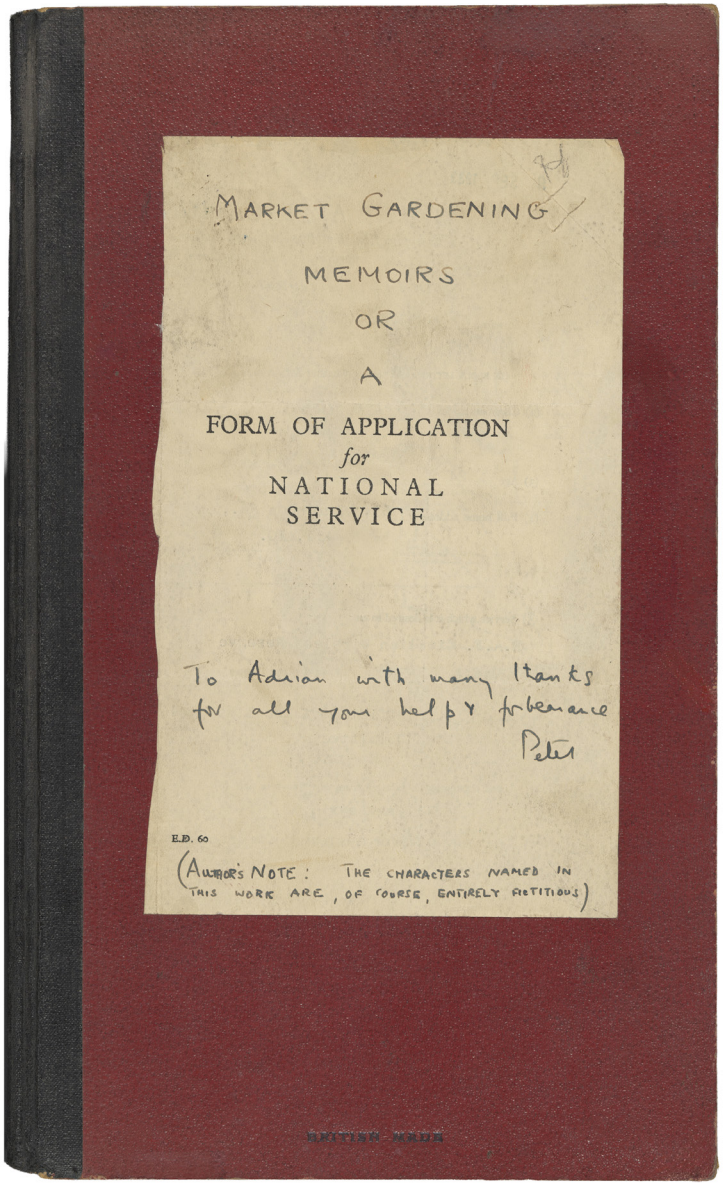
Before leaving Cornwall, SB surely inspected the set of painted stoneware tiles which BL had undertaken with a view to their use as a "pottery tomb" for AW, by now near completion, if not already complete **[fig. 76]**.[67] BL had made the suggestion and sent sketches to SB the previous year, when the 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":

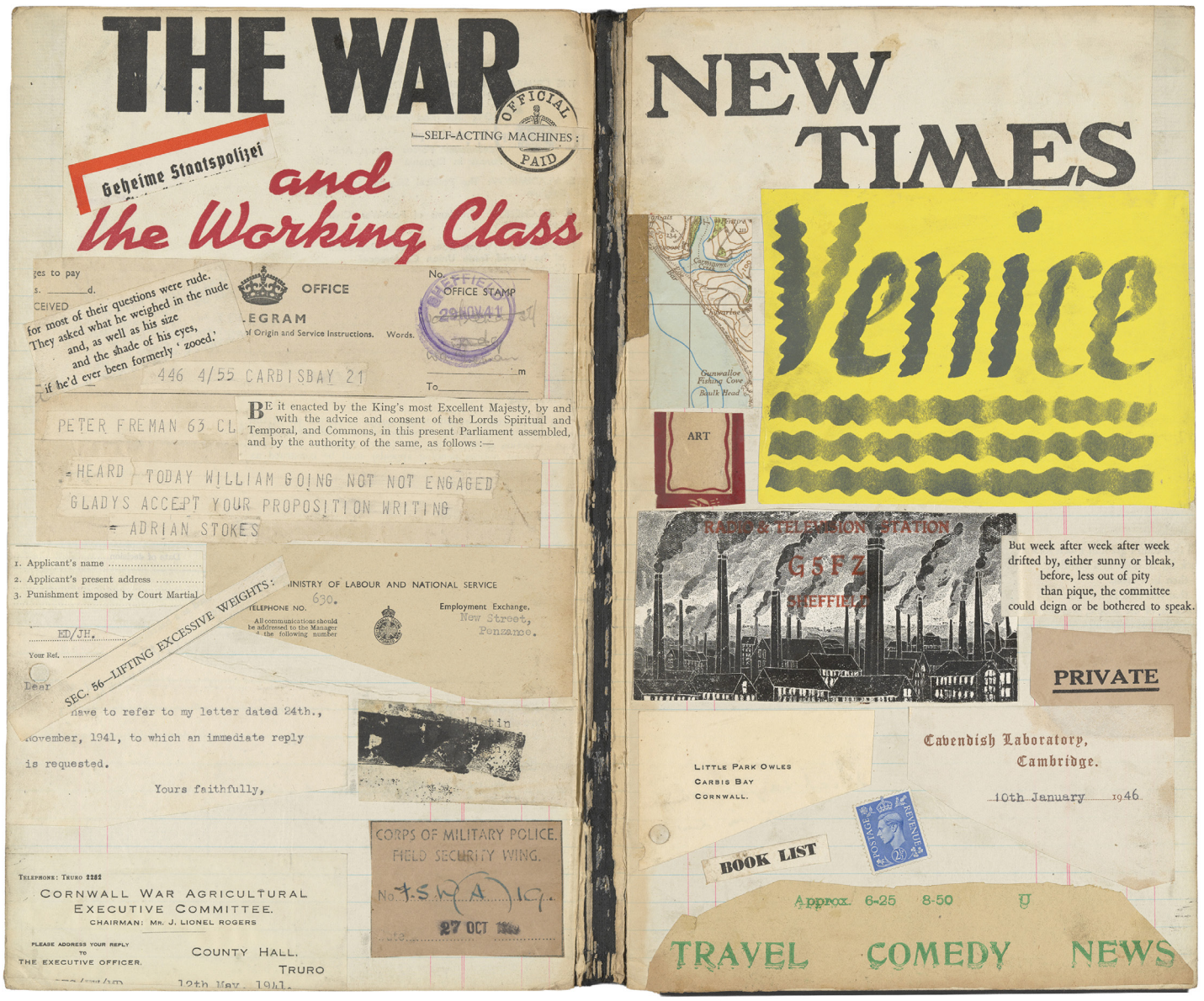
> All pottery – yes! Pottery & granite I cannot reconcile in my mind. I like your sketches & have written on them. But I cannot feel it is now <still> within my power to make a final decision – so many people have contributed. As far as I am concerned – well I'm more or less out of the picture, I had 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

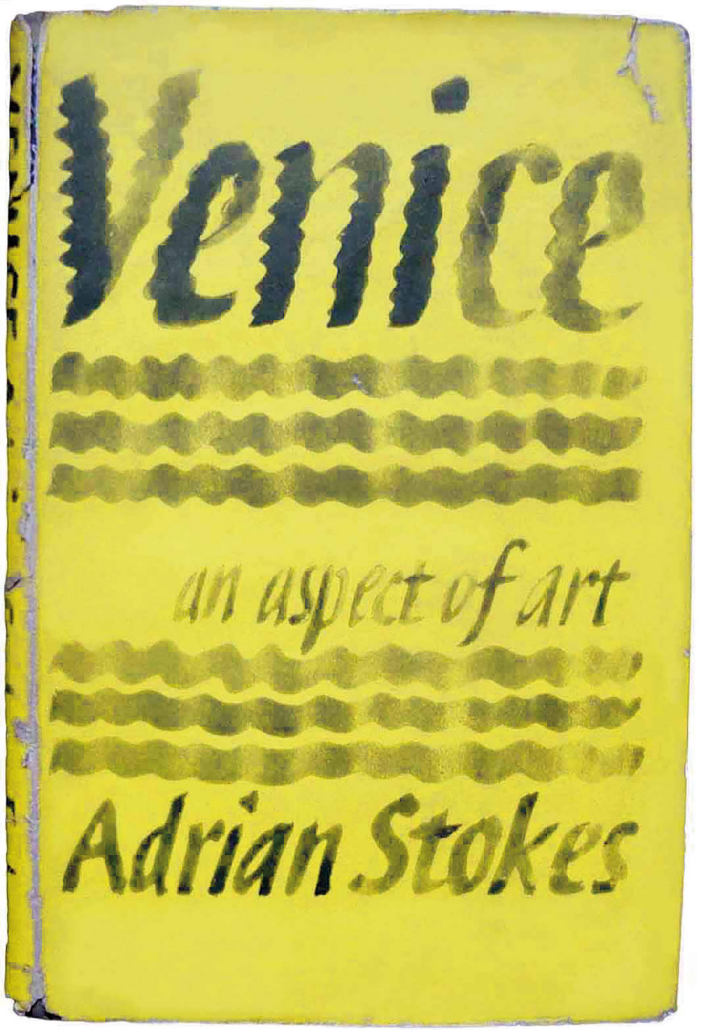


Figure 79
Dust jacket of Adrian Stokes, *Venice. An Aspect of Art*. 1945

> 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).

References

Abbreviations

AGC	Anthony D. Green Collection
AS	Adrian Stokes
A&S	*Art and Science* (1949) (Stokes 1978, II, 183-212)
AM	Ann Mellis Stokes Angus
ASP	Adrian Stokes Papers
AW	Alfred Wallis
BCMSS NYPL	Berg Collection MSS, New York Public Library
BL	Bernard Leach
BLA CSCF	Bernard Leach Archive, Crafts Study Centre, University for the Creative Arts, Farnham
BN	Ben Nicholson
BRBML	Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Yale University)
CAM	"Concerning Art and Metapsychology" (1945)
C&F	*Colour and Form* (1937) (Stokes 1978, II, 7-83)
DM	David Barclay Mellis
DHTA	Dartington Hall Trust Archive (South West Heritage Trust, Taunton)
EMM	Estate of Margaret Mellis
EP	Ezra Pound
EPP	Ezra Pound Papers
ERG	Estate of Henry Rolf Gardiner
ESW	Edward Charles Sackville-West
ESWP	Edward Charles Sackville-West Papers
EWRS	Estate of William Douglas Robson-Scott
GB	Frank Graham-Bell ("Graham Bell")
GCE	*Greek Culture and the Ego* (1958) (Stokes 1978, III, 77-141)
GMS	George Manning-Sanders
HR	Herbert Read
HRP	Herbert Read Papers
IA	*The Invitation in Art* (1965) (Stokes 1978, III, 261-99)
I&D	"Instance and Details" (1943?) (ASP, TGA 8816.53)
IO	*Inside Out* (1947) (Stokes 1978, II, 139-82)
IF	"The Image in Form" (Stokes 1978, III, 331-42)
IS	"In Short" (1942) (ASP, TGA 8816.167; 8816.211)
JM	Joseph Todd Gordon Macleod
JMP	Joseph Todd Gordon Macleod Papers
LPO	Little Park Owles (Carbis Bay, Cornwall)
LPOT	Little Parc Owles Trust
MG	Margaret Gardiner
MK	Melanie Klein
MM	Margaret Mellis
MMM	Margaret Blaikie Mackenzie Mellis
MS	Manuscript
NAL	National Art Library (London)
NBA	"Notes for a Book Beginning August 1943. Argument" (1943) (ASP, TGA 8816.53)
NK	Nina Kent
NLS	National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh)
NLSC	National Life Stories Collection
OIL	*The Outer and the Inner Life* (1939-44) (ASP, TGA 8816.12)
OR	Olga Rudge
ORP	Olga Rudge Papers
OS	Osbert Sitwell
PF	Peter Freeman
QC	*The Quattro Cento* (1932) (Stokes 1978, I, 29-180)
RB	Robert Byron
RBP	Robert Byron Papers
RG	Henry Rolf Gardiner

RGP CUL	Henry Rolf Gardiner Papers, Cambridge University Library
RN	*Reflections on the Nude* (1967) (Stokes 1978, III, 301-42)
RWP UCL	Richard Wollheim Papers, University College, London
SR	*Stones of Rimini* (1934) Stokes 1978, I, 181-301)
S&R	*Smooth and Rough* (1951) (Stokes 1978, II, 213-56)
SB	Sven Berlin
SC MLUV	Special Collections, McPherson Library, University of Victoria (Victoria BC, Canada)
SIA	St Ives Archive (St Ives, Cornwall)
SW	*Sunrise in the West* (Stokes 1926)
TA	*The Thread of Ariadne* (Stokes 1925)
TEPT	*Three Essays on the Painting of our Time* (1961) (Stokes 1978, III, 243-84)
TGA	Tate Gallery Archive (London)
TrS	Telfer Stokes
TS	Transcript
WHA	Wystan Hugh Auden
WHO	"The Wrinkled Hide-Out" (1939-40?) (ASP, TGA 8816.53)
WRS	William Douglas Robson-Scott
WS	William Dunstan Stevens
WWI	First World War (1914-18)
WWII	Second World War (1939-45)
WWC	"What is Western Civilization?" (ASP, TGA 8816.15)

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Index

As well as a list of the persons, organizations and places referred to across the entire book, this index aims to provide the conceptual anatomy of all text by AS contained in it. The headwords are limited to nouns, including some verbal forms, cited in the singular. Places in England other than London are found under their respective county names; places outside of England under those of the relevant countries. General movements, schools and aspects of art are grouped under art. Specific art-forms have their own entries. The regional newspapers of south-west England are given under West Country, local newspapers under the relevant place names. National and international newspapers and periodicals have their own entries. Events and aspects of the two world wars are grouped under World War I and World War II. Pages indicated in bold carry illustrations.

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“Upon the sea ships float. Thus my thoughts float upon the unplumbed depths, rich in animal life, within. The sea is below my garden: the sea wets the land. It is not my thought, but I have taken it within me. It is not my thought. Perhaps it is the condition of my thought: I do not know it without my thought.”

Published here in its entirety for the first time, *The Outer and the Inner Life* was drafted at Little Park Owles, a house overlooking the sea between St Ives and Carbis Bay in Cornwall, immediately prior to and during the Second World War. Intended to instigate a new and definitive phase in Stokes’ writing, it collects reflections on and around a theme novel to his work, one of vast generality and in part the fruit of his recently acquired empirical knowledge of Freudian psychoanalysis: the manifold interdependence of perceptual and inner experience and their conceptualizations. In this critical edition the manuscript is accompanied by a number of ‘offshoots’ or derivative texts and punctuated by detailed reconstructions of the circumstances and mutable ‘logic’ of its composition. Stokes’ tentative yet persistent exploration of his chosen theme led him unexpectedly to discover the continuity underlying and assimilating his current and his former preoccupations and to reconsider his long-standing concern with visual art. These aspects render *The Outer and the Inner Life* a text pivotal to Stokes’ output as a whole, poised as it is between his pre- and post-war writings and attesting as it abundantly does to their essential unity and coherence, despite the numerous transitions and transformations of his life and work.

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