

'A Summing Up of All I Have Ever Thought': Adrian Stokes's 'In Short' (1942) and his Other Writings of the Period

Paul Tucker
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The intertextual links between Stokes's unpublished essay 'In Short' (1942) and his other writings of the period justify his own estimation of it as 'a summing up of all I have ever thought incorporating experience of six years of daily psycho-analysis.' This and other texts, now found among Stokes's papers in the Tate Archive, reveal him, especially in the first half of his career, to be a writer continually engaged in a retrospective integration and adjustment of idea and expression.

- Adrian Stokes's concern with art was characterised from the start by breadth of conception as well as personal urgency. In a manuscript among his papers in the Tate Archive, drafted probably in the spring of 1927 but part of the work-in-progress on Italian Renaissance art that would find partial realisation in *The Quattro Cento* (1932), he wrote of the painter whose work had been among the first to stimulate that concern: "So different is a Giorgioneque painting from other paintings, that the facts of paint and canvas can barely restrain the phenomenon to the sphere of pictures": 1
- A painting by Giorgione had been examined in *Sunrise in the West*, published the previous year, in relation to the mental history of Western culture and in terms of a general mode or phase of consciousness there termed 'Poetry', in opposition to a cast of mind termed 'Prose'. Stokes now celebrated such painting as a supreme instance of European ecstacy², an apprehension of the spiritual to take immediate form in painting³. *Sunrise in the West*, 1942, n.p.
- In 'In Short', a brief unpublished essay held in the Tate Archive and datable to 1942, not a specific art, nor the art of a specific artist, culture or period, is presented as 'simply the prototypic process of human activity'. In so far as 'to live is to enter patterns of behaviour', the prototypic process is personified by 'the physical human body, and fantasies connected with it. I would mirror them, all patterns to which the clue is our conception of ourselves, what seems to us enclosed within the physical body, everything 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, therefore, of the ego into the realm of non-ego'. 32
- The statement that art is 'simply the prototypic process of human activity' is likely to sound familiar even to readers of Stokes unacquainted with 'In Short'. For it is echoed in the discursive 'Envoi' to *Venice*, published three years later: here art is said to be 'the symbol of human process': 3. Indeed, the 'Envoi' not only echoes but actually incorporates passages from 'In Short', in some instances via an intermediate text. Notes for a Book Beginning August 1943: 5. Appendix 1 presents the most substantial passage from 'In Short' to have been re-used in the 'Notes' and in the 'Envoi'. The typographically differentiated portions of text which Stokes's original passage has been split up, re-ordered and inserted at different points of the 'Envoi', having in some instances first been used in the 'Notes'. Yet 'In Short' itself incorporates passages from a manuscript entitled 'The Outer and the Inner Life', a new work-in-progress occupying Stokes between 1939 and 1943 or 1944, but most intensively from the spring of 1939 to that of 1940. 7. Appendix 2 takes the same passage from 'In Short' and compares it with text from this manuscript, showing how the essay was in part assembled out of re-ordered fragments culled from the latter. Indeed, it is likely the essay is privately alluded to its effectual reduction of the considerably longer and in large part earlier 'The Outer and the Inner Life': 1.
- This text comprises just over fifty leaves of manuscript, entered in a notebook apparently acquired some time earlier in Italy.³ On internal and external evidence, its phases of writing can be distinguished:
 - A) Spring 1939 to February 1940: pp.1–24
 - B) 1 February 1940 to March or April 1940: pp.24–38
 - C) March/Feb/May 1940: pp.38–41
 - D) 3 January 1941 (single entry): p.41
 - E) 7 December 1942 to Easter 1943: pp.41–42
 - F) Easter 1943 on, possibly until the early months of 1944: pp.42–52
- Phase A is the most extended in time: it dates from the period immediately following Stokes's move, with his first wife, the painter Margaret Mellis, to Little Park Owles, Carbis Bay, St Ives, in April 1939 (fig. 1). Phase B yielded the most sustained or continuous piece of writing and led to the typing up of the first thirty-eight pages of manuscript, perhaps with a view to its former use in the *Quattro Cento*. The original manuscript was typed and corrected and inserted at different points of the Tate Archive.⁴ The orthographical errors it contains suggest that it was dictated.⁵ This might explain its omission of some of the more 'confessional' passages in the manuscript,⁶ as well as that of phrases and passages likely to cause embarrassment of a different kind.⁷

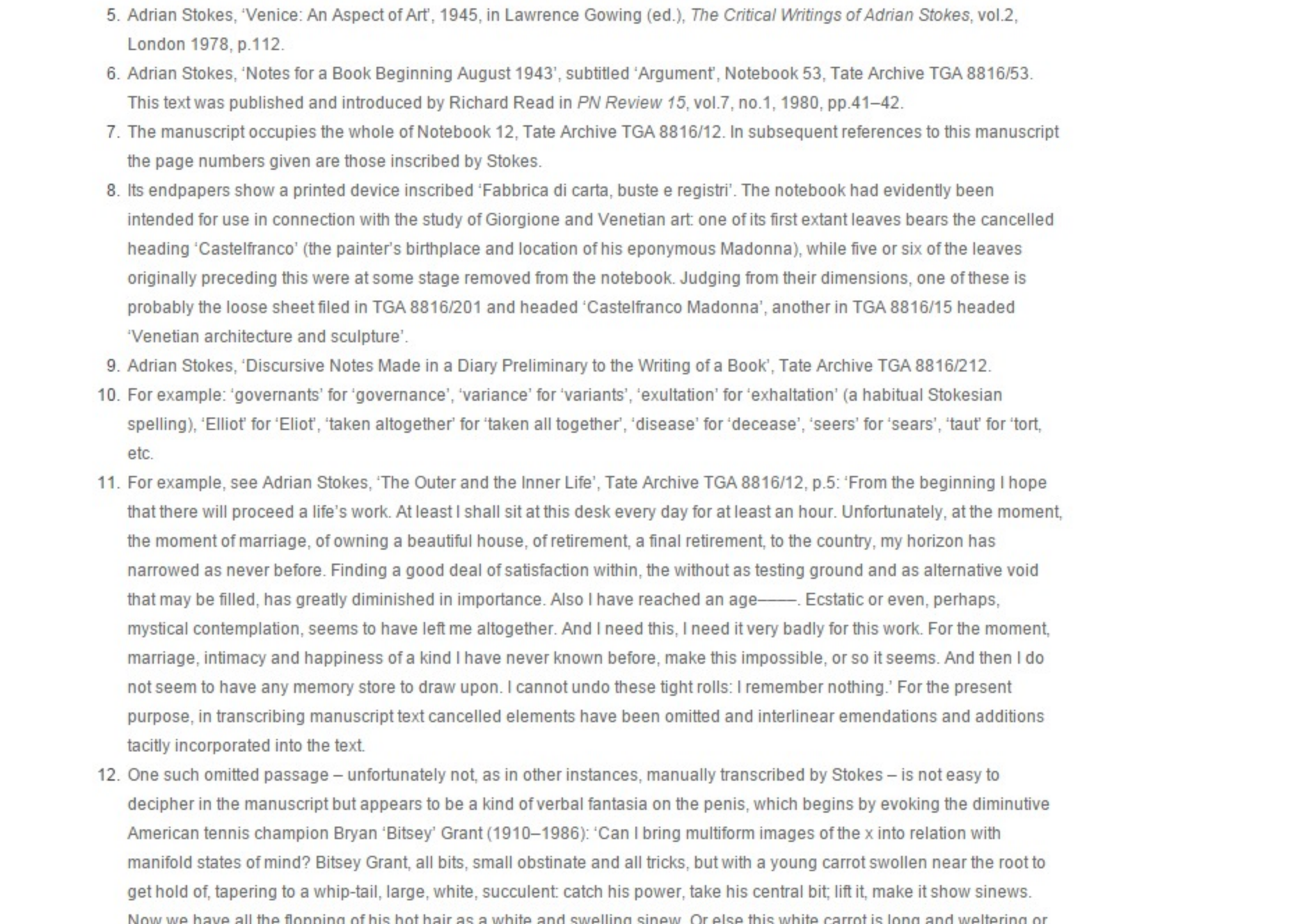


Fig. 1
Little Park Owles, Carbis Bay, St Ives, Cornwall, 1940s
Courtesy of Ann Stokes Angus

- Neither confession at its core nor embarrassing content explain the total omission from the typescript of the manuscript's programmatic opening, which evokes the prospective 'life's work' now intended:
 - The object of these notes and of the eventual book (a life's work) is to mirror correspondence between the outer world as presented to the senses and to the imagination, also activities and personal relationships, between the 'outer world' then, 'In Short', and its echoed in the discursive 'Envoi' to *Venice*, published three years later: here art is said to be 'the symbol of human process': 3. Indeed, the 'Envoi' not only echoes but actually incorporates passages from 'In Short', in some instances via an intermediate text. Notes for a Book Beginning August 1943: 5. Appendix 1 presents the most substantial passage from 'In Short' to have been re-used in the 'Notes' and in the 'Envoi'. The typographically differentiated portions of text which Stokes's original passage has been split up, re-ordered and inserted at different points of the 'Envoi', having in some instances first been used in the 'Notes'. Yet 'In Short' itself incorporates passages from a manuscript entitled 'The Outer and the Inner Life', a new work-in-progress occupying Stokes between 1939 and 1943 or 1944, but most intensively from the spring of 1939 to that of 1940. 7. Appendix 2 takes the same passage from 'In Short' and compares it with text from this manuscript, showing how the essay was in part assembled out of re-ordered fragments culled from the latter. Indeed, it is likely the essay is privately alluded to its effectual reduction of the considerably longer and in large part earlier 'The Outer and the Inner Life': 1.
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- This formation of my basic subject matter to me today as something of a revelation: but the real surprise was the realization that I was only expressing the subject-matter of *Sunrise in the West*, which I wrote, long before I had acquaintance with psycho-analysis, fifteen years ago. 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.³²
- This assessment of *Sunrise in the West* was reiterated in a letter to the painter Graham Bell a year or more later, in which he wrote, 'It certainly is the book that I always have been, and always will be, re-writing'.³³
- In what sense is this true? What justification for such a claim may be found in the writing? What is the connection between the 'subject-matter' of *Sunrise in the West* and the psychoanalytical theory with which Stokes was now indeed intimately acquainted, that inaugurated by Sigmund Freud and developed by his own analyst Melanie Klein, and to which he would himself begin to contribute only a few years later? And what is the connection with his long preoccupation with art? The remainder of this paper will sketch possible answers to these questions.³⁴
- The key terms are brought, as such, by Stokes himself, in 'The Outer and the Inner Life', which in itself is the chronicle of 'this discovery' of consistency and continuity in his thinking and of the profound personal need which it meets.³⁵ For one of the latter entries is 'The Outer and the Inner Life', the key-words of which, as the term sub-quotient' noted by Estelle Jollat,³⁶ reflecting as it does a creative method to which Stokes adhered, off and on, until the early 1950s:³⁷ In the present instance, moreover, it is of more than philological interest, since the interpolated passages are contiguous with an explicitly expressed concern to comprehend, in the sense of understanding and embracing, his earlier thinking.³⁸
- The first of the interpolations in 'The Outer and the Inner Life' is a sentence adapted from one found at the beginning of a long manuscript text dated November 1926 and dealing with Western civilisation as 'the outcome of the Mediterranean climate, in its effect upon races that live, or have lived, in the East and North': 38. A cluster of similar interpolations, mostly taken from this same text,³⁹ immediately precedes a passage in the wartime work-in-progress beginning 'We have a higher standard of fact, that I interpreted slightly differently in "In Short" (see Appendix 3). And in 'The Outer and the Inner Life' his later passage is followed by the comment:
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- Early in 'The Outer and the Inner Life', still 'groping' for his theme amid confessions of unease and disorientation, Stokes writes:
 - What I have to show, the phenomena I have to produce, must go to illustrate the yet wider theme of value or sublimation, which seems to be always connected with the expression of one thing in terms of another. Sublimation, in fact, is the very heart of value in living. That is really my theme. The naked facts of life are few, little in themselves. The things in themselves are cold and abstract. Values spring primarily in their relation to one another, one another, and thence, from their expression 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. The supreme symbol, of course, of value viewed thus, is the work of art.³⁶
- Again, commenting on the philosopher Hans Vaihinger's claims that 'the basic contradictions of most concepts is due to their fictional nature', being 'based on the principle of analogy although they are not true analogies',³⁷ Stokes writes:
 - One thing is put in terms of another thing that is rather different. It is interesting that this is its 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 projection of the active into the value that lies in putting one thing in terms of another, underlying all imagination, all projection of the inner into both in thought and feeling, and all interchange between the inner and outer life.³⁸
- And on the very last page of the manuscript he is able to declare:
 - 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. It is, I suppose, an aesthetic point of view. Klein, since she has been at work as an analyst, has been searching for philosophical truth, for the meaning that interpenetrates meanings in terms of itself. I passed to the study and practice of art. Nevertheless the factual search for truth remains: it is that impetus, not an escape from it, that brought me [sic] and sustains me in the present position.³⁹
- The extent to which this is borne out by the writings of those twenty years, published and unpublished, is remarkable, as is the continual process of conceptual modulation – of clothing and re-clothing – they effected on a persistent dialectical 'nexus', a process as restless and manifold as the nineteenth-century critic John Ruskin's unremitting revision of his own 'modes of objectivity'.⁴⁰ With this difference, that Stokes's constant concern is specifically with the interdependence of inner and interpenetration of his opposed categories, sublimation and projection, and with the significance of as the embodiment of their conjunction, or as what might be called their concrete, enigmatic interface.
- In illustration, there follows a series of passages from the earlier writings, especially the unpublished earlier writings, written before the commencement of Stokes's analysis with Klein, in which this essential idea of intermingling and interchange between opposed categories is already expressed, though in varying forms:
 - the lyric wonder that is the nucleus of poetry, can only effect an escape from the oppressive jungle of primitive poetry by entering, for a time, upon a prosaic career; enduring prosaic disguise, finding shelter in the house of *Fantasia* and *Cocoon*. (*Sunrise in the West*, p.27.)
 - We are confronted with the near and the distant. We must weave them both into life. They must not be sacrificed to one another, for they are necessary to one another. The only way that can be truly done is by complete conversion, by transposing the desire promoted by the near to the distant as object. (Notebook 10, *Tate Archive* TGA 8816/10.)
 - Art is the supreme achievement of conversion, man's greatest triumph in the fight to 'make something of the quality of existence'. (Jefr., Notebook 15, *Tate Archive* TGA 8816/15.)
 - Beauty 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 hitherto [sic] disparate, to the one. This is effected in poetry by rhyme, – sound – and image, so that a poem is a rocking cradle that holds the marvel of a perfect child who is yet the sum of dreary generations, in successful painting by composition – colour the arrangement of which not only yields pleasure to the eye but because it meshes in some rhythm with the eye's deathliness, or conversely, in a phrase without so doing as in much modern art, though from the painter's point of view some of such to be interpreted must be the origin of his activity, experiences of the senses particularly of movement and of tone and of colour, are generalized, in such generalization and synthesis, and in the saying of one thing in terms of another, exists an ever-present power to satisfy, to stimulate and to re-assure, all at once or by itself if wanted by itself. (Jefr., Notebook 15, *Tate Archive* TGA 8816/15.)
 - We throw out the best of us under the disguise of contemplation of a landscape, and feeling that the landscape is the excuse or symbol of something more general – the specific excuse is always essential and cannot be foregone – we come to the abstraction beauty, and give that as the cause for our pleasure in the landscape, whereas the cause lies in the need of the soul for externalization. (Loneliness', Notebook 13, *Tate Archive* TGA 8816/13.)
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- In his correspondence and writings of the 1940s and early 1950s Stokes manifests a certain resistance to full-fledged psychoanalytical theory, as evident with the 1940s and 1950s. Inside *Out* and *Smooth and Rough*, he must have told Herbert Read, were 'not theoretical formulations but "poetic" books written under the influence of Melanie Klein', imaginative rather than clinical presentations of a 'case-history' – a strategy hit upon in the course of writing 'The Outer and the Inner Life', in typical evidence of explicit assertion of a philosophy.⁴¹ In view of such resistance and in the light of his prominent use of sublimation in 'The Outer and the Inner Life', as also in 'In Short' and in the 'Envoi' to *Venice* (see Appendix 3), it is not surprising that it will be of interest in conclusion, to consider the emphasis given the terms in his first psychoanalytical paper, published in 1945:
 - The expression of one thing or many things in terms of something else, or, as it might be called, sublimation, is obviously a powerful characteristic of the mental life. The artist and the aesthete would appear to have found cause for celebrating it as a creative method, a means of escape from their fate. But the aesthetic sublimation is especially distinguished by the amount of synthetic meanings. A synthesis of inner meaning put outwardly to be on hand, as it were, in the open world, always characterizes the work of art.⁴²
- The non-technical and very general significance ascribed to sublimation by Stokes is highlighted by the disqualifying hedge as it might be called 'At the same time its relevance to the technical discourse is signalled by the definite article in the expression the "sublimation" of the work of art, with its hint of nomenclature: in thus introducing the term into the discourse Stokes is pursuing his principal goal in writing the paper. For he argues that art presents a major challenge to Freudian theory in so far as this subsumes it under an idea of sublimation understood in terms of illusion and of a cunningly invented, away from the external world.⁴³ Stokes, by contrast, insists that art is a practice and a process materially embedded in the external world:
 - the essence of artistic creation especially is the bestowing on pieces of matter the power to communicate a particular sort 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.⁴⁵
- Art is the supreme or extreme instance of sublimation as Stokes intends this, namely as a positive principle of mental life beyond the opposition of the external world as such'. This principle is thus opposed to Freud's regularizing activity.⁴⁶ Rather than as one way or several ways of seeking independence of the external world, the work of art, in reality, Stokes suggests 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:
 - As well as an abounding liveliness, as well as, maybe, an impression of growth, a chrysalis stage in the expression, of change, of exaggeration, etc., there is imputed to the communication that issues from the work of art a stability and a finity, which would rival, and hence would paralyse, or the absolute otherness attributed to the very materials of which it is made, to the physical world. The particular relations of a work of art have the air of a hermit's isolation, but it is not isolation that is sought, but an escape from isolation. Judging from the *Quattro Cento*, Christopher becomes an object, as if he were able to make of his mind a stone which yet displays and manifests the contents of his mind.⁴⁷
- The finality of aesthetic form is theorised 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 *Evans* until we die'.⁴⁸ For Stokes the work of art – how in particular the work of visual art – is the self-justified pledge of interchange between inner and outer worlds. It is material proof of a lively deathliness, or conversely, in a phrase adapted from *Sunrise in the West*, harnessed madness,⁴⁹ affirming, in every sense, the contact between *Enos* and *Thanatos*, latest in the series of the opposites whose involved relationship he explored in his writing.

1. Adrian Stokes, 'Notes for Essay 1', Notebook 13, *Tate Archive* TGA 8816/13. The text with which these 'Notes' alternate in this notebook is headed and dated 'First Essay (Preliminary Cantos, Florence, Feb 1927)'. In keeping with Stokes's practice at the period, it is disposed on successive verso of the leaves whose rectos are occupied by the 'Notes'.
2. See Adrian Stokes, *Sunrise in the West: A Modern Interpretation of Past and Present*, London 1926, pp.45–8.
3. Stokes, 'Notes for Essay 1'. On the meaning of the opposition in *Sunrise in the West* and the related categories 'Prose – Poetry' and 'Prose and Poetry', see Herbert Read, *Art and its Discoveries: The Early Life of Adrian Stokes*, London 2002, pp.3–2. Stripped of its technical and dynamic, Stokes's opposition of poetry and prose, and above all its understanding of the former in terms of 'lyric wonder', Stokes (1926, p.27) and 'apprehension of the lyrical', suggests a direct, perhaps indirect, echo of the aesthetic system to Benedetto Croce. This was built upon the opposition of the two forms of human knowledge, intellectual and intuitive, to which the labels 'prose' and poetry' and art' and 'science' were among those applied. See Benedetto Croce, *Esthetic: as Science of Expression and General Linguistic*, trans. by Douglas Ainslie, London 1909, pp.42–3, and *The Essence of Aesthetic*, trans. by D. Ainslie, London 1921, p.32, where it is affirmed that '[a]esthetic intuition is always lyrical intuition'.
4. Adrian Stokes, 'In Short', *Tate Archive* TGA 8816/167, typescript corrected by Stokes in pen.
5. Adrian Stokes, 'Venice', An Aspect of Art, 1945, in Lawrence Cowing (ed.), *The Critical Writings of Adrian Stokes*, vol.2, London 1978, p.112.
6. Adrian Stokes, 'Notes for a Book Beginning August 1943', subtitled 'Argument', Notebook 53, *Tate Archive* TGA 8816/53. This text was published and introduced by Richard Read in *PW Review* 15, vol. 1, no. 1, 1980, pp.41–42.
7. The manuscript occupies the volume of Notebook 12, *Tate Archive* TGA 8816/12. In subsequent references to this manuscript the page numbers given are those inscribed by Stokes.
8. Its endpapers show a printed device inscribed 'Fabbrica di carta, buste e registri'. The notebook had evidently been intended for use in connection with the study of Giorgione and Venetian art, one of his first extant leaves bears the cancelled heading 'Castellazzo: the painter's biography and location of his eponymous Madonna', while five or six of the leaves originally preceding this were at some stage removed from the notebook. It is probable that Stokes, in some way detached, challenging one very large loose sheet held in TGA 8816/201 and headed 'Castellazzo Madonna', another in TGA 8816/15 headed 'Venetian architecture and sculpture'.
9. Adrian Stokes, 'Discursive Notes Made in a Diary Preliminary to the Writing of a Book', *Tate Archive* TGA 8816/212.
10. For example 'governments' for 'governance', 'variance' for 'variants', 'exultation' for 'exultation' (a habitual Stokesian spelling), 'Eliot' for 'Eliot', 'taken altogether' for 'taken all together', 'disease' for 'disease', 'seers' for 'seers', 'taut' for 'loft', etc.
11. For example, see Adrian Stokes, 'The Outer and the Inner Life', *Tate Archive* TGA 8816/12, p.5. 'From the beginning I hope that there will proceed a life's work. At least what I set at my desk every day for at least an hour. Unfortunately, at the moment, the moment of marriage, of owning a beautiful house, of retirement, a final refuge to the country, my horizon has narrowed as never before. Finding a good deal of satisfaction within, the without as being ground and an alternative void that may be filled, has greatly diminished in importance. Also I have reached an age – Ecstatic or even, perhaps, mystical contemplation, seems to have left me altogether. And I need this, I need it very badly for so work. For the moment, marriage, intimacy and happiness of a kind I have never known before, make this impossible, or so it seems. And then I do not seem to have any memory store to draw upon. I cannot undo these little rolls I remember nothing'. For the present purpose, in transcribing manuscript text cancelled elements have been omitted or interlinear emendations and additions locally incorporated in the text.
12. One such omitted passage – unfortunately not, as in other instances, manually struck through, which Stokes – is not easy to decipher in the manuscript but appears to be a kind of verbal fantasia on the penit, which begins by evoking the diminutive American tennis champion Bryan 'Bilby' Grant (1910–1986): 'Can I bring mullum images of the x into relation with manifold states of mind?' Bilby Grant, all bits, small oblate and all bits, but with a young carrot swollen near the root to get hold of, tapering to a whip-tail, large, white, succulent catch his power, his white central bit lift, like it show sinews. Now we have all the flapping of his hot hair that is white and swelling sinew. Or else his white carrot is long and swelling or like a hogg nodding to the floor. This cannot be allowed: by pressure of the mind we shall lengthen it and reddon it and raise it horizontal, parallel with the floor and in an instant raise many in inverted bowl descending to the floor and then longer white but not so long as the hair, to longer the white descending static carotid in some very delicate, challenging one very elegant tender, white and floppy, potential and elastic in growth' (ibid., p.7). Another omitted passage is a graphic illustration of the half-breediness of one's own hair, in the form of a would-be old-fashioned 'one is forced there to investigate the antecedents to a commercial traveller's active day' (ibid., p.23; compare TGA 8816/12, pp.30–31).
13. Stokes, 'The Outer and the Inner Life', TGA 8816/12, p.1.
14. Compare the philosopher Richard 'Wolheim's comments on the way in which Stokes's idea is philosophical abstraction as a 'temptation' to model the world in conformity to a few ideas and in disregard of the way it really is, in 'the biography written and presented by Eric Rhode on BBC radio, 18 October 1973'.
15. Stokes, 'The Outer and the Inner Life', TGA 8816/12, p.38.
16. Adrian Stokes, letter to Joseph Macleod, November/December 1942, Joseph Macleod Papers, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 10509, Diaries MS 7, quoted in James R.T. Fountain, 'The Work of Modernist Poet Joseph Macleod (Adam Drian)' (1903–1984), unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow 2010, pp.302–3 (here dated 7 September 1942).
17. Herby Miller, 'Good News! God is Love', *Horizon*, vol.6, 1942, pp.299–322. That the piece in question was composed in the immediately foregoing months is confirmed by an unpublished letter from Anne Olivier Popham to the painter Graham Bell, dated 24 September 1942, in which she refers to the Stokes's 'somewhat naive' 'Pucknarrays and History, vol.14, no.1, 2012, p.117. Initially, and apparently, it was not until the late 1940s that Stokes's acquaintance with the poet Adam Drian, whom he respected continually to believe none other than himself (Macleod had used the name of Stokes's Carbis Bay address for mail addressed to Drian), Stokes had not wanted Connolly to know that he was in London, Margaret Mellis, however, 'let it out about Adrian being up' and on 21 September Olivier had accompanied the couple to 'Connolly Palace' for a drink. Having first complained about going there at all, at dinner afterwards Stokes declared he would like to go back alone to talk to Cyril & Peter Watson about something he wanted to write for Horizon' (Anne Olivier Popham, letter to Graham Bell, 24 September 1942, *Tate Archive* TGA 2002–14).
18. Stokes, letter to Joseph Macleod, November/December 1942.
19. Ibid.
20. Stokes infers that Connolly wished to suggest Miller's article 'wasn't intended to be taken as Horizon's answer to the question on England in the American paper 'Life' (An Open Letter from the Editors of Life to the People of England', *Life*, 12 October 1942, p.34), i.e. Stupid readers 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' (ibid.).
21. See Read 2002, p.91.
22. Stokes, 'In Short', TGA 8816/167.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Adrian Stokes, letter to Herbert Read, 10 January 1941, Herbert Read Papers, Special Collections, McPherson Library, University of Victoria.
27. 'I mean this to be a journal and that I should write in it every day, 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'. Stokes, 'The Outer and the Inner Life', TGA 8816/12, p.5.
28. Estelle Jollat, 'To Bring the Distant Things Near: Distance in Relation to the Work of Art in Stokes's Thought', in Stephen Bann (ed.), *The Coral Maze: Adrian Stokes's Engagement with Architecture, Art History, Criticism, and Psychoanalysis*, University Park, Pennsylvania 2007, p.195; see also Richard Read, 'Stokes's Analysis', in the same volume, p.100.
29. Only from the publication of *Smooth and Rough* (1951) onwards were Stokes's books consistently 'through-composed' from beginning to end.
30. Stokes, 'The Outer and the Inner Life', TGA 8816/12, p.28: 'Here in England is a nameless care in a moderate climate'. Compare with Stokes, Notebook 15, TGA 8816/15, 'What Western Civilization?' For the 20th century can read the answer for it is engrained upon our brows. Listen first to the trees of England that rustle from their roots: Here is a nameless care in a moderate climate'. The long text on Western civilisation, of which there are two consecutive drafts in Notebook 15, follows two short notes on classical Greek culture, one of which ('Greek Notes') also bears the date November 1926. The former text was probably written in England and continued during 'Stokes's most extended stay at Reading from early in December 1926. Stokes told Donald Davitt that he met Ezra Pound 'on the tennis court of Rasputin in November' (letter quoted in Read 2002, p.xvix) but his passage (with Ann Stokes) Angus shows he passed through Calverton 3 December. My thanks to Janet Sayers for this information.) A fourth text, 'Occasional Notes', which follows that on Western civilisation after many blank leaves, refers to the marriage of Anne of France and the Duke of Aquin in Naples, which took place on 5 November 1927.
31. And in particular from parts dealing with the industrial revolution as a 'revolution in the nature of images' and with the 'horror' of electric light in its relation, on the one hand, to the contest between the 'static universe' of space and the 'change and movement' of time and, on the other, to the sense of walking 'afflicting modern metropolitan man'.
32. Stokes, 'The Outer and the Inner Life', TGA 8816/12, p.30.
33. Adrian Stokes, letter to Graham Bell, undated (originally enclosed in a letter from Graham Bell to Anne Olivier Popham postmarked 3 September 1941), *Tate Archive* TGA 2002/14.
34. The manuscript also anticipates the autobiographical contents of inside *Out* and contains his first reflections on the formative 'Rappallo experience' there recounted (Stokes 1978, vol.2, pp.153–8).
35. Stokes, 'The Outer and the Inner Life', TGA 8816/12, p.43.
36. Ibid., pp.6–7.
37. The reference is to Hans Vaihinger, 'The Philosophy of As If: A System of the Theoretical, Practical and Religious Fictions of Modern' trans. by C.K. Ogden, London 1924. In the manuscript this phrase concerning the principle of analogy is given in inverted commas as though taken from the book, but it has never been unable to locate it.
38. Stokes, 'The Outer and the Inner Life', TGA 8816/12, pp.19–20 (Stokes's emphasis).
39. Ibid., pp.51–2.
40. For an analysis limited to Ruskin's treatment of Tuscan art in lectures given in the 1870s or Oxford as Slide Professor, see Jeanne Clegg, 'Modes of Opposition: 'Tuscany in the Oxford Lectures'', in Jeanne Clegg and John Tucker, *Ruskin and 'Tuscany'*, exhibition catalogue, Accademia Italiana, London 1993, pp.139–52.
41. See Melanie Klein about writing, 'Planning and Psychology', *Psychoanalysis and History*, vol.14, no.1, 2012, p.117.
42. Adrian Stokes, letter to Herbert Read, 18 January 1950, Herbert Read Papers, Special Collections, McPherson Library, University of Victoria. See also Stokes, 'The Outer and the Inner Life', TGA 8816/12, p.40: '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 its labourer. Yet he makes his own correspondence, one pressed just as far as totality though it be far less consciously'.
43. Adrian Stokes, 'Concerning Art and Metaphysiology, the introduction to *Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, vol.26, nos.3–4, 1945, p.178.
44. Ibid., p.177. Stokes opens his paper by quoting from the passage in Freud's *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930) where matter and intellectual work and art are presented as instances of its activity in a way intended to avoid suffering which makes use of libidinal displacements: 'This kind of avoiding, 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 shall certainly one day be able to define metaphysiology. Until then we can only say metaphorically it seems to us "higher and finer"'. He goes on to quote Freud's summing up of this kind of activity, in the next paragraph of his work, as the 'making oneself independent of the external world, by looking for happiness in the inner parts of the mind'. See Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, London 1930, pp.33,34.
45. Stokes 1945, p.177.
46. Ibid., p.178.
47. Ibid., p.179.
48. Ibid.
49. Stokes 1926, p.25: 'Where else (but in the countries of the Mediterranean) could man have taken courage to harness the madness of the soul?'