

A complete strip-off

A Bloomsbury threesome in the nude at Studland

Martin Ferguson Smith



From 1 to 29 September 1911 Vanessa and Clive Bell and their children stayed in Studland on the coast of Dorset. They had stayed there three times before – in September 1909, March–April 1910, and September–October 1910. On all four occasions Virginia Stephen too stayed in Studland, although only on the second of them, when her mental state was shaky and the Bells took her away for a break, did she stay in the same house.

The establishment patronised by Vanessa and Clive was a lodging-house called Harbour View on Beach Road. Owned by the Payne family of Studland boatmen, who lived in the adjacent Vine Cottage, it had been run since September 1903 by tenants Jacob¹ ('Jake') William Gibbons (1875–1965) and his wife, Lottie Jane Gibbons, *née* Puckett (1875–1955). Lottie was related to James Hammett, one of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. Jake, who also worked as a gardener at the Studland Bay country home of Sir Eustace Fiennes,² had been declared bankrupt early in 1909. The reasons he gave in court for his insolvency were 'illness of self, wife, and children' and 'bad letting seasons of 1906 and 1907'.³ In April 1912 he was to sign up as a second-class steward on the s.s. *Titanic*. According to his wife, he went to sea in the hope of curing the peritonitis from which he was suffering.⁴ He survived the disaster, but unsurprisingly did not sign up again for such employment.⁵ Harbour View, which is now a private residence called Seacombe, is conveniently situated about 300 yards from the sea, but the accommodation was somewhat cramped. For a start, Jacob and Lottie had five children by the time of the 1911 visit.⁶

Presenting in a recent article in this journal a newly discovered pencil and gouache portrait of Vanessa Bell by Roger Fry,

I described how the two had fallen in love during a visit to Turkey with Clive Bell and Harry Norton in the spring of 1911.⁷ On their return to England, Vanessa and Roger saw one another as often as they could, but not as often as they wished. She visited him at his Guildford home, Durbins, and in late July and early August she and Clive stayed nearby in Millmead Cottage, before moving on, on 14 August, with their sons, Julian and Quentin, aged three-and-a-half and one respectively,⁸ to Clive's parents' home in Wiltshire, Cleeve House in the village of Seend, near Melksham. From there between 15 and 31 August Vanessa wrote to Roger (at least) 14 times. As this epistolary bombardment, undoubtedly welcome to its target, suggests, she was missing him terribly. Her first letter makes clear that the two had made love in the morning of the fourteenth:

I seem to be hundreds of miles from you and everything exciting. Yesterday morning especially seems very remote! Oh Roger, how delicious it was though. I cant help thinking here how horrified they'd all be if they knew.⁹

He missed her too. In a note that is undated but was written on 14 or 15 August he writes:

I want to know that you got safe to Seend and aren't jiggery – very much indeed. I thought I could let you go for a bit but I want you back ever so much.¹⁰

'Jiggery' is a word the two of them use to mean something like 'rocky' or 'wobbly'. At this time her health continued to be unsatisfactory, and, on the day of the train journey to Seend, the weather was hot (up to 30C in southern England) and severe labour unrest was threatening transport systems; in fact, the country's first national rail strike was imminent. In response to Vanessa's declarations of love and longing and her confidences about her health problems, including daily updates on the progress of her period, Roger had to be restrained, because she was with Clive and felt obliged to read out to him at least parts of the letters she received. The main thing that kept her going at Seend was the thought that she would see Roger at Studland, and she urged him to arrange his affairs so that he could spend as much time there as possible.

In the event she did not see nearly as much of him as she had hoped. There were three reasons for this, revealed in her letters to him and in his appointments' diary.¹¹ First, he was often elsewhere for professional or family reasons, and it is indicative of this that between 5 and 28 September she wrote to him at least 11 times. Secondly, even when he was in Studland, with or without his family, he was not staying at Harbour View, except for the three nights of 1–3 September.¹² In fact, when his children, Julian and Pamela, aged 10 and nine respectively, arrived with their Swiss governess, Madeleine Savary,¹³ on 4 September, the family lodged for a week in Swanage rather than in Studland, before transferring to accommodation in Studland on 11 September. Thirdly, Vanessa was worried that Clive would smell a rat:

Next week when you come I must, however absurd it may seem, not sketch with you more than I should do naturally – for if he gets jealous now it will put an end to everything.¹⁴

A few days earlier Vanessa had given Roger another warning – to avoid giving Virginia any excuse to 'make mischief between you and him [Clive] by making him think I am in love with you'.¹⁵

Writing soon after Roger's death 23 years later (1934), Vanessa recalls the time in Studland and the difficulty she had



The illustrations are of photographs in the Berg Collection, New York Public Library

1 Vanessa Bell at Studland, September 1911, by Roger Fry

2 Vanessa Bell at Studland, September 1911 by Roger Fry

3 Vanessa Bell at Studland, September 1911 by Roger Fry

in seeing him. She remembers 'painting with him once or twice', and mentions that 'some snapshots exist of him and the children there'.¹⁶ What she does not mention is any photography by him or any photographs taken at Studland of him and her in the nude. But such photographs exist.

The photographs are in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature in The New York Public Library. They are in 'An Archive of Bloomsbury Photographs and Negatives, 1908–1965 bulk (1910–1913)', acquired by the Berg from RA Gekoski, dealer in rare books and manuscripts, in 2005. Full details of the archive's provenance are shown below. The Berg's Curator, Dr Isaac Gewirtz, explains that '1908–1965 bulk (1910–1913)' means that 'the entire collection spans the years 1908–1965, but the majority of the photographs in the collection date from 1910–1913'.¹⁷ The collection comprises 134 items, of which 116 are photographic negatives and prints – 36 negatives, all original, and 80 photographic prints, 53 of them 'vintage', the rest 'old' or 'modern'.¹⁸

Many of the portraits in the archive show their subjects nude. Those subjects include Oliver Strachey, Philippa ('Pippa') Strachey, Duncan Grant, Clive Bell, Katherine ('Ka') Cox, and Marjorie Strachey. There are five original negatives of nude photographs of Vanessa Bell, said to have been taken by Roger Fry at Studland c1912–1913, and five original negatives of nude photographs of Roger, said to have been taken by Vanessa at Studland c1912–1913.

The nude photographs of Vanessa and Roger were not taken in 1912 or 1913. Although she fancied the idea of arranging a painting party at Studland in July 1912,¹⁹ it did not happen, and it was only in September 1911 that she and Roger are known to have coincided there. In her memoir of

him she only mentions that one occasion,²⁰ and there is, so far as I can find, no mention of another occasion in any other source.²¹

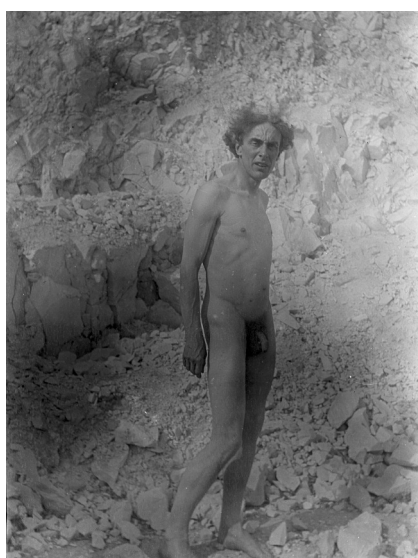
The five portraits of Vanessa show her in different poses. The only items she is seen to be wearing in all five are a headscarf and a necklace. In a photograph already reproduced, the only photograph in which her feet appear, she is wearing a pair of court shoes (pumps), perhaps of patent leather.²² In Pl 1 in the present article she is holding a dark sheet with a lighter-coloured lining, presumably the same sheet as the one on which she is sitting or reclining in Pls 2 and 3, draped round the lower part of her body, but in such way as to leave exposed all that is between her legs.

The headscarf is plainer than the one she is wearing in Roger's 'new' gouache portrait of her, but is arranged in a not dissimilar fashion, so as to reveal some tufts of hair. It is possibly the same article as the one she is wearing in a photograph of her with Virginia Stephen and Janet Case in Firlie Park, Sussex.²³ The bead necklace looks similar to one seen in several other portraits of her. The earliest is an oil and pencil image executed by Duncan Grant on a page of the 7 August 1911 issue of *The Times* (p7), although the sketchiness of the composition makes certainty impossible.²⁴ One may compare also the necklace seen in a photograph of Vanessa taken at Asheham House,²⁵ and in the portraits of her executed by Roger Fry and Duncan Grant at the same sitting c1916.²⁶ Their paintings suggest that the beads or nuggets are of amber and turquoise and/or lapis lazuli.

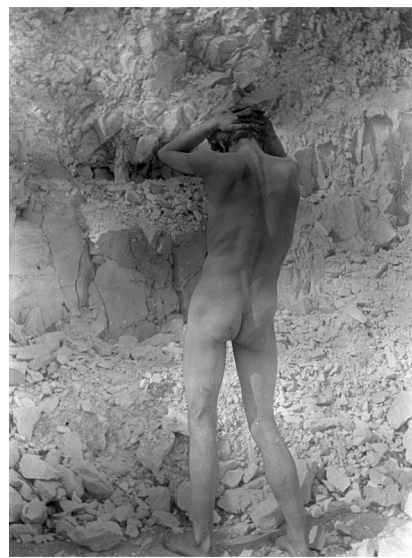
The nude photographs of Vanessa at Studland were taken in three locations, all probably in very close proximity to one another. One shows her standing immediately in front of a steep and crumbly bank of chalk,²⁷ two (one of them Pl 1) standing in front of what is likely to be a continuation of the same bank, and two (Pls 2–3) reclining on a nearby grassy slope. The sunflower (Pl 1 and another photograph), supported by an arrangement of stones, as well as facilitating different poses and expressions, has symbolic significance: since sunflowers, when young, tilt their heads to follow the sun across the sky, they connote fidelity and devotion.



4 Roger Fry at Studland, September 1911 by Vanessa Bell



5 Roger Fry at Studland, September 1911 by Vanessa Bell



6 Roger Fry at Studland, September 1911 by Vanessa Bell

Moreover, they were a favourite subject of artists, including Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, and Gustav Klimt. Sunflower paintings by Gauguin and van Gogh had been among the works included in Roger Fry's 'Manet and the Post-Impressionists' exhibition at the Grafton Galleries in November 1910–January 1911.²⁸ The appearance of the sunflower in two of the photographs of Vanessa suggests that the shoot was carefully planned in advance.²⁹

The photographs of Roger show him in front of a steep chalk bank, higher than the one seen behind Vanessa in the earlier article cited here as Smith 2017 (pl 11), and probably a little further to the right (north) of it. Four of them, including the three reproduced here (Pls 4–6) were taken at (almost) exactly the same spot. They show him in various poses, including one from the back. His hair is wet, and there is sand on parts of his body, including his feet, legs, and back. In the fifth photograph, a view from the back, he is making as if to climb the bank: he is leaning forward with his right leg advanced and his right hand on his right knee. He has lowered his head so far that it is invisible. He is wearing shoes with light-coloured uppers, whereas in the other photographs his feet are bare.

Given that Vanessa was on holiday with Clive, it would be sensationally remarkable if she and Roger had risked and got away with taking nude photographs of one another unchaperoned. Compelling evidence that this was not the case is the presence in the same Berg archive of a group of 11 vintage photographic prints of Clive in the nude. The photographs, clearly taken at Studland on the same occasion and at the same location, prove that the strip-off for the camera was a threesome. They also reveal that there was a fourth person present – a man fully dressed. The man is Gerald Frank Shove (1887–1947), who was educated at Uppingham and King's College, Cambridge. He took a first class in Economics in 1910. The previous year he had been elected an 'Apostle'.³⁰ He was close to another King's Apostle, the economist (John) Maynard Keynes,³¹ his senior by several years. It was through Maynard and the Apostles that Gerald became associated with the Bloomsbury Group. In the photographs under discussion he is smartly (and, in the context of the event he was observing, incongruously) dressed in a dark striped suit and smoking a pipe.³²

Clive, like Roger, has wet hair and sand on his body. The photographs, seemingly taken at a spot very close to that

where those of Vanessa were taken, show him in a variety of positions and situations, some of them so undignified that one can hardly call them 'poses'. In three of them he is receiving attention from Vanessa, who is wearing the headscarf and a long, long-sleeved, darkish dress (or beach-robe) with a pattern of small flowers (?) and a black belt with a large bow at the back. In one of the three she stands to the viewer's right of him, bending sideways to assist him. The picture is too blurred for one to be sure exactly what is going on, but Clive is doing a mini-squat, leaning forward towards the camera, with his head down, while Vanessa, side on to the camera, helps him either with the taking-off or putting-on of a shirt or with use of a towel. The scene is observed by an amused Gerald, pipe in mouth, right hand in pocket. In the two other photographs in which she appears, she is kneeling in front of Clive with her back to the camera, seemingly giving attention to one or both of his feet, perhaps to a shoe or a cut. In one of these, he is seen in half-profile, bending to the viewer's left, with both arms dropped, while on the extreme right Gerald, back to camera, watches, left hand on hip. In the other (Pl 7), in which Gerald does not appear, Clive, although bending slightly forward, looks at the camera. Both his arms are extended downwards, his right hand on his right thigh, his left hand on Vanessa's right shoulder for support while she attends to his left foot, which is not visible, but evidently slightly raised.

All but one of the eight photographs of Clive that remain to be described show him on his own. The exception is a waist-up portrait of him and Gerald standing together (Pl 8). Clive on the left is seen in profile, naked, head lowered, arms crossed. Gerald on the right faces the camera, fully clothed, pipe in mouth. Three photographs show Clive's rear. Of these, one is a close-up view of his sand-coated buttocks and his back; another, taken a little further away and showing him looking down, takes in his body from the back of the thighs to the back of the head; and the third, perhaps taken earlier than the other two, because there is a lot of sand not only on his buttocks, but also on his back and shoulders, shows him turned a little to the right, head slightly lowered, arms akimbo, and standing on a dark sheet (Pl 9). The sheet exhibits a lighter-coloured lining, indicating that it is either the same sheet as the one that Vanessa is holding in Pl 1 or its twin. This is useful confirmation that the photographs of her and Clive were taken on the same occasion. What is undoubtedly the same sheet, despite its lining not being visible, is seen in three other photographs of Clive. In one of these, he is bending forward, head lowered, hands on knees, legs close together and seemingly coated with sand; in another, he is seen in three-quarter rear profile, standing with his head lowered and his right arm lowered in front of



7 Clive and Vanessa Bell at Studland, September 1911 by Roger Fry



8 Clive Bell (left) and Gerald Stove at Studland, September 1911 by Roger Fry (or Vanessa Bell?)



9 Clive Bell at Studland, September 1911 by Roger Fry (or Vanessa Bell?)

his body, with the hand out of sight. No doubt it was not intended so, but he looks as though he might be about to relieve himself – an unflattering pose, anyhow. It is remarkable that in the great majority of photographs he has his head down. Another such photograph, not yet mentioned, shows him in three-quarters front profile, standing with his left hand on his hip. The only exception is a closer-up shot, taken at the same spot and from virtually the same angle, taking in his body from the top of his head to the top of his thighs (Pl 10). Here too he stands with his left hand on his hip, but, instead of looking down, he is looking nearly straight ahead of him, that is to say (since the view is in three-quarters front profile), to the left of the camera.

It can be assumed that the photographs of Clive in which Vanessa also appears were taken by Roger. There is no indication that anyone else was present except Gerald, who is not known to have had any interest in photography. Vanessa was a very keen photographer, as her albums and negatives in the Tate Gallery Archive abundantly testify,³³ and, although it is perhaps most likely that Roger took all the photographs of Clive, one cannot rule out the possibility that she took some of them.

Photographs by Roger are uncommon, and these ones of Vanessa and Clive are perhaps the earliest of his that are known. When he did wield a camera, he was capable of achieving excellent results. Five years later Virginia Woolf paid this compliment to him:

The photographs certainly are masterpieces – the one of Leonard is far the best that I've ever seen of him – How does that minute camera produce such large pictures?³⁴

His photographs of Vanessa in the nude at Studland may not be masterpieces, but he appears to have taken more trouble with them, or at least to have been more successful with them, than with his photographs of Clive. One almost wonders if he did not take a rather mischievous pleasure in capturing her husband in rather undignified positions.

The photographs were taken in the morning, and early. Studland faces east, and Pl 2 shows Vanessa using her right arm to shield her eyes from what is evidently a low sun.³⁵ Sunrise at Studland in September 1911 ranged from about 05.15 to about 05.55. The most obvious advantage of doing the deed very early would have been to avoid being seen. Before the Second World War a naturist area (unofficial at

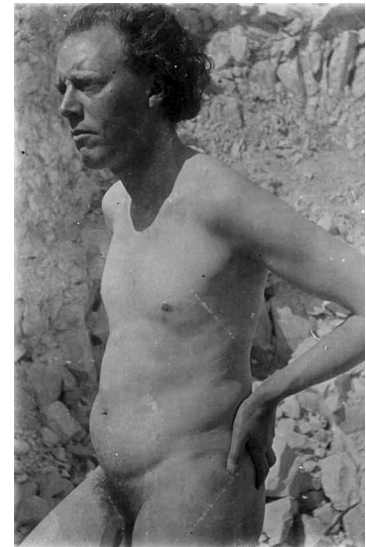
first) was established at Studland and, like the rest of the beach and the heathland behind it, was bequeathed, along with the rest of the Bankes Estate, to the National Trust in 1981,³⁶ but no such arrangement existed in 1911, and matters of dress and undress had recently given cause for concern. At a meeting of Studland Parish Council on 15 April 1907, chaired by the Revd Frederick Swift Algeo, rector of the village's Church of St Nicholas:

A resolution was passed calling the notice of the Trustees of the Bankes Estates to the unsatisfactory state of the beach as regards bathers and campers, the Council considering it detrimental to the health of the village through the absence of any sanitary arrangements for the latter and the neglect of wearing proper costume as regards the former.³⁷

It was suggested that the Trustees be asked to erect notice boards with the following rules.

- (1) No person above the age of 10 years shall bathe within view from any street or public path without wearing a proper dress or regulation costume.
- (2) No person shall bathe from the beach between the hours of 10. a.m. and 7. p.m. without using tent or bathing machine.
- (3) The above to apply to a limit not exceeding 300^[38] yds. north of Knoll Hill Road, and the Pilots path on the South.³⁹

The worthies on the Parish Council would have deplored the Bells' and Roger's behaviour, if they had heard about it, but at least the visitors had the consideration to do what they did early in the morning and out of sight of the village. It has not been possible to identify the exact location of the shoot, the biggest problem being that the coastline has undergone considerable erosion during the past 100 years, and some features, including the Pilots Path, have disappeared completely, but the chalk seen in the photographs shows that it was southeast of Studland village on the way to the headland known as The Foreland or Handfast Point and Old Harry Rocks, and probably either above the south end of South (or Little) Beach or not far beyond that point. The place would have been easily reached from Harbour View.



Although the Bells were in Studland for almost the whole of September 1911 and Roger was there or nearby at various times up to and including the 25th, the event can be dated, with a high degree of confidence, to Saturday the second, Sunday the third, or Monday the fourth. This conclusion may seem rather bold, but is straightforwardly reached by a process of elimination, having regard to Roger's movements and numerous absences, weather conditions, and the presence of Gerald Shove. Those days, the first three after the Bells' and Roger's arrival in Studland, have two great advantages. One is that Roger was in Studland without his family and, as we have seen, staying with the Bells at Harbour View. The other is that the prolonged heat-wave that had begun in early July was still in progress. It was to end on 12 September. On 2 September a temperature of 31 degrees centigrade was recorded in London and about 25 over a wide area of southern England. 3 September brought some cloud, but was still very warm, and in Bournemouth, very close to Studland, eight hours of sunshine were recorded.⁴⁰ The weather remained warm on 4 September. That was the day Roger went to Swanage for the arrival of his family there, before departing the following day for work on *The Burlington Magazine* and at Hampton Court, but Vanessa makes clear that he was in Studland until at least the morning of 4 September.⁴¹ He was away from Dorset 5–8 and 13–15 September and in Dorset but not in Studland on 9–10 September. On 11 September he moved his family from Swanage to Studland. And so 2–4 September were the only possible dates for him in the first half of the month.

What about Gerald Shove? Is there any mention anywhere of his having been in Studland in early September? If there is, the present writer has not located it, but it is known that around this time he spent several days in the neighbouring county of Devon. From 1 September Lytton Strachey was also in Devon, staying at Becky (or Beckey) House, Manaton. Writing from there to Maynard Keynes on 10 September, he reports that he had a visit of 'a few days' from Gerald.⁴² Gerald also visited a 'neo-pagan' camp organised by Justin Brooke at Clifford Bridge, Drewsteignton, about eight miles northwest of Manaton. Apparently he spent just one night there.⁴³ Among the campers was Rupert Brooke (unrelated to Justin). While in camp, Gerald was photographed with Rupert by Maynard Keynes,⁴⁴ who arrived on or about 26 August⁴⁵ and departed not later than 5 September.⁴⁶ In the photograph Gerald is half sitting up from a reclining position. Pipe in hand, he is wearing a trilby hat and a suit – almost certainly the one he is seen wearing at Studland. The photograph was taken sometime between 29 August and 5 September – not earlier because in a letter of 29 August Maynard told Lytton that Gerald had still not replied to invitations to visit the camp.⁴⁷

It can be confidently assumed that Gerald visited Studland immediately before going to Monaton and Clifford Bridge. He cannot have done so on the way back, because, even if the photo-shoot in Studland took place in the early morning of 4 September, the latest possible time for Roger Fry to be present in the first half of the month, and even if Gerald's stay of 'a few days' in Manaton began on 1 September, the earliest possible date, he would have had only one full day with Lytton before having to leave for Studland on 3 September, and there would have been no time for the night at Clifford Bridge.

Lytton was to transfer from Monaton to Studland on 15 September. But there is no possibility that Gerald too visited it in the second half of the month, because in the morning of 15 September he and Maynard left London for Dublin with other members of a group from the Liberal-Party-supporting Eighty Club.⁴⁸ The group made a fortnight's tour of Ireland, not returning to London until the morning of 1 October.⁴⁹ If Gerald was in Studland before his visit to Devon, he would have had to leave not later than 4 September in order to reach Clifford Bridge before Maynard departed for London.

The readiness of 'Bloomsberries' to be seen and photographed nude is a well-known manifestation of their

bohemianism. But the nude-photography threesome engaged in by Vanessa, Clive, and Roger at Studland is remarkable even by Bloomsbury standards, given the relationships between the participants at the time.

Vanessa and Clive had been married for four-and-a-half years.⁵⁰ At first they were very close, but became less so after the birth of Julian. Vanessa was wholly absorbed in the baby, and Clive, who had no inclination to be a hands-on father, felt excluded. In the spring of 1908 he and Virginia, who also felt excluded by her sister's preoccupation with the baby, flirted with one another during a holiday in Cornwall. That did not involve any love-making, but was still hurtful to Vanessa, and not many more months had passed before Clive found solace in the welcoming arms of Annie Raven-Hill, *née* Rogers (1864–1922), who had been his first lover. That was in August 1899, when she was 35 and he was not quite 18 and about to go up to Trinity College, Cambridge. She and her husband, the illustrator and cartoonist Leonard Raven-Hill (1867–1942), whom she had married in 1889, lived from 1897 to 1912 in the historic Battle House in the Wiltshire village of Bromham, three or four miles north of Clive's parents' house. They had four children, of whom the youngest, Betty Margaret Hill (born 22 February 1903), Leonard was not the father,⁵¹ despite being shown as that on Betty's birth certificate. Battle House contained about 20 rooms, and there was a farm in which Leonard took a close interest, superintending the work rather than doing it himself.⁵² A stylish and attractive woman with a strong libido, Annie had taken the lead with Clive and initiated him in the *ars amatoria*. The affair, on both sides seemingly more a matter of lust than of love, had continued for several years, stopped when Clive fell in love with Vanessa, and, after its resumption, ran on until October 1914. Frank details of it are contained in a paper Clive read to the (Bloomsbury Group) Memoir Club on 2 February 1921.⁵³ The following year Annie died of a brain haemorrhage and asthenia at the age of fifty-seven. Vanessa rather enjoyed Annie's company, finding her much more lively and amusing than Clive's family and marvelling at her outspokenness.⁵⁴

In view of Clive's infidelities, he was in no position to complain if Vanessa looked elsewhere for love and sexual satisfaction. But, although the two were no longer in love, they were still good and affectionate friends; she knew that he was not in love with Annie, and, as we have seen, she did not want him to know just how close she and Roger were.⁵⁵

It seems probable that the nude-posing expedition was Vanessa's suggestion. As Clive's spouse and, unknown to Clive, Roger's lover, she was best placed to make it, and she was the one most interested in photography. If it was her initiative, it can be reconciled with her wish, communicated to Roger in advance of the Studland holiday, to avoid making Clive jealous, because it was a threesome, with Gerald Shove observing, and could be justified on the ground that the photography was for art's sake. But it is hard to believe that it was not in fact an act of bravado on her part. However that may be, the emotional scenario for her and Roger at the time will have been a highly charged one. The two were madly in love and hungry for one another's bodies. It must have felt most peculiar to be revealing their all to one another in the presence of Clive – exciting and deliciously naughty, but also deeply frustrating, given that they knew that there was unlikely to be any opportunity during the Studland holiday for the sexual union they both craved.

Provenance of the Bloomsbury Archive of Photographs and Negatives in the Berg Collection

From Duncan James Corrowr Grant (1885–1978) to his friend the art historian Simon Watney (1949–); from Watney to RA Gekoski, dealer in rare books and manuscripts, October 2004; from Gekoski to the Berg Collection, New York Public Library, April 2005.⁵⁶

- I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the following: the late Henrietta Garnett, copyright holder, for permission to receive copies of photographs taken by Vanessa Bell and for permission to publish them and make quotations from letters written by her; The Berg Collection, New York Public Library, its former Curator, Isaac Gewirtz, Librarian Joshua McKeon, and Andrea Felder of its Permissions and Reproduction Services, for supplying prints made from the negatives of photographs of Vanessa Bell and Roger Fry taken by Roger Fry and Vanessa Bell respectively, and copies of photographic prints of Clive Bell; Jane Abram; Karen Arathoon; Tony Bradshaw; Victoria Chance; Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, and the Dorset County Archivist, Sam Johnston; Sally Dowling; Peter Grogan of Peter Grogan, Rare Books & Manuscripts, London; King's College Cambridge Archive Centre and its Archivist, Patricia McGuire, for much information and generous assistance; Joyce Meates for giving me the benefit of her detailed knowledge of Studland; Jon Richardson of Jon S. Richardson Rare Books, Concord, Massachusetts; Lucinda Ferguson Smith; Susan Stares of Swanage; The Tate Library and Archive; Trinity College Library, Cambridge, for supplying a copy of Clive Bell's paper on Annie Raven-Hill.
- 1 Not Joseph, as stated by Frances Spalding, *Vanessa Bell*, London 1993, p87, and Lisa Tickner, 'Vanessa Bell: *Studland Beach*, Domesticity, and "Significant Form"', *Representations* 65 (Winter 1999), pp63–92, at p71.
 - 2 Grandfather of the explorer Sir Ranulph Fiennes.
 - 3 *Western Gazette*, 19 February 1909, p3.
 - 4 Rodney Legg, *The Book of Studland*, Tiverton 2002, p78.
 - 5 He served with the Red Cross in France during the First World War, then worked for the Canadian Pacific Railway (in Canada) before returning to Harbour View.
 - 6 Next door to Harbour View was Full Stop, now called Sandyholme, the home of Alexander Hellier Berens (1865–1959), an Old Etonian who led a varied and adventurous life abroad before settling c1900 with his second wife in Studland, where in collaboration with Louisa Churchill (1880–1965), a local woman who was employed by the Berenses first as parlourmaid, then as housekeeper, he practised a wide range of arts and crafts. In 1921 the two established a business called Studland Art Industries. Berens was a versatile man (brilliant with animals for one thing) and a colourful character, and visitors to Harbour View could hardly have been unaware of the owner of the house next door. On Louisa Churchill and her family, see Joyce Meates, *Goatbarn, Studland, Dorset: A Forgotten Clayworking Community*, Swanage 2013.
 - 7 Martin Ferguson Smith, "'New' Portraits by Roger Fry (1866–1934) of Helen Fry and Vanessa Bell', *The British Art Journal*, XVII, 3 (Spring 2017), pp34–39, at p38.
 - 8 Julian was born on 4 February 1908, Quentin on 19 August 1910.
 - 9 Vanessa Bell to Roger Fry, 15 August [1911] (Tate Gallery Archive [henceforth TGA] 8010.8.12).
 - 10 TGA 8010.5.598.
 - 11 King's College Cambridge Archive Centre (henceforth KCC) REF [Roger Eliot Fry] /5/1/2.
 - 12 See Vanessa's letters to Roger of Tuesday [29 August 1911] (TGA 8010.8.20), 31 August [1911] (TGA 8010.8.22), and 7 September [1911] (TGA 8010.8.23). In the possession of a descendant of the Gibboses is the Harbour View visitors' book, but unfortunately it goes back no earlier than the 1930s.
 - 13 Madeleine Elisabeth Marguerite Savary (1879–1925) had recently become a Quaker. In 1920 she organised the first regular Quaker meeting in Geneva and served as its clerk in the early years.
 - 14 Vanessa Bell to Roger Fry, 13 September [1911] (TGA 8010.8.26).
 - 15 Vanessa Bell to Roger Fry, 5 September [1911] (TGA 8010.8.24).
 - 16 Vanessa Bell, *Sketches in Pen and Ink: A Bloomsbury Notebook*, ed Lia Giachero, London 1997, p147. For photographs of Roger and his children, Julian and Pamela, at Studland in 1911, see Maggie Humm, *Snapshots of Bloomsbury: The Private Lives of Virginia Woolf and Vanessa Bell*, London 2006, pp93–94.
 - 17 Email to the author, 5 October 2016.
 - 18 Thanks to the kindness of Peter Grogan, I have been able to consult, in addition to the Berg's catalogue, the detailed inventory of the archive prepared in advance of its sale by Gekoski.
 - 19 Vanessa Bell to Roger Fry, 27 September [1911] (TGA 8010.8.32); Vanessa Bell to Duncan Grant, 27 September [1911] (TGA 20078/1/44/5).
 - 20 Bell, *Sketches*, pp117–47. She recalls the 1911 visit to Studland at p147.
 - 21 Roger's appointments diary for 1913 is missing, but the *argumentum ex silentio* is still very powerful. Richard Shone, *Bloomsbury Portraits* (revd and enlarged edn, London 1993), p47, mistakenly assigns Vanessa's and Roger's portraits of Lytton Strachey at Studland to 1912. They were painted in September 1911, as stated by Elizabeth P Richardson, *A Bloomsbury Iconography*, Winchester 1989, pp105–6. The sitting was sometime between 15 and 23 September.
 - 22 Smith 2017, p38, pl 11.
 - 23 For details of this photograph, see Smith 2017, n14, where 'Cash' is a mistake for 'Case'.
 - 24 The image is reproduced by Richard Shone, *The Art of Bloomsbury: Roger Fry, Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant*, Princeton 1999, p248. In discussing the composition, Shone does not mention that on 7–8 August 1911 Duncan Grant was seeing Vanessa in Guildford, staying either at Durbins, Roger Fry's house, or at Millmead Cottage, the house rented by the Bells. See Vanessa's letter to Roger of 8 August [1911] (TGA 8010.8.7).
 - 25 Reproduced in Frances Spalding, *Duncan Grant*, London 1997, between pp144 and 145, and Spalding, *Vanessa Bell*, opposite p81.
 - 26 Duncan Grant's picture is reproduced in Shone, *Bloomsbury Portraits*, p149, Roger Fry's in Christopher Green, ed, *Art Made Modern: Roger Fry's Vision of Art*, London 1999, p65.
 - 27 Smith 2017, p38, pl 11.
 - 28 See Anna Gruetzner Robins, "'Manet and the Post-Impressionists': A Checklist of Exhibits', *The Burlington Magazine*, CLII (December 2010), pp782–93, at pp787, 790.
 - 29 The headscarf Vanessa is seen wearing in the Firlie Park photograph (see above), which may be the same as the one she wore at Studland, displays a single sunflower-head as decoration. No such decoration is visible in the Studland photographs, but may just be concealed from view. In any case, one can justifiably conclude that sunflowers were favoured by Vanessa.
 - 30 The Apostles, properly the Cambridge Conversazione Society, a secret society founded in 1820. Originally there were twelve members – hence the name 'Apostles'.
 - 31 Keynes studied (and took a first in) mathematics rather than economics.
 - 32 On Gerald Shove's high sartorial standards, see Vanessa Bell's exceptionally vulgar letter of 19 April [1914] to Maynard Keynes in Regina Marler, *Selected Letters of Vanessa Bell*, London 1993, p163. In the summer of 1911, Duncan Grant painted Gerald's portrait in Cambridge. For a colour photograph see Shone, *The Art of Bloomsbury*, p95.
 - 33 TGA 9020.
 - 34 Virginia Woolf to Roger Fry, [8 October 1916], *The Letters of Virginia Woolf*, ed Nigel Nicolson, assisted by Joanne Trautmann, vol II, London 1976, p121.
 - 35 In none of the photographs is Vanessa looking at the camera, but the low sun is unlikely to be the (main) explanation for this.
 - 36 *The Times*, 19 December 1981, p1.
 - 37 Presumably the Parish Council took the view that lack of sanitation would adversely affect the physical health of villagers, the absence of proper costume their moral health.
 - 38 Misread as '500' by Richard Vine, *Studland: A Historical and Social Record of a Dorset Coastal Village*, Wimborne 2003, p76.
 - 39 *Studland Parish Council Minute Book, 1894–1927*, Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, ref PC/STD/1/1/1, by kind permission of Sam Johnston, County Archivist.
 - 40 Information about temperatures and other features of the weather in September 1911 is derived from reports in *The Times*.
 - 41 Vanessa Bell to Roger Fry, 7 September [1911] (TGA 8010.8.23). From her letter to him of 5 September [1911] (TGA 8010.8.24), it is clear that she drove with him in a cart to Swanage the previous day and drove back to Studland on her own.
 - 42 KCC JMK/PP/45/316/4/205. Lytton here calls Gerald 'His Lordship', as in his letters to Maynard of 24 August 1911 (KCC JMK/PP/45/316/4/197) and 30 August 1911 (KCC JMK/PP/45/316/4/201); Maynard does the same in his letters to Lytton of 29 August 1911 (KCC JMK/PP/45/316/4/198 and 20 September 1911 (KCC JMK/PP/45/316/4/206). See also n44 below.
 - 43 Michael Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey*, London 1995, p236.
 - 44 KCC PP/RCB/Ph/158 (sleeve no. 54). The print is inscribed on the back, by Geoffrey Keynes, 'Rupert + his Lordship (Gerald Shove) taken by Maynard'.
 - 45 Letter from JM Keynes to Lytton Strachey, 22 August 1911 (KCC JMK/PP/45/316/4/193–4).
 - 46 Letter from JM Keynes to Lytton Strachey, 29 August 1911 (KCC JMK/PP/45/316/4/198): 'We shall probably be here until about Sept' 5.' That Maynard meant to be in London on 5 September is shown by the sole entry in his appointments' diary for that day: 'Lb. [= lift boy] of Vauxhall' (KCC JMK/PP/41), in reference to a homosexual encounter.
 - 47 KCC JMK/PP/45/316/4/198.
 - 48 Letters from JM Keynes to Lytton Strachey, 8 and 20 September 1911 (KCC JMK/PP/45/316/4/202–3, 206). For the diary entries made during the visit by Cecil Harmsworth, see Andrew Thorpe & Richard Toye, eds, *Parliament and Politics in the Age of Asquith and Lloyd George: The Diaries of Cecil Harmsworth, MP, 1909–1922*, Cambridge 2016, pp96–101.
 - 49 The National Library of Ireland has a copy of the programme in its Ephemera Collection at EPH B441.
 - 50 They were married on 7 February 1907.
 - 51 Clive Bell in the typescript detailed below (n53), p6.
 - 52 On the house and farm and their owner, see Arthur Lawrence, 'Art and Agriculture: An Interview with Mr. L. Raven-Hill', *The Idler* 15 (1899) pp484, 525–36. Included (p534) is a photograph of Leonard, a confident-looking Annie with an impressive hat, and their daughter Sylvia. For a photograph of Annie dressed as Cleopatra at the Artists' Ball at the Grafton Galleries in 1910, see 'High Revel in Bohemia', *The Tatler*, 463 (11 May 1910), p145.
 - 53 Untitled 15-page typescript dated January 1921, with a few manuscript notes added by the author, one dated 1930. Trinity College Cambridge Library, Papers of Arthur Clive Heward Bell, ref BELL 3.7. The date of the paper's delivery to the Memoir Club is given by Virginia Woolf in her diary for 5 February 1921. See Martin Ferguson Smith and Helen Walasek, 'Clive Bell's Memoir of Annie Raven-Hill', *English Studies*, 100 (2019), pp823–54.
 - 54 Letter from Vanessa Bell to Virginia Stephen, Sunday [19 April 1908], in Marler, p61. In a letter of Thursday [5 March 1914] to Duncan Grant (TGA 20078/1/44/21), Vanessa describes a visit to the Raven-Hills at Richmond, during which Annie showed Vanessa her clothes, skipped about in her underclothes, and relieved herself in a chamber-pot while wearing a tight skirt that compelled her to take up a most unusual position, vividly illustrated by Vanessa in a coloured sketch, reproduced in Smith & Walasek, fig. 5.
 - 55 Lytton Strachey noticed, during his stay at Studland, that Roger was in love with Vanessa, but not that she was in love with him. Letter to James Strachey, 24 September 1911. See Paul Levy, ed, *The Letters of Lytton Strachey*, London 2005, p203.
 - 56 The Berg catalog(ue) incorrectly names Colin Mills as a 'former owner'. He was in fact the photographer who produced some of the modern prints in the collection. I owe this information to Peter Grogan (email of 20 October 2016).