

# EVELYN WAUGH STUDIES

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## NEWS

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## ***Brideshead Serialized: 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of First Publication in Town & Country Magazine***

Jeffrey Manley

### **Introduction**

November 2019 marks the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first publication of *Brideshead Revisited*. This was in a serial version published in New York-based *Town & Country* magazine starting in November 1944 and continuing for the next three months, concluding in the February 1945 issue. The opening installment was published while Waugh was still in Yugoslavia serving in Randolph Churchill's special mission to Tito's Partisans. There was no counterpart of this serial publication in the UK, not for want of a potential publisher but because of the singular set of circumstances under which the novel came to be published in an abbreviated American version in the first place.

Not much attention has been paid by Waugh scholars to the serial version of the book. This is understandable since, as explained below, Waugh played no part in its editing, and it contributed nothing to future versions of the novel. The only detailed study of the serial version that I have found is the essay published in 1969 by Robert Murray Davis: "The Serial Version of *Brideshead Revisited*"<sup>1</sup> (Hereafter "Davis.") Unfortunately, when Prof. Davis wrote that study, the correspondence relating to the publication history of the serial version was unavailable. When Davis asked Waugh's agent A. D. Peters if he could provide any relevant information about the editing of the serialization, he was told "that Waugh made his own arrangements for magazine publication, usually by hand written letters of which he kept no copies" (Davis, 43, n. 4). Personnel at *Town & Country* were no more helpful, informing Davis that "there was no way of knowing who made the cuts. The magazine's policy is to have the author make them if there is time; otherwise, they are made by the copy editor" (*Ibid.*).

Prof. Davis therefore wrote his essay not knowing what was the precise source of the text used by *T&C* or who was responsible for editorial preparation of the serial. He explained this in

<sup>1</sup> *Twentieth Century Literature*. 15.1 (April 1969).

his introduction: “The printer’s copy for the serial, which comes fairly early in the process, was probably a manuscript, basically similar to the edition published in 1945, that was skillfully trimmed of almost half its length by Waugh or by the *Town and Country* copy editor to meet the limitations imposed by space and by a conception of the magazine’s readers” (35). The analysis of the serial in the 1969 article thus had to proceed without knowing whether or to what extent Waugh himself was involved in editing the serial.

### **Publishing History**

The background correspondence later became available in the A. D. Peters Collection acquired by the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas. Prof. Davis catalogued this in the 1970s along with other materials in the Evelyn Waugh Collection. After that experience, Prof. Davis became less polite in referring to the serial. In a note to his essays discussing *Brideshead* in his 1981 study *Evelyn Waugh, Writer*, Davis wrote: “I did not have any manuscript materials, including Waugh’s indignant letters to Peters, when I wrote the [1969 essay]. Waugh did not cut it and did not approve the truncated version, to put it as mildly as possible. The serial was probably not set from a manuscript but from an uncorrected type script of the same family as the carbon at Texas.”<sup>2</sup> In the 1986 Waugh bibliography (of which Davis was lead editor) the entry on the *Town & Country* serialization concludes: “Many deletions from Waugh’s text, all unauthorized.”<sup>3</sup>

This 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the serial publication offers a good opportunity to review the correspondence files that were unavailable to Prof. Davis when he wrote his article. This discussion will, it is hoped, avoid future doubt as to Waugh’s role in the serialization project, such as that which has clouded the judgment of several scholars. For example, in his 1989 book on the literature of WWII, Paul Fussell makes this statement referring to Waugh’s posting in Yugoslavia: “Twenty days [after a dinner prepared by Randolph on 31 October] Waugh was reading the proofs of *Brideshead* for its serialization in the American luxury magazine *Town and*

<sup>2</sup> Robert Murray Davis, *Evelyn Waugh, Writer* (Norman, OK: 1981), p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliography of Evelyn Waugh*, Troy, NY: 1986, pp. 94-95.

*Country*.”<sup>4</sup> More recently, this statement appeared in a 2003 paper delivered to a Waugh conference in Spain:

‘...Waugh’s decision to publish an advance Private Edition, and in the United States, *to allow a serialized illustrated edition to appear in Town and Country*, as well as his willingness to capitalize on its selection by the Book of the Month Club, positioned *Brideshead* for the widest possible readership.’<sup>5</sup>  
(Emphasis added.)

The new archival material doesn’t change the conclusions Davis drew in his 1969 article about how the serialization affected the story and its presentation, although if he had had the correspondence when he wrote it, he might have expressed those conclusions differently. These are summarized below after a discussion of the correspondence.

Much of the book’s writing and publication history is well known and won’t be repeated except as it affects the serialization. Waugh completed his draft of the novel at Chagford on 16 June 1944 and left for London where he delivered the typescript to his publisher (*Diaries*, 568). He wrote to A. D. Peters, his agent (hereafter “ADP”), that a second copy of the typescript should be sent to Little, Brown in the United States once an unnamed friend in Oxford (actually, Fr. Martin D’Arcy) had vetted it for “theological howlers.”<sup>6</sup> Waugh then returned to duty with his Army unit in Scotland only to be unexpectedly contacted there by Randolph Churchill a few days later, requesting Waugh to join his mission to Yugoslavia. Waugh was only too happy to oblige, weary as he was of over two years of UK-based Army duty, and on 4 July departed from

<sup>4</sup> *Wartime* (New York: OUP, 1989. 223). As noted below, the proofs Waugh was reading and editing in Yugoslavia were the uncorrected page proofs for the book to be published in 1945. The first installment of the *Town & Country* serial had already been published by the time Waugh received the page proofs in Yugoslavia on 20 November 1944.

<sup>5</sup> Patrick Denman Flanery, “Brideshead Repositioned: Re-Ma(r)king Text and Tone in Filmed Adaptation” in *Waugh Without End: New Trends in Evelyn Waugh Studies*. Carlos Villar Flor and Robert Murray Davis, eds. Bern: Peter Lang, 2005. 198.

<sup>6</sup> EW to ADP, unpublished ALS, dated 20 June 1944; HRC. See also Martin Stannard, *Evelyn Waugh: The Later Years*. New York: 1992. 106, n. 28. This typescript was the source of the text of the 471-page carbon copy typescript in the Evelyn Waugh Collection at the Harry Ransom Center, discussed below. Professor Davis describes this as “uncorrected.” *A Catalogue of the Evelyn Waugh Collection at the HRC* (Troy, NY: 1981), 16, item A17.

the airfield at Swindon. This effectively put him out of the immediate loop of publishing and editing the novel, at least until the page proofs reached him in Yugoslavia in late November.

On 29 June, the typescript carbon copy from Oxford (hereafter “TScC”) was sent by ADP to Little, Brown who acknowledged receipt on 25 July.<sup>7</sup> Whether any edits by Fr. D’Arcy were incorporated into the typescript earlier sent by Waugh to C&H isn’t mentioned. Waugh, however, dealt with Fr. D’Arcy’s comments when he edited the page proofs in Yugoslavia. On 31 July, Waugh’s US agent Harold Matson learned of the TScC and queried ADP by cable about American magazine and motion picture rights. On 10 August, he cabled ADP asking whether a copy was on the way to him, explaining that *Atlantic Monthly* was interested for the probable price of \$3000 and that there was also possible interest from a popular magazine.<sup>8</sup> To this ADP replied (by cable) suggesting that Matson borrow the carbon copy sent to Little, Brown and concluding: “unsuitable commercial serialization suggest you accept *Atlantics* best offer.”<sup>9</sup> This is followed by a letter from ADP of the same date:

I did not write to you about this book because it never occurred to me that there would be the slightest serial possibility in the book. It is very long and I should have thought quite uncommercial. But if the “Atlantic Monthly” want to run it, by all means let them do so, and I will see that the book publication is held up if necessary. <sup>10</sup>

He goes on to describe Little, Brown as enthusiastic and informs Matson that MGM have the first option on the film rights under a deal concluded with Waugh.

Waugh then re-established contact with ADP in a letter dated 13 August 1944 from somewhere in Italy reporting that he was recuperating from a plane crash, asking a series of detailed questions about the status of the book and requesting that ADP supervise the publication of what he calls the “limited edition.” There is no discussion of serialization.<sup>11</sup> ADP’s response is missing from file. On 30 August, ADP cabled Matson to accept the best offer for a Waugh serial

<sup>7</sup> Unpublished TccL ADP to Alfred McIntyre, Little Brown, dated 29 June 1944; unpublished TLS, Alfred McIntyre, Little Brown to ADP, dated 25 July 1944; HRC.

<sup>8</sup> Unpublished copies of Matson’s cables dated as indicated are in the ADP Papers at the HRC.

<sup>9</sup> Unpublished cable (carbon copy), ADP to Harold Matson, dated 10 August 1944; HRC.

<sup>10</sup> Unpublished TccL, ADP to Matson, dated 10 August 1944; HRC.

<sup>11</sup> Unpublished ALS, EW to ADP, 13 August 1944, HRC.

and advising that book publication could be postponed if necessary, to which Matson cabled back the same day “HAVE ACCEPTED FIVE THOUSAND TOWN COUNTRY WAUGH.”<sup>12</sup> On 31 August, ADP responded by post that he was “delighted” with sale of serial rights to *T&C* and asked Matson to make arrangements with Little, Brown regarding the book publication schedule.<sup>13</sup> Matson later wrote to ADP that US publication was set for March 1945, a month following the last installment of the serial version.<sup>14</sup> As noted below, this turned out to be a bit optimistic since Little, Brown did not receive the corrected proofs from which to print the book until 9 March 1945.

After Waugh had been advised of this arrangement, he responded from Topusko, Yugoslavia, on 30 September that he was glad of the sale of serial rights to the Yanks but expected he would

get £100 or so for this when the various freedom loving nations have mulcted me. I do not quite understand how a novel that length can be serialized without postponing publication. I have not been happy in my relations with American editors. I hope it is clear to them [*T&C*] that they must not précis the work.<sup>15</sup>

The \$5000 he received from *T&C* in 1944 would be worth about \$72,000 in buying power today. It looks like a fairly generous payment for the time, especially given that no further editorial effort whatever was expected on the author’s part.

Waugh goes on to explain to ADP that he had asked C&H to send him a set of proofs so that he could make what he foresees as extensive changes in the first half of the book. These uncorrected page proofs were shipped by ADP to Little, Brown on 10 November<sup>16</sup> and another copy arrived in Yugoslavia by parachute about a week later (*Diaries*, 20 November 1944, 592). This was after elaborate arrangements involving a shipment addressed to Randolph via 10

<sup>12</sup> Unpublished TccL (cable), ADP to Harold Matson dated 30 August 1944; unpublished cable, Harold Matson to ADP, dated 30 August 1944; both HRC.

<sup>13</sup> Unpublished TccL, ADP to Matson, 31 August, 1944, HRC.

<sup>14</sup> Unpublished TLS, Matson to ADP, 6 September 1944, HRC.

<sup>15</sup> Unpublished ALS, EW to ADP, 31 August 1944, HRC.

<sup>16</sup> Unpublished TccL (cable), ADP to Little Brown, dated 20 November 1944.

Downing Street. Waugh finished his edits within a week and returned the corrected proof to London with his extensive changes.<sup>17</sup>

By then, the first installment of the *T&C* serial had already been published and distributed. This was apparently edited from the text of the TScC sent to Little, Brown and “borrowed” by Matson. Another copy of this typescript (probably the original) was also used by C&H to set the proof copy later sent to Waugh in Yugoslavia. This uncorrected proof was also used to produce the 50 copies of Waugh’s Private Edition.<sup>18</sup> It made the *T&C* serial the only public version of unedited portions of the text reflected in the Private Edition distributed to Waugh’s friends for Christmas presents. Because *T&C* had deleted much of the text, however, not all of the proof version survived in the serial.<sup>19</sup>

These matters rested until 1 January 1945 when ADP informed Waugh by cable that the English edition of *Harper’s Bazaar* had offered £250 to publish the “shortened American serial version” of *Brideshead*.<sup>20</sup> Peters surely realized how Waugh was likely to react to this. In his earlier letter to *Harper’s* of 14 December 1944 transmitting the proof copies for their examination, Peters had told them: “I think it is very unlikely that the author would allow you to cut it for serialisation and perhaps you will bear this in mind when you read it.”<sup>21</sup> *Harper’s* must have been supplied independently with a copy of the *T&C* serial. Their response to ADP is not in the file but must have mentioned the aforesaid “shortened American serial version.” Waugh responded to ADP by cable received in London 8 January 1945: “DO NOT REPEAT DO NOT SELL TO HARPERS EXCEPT ON CONDITIONS CONTAINED IN AIR LETTER WRITTEN TODAY.”<sup>22</sup> Here’s an excerpt from Waugh’s follow-on letter:

First, what does ‘American serial version’ mean? I have not authorized editorial interference with text for ‘Town & Country’ serial. If they have done

<sup>17</sup> Evelyn Waugh, *Diaries*. London: 1977, 593.

<sup>18</sup> There is no reference to galley proofs in the correspondence, so C&H may have gone from galleys to page proofs without any review or revision by Waugh.

<sup>19</sup> For example, as noted below, *T&C* dropped 11 pages of text at the beginning of Chapter 3, so in this case those pages were unavailable to readers of the serial. Waugh also made substantial revisions (including deletions and additions) on some of those pages in Yugoslavia.

<sup>20</sup> Unpublished TccL (cable), ADP to EW, 1 January 1945; HRC.

<sup>21</sup> Unpublished TccL, ADP to Miss M. Lewis (*Harper’s Bazaar*), 14 December 1944; HRC.

<sup>22</sup> Unpublished TLS (cable), EW to ADP, 8 January 1945; HRC.

this it is too late to interfere [?] but I hope that it was plain that I would sell them the novel only on condition they would use it all. <sup>23</sup>

Waugh goes on to say that he is willing to allow *Harper's* to publish unabridged extracts from the corrected proof version with a clear explanation that these are taken from a longer book, but he suspects that will not interest them. Moreover, any such extracts should not be allowed to delay book publication (*Ibid.*). On 6 March, *Harper's* informed ADP that they were not interested in Waugh's alternative extracts offer. The last *T&C* installment had by then already appeared in their February 1945 issue.

The corrected proofs reflecting Waugh's edits from Yugoslavia were apparently not printed until late February when C&H sent copies to ADP. Copies were immediately sent on to Little, Brown who had earlier been advised to expect substantial revisions. This had enabled them to take the precaution of stopping at the galley proof stage.

The UK edition of the book was issued in 9000 copies on 28 May 1945 (of which 8700 copies were set aside for the Book Society whose paper supply exceeded that of C&H which was apparently allotted the remaining 300 copies).<sup>24</sup> The Book Society and trade editions were identical in appearance.<sup>25</sup> In the US, the first trade edition was preceded by a Book of the Month Club edition that may have run to several printings, beginning as early as September 1945. There was also a Little, Brown limited edition of 600 copies published at the same time, of which 450 were for sale and 150 for presentation.<sup>26</sup> Little, Brown's normal trade edition did not appear until January 1946.

<sup>23</sup> Unpublished ALS, EW to ADP, 7 January 1945; HRC. On 25 February 1945 Peters informed Waugh that *Harper's* were still considering one long extract, making clear that it was part of a longer work (Unpublished TccL, ADP to EW, 25 February; HRC). Nothing seems to have come from that suggestion, although it does not appear to be far off Waugh's alternatives. See text below.

<sup>24</sup> Unpublished TLS, F B Walker, Chapman & Hall, to ADP, 1 March 1945; HRC.

<sup>25</sup> Anton Masin, *Catalogue of an Exhibit: Evelyn Waugh (1903-1966) Novelist and Satirist, May-August 1982*, University of Notre Dame Library (South Bend, Indiana: And Books, 1982, 6). The *Bibliography of Evelyn Waugh*, *supra*, says that the first C&H edition is "identifiable by Catalogue No. on back of title page" (14). There were apparently only 300 of those, as noted above.

<sup>26</sup> *Bibliography of Evelyn Waugh*, *supra*, 14, quoting from Little, Brown edition published in September 1945.



To conclude this part of the story, it is clear from the correspondence that Waugh would not have approved the serialization by *T&C* if he had known they would abbreviate the text. It is also clear that ADP failed to communicate this condition to Harold Matson. There was still time to do so after ADP's receipt of Waugh's 30 September letter acknowledging the contract and warning of his opposition to any "précis" by *T&C*, but there is no record that Matson was advised of Waugh's position. One gets the feeling that, with the \$5000 payment in the balance and Waugh conveniently out of the way in Yugoslavia, both agents were only too pleased to overlook Waugh's concern regarding abridgement, at least in the US market. Even when Waugh reacted to the U.S. abridgement in his January letter, his position was relatively mild. He expressed more resignation than indignation. With the serialization already halfway through (and himself \$5000 to the good, before taxes and commissions) there probably seemed little to be accomplished by going ballistic. He might well have expressed himself more strongly if the abridged serial had appeared in the British market, and Peters had taken particular care to assure that did not happen.

### ***Town & Country***

*Town & Country's* relationship with Waugh is also worth a brief review. Today, the magazine is part of the Hearst Corporation publications group that has owned it since the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Its history dates back to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, and it holds itself out as the oldest US "general interest" magazine in continuous circulation. In the 1940s, it aimed at an audience of Eastern socialites (or aspirants to that category), with much of its copy dedicated to debutante "coming out" parties, society weddings, charity galas, etc.

By 1944, it had established itself as a fairly frequent venue for US appearances of Waugh's writing, with seven articles dating back to 1937. Early that year Waugh started a monthly general interest column in *Nash's Pall Mall Magazine*. This was called "General Conversation." Three of these were taken up, without reference to the column's UK title, by *Town & Country*. They included articles about preparations for the Coronation of George VI (April), membership in the Houses of Parliament and the proliferation of Americans holding seats in those institutions (May), and the revival of British music halls as compared to cinema film entertainment (September). The *Nash's* column died out after that, overtaken perhaps by Waugh's work published in *Night and Day* magazine during its brief flowering.

Later that year and afterwards, there followed excerpts in *Town & Country* from Waugh's novels: two from *Scoop*, and one each from *Put Out More Flags* and *Work Suspended*. None of those was a serialization, so the *Brideshead* project represented something of an expansion of the franchise.<sup>27</sup> After *Brideshead*, they published another article in 1946: "What to Do with the Upper Classes: A Modest Proposal" (originally intended for but rejected by the *New Statesman*, it ended up as a *T&C* exclusive). Following that, Waugh began his work for the more lucrative and popular *Life* magazine.<sup>28</sup>

*T&C* remain proud of their association with *Brideshead*. A 2014 article in the magazine opened with this:

Forward-thinking though his prose may have been, English writer Evelyn Waugh was a man who loved to look backward—at his debauched youth, at his spiritual journey, and at the erosion of the aristocracy, among other things. We like looking in that direction too, and so to our mutual delight, in November 1944, *T&C* published the first of three [*sic*] segments from *Brideshead Revisited*, Waugh's swan song to the old English order that remains his best-loved novel. His two trademark literary hang-ups, shifting social structures and high society, are fittingly illustrated in the cover's high-fashion evocation of election eve (in the actual result [of the November 1944 Presidential election], *New York's* 47

<sup>27</sup> In a 2015 article recounting *T&C's* historic milestones, it was claimed that: "*T&C* serialized Evelyn Waugh's *Scoop* and *Brideshead Revisited*." (Ash Carter and Micaela English, "13 Things You Didn't Know about *T&C*," *T&C*, 5 March 2015, internet edition, read on 6 May 2019; emphasis added). *T&C* printed "Mrs Stitch Fails for the First Time" in its November 1937 issue (*T&C*, November 1937, 83). This was written by Waugh in the form of a story suitable for magazine publication and later used in *Scoop*. The second extract "Hard News: A Lesson in Journalism" in January 1938 (*T&C*, January 1938, 85) was taken from the text of *Scoop*. These together totaled about 11 pages (including ads) and were extracts, not a serialization. See also *Catalogue of Evelyn Waugh Collection*, *supra*, 121-22, items E320, E321 and E328.

<sup>28</sup> His first *Life* publication was in the 17 November 1941 issue: "Commando Raid on Bardia." This was commissioned by *Life's* London office after his return from Crete. Stannard, v. 2, 47, n. 20. There were no further *Life* articles until after the war when he wrote "Fanfare" in 1946 relating to the publicity arising from the American success of *Brideshead Revisited*. Other *Life* articles followed fairly regularly after that, ending with "The Plight of the Holy Places" in 1951.

electoral votes went to native son FDR, not his Republican opponent, Thomas E. Dewey).<sup>29</sup>

*Town & Country* commissioned drawings for each installment, as they had for their previous excerpts from Waugh's novels. These consisted of a half-page header illustrating the story in each of the four issues in which it appeared. There were also smaller illustrations, one-column wide by about 12 lines in height, on nearly every page. They were displayed on backings that varied in color from page to page. They were not apparently cheap knock-offs but were the work of an artist by the name of Alajalov, identified as such at the beginning of each installment. This was Constantine Alajalov (1900-1987), an Armenian who fled the Russian Revolution and settled in New York where he produced dozens of covers for both the *New Yorker* and *Saturday Evening Post* in the golden age of illustrated popular magazines, as well as illustrations for many books. Not Norman Rockwell or Artzybasheff perhaps, but close.

<sup>29</sup> Adrienne Westenfield "T&C Family Album: Evelyn Waugh." (Internet: 27 March 2014; read on 7 May 2019). Waugh also published occasionally in other more down-market Hearst magazines such as *Good Housekeeping*: "An Englishman's Home" (London, August 1939) and "Tactical Exercise" (New York, March 1947); and *Cosmopolitan*: ("The Man Who Liked Dickens," September 1933, "A Sojourn in Neutralia," November 1947, and a review of Muriel Sparks' *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, February 1962) but those seem to have operated independently of T&C.

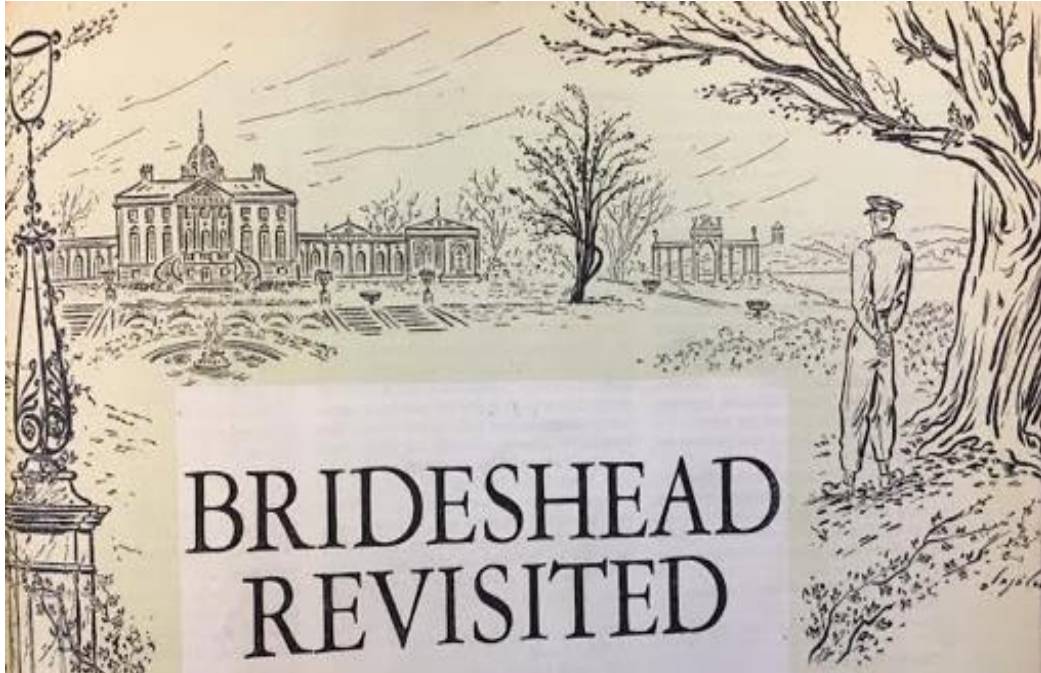


Figure 1. Alajalov illustration for Prologue, Chapters 1-4

*Town and Country*, November 1944

A D Peters took the precaution to have a set of the *T&C* issues containing the serial version sent over to the UK.<sup>30</sup> These were in due course forwarded to Waugh. Rather than trashing them, Waugh had them nicely bound in leather with the family seal embossed on the front and back covers. This copy survives in the HRC's Evelyn Waugh Collection. On the spine it is labeled "BRIDESHEAD REVISITED // EVELYN WAUGH // ABRIDGED SERIAL VERSION // TOWN & COUNTRY NEW YORK MCMXLIV-MCMXLV".<sup>31</sup> The design and color matches the binding he had made for the mark-up copy of the page proof edition he donated to Loyola College in Baltimore, effectively making the serial version one of his specially-bound, Waugh family library volumes of the novel's various editions. If Waugh ever read the serial version, he left no evidence of that fact in the form of marginal comments, but then it was not his usual habit to do so.

<sup>30</sup> Unpublished TccL, ADP to Matson, 5 February 1945; unpublished TLS, George Gode for Harold Matson, Matson and Duggan, NY, to ADP, 26 February 1945; HRC.

<sup>31</sup> HRC, Evelyn Waugh Collection, call number: -q- PR 6045 A97 B7 1944 WAU.

## **Structural Comparison**

Professor Davis, in his 1969 article, makes an interesting comparison of the structure of the serial with that of the novel in its 1945 and revised 1960 versions. He prepares a chart describing the divisions of the serial into four installments and prints that alongside the differing Tables of Contents of the 1945 and revised 1960 editions. The serial's divisions are, as he explains, dictated by the amount of page space allocated to each, but within those strictures, the "serial has a clear and meaningful structure" (Davis, 40). The serial has 13 chapters, just as does the book, but these are numbered consecutively rather than divided into separate runs of chapters in two or three separate "books," as in the 1945 and 1960 versions, respectively.

Prof. Davis also provides a detailed display of the various structural changes made in the text and an analysis of how they reflect the story. He ends his discussion of structure with his conclusion that

the serial's division emphasizes what may be less obvious in the book versions: the contrast between Brideshead and Marchmain House in London and between Lord and Lady Marchmain—the pious woman who drives her children into drunkenness and apostasy and the apostate who helps to redeem one of them. (*Ibid.*)

After contrasting this with the two differently structured books, he concludes: "the fact that the novel can survive such handling gives evidence that it was constructed with more than ordinary care" (Davis, 41).

## **Changes in Serial Text**

After perhaps having made the best case for the serial's structure that he could muster, Prof. Davis then confronts the real problem. This is the huge amount of material that was cut from the book to make the story fit into the magazine's four installments. By his own estimation (Davis, 41, footnote omitted) this "amounts to some 47,000 of 100,000 words, about 155 of 339 actual pages."

The deletions occur throughout the book. They mainly affect dialogue and descriptive material. Prof. Davis also notes that the deletions are heavier at the beginning and end of each

chapter. He concludes that editors were clearly skilled in executing their deletions, as they manage to preserve the primary storyline despite removing nearly half the text. What goes missing are those passages that are not essential to the understanding of the story, and what *T&C* deemed as important are the various love stories and, to a lesser extent, the religious theme.

Most of the deletions are relatively small, a few lines from a dialogue or description that leave its meaning intact. But there are also examples of wholesale deletions involving multiple pages. By my own reckoning, the characters not contributing directly to those main love and religious stories, such as, for example, Charles's father, Anthony Blanche, Boy Mulcaster, the ginger-haired stranger on the ship ("Captain Foulough") and Rex's tortoise find much or all of their stories on the cutting room floor. Other characters such as Rex himself, Bridey and Cordelia lose several of their references where those are not needed to tell the love stories. And since these characters, their dialogues and their actions are the source of much of the book's humor, its effectiveness as comedy is diminished in the serial.

The biggest chunks of text lost are those where Charles and his father are together.<sup>32</sup> Also lost as collateral damage are Jorkins and his awkward dinner party and the musical evening with the Orme-Herricks. Elsewhere, deletions include Charles's meeting with his father at the end of Chapter 5 where he announces his intention to study art (2.103.3) and at the beginning of Chapter 8 (3.65.3) when he returns from Paris at the time of the General Strike. Indeed, his father virtually ceases to be a character after Chapter 3 in the serial version.

Most of Anthony Blanche's introduction to the story at Sebastian's luncheon party at Christ Church in Chapter 1 and the later dinner with Charles at Thame in Chapter 2 survive.<sup>33</sup> Anthony rather disappears after that, however, except for the mention in Chapter 5 that he had gone down from Oxford (2.99.3). The two-paragraph discussion following that mention, in which it is explained what his absence from Oxford meant for those who remained, is deleted. Nor is Anthony heard explaining Sebastian's migration to the South of France and Morocco in

<sup>32</sup> This would be in Chapter 3, 1.88.3 of the serial. These three-part page references are to the *T&C* installment number, page and column where the deleted material would have appeared in the serial: installment #, page #, column #. Chapter numbers follow the serial version.

<sup>33</sup> About 3½ pages are deleted from the dinner passage, including the "Alexandra cocktails", Anthony's visit to Garsington and meeting with Aldous Huxley, the references to Boy Mulcaster and details of his ducking by the Bullingdon club (1.87.1).

Chapter 8 (3.65.3); and nor does any of his analysis of Charles's art career in Chapter 10 (3.117.2) survive.<sup>34</sup> An appendix is attached showing how the different rounds of edits between 1944 and 1960 affected one paragraph of Anthony's dialogue with Charles relating to his "affair" with Stefanie de Vincennes.

Boy Mulcaster's appearance is largely limited to the passage relating to the visit to Ma Mayfield's brothel followed by the short imprisonment. Although he is mentioned briefly where needed, the descriptions of his participation in the Bullingdon's ducking of Anthony Blanche and in the General Strike are deleted. Nothing of Rex's jeweled tortoise remains (*e.g.*, 2.105.2). These and the other wholesale character deletions took with them some of the best comic scenes in the novel; indeed, some of the best, in my opinion, that Waugh ever wrote.

There are also about six pages at the end of Chapter 8 and beginning of Chapter 9 which remove the story of how Charles got his start as a successful architectural painter resulting from Bridey's commission to paint Marchmain House. Also lost is Cordelia's more detailed description of her mother's death and the closing of the chapel at Brideshead (p. 3.65.3). In addition, some of the purplish passages that open Chapter 10 are deleted ("My theme is memory..."); but then, to be fair, Waugh himself cut out a good deal of those when he made the edits for the revised 1960 edition.

Most of the final chapter survives, relating to Lord Marchmain's return to Brideshead and his death, but the conversations among Rex's associates as guests at Brideshead Castle that satirize 1930s politics (between Chapters 10-11, 3.117.2-4.97.1 and between Chapters 11-12, 4.100.1; total about 8 pages) are deleted as well as the amusing rapid-fire description of Lord Marchmain's changing plans for his return from Italy (Chapter 13, 4.102.2; total 1 page). The metaphor of the cabin and the avalanche are also deleted (4.102.2, *passim*), as is Charles's payment to Fr. Mackay (4.143.2). In addition, and more importantly, the 6-page Epilogue is dropped entirely, depriving the reader of some understanding of the post-war fate Waugh

<sup>34</sup> Prof. Davis also refers to two other "mentions" of Blanche where he does not appear in person. For a more detailed analysis of the fluid development of Waugh's concept of Anthony Blanche--from manuscript through final 1960 revision--see Professor Davis's "'Clarifying and Enriching:' Waugh's Changing Concept of Anthony Blanche," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, v. 72, issue 3 (Third Quarter, 1978), 305-20 (JSTOR/stable/ 24302122). Much of this is included in Davis's *Evelyn Waugh, Writer, supra*, Chapter 7: "Qualifying the Narrator in *Brideshead Revisited*."

expected for *Brideshead* and Charles's religious conversion. Prof. Davis summarizes the impact of the *T&C* edits: "the novel has lost a good deal of its richness and significance; nevertheless, a coherent and, on a lower level, a meaningful story remains" (Davis, 42).

*T&C* made no effort to explain the deletions to their readers, or identify the passages where they occurred, or even refer to the serial as an "abridgement." Indeed, with so many deletions spread throughout the book, the insertion of ellipsis marks would have been distracting. What is more surprising is that *T&C* do not offer any editorial explanation that a full or expanded version of the story told in the serial would appear after a few months' time in book form. They do provide synopses at the beginning of Installments 2 and 3 (but oddly, not for Installment 4), and these mention as characters only Charles Ryder and members of the Marchmain households at *Brideshead* and Venice. The only approach to an editorial comment on the context of the serial is this paragraph appended to the end of Installment 1:

When the war broke out, **Evelyn Waugh** abandoned work on his current book [*Work Suspended*], joined the Commandos, and took formal leave of the world of "Vile Bodies"—a world which he said no longer existed. His new novel, which will be continued in our next three issues, is a ruthlessly acute re-examination of that world. Major [*sic*] Waugh was slightly injured in an airplane crash with Randolph Churchill in Yugoslavia last summer. <sup>35</sup>

Whether anyone at the literary agents or publishers saw an advance draft of this note (or of the text of the serial itself, for that matter) seems doubtful. If they had, they would surely have asked that the notice include a plug encouraging readers to buy the complete version of the novel when it became available.<sup>36</sup>

The *T&C* editors did correct at least one typo in their text, but that correction did not make it into the 1945/46 book editions. In describing the red wine (a Burgundy) that Charles and Rex drank at their dinner in Paris, the page proof and both first editions call it Clos de Bère (152,

<sup>35</sup> *T&C*, November 1944, 1.90.3; emphasis in original.

<sup>36</sup> In its 1942 extract from *Put Out More Flags*, *T&C* has an endnote to the story "The Unspeakable Connollys" explaining that it is taken from a novel to be published later in the month by Little, Brown. *Town and Country*, May 1942, 94. No comparable notice appears with the two extracts from *Scoop* in November 1937 and January 1938, nor with the extract from *Work Suspended* in May 1943.



154). In the HRC's TScC (which is the text *T&C* would have used for their version), the wine is also called Clos de Bère. The *T&C* serial editors call it Clos de Bèze (p. 2.106.1), which is the correct version, apparently more knowledgeable about their French wines than their counterparts at the publishing houses. In the preface to the 1960 revised edition, Waugh describes the name of the Burgundy as having been "misprinted in many editions" but does not identify the source of the error. The Burgundy is correctly named in the 1960 C&H revision (193).<sup>37</sup>

### **HRC Typescript**

The notation "(from Edmund Wilson)" appears on the front page of the surviving TScC of the novel at the HRC. This copy was probably retyped from the carbon copy shipped by Peters to Little, Brown (it is typed on US letterhead paper: 8 ½" x 11"). It contains a tipped in note by a librarian identifying it as the "T and Tcc ms [471 pp]/nd/Bound in Harold Matson folder." That folder has been removed, but the pages are punched on the left side for a two-ring binder. It remains an uncorrected copy, so another copy must have been used by *T&C* to mark up their version. There is a cryptic handwritten note in the upper right hand corner of the TScC's front page: "(from Edmund Wilson)."

The question arises as to how Wilson came to participate in the provenance of this document that reflects the text used by *T&C* for its serialization. In 1944, Wilson had an interest in the novel, as he had recently reviewed and praised Waugh's previous work in the *New Yorker*, up to and including *Put Out More Flags*.<sup>38</sup> When he saw the *T&C* version of the novel beginning to appear, he may have been unable to suppress his enthusiasm to await the availability of the full version. His stature was such that the agent or publisher or *T&C* itself would probably have been willing to fulfill a request to give or loan the TScC to Wilson. Little, Brown, in particular, had reason to be grateful to Wilson since they extensively quoted from his recent *New Yorker* review on the rear cover of their dust jacket of the US edition. Neither Matson nor Little, Brown would

<sup>37</sup> It is possible that C&H picked up the misprint in one of the many revised reprints they issued between 1945 and 1960. Little, Brown did not issue a revised edition until 2011.

<sup>38</sup> Edmund Wilson, "Never Apologize, Never Explain." *New Yorker*, 4 March 1944: reprinted in Edmund Wilson, *Classics and Commercials*, New York: 1950, 140.

have had any further use for the typescript after the proof copy arrived from the UK in December.<sup>39</sup>

The book was published in the USA only in September 1945, and Wilson had clearly read it when he met with Waugh in London 5 months earlier in April 1945.<sup>40</sup> In his diaries Wilson wrote:

I said some derogatory things about *Brideshead Revisited*, and this really rocked him. When I quoted some absurd sentence, he said, 'That doesn't sound like me, does it?' He handed me the book and said, 'Find it.'<sup>41</sup>

That quote can be precisely dated from Waugh's *Diaries* where he mentions that encounter with Wilson in his entry for 12 April 1945 (*Diaries*, 625).

Wilson had previously written a letter to Edouard Roditi (not otherwise identified) on 10 March 1944 that must have related to his earlier *New Yorker* article mentioned previously. In that letter Wilson wrote:

I have never been able to see any Catholic point of view in his novels. He might equally well, it seems to me, be just a Church of England conservative. If I had not been told that he was a Catholic convert, I should certainly not have known it from reading his books.<sup>42</sup>

That would have been several months before Wilson read *Brideshead* but is consistent with the opinion he later expressed on the religious content of the novel in his 1945 review. In that context Wilson found "it impossible to feel that the author has conveyed in all this any actual

<sup>39</sup> The HRC's copy was acquired from the Gotham Book Mart in 1970. That same year, Gotham issued a catalogue for the sale of the Edmund Wilson Library. It is at least equally possible that this copy was among some few that Matson may have had retyped from the Little, Brown TSec to be distributed among magazine editors for potential publication. Wilson was at the time literary editor of the *New Yorker*.

<sup>40</sup> The editor of Waugh's letters (Mark Amory) mentions that Waugh sent Wilson a copy of *Brideshead* "with a friendly note before publication" but offers no details such as whether that was the UK (May) or US (September) edition (*Letters*, 219, n1).

<sup>41</sup> Edmund Wilson, *The Forties: From Notebooks and Diaries of the Period*. Leon Edel, ed. New York: 1984, 151.

<sup>42</sup> Edmund Wilson, *Letters on Literature and Politics*. Elena Wilson, ed. New York: 1977, 429.

religious experience. [...T]he religion that is invoked to subdue [sin] seems more like an exorcistic rite than a force of regeneration.”<sup>43</sup>

## Conclusions

Prof. Davis described what was left in the serial after the *T&C* abridgements as

...a story about earthly love, somewhat lopsided given the development of Charles's years before meeting Julia. Though it probably gave the readers of *Town and Country* better fiction than they were accustomed to, it has far more bibliographical and critical than aesthetic significance. To the scholar it suggests certain lines of inquiry and offers evidence about Waugh's style and method of characterization. To the bibliographer, it represents an offshoot from the main line of the text's transmission, which probably runs from proof copy to first English to first American editions, but it points to the existence of a version, possibly in typescript, that precedes any now available.<sup>44</sup> Considered in itself as an independent work, the serial is essentially a love story that ends unhappily on a rather sentimental note, devoid of the historical, social and even the religious contexts that give depth and significance to the full version.<sup>45</sup>

Some of those conclusions, especially with respect to the bibliographic importance of the serial, might have been written differently if Prof. Davis had had access to the book's detailed publishing history. But on what is also this year the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Prof. Davis's article, it remains the best available source of information on this aspect of *Brideshead Revisited's*

<sup>43</sup> Edmund Wilson, "Splendors and Miseries of Evelyn Waugh." *New Yorker*, 5 January 1946; reprinted in Edmund Wilson, *Classics and Commercials*, New York: 1950, 301.

<sup>44</sup> This conclusion was published in 1969 and was therefore written before the HRC obtained its copy of the 1944 TSc in 1970.

<sup>45</sup> Davis, 41-42. In another section of his 1969 article (36-39), Prof. Davis considers what he calls "positive variants" between the texts of the serial and the first edition. These include passages where Waugh himself modified the text when he marked up the page proofs in Yugoslavia. These modifications are unrelated to any actions taken by the *T&C* editors who would never have had the occasion to see them. Prof. Davis counts about a hundred of this type of variant and discusses several of them in detail.

somewhat tortured publishing history. It is recommended and is easily accessible in the JSTOR database.<sup>46</sup>

Notwithstanding Waugh's personal preferences, the *Town and Country* serial, now celebrating its 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary, was the first version of the story to reach the reading public. The magazine's American readers were actually able to enjoy at least some of it even before Waugh's 50 favored friends who were sent the advance "Private Editions" for Christmas presents and nearly a year before the US edition of the book was published in September 1945. And some of the passages both groups of early readers enjoyed were edited out of the first editions by Waugh and never appeared in future editions. Whether there is any reason for someone to read the serial version today, however, seems doubtful.

<sup>46</sup> The article is also relatively short (9 pp.) and quite readable as these things go. Robert Murray Davis, "The Serial Version of Brideshead Revisited." *Twentieth Century Literature*, v. 15, issue 1, April 1969. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/440661>

Abbreviations

ADP: A. D. Peters

ALS: Autograph Letter Signed

C&H: Chapman & Hall, London, publishers

Davis: Robert Murray Davis, "The Serial Version of Brideshead Revisited." *Twentieth Century Literature*. 15.1, April 1969. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/440661>

EW: Evelyn Waugh

HRC: Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin

Little, Brown: Little, Brown and Company, Boston, publishers

Matson: Harold Matson, Matson and Duggan, agents

*T&C: Town & Country Magazine*

TLS: Typed Letter Signed

TccL: Typed Carbon Copy Letter

TS: Typescript

TScc: Typescript Carbon Copy

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Appendix

*Brideshead Revisited* Variants (Book One, Ch. II, Anthony Blanche at Thame).

Bracketed/struck-through text deleted; bold text added.

Page Proof, 46-47 (set from TS dated c. 16 June 1944; TScC used by T&C as copy text to abridge for serial).

“Of course those that have charm don’t really need brains. Stefanie de Vincennes intoxicated me four years ago; but I was besotted with her, crawling with love like lice. You have heard of the species of spider among whom the male takes up permanent residence in the interior of his mate? I was like that; I lived in Stefanie de Vincennes, I saw through her eyes and breathed through her nostrils; my dear, I even used the same coloured varnish for my toe-nails. I used her words and lit my cigarette in the same way and spoke with her tone on the telephone so that the duke used to carry long and intimate conversations with me, thinking that I was her. It was largely that which put his mind on pistol and sabres in such an old-fashioned manner. I learned to lie in bed exactly as she did, with one hand under the pillow and the other palm upwards, the fingers just curled round the fold of the sheet, as though drawing it away from her face—and I assure you, Charles, until you have tried, it is a most irksome posture to maintain for long. My dear, I could sleep in no other position. And yet that woman had not the wits of Mulcaster. Pure charm. I was her lover for barely eighteen months, and for three months of that time we did not see each other. You would not think such a thing could have a lasting effect. My step-father thought it an excellent education for me. He thought it would make me grow out of what he called my ‘English habits.’ Poor man, he is very South American. Well, I have kept my ‘English habits,’ but I think I lost something else. At seventeen I might have been anything; an artist even; it is not impossible; it is in the blood. At twenty-one I am what you see me. To have squandered everything so young, on a woman who, except that I was more presentable, would as soon have had her chiropodist for her lover. . . . I never heard anyone speak an ill word of Stefanie, except the Duke; everyone loved her, whatever she did.”



*T&C* Serial, 1.87.1-2 (Variants from Page Proof=TScc, dated c. 16 June 1944).

“Of course those that have charm don’t really need brains. Stefanie de Vincennes intoxicated me four years ago; but I was besotted with her, crawling with love like lice. You have heard of the species of spider among whom the male takes up permanent residence in the interior of his mate? I was like that; I lived in Stefanie de Vincennes, I saw through her eyes and breathed through her nostrils; my dear, I even used the same coloured varnish for my toe-nails. I used her words and lit my cigarette in the same way and spoke with her tone on the telephone so that the duke used to carry long and intimate conversations with me, thinking that I was her. It was largely that which put his mind on pistol and sabres in such an old-fashioned manner. [I learned to lie in bed exactly as she did, with one hand under the pillow and the other palm upwards, the fingers just curled round the fold of the sheet, as though drawing it away from her face—and I assure you, Charles, until you have tried, it is a most irksome posture to maintain for long. My dear, I could sleep in no other position.] And yet that woman [had not the wits of Mulcaster] **has no wits**. Pure charm. I was her lover for barely eighteen months, and for three months of that time we did not see each other. You would not think such a thing could have a lasting effect. My step-father thought it an excellent education for me. [He thought it would make me grow out of what he called my ‘English habits.’ Poor man, he is very South American. Well, I have kept my ‘English habits,’ but I think I lost something else. At seventeen I might have been anything; an artist even; it is not impossible; it is in the blood. At twenty-one I am what you see me. To have squandered everything so young, on a woman who, except that I was more presentable, would as soon have had her chiropodist for her lover. . . . I never heard anyone speak an ill word of Stefanie, except the Duke; everyone loved her, whatever she did.”]

1945 C&H First Edition, 48 (Variants from Page Proof)

“Of course those that have charm don’t really need brains. Stefanie de Vincennes intoxicated me four years ago; but I was besotted with her, crawling with love like lice. [You have heard of the species of spider among whom the male takes up permanent residence in the interior of his mate? I was like that; I lived in Stefanie de Vincennes, I saw through her eyes and breathed through her nostrils; m] My dear, I even used the same coloured varnish for my toenails. I used her words and lit my cigarette in the same way and spoke with her tone on the telephone so that the duke used to carry long and intimate conversations with me, thinking that I was her. It was largely that which put his mind on pistol and sabres in such an old-fashioned manner. [I learned to lie in bed exactly as she did, with one hand under the pillow and the other palm upwards, the fingers just curled round the fold of the sheet, as though drawing it away from her face—and I assure you, Charles, until you have tried, it is a most irksome posture to maintain for long. My dear, I could sleep in no other position. And yet that woman had not the wits of Mulcaster. Pure charm. I was her lover for barely eighteen months, and for three months of that time we did not see each other. You would not think such a thing could have a lasting effect.] My step-father thought it an excellent education for me. He thought it would make me grow out of what he called my ‘English habits.’ Poor man, he is very South American. Well, I have kept my ‘English habits,’ but I think I lost something else. At seventeen I might have been anything; an artist even; it is not impossible; it is in the blood. At twenty-one I am what you see me. To have squandered everything so young, on a woman who, except that I was more presentable, would as soon have had her chiropodist for her lover. . . . I never heard anyone speak an ill word of Stefanie, except the Duke; everyone loved her, whatever she did.”

1960 C&H Revised Edition, 65 (Variants from C&H first edition)

‘Of course those that have charm don’t really need brains. Stefanie de Vincennes [intoxicated] **really tickled** me four years ago; but I was besotted with her, crawling with love like lice. My dear, I even used the same coloured varnish for my toe-nails. I used her words and lit my cigarette in the same way and spoke with her tone on the telephone so that the duke used to carry long and intimate conversations with me, thinking that I was her. It was largely that which put his mind on pistol and sabres in such an old-fashioned manner. My step-father thought it an excellent education for me. He thought it would make me grow out of what he calls[ed] my ‘English habits.’ Poor man, he is very South American. [Well, I have kept my ‘English habits,’ but I think I lost something else. At seventeen I might have been anything; an artist even; it is not impossible; it is in the blood. At twenty-one I am what you see me. To have squandered everything so young, on a woman who, except that I was more presentable, would as soon have had her chiropodist for her lover]. . . . I never heard anyone speak an ill word of Stefanie, except the Duke: [; everyone loved her, whatever she did.] **and she, my dear, is positively cretinous.**’

## **“Something that May Not Matter:” A Response to “*Brideshead* Serialized: 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of First Publication in *Town & Country* Magazine**

Robert Murray Davis

When I mentioned to a fellow resident of my senior living center Jeffrey Manley’s article about the various contexts of my half-century-old article on “The Serial Version of *Brideshead Revisited*,” she wondered how much, if any, of the article I could remember.

Quite a lot, actually—enough to be able to testify to the care with which Jeff showed how much I didn’t know about sources then unavailable. Even before 1969 I had heard that the Humanities Research Center/Harry Ransom Center of the University of Texas-Austin had acquired a large but unspecified number of Waugh’s papers, including manuscripts of some novels, but I had not met F. Warren Roberts, the HRC director, and volunteered to catalogue American Literary Manuscripts held in Oklahoma in exchange for permission to catalogue the HRC’s Waugh holdings.

Nor had I realized that Norman, Oklahoma, was to become a center of Waugh studies and a stage on pilgrimages to Austin. Indeed, it would have seemed presumptuous to use the term “Waugh studies.” Widely scattered scholars were working on Waugh, most of them having done one-off dissertations, and others, mostly residents of former British colonies, especially Australia, Canada, and the USA, who had what might generously be described as research projects. Some results of this research were announced in Paul A. Doyle’s *Evelyn Waugh Newsletter*, founded in 1967 once Waugh was safely dead, and revived by John Howard Wilson, who also sponsored international conferences on Waugh.

None of this activity drew much interest from the UK for some years to come, and not much more from elite scholars in the US. For example, I spent some time in the good graces of Maynard Mack at Yale for editing a collection on theory of the novel, but had no interest in a collection of essays on Waugh for the Twentieth Century Views series he edited, offering instead the commission for a volume on John Steinbeck. What the hell, I’m easy. But I got the message

about Waugh's rank, or lack of it, in the canon. And it took fifty years for someone to cite the article on the serial version of *Brideshead*.

Meanwhile, I kept plugging away on articles of various lengths and on commissions for books and articles, many about subjects besides Waugh. An ex-wife asked how one got to be an expert. Just keep at it, I said, even if no one pays any attention. If a citation falls in a field....

On the personal level, one may well ask what the obsession with seemingly minor details has on one's aesthetic and more broadly formal responses. Mark Twain wondered if a doctor could look passionately at a beautiful woman instead of dispassionately and professionally. Can I ever read *Brideshead Revisited* without thinking of the hundreds of textual variants?

Or have I become immunized? Jeff prefers to look away from a key method of textual study: comparison of texts. He says of comparing serial and novel that "To describe the process of comparing these texts as painstaking is unfair to pain. I therefore recommend Prof. Davis's own more detailed comparison of the texts to supplement what I was able to retrieve myself."

Looking back over hundreds of hours of searching out textual variants, I can say that the pleasure of discovery outweighed the physical tedium of bending over lines of nearly illegible handwriting to discover something that may not matter—as is the case of the serial version of *Brideshead Revisited*.

## **Caged Ferrets: Evelyn Waugh and Randolph Churchill in Wartime Yugoslavia**

Jeffrey Meyers

Evelyn Waugh and Randolph Churchill served on a military mission to Marshal Tito's Partisans in Yugoslavia from July 1944 to February 1945. Earlier in the war, Waugh had been insubordinate and unable to adjust to regimental life; Randolph, as always, had been notoriously drunk, belligerent and offensive. Like fierce ferrets confined in a cage, two of the most difficult and disagreeable officers in the British army acted out a disastrous vendetta. Their caustic clash alienated Tito and damaged the relations between Britain and its crucial ally during the German occupation of Yugoslavia.

One hundred and twenty pages of unpublished material from the National Archives and the Public Record Office in Kew, England, and from Churchill College, Cambridge University, cast new light on British policy in Yugoslavia, its military contacts with Tito, and the contrast between his communist Partisans and the pro-Nazi Ustashe; on Randolph's work, constant complaints and offensive behavior as well as his courage under fire; on Waugh and Randolph's near-fatal air crash, their English comrade Stephen Clissold and Waugh's support of the Catholic Ustashe in opposition to official policy. This archival material explains why these tragicomic adventurers wound up in wartime Croatia, why they quarreled bitterly in an isolated village and why their important mission was doomed to failure.

Randolph (1911-68) and Waugh (1903-66), an odd couple and odd choice for this mission, were anticommunist, had no experience in Yugoslavia and no knowledge of Serbo-Croat. They had first met socially in the early 1930s, had many friends in common and maintained an intermittent, often hostile friendship. Both men had made calamitous first marriages to unfaithful wives. Randolph had all the qualities that the snobbish Waugh lacked and craved. He was descended from John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, one of the greatest soldiers in English history, and was the son of Winston Churchill, the all-powerful wartime Prime Minister. Tall, handsome, wealthy and influential, he was educated at Eton and Christchurch, Oxford, and was Member of Parliament for Preston, Scotland, from 1940 to 1945.

In April 1942 he joined Major David Stirling's elite commandos in the Libyan Desert where he injured his back in a serious road accident. Randolph and Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean first parachuted into Drvar, Croatia, on January 19, 1944; Waugh arrived by plane, six months later, on July 10. Though eight years younger than Captain Waugh, Major Churchill outranked him and led the operation.

Christopher Sykes, a friend of both men and biographer of Waugh, described Randolph's habitual behavior. He recalled an outrageous 1939 luncheon party at a local country house where "Randolph did everything he knew, and he knew a lot, to distress, anger, exasperate and make miserable his host and every one of his fellow guests!" After the war the unregenerate Randolph "still insisted on laying down the law, still resented any show of opposition, still bullied his audience into submission and was still incapable of controlling his temper."<sup>1</sup> Though more horrified than amused, friends continued to court the well-connected and influential social lion.

The son of a middle-class publisher and critic, Waugh was short, baby-faced and burdened with an effeminate name. He had gone to Lancing, a distinctly less impressive public school, and to Hertford College, Oxford, where he was frequently drunk, passed through an intense homosexual phase and left without taking a degree. He joined the Royal Marines in December 1939 at the age of thirty-six, when he seemed too old to enlist yet fancied himself a military man. But he was irritable and sarcastic with his men and lost his command of a company. He participated in the failed raid on Dakar, in Vichy-controlled French West Africa, in September 1940. He fought with Colonel Robert Laycock's elite commando force during a failed mission to Libya in February 1941, and took part in the evacuation of Crete after the Greek island was captured by German paratroopers in May 1941.

Like the left-wing Loyalist factions who had fought each other as well as their fascist enemy in the recent Spanish Civil War, Tito's communist Partisans, Draza Mihailovic's Serbian Chetniks and Ante Pavelic's pro-Nazi Ustashe were fighting a savage ideological war, during the German occupation, for postwar control of their country. Michael Davie, editor of Waugh's *Diaries*, explained how early in 1944 Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean and Major William Deakin, serving behind enemy lines in Yugoslavia, effected a radical change in British policy: "Their reports on Tito's anti-German zeal, and the ruthlessness of his guerrillas, were enthusiastic. Mihailovic, by contrast, appeared to be less interested in fighting the Germans than in waiting his

chance to restore the fortunes of Serbia [and the exiled King Peter II]. The British accordingly abandoned Mihailovic and put their full support behind Tito.”<sup>2</sup> Maclean’s mission, whose headquarters were in the southern Adriatic city of Bari, Italy, was to assist Tito’s irregular army with supplies and weapons in order to defeat the Germans.

Secret reports sent from English agents in Yugoslavia to Bari in July and September 1944, while Waugh and Randolph were serving in Croatia, revealed the complexity of Yugoslavian politics. Captain D. C. Owen thought the Partisans were more anti-Nazi than fanatically communist and emphasized their brutal warfare. Since the Partisans did not take prisoners, the Ustashe fought fiercely to avoid being captured:

The majority of the Partisan forces, when asked, say ‘I am fighting for the Partisans now because I wish to help get rid of the Germans, but I have different political ideas after the war.’ This is the general trend and the general colour of the political instruction within the Corps is more ‘pink’ than ‘red.’ . . . The USTASHI are determined fighters, as they know they will be killed anyway—no quarter given on either side. The Partisan leaders say that about 20% of the USTASHI have either been conscripted unwillingly or have no blood on their hands, and if captured would be given trial [i.e., summary execution], but front line troops difficult to persuade to take prisoners.<sup>3</sup>

After Tito won the civil war Draza Mihailovic was executed. Ante Pavelic survived an assassination attempt in Argentina and died in Madrid.

Lieutenant J. H. Gibbs reported that the Yugoslavs--struggling for survival and aware of their ideological opposition to the British--both needed and exploited the ally who provided essential war materiel. They were naturally suspicious and resentful of political and military interference by the country that had recently backed their enemy Mihailovic. But distrust had subsided and relations improved after the successful Allied landings in France on June 6, 1944 made victory in Europe seem likely:

General impression, after 10 months with 6 Corps and 3 months with 10 Corps: we are of use to the Partisan movement for stores and propaganda—and last autumn, not even for stores. If they could get the same benefits without our presence they would not want us. They have no reasons for pinning us down (don’t have after public



professions of friendship), yet they are uneasy to set us free. Suspicious if we make friends. I know of one Partisan who was cross-questioned by the Corps Commandant as to what he talked about with the BLO [British Liaison Officer] and told to watch his step.

One sometimes gets the feeling, when asking them for collaboration, that they have orders from a higher level to obstruct, but will not put their cards on the table and say so. This refers, of course, only to relations with the higher officers, who incidentally are invariably correct and cordial and the above impression only slowly takes form. Outside that narrow circle, their relations are usually excellent. The BLO is welcomed and popular either as an individual or as an 'Englishman' (very hard on the Scots)—both in peasant cottages and with ex-ZAGREB townspeople. Since the opening of the 'Second Front' and the march through FRANCE, which has staggered the most hardened critics, pro-British and American feeling is very high.<sup>4</sup>

Winston Churchill sent his only son to Yugoslavia to show his solidarity with and personal commitment to Tito's Partisans. On June 28, 1944, before leaving London,

Randolph rampaged through the bar in White's club and shouted: 'Where the hell is Evelyn Waugh? I've tried everywhere! No one can tell me! I need him immediately!

. . . I've been commissioned to undertake a subordinate mission under Fitzroy Maclean in Jugoslavia. . . . I told Fitz before I left that I must have officers I can talk to and he agreed with me that Evelyn was just the chap for me. It's all very secret,' he added, his voice rising in volume.<sup>5</sup>

Ignoring Waugh's contentious personality, Randolph thought the former commando had the right adventurous character and military experience to fortify the mission. Waugh's biographer Martin Stannard noted that "in civilian life Waugh often found Churchill stimulating, an eccentric eager for life, volatile, courageous, sentimental. In wartime this preposterous schoolboy seemed sadly diminished . . . unable to crawl from the weight of his father's fame." Stannard added that Waugh intensified their volatile mixture, "When drunk Waugh could be amusingly offensive; sober, he was caustic and melancholy."<sup>6</sup>

Randolph also believed that Waugh, like a powerful medieval pope, would “be able to heal the Great Schism between the Catholic and the Orthodox churches.”<sup>7</sup> In fact, Waugh damaged relations with the Partisans by contacting the pro-Nazi Croatian Catholics, and was nearly expelled by the communists for interfering in their internal conflict. Brian Roberts, Randolph’s biographer, expressed astonishment that he and Waugh had been recruited for such an important and sensitive task: “the choice of two such tactless, intolerant, quick-tempered and heavy-handed men for what was obviously a delicate diplomatic mission is incomprehensible. Neither of them had the slightest sympathy with Communism and they never attempted to pretend otherwise. Two more unlikely ambassadors to a peasant people is difficult to imagine.”<sup>8</sup> Both men felt they were entitled to special treatment: they ignored military regulations, disobeyed their superiors, and were hated by their fellow officers and men.

When Maclean met Randolph in Cairo in November 1943, he was recovering from his crash in the desert, was boorishly drunk, insulted generals and embarrassed his father. Nevertheless Maclean, who outranked Randolph and could control him, praised his social graces and wrote: “I began to realize what a marvelous companion Randolph could be. Maddening, of course, in a dozen different ways, but endlessly stimulating and entertaining.”<sup>9</sup> But Maclean was quite mistaken in thinking Waugh could control Randolph and was far off the mark in stating that Randolph could consider Waugh his social equal: “Here, at last, was someone well qualified to contain Randolph, someone whom, with major adjustments, he might even regard as his social and intellectual equal.”<sup>10</sup>

In his autobiography *Eastern Approaches*, published in 1949 when his poor judgment had become obvious, Maclean stubbornly and unconvincingly justified his choice:

Randolph would make a useful addition to my Mission. . . . For my present purposes he seemed just the man. On operations I knew him to be thoroughly dependable, possessing both endurance and determination. He was also gifted with an acute intelligence and a very considerable background of general politics. . . . I felt, too--rightly, as it turned out--that he would get on well with the Yugoslavs, for his enthusiastic and at times explosive approach to life was not unlike their own. Lastly I knew him to be

a stimulating companion, an important consideration in the circumstances under which we lived.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, Randolph, who could be rather dim, did not get on with the Yugoslavs or with Waugh, and his explosive approach to diplomacy created a tense atmosphere.

On May 25, 1944, two months before Waugh arrived, Randolph showed the best side of his character. Though his mission did not include actual combat, he was awarded an MBE (Member of the British Empire) for outstanding leadership and courage under fire:

Major CHURCHILL was with the British Military Mission in DRVAR when the Germans made a sudden airborne attack on 25 May. After marching for many hours throughout that day, he was sent off during the night to a Partisan Corps some miles away. He successfully accomplished this journey, which was through enemy occupied territory, and transmitted some most important messages which had been entrusted to him. He then took charge of the mission attached to this Corps and, in very difficult circumstances, kept ITALY well informed of the progress of operations, so that the maximum Allied assistance could be given to the Partisans. Later he was placed in charge of a British and Russian party which was to be evacuated to BARI. Although continuously harried and kept on the move by the enemy, he kept the party together until an opportunity occurred for them to be evacuated by air. It was largely due to his efforts that this evacuation was successfully accomplished.<sup>12</sup>

Frank McLynn, Maclean's biographer, tried to explain the twisted motives behind his choice: "[Waugh] was a character of some distinction, and Fitzroy liked such people. . . . Fitzroy was dazzled by Waugh's reputation and thought it would add to the aura of the mission. . . . [He] had received an advance copy of *Put Out More Flags* [1942], liked it and thought it would be interesting to have a writer on the mission, especially one Randolph had requested."<sup>13</sup> Waugh's novel included a flattering "Dedicatory Letter to Major Randolph Churchill" and was signed "Your affectionate friend, the Author." Maclean, choosing literary over military qualities, saw himself as a fictional Waugh hero and sought literary fame.

Though Maclean had chosen him, Waugh disliked his new commander at first sight and rather harshly described the Scotsman, dedicated to British interests, as "dour, unprincipled,

ambitious, probably wicked; shaved head and devil's ears."<sup>14</sup> Stannard called Waugh "a fake hard man;" real heroes, Maclean and Tito, "shocked him in their toughness."<sup>15</sup> When Wilfred Thesiger, an equally tough explorer and soldier, met Waugh in Abyssinia in 1930, he immediately perceived Waugh's weakness and recalled, "he struck me as flaccid and petulant and I disliked him on sight." When Waugh asked if he could accompany him on a dangerous mission, Thesiger refused and fiercely remarked, "Had he come, I suspect only one of us would have returned."<sup>16</sup>

Freddy Birkenhead, the son of the earl who was Winston's greatest friend, had been Randolph's superior at Eton. He was sent to Croatia as an emotional buffer when relations between Waugh and Randolph had reached the breaking point, and wrote that "the duties of the British missions in Yugoslavia were mainly to liaise with the Partisan military headquarters and the political commissars, and to spread with tact and care as much pro-British information as possible to counteract the . . . [influence of] Russia to whom they were attached by political and historical association."<sup>17</sup> Soon after arriving Randolph confirmed, "I am now with Fitzroy Maclean. My job is to look after propaganda (a) about us to the Partisans and (b) to the outside world about the Partisans."<sup>18</sup> But on January 27, 1944, the Minister of State's Office in Cairo had warned the Foreign Office in London to proceed with great caution: "We conceive that any overt attempt at propaganda penetration of Partisan movement would raise objections on the part of Tito and that this problem must be properly approached and with full information."<sup>19</sup>

On July 10, 1944 Waugh and Randolph flew from Bari to meet Marshal Tito on the Adriatic island of Vis, which was protected by British planes based in Italy. As Britain's main ally in German-occupied Yugoslavia, Tito had to be treated with the greatest delicacy and tact, yet Waugh made him the target of a relentless joke. Stannard explained the origin of Waugh's amusing but provocative behavior: "In the early days of Maclean's mission, over a year before, no one had been certain whether Tito even existed, let alone whether this mythical figure were male or female. This tiny seed of gossip fueled years of Waugh's malice and, far from retracting the slander, he took every opportunity to embellish it."<sup>20</sup> Waugh expressed his hostility to the communists by calling their leader a woman and even a lesbian, and tried to divert his colleagues by continuing to repeat that dangerous absurdity. Birkenhead recalled, "he never referred to the Yugoslav leader except as 'Auntie,' and claimed that the Marshal had been seen emerging from

the sea off the island of Vis in a wet bathing dress and that there was no possible question about 'her' sex. . . . We became much concerned that the Yugoslav members of the staff would overhear him and that our work might be seriously imperilled." Warned by Birkenhead, Waugh cheekily replied, "Her face is pretty, but her legs are *very* thick."<sup>21</sup> When Waugh was introduced to the unmistakably virile Tito, the heroic leader ignored the insult, stared at him and said, "Ask Captain Waugh why he thinks I am a woman."<sup>22</sup> Waugh, for once, was reduced to silence. The Croats called Waugh Captain "Vo," which means "ox" in their language.

After the unfortunate meeting with Tito, Waugh and Randolph returned to Bari. On July 16, 1944 they flew at night to Partisan headquarters in Topusko, Croatia (about forty miles south of Zagreb), an important escape route for crews of downed Allied bombers and ex-prisoners of war. But their propeller-driven Dakota transport plane crashed from about 400 feet and burst into flames in the remote village of Gajevi. Waugh recalled:

I was conscious by my ears that we were descending and circling the airfield, then we suddenly shot upwards and the next thing I knew was that I was walking in a cornfield by the light of the burning aeroplane talking to a strange British officer about the progress of the war in a detached fashion . . . . I had no recollection of the crash nor, at the time, any knowledge of where I was or why, but a confused idea that we had made a forced landing during some retreat.<sup>23</sup>

The pilot, who misjudged the length of the landing field, tried to gain altitude, lost speed, stalled and crashed. Nine passengers freed themselves from the rear of the plane; ten in the front were killed. On July 17 Randolph cabled Winston, "asking him to inform Mrs. Joan Sowman that her husband Douglas Sowman [Randolph's batman] was killed in a plane crash in Yugoslavia and to send her his deepest sympathy and inform the wives of [the war correspondent] Philip Jordan and Evelyn Waugh that they are safe."<sup>24</sup>

Randolph, escaping from his second near-fatal accident, had both legs crushed and could barely move. Waugh's head, arms and legs were burned but, anesthetized by the shock of the crash, he felt no pain. He recorded that when they returned, wrapped like mummies, to recover in the hospital in Bari, Randolph was "drinking, attacking the night nurse, wanting everyone's

medicine and all treatment, dictating letters, plastering the hospital with American propaganda photographs with Serbo-Croat captions.”<sup>25</sup>

After a two-month convalescence in Bari, Waugh and Randolph flew to their base in Topusko, where enforced proximity with few duties set off their intense antagonism. They lived in a four-room, rat-infested farmhouse, the only cottage in town that had an indoor toilet, and were looked after by two local servants. Waugh, who had been granted unusual wartime leave to write *Brideshead Revisited* (1945), had a room to himself that allowed him to correct the proofs of the novel and afforded a temporary refuge. He loathed the fiery local *rakia* brandy that stank of sewage and glue and remained sober, which made Randolph’s habitual inebriation all the more difficult for him to endure.

Topusko had been a spa before the war, and the machine that pumped water into the bathhouse was still in working order. Waugh recorded, “we go there daily & sit in the radioactive hot water which I find very enervating. The town has been laid out entirely for leisure, with neglected gardens and woodland promenades. It suits our leisured life well.”<sup>26</sup> In a photo taken in Topusko, Waugh--indoors, framed by the window and lit by the sun--looks shy, slim and boyish. The dissipated Randolph, standing outside in the shadow with his right arm on the windowsill and left hand on his hip, has a confident, devilish smile and looks older than Waugh.

By September 1944, however, Waugh minimized their mission’s achievements: “We do very little & see little company except a partisan liaison officer, the secretary general of the communist party, the leader of the Peasant party & such people. We also arrange for the evacuation of distressed jews,” an event that played an important part in his wartime *Sword of Honour* trilogy (1952-61).<sup>27</sup> Fleeing the Ustashe genocide, the Jews felt unsafe in Europe and wanted to emigrate to Palestine. But the intricacies of Yugoslav politics were quite beyond Waugh’s comprehension. A fanatical Catholic convert, Waugh defiantly sympathized with the pro-Nazi Catholic Ustashe and undermined the anti-German alliance between the godless communists and the Christian British. He completely misread the situation and recorded, “There is no gratitude to us among the Jugoslavs nor need there be, for we have no generosity to them. We pursue a policy of niggardly and near-sighted self-advantage and then whine when we fail to secure universal love and esteem.”<sup>28</sup> Britain certainly needed the military support of the Partisans, but did not expect to win their universal love.

Bored in Topusko, Waugh annoyed headquarters in Bari by sending trivial cables with a secret prefix that meant only senior officers could decode them. Famous for his wicked wit, Waugh was quick to retaliate when provoked. Randolph--a perfect target--gave him plenty of provocation and then complained about his satiric barbs. Neither was willing to change the habits of a lifetime to satisfy the whims of the other. When Randolph asked Waugh to agree that Winston's *Life of Marlborough* was a great work, Waugh, wounding his family pride, savagely replied: "As history it is beneath contempt, the special pleading of a defence lawyer. As literature it is worthless."<sup>29</sup> Randolph retorted by asking, "Have you ever noticed that it is always the people who are most religious who are most mean and cruel?" To which Waugh, claiming that faith was the only thing that held him in check, said, "But my dear Randolph, you have no idea what I should be like if I wasn't [religious]."<sup>30</sup>

Randolph's biography, written by his son (another Winston Churchill), minimized the conflict between his father and Waugh. He quoted Randolph's praise of Waugh's bravery and criticism of his self-destructive impulse, a judgment that applied with equal force to himself: "Waugh possesses both physical and moral courage in a very high degree. He has seen action in this war at Dakar, in Crete, and in Yugoslavia. His courage, coupled with his intellect, might have won him a distinguished military career. But he was usually more interested in driving his immediate superiors mad than in bringing about the defeat of the enemy. One of his superiors, an officer of high standing, had a nervous breakdown after only two months of having Waugh under his command."<sup>31</sup>

In Croatia Randolph was equally difficult, quarrelsome and inefficient. Tito's high-ranking comrade Milovan Djilas disdainfully wrote that Randolph "revealed through his drinking and lack of interest that he had inherited neither political imagination nor dynamism with his surname."<sup>32</sup> No wonder the Partisans took what they could from the British and rejected them politically. After three months with Randolph, Waugh had wondered "how long I could bear his company, even he I think faintly conscious of strain . . . [He made] it plain to me that he found the restraints of my company irksome."<sup>33</sup> On February 5, 1944 the Resident Minister in Cairo had written to the Foreign Office in London suggesting that an expert join the mission: "We are all in agreement here that it is most important to have Clissold in Yugoslavia since we are not obtaining adequate political intelligence in the present circumstances."<sup>34</sup> On October 13, 1944,

the unexpected and fortunate arrival of Major Freddy Birkenhead and Major Stephen Clissold--a gentle former teacher from Zagreb, fluent in Serbo-Croat and political advisor to Maclean--prevented an outbreak of feral violence between Waugh and Randolph.

When Waugh first appeared Randolph publicly mocked him and incited another bitter confrontation. Birkenhead recalled, “‘There he is!’ roared [Randolph]—‘there’s the little fellow in his camel-hair dressing-gown! Look at him standing there!’ Evelyn directed on him a stare cold and hostile as the Arctic Ocean, and remarked with poisonous restraint: ‘You’ve got drunk very quickly tonight. Don’t send any more signals.’”<sup>35</sup> That same day Waugh wrote to his confidante Nancy Mitford (who was related to Randolph’s mother) about Birkenhead’s appearance: “It is a great joy having him not only for his own sour & meaty company but as a relief from perpetual watch with your cousin Randolph whose boisterous good nature, after weeks of solitary confinement with him, has begun to exhaust me.”<sup>36</sup> Birkenhead wrote favorably about Waugh in a 1973 volume of tributes but later, when he discovered that Waugh had portrayed him in his *Diaries* and *Letters* as drunk, boring and ineffective, he called Waugh “an odious, indeed a psychopathic character.”<sup>37</sup>

Waugh’s personal writings, enlivened by the novelist’s eye for telling details, contained a litany of comic complaints about his claustrophobic connection with Randolph, amusing to read but no doubt painful to endure. When talking to the Partisan liaison officer, Waugh noted, “Randolph got drunk in the early afternoon and had an endless argument with [Leo] Mates, going round in ponderous circles, contradicting himself, heavily humorous, patronizing, appalling.”<sup>38</sup> Waugh lamented “how boring it was to be obliged to tell Randolph everything twice—once when he was drunk, once when he was sober . . . His American slang, his coughing and farting make him a poor companion in wet weather.”<sup>39</sup>

The best time of Waugh’s day was the first two hours of daylight when Randolph was still asleep. Once awake he became cantankerous and belligerent, then inebriated and comatose—and acted like a character in Waugh’s satiric comedies. Waugh rejected Randolph’s pleas for kinder treatment, condemned his cowardly abuse and tried to restrain his own short temper: “[He] left me unmoved for in these matters he is simply a flabby bully who rejoices in blustering and shouting down anyone weaker than himself and starts squealing as soon as he meets anyone as strong . . . I must exercise self-control and give him the privileges of a



commanding officer even though he shirks his responsibilities.” He then cut to the core of their relations by confessing they were both unpopular officers and unemployable misfits: “No one else would have chosen me, nor would anyone else have accepted him.”<sup>40</sup>

Choosing hostility rather than restraint, Waugh wrote, “I have got to the stage of disliking Randolph which is really more convenient than thinking I liked him & constantly trying to reconcile myself to his enormities. Now I can regard him as one of the evils of war.”<sup>41</sup> He remarked that in an effort to control Randolph, who liked to gamble, rose to a challenge, and was fortified by brandy and cigars, “Freddy and I have bet him £10 each that he will not read the Bible straight through in a fortnight. He has set to work but not as quietly as we hoped. He sits bouncing about on his chair, chortling and saying, ‘I say, did you know this came in the Bible “bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave”?’ Or simply, ‘God, isn’t God a shit?’ . . . Instead of purchasing a few hours silence for my £10 I now have to endure an endless campaign of interruption and banter.”<sup>42</sup>

When Randolph--sounding like a character in Beckett’s *Waiting for Godot*--complained about Waugh’s cruel treatment, Waugh hardened his heart, threatened to leave and mocked him: “[While] Freddy was talking gibberish to himself in the earth closet, Randolph broke into maudlin reproaches of my failure of friendship and cruelty to him. ‘It can’t go on. It can’t go on.’ ‘All right then I’ll go back to Bari.’ ‘I’m still fond of you. In spite of all your beastliness to me. I am wounded and grieved.’”<sup>43</sup>

Randolph sent Bari a torrent of complaints about not receiving the supplies he had requested. But Robert Bruce Lockhart (who coordinated all British propaganda against the Axis powers) told Brendan Bracken (the Minister of Information) that “in point of fact Randolph has been getting all possible material for some time.”<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, Randolph’s most vituperative explosion, which almost led to fisticuffs, provoked a furious response from the journalist, radio broadcaster and diplomat Ralph Murray in Bari. He sent Lockhart a three-and-a-half page, single-spaced typed letter, “MOST SECRET AND PERSONAL,” about a disturbing episode when a Yugoslav major was present. Murray’s letter revealed what Waugh had also been forced to tolerate. In unusually fierce and undiplomatic language, the deeply wounded Murray described Randolph’s torrent of filthy abuse and horrible insults:

I think it necessary to give you a short account of an incident with Randolph Churchill for your most confidential information . . . . It is difficult to write soberly of Churchill's behaviour . . . . He referred to our ignorance of his appointment, status and functions, and [forced us] to listen to a minor diatribe from him . . . .

At the end of the meal, during which he had been rude to his American neighbours, he strove to pick a quarrel--I am being conservative in my expression--with me personally. He declared that . . . I had lied and obstructed him . . . . For nearly two hours we were treated to a violent and insulting diatribe of a degrading and shifty and horrible kind . . . . His insults to me in particular were of a character foul and deliberate . . . . I (who was, in sum, a filthy, scheming, obstructive little careerist) had intrigued against him, tried to get him out of Yugoslavia, to supplant him with Clissold, to hinder the war effort, the whole elaborated with degrading insults . . . . I understand that among his acquaintances such behaviour is treated lightly, and there is perhaps nothing else for them to do. [But] there can be no question of putting up with another such outburst of filth.<sup>45</sup>

Though reprimanded by his angry superiors, Randolph repeated his abusive attack on Murray and offered a feeble but arrogant defense. Anyone else would have been immediately relieved of his command and sent home in disgrace but Randolph, the son of the Prime Minister, managed to survive. (Murray, 1908-83, was later knighted and became ambassador to Greece.)

Not to be outdone by Randolph, Waugh was willing to risk his life to enrage and insult his adversary. During a German air attack on their farmhouse in Topusko on October 22, 1944, when the Heinkels dropped bombs and fired machine-guns, Randolph thought the enemy had discovered his hideout and were trying to kill him in order to hurt his father. Birkenhead recalled:

In the middle of this attack, the small figure of Evelyn, somehow overlooked, emerged from the Mission, clad in a white duffel-coat which might have been designed to attract fire, and which gleamed in leprous prominence in the dawn. At this sight, Randolph's face, empurpled with rage, appeared over the trench and in tones verging on hysteria he screamed: "You bloody little swine, take off that coat! TAKE OFF THAT \*\*\*\*\* COAT! It's an order! It's a military order!" Evelyn did not seem to regard

even this dire threat as binding, and without removing the coat lowered himself with leisurely dignity into the trench among the bullets, pausing only on his way to remark to Randolph: "I'll tell you what I think of your repulsive manners when the bombardment is over." Evelyn's behaviour was difficult to forgive, and we shared Randolph's annoyance. It seemed to us that Evelyn had either chosen this extremely hazardous method of irritating his friend, or else been seized by some obscure death-wish. In either case, his action had endangered all of us.<sup>46</sup>

After the attack Randolph, "drawing Evelyn aside, apologised if his manners had been abrupt . . . reminding him that as the Mission Commander he was responsible for the safety of all its members." Waugh, putting the knife in, replied: "My dear Randolph, it wasn't your manners I was complaining of: it was your cowardice."<sup>47</sup>

On May 14, 1945--after the Partisans had conquered Zagreb, capital of Croatia--the British Mission reported to Bari that the political situation remained complex and uncertain, and there would be a lot of bloodshed before victory in the civil war was finally achieved: "It is difficult even to say whether the liberation of Zagreb is popular with the majority of citizens or not. In view of the number of them who must be aware that they have collaborated to some extent with the Ustashi Government it is probable that the proportion of people who are profoundly relieved that the Germans have gone is about equal to the number who feel uneasy that the Partisans have arrived."<sup>48</sup>

The unpublished archival material reveals that Maclean mistakenly chose Randolph for the mission to Croatia, Randolph mistakenly chose Waugh, and both men did more harm than good. Randolph, a Member of Parliament, represented Winston and carried his tremendous prestige. But he behaved boorishly and obstructed the British mission, offended both the Partisans and the American allies, and stirred up a lot of unnecessary trouble at high levels in Bari and London. The pro-Catholic, anticommunist Waugh was supposed to entertain Randolph and support the Partisans, but constantly fought with him and made three disastrous mistakes. He openly courted the Ustashe fascists, publicly insulted Tito and endangered his comrades by flaunting his whitecoat during the air attack. Waugh was most amusing when filled with hate. In 1964, when Randolph had a tumor removed that turned out to be benign, Waugh remarked that the doctors had found "the only part of Randolph that was not malignant."<sup>49</sup>

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## Addendum to “Huxley’s Ape”

Jeffrey Manley

After my recent article “Huxley’s Ape” was published in the last issue, it was pointed out to me that there is a complementary article about Waugh’s Denmark visit in a 2007 article in *Evelyn Waugh Studies* 38.1. This is the translation of an excerpt from the memoirs of Waugh’s Danish publisher, Godfred Hartmann. They were published in 1996 under the title *I delfinens tegn* (“Under the Sign of the Dolphin”).

The *EWS* excerpt relates mainly to how Hartmann arranged the details of Waugh’s visit and dealt with his needs as he was escorted around Copenhagen. It provides some interesting additional material about two of the facets of Waugh’s visit mentioned in my article. The first is his disappointing meeting with writer Karen Blixen, which was arranged and witnessed by Hartmann. Furthermore, Hartmann provides some personal insights relating to a negative statement Waugh made about the PEN Club (apparently at his press conference) that did not appear in press reports. Finally, Hartmann describes a later trip to Copenhagen that his firm helped to arrange for Waugh, accompanied by his wife. The earlier article can be found here:

<https://leicester.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16445coll12/id/1180>

In September, Penguin published a three-volume translation of the memoirs of Danish poet and novelist Tove Ditlevsen: *Childhood, Youth, and Dependency*.<sup>1</sup> Ditlevsen (1917-76) was among the guests at the PEN Club dinner to which Waugh was also invited as the guest of honor. Her presence was noted in my recent article, having been mentioned in the contemporaneous Copenhagen newspaper reports. In addition, Hartmann, in the *EWS* article, provides the following description of an incident at the event involving Ditlevsen:

<sup>1</sup> The final volume is the first appearance of that portion of the book in English. Translations of the previous two (in Danish, *Barndom* and *Ungdom*) were published together previously under a different title: *Early Spring* (1985). These were translated by Tina Nunnally. *Dependency* was originally published in Danish as *Gift*, Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1971. One British reviewer pointed out that the word “gift” can mean either “married” or “poison” in Danish.



The journalists were full of stories and wit, but were brought to be quiet for a moment when a peculiar man from outer space, an uninvited guest, entered with crash helmet and windproof clothing to match. His Nimbus [motorcycle] was right outside. Without much comment, let alone excuse, he took away Tove Ditlevsen. Everyone was surprised, but nobody said anything. The guest of honour wondered. What sort of peculiar country had he come to? (*EWS* 33.1, *supra*, at 4)

The incident is explained in greater detail in Ditlevsen's account. At that time, she was living with Carl, her third husband in less than ten years. We are never told Carl's last name. They met when he was practicing medicine. She became addicted to Demerol as a result of his treatment. He used this to control her behavior, and her dependence on it influenced her decision to marry him. She was also taking methadone to avoid Demerol withdrawal symptoms as well as chloral to sleep. Chloral was part of the malicious drug cocktail that caused Waugh's breakdown, described in *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*. When Ditlevsen was invited to the PEN Club dinner, Carl suggested a shot of Demerol as an alternative in an effort to keep her at home. For perhaps the first time, she declined. He then professed concern that she would go into withdrawal at the dinner and offered to come and collect her. She rejected his suggestion as well and took some methadone tablets without his knowledge to get her through the dinner.

The PEN Club dinner was her first meeting with fellow writers for several months (perhaps more than a year). She sat next to Waugh whom she describes as a "small, vibrant, youthful man with a pale face and curious eyes." When she asked him why he had come to Denmark, he replied "that he always took trips around the world when his children were home on vacation from boarding school, because he couldn't stand them." That was the same explanation he had given in press interviews.

After dinner, as the writers drank cognac and coffee, Carl appeared on his motorcycle. He wore incongruous cyclist gear, looking like a "Martian" in the midst of the more conservatively dressed writers. Ditlevsen introduced him to the group, but he did not join them: "He walked right over to me and said slyly, I think it's time for you to come home." He later claimed that he couldn't go to sleep without having administered her chloral dosage.

She was deeply embarrassed by this incident, and it may have marked the beginning of her realization that she could not continue to live with Carl. They later separated and divorced after she went through an extended detoxification and rehabilitation program (Tove Ditlevsen, *Dependency*, translated by Michael Favala Goldman, London: Penguin, 2019, 107-09).

## REVIEWS

### “The Ghosts of Ghosts”

*Gatsby's Oxford: Scott, Zelda, and the Jazz Age Invasion of Britain 1904-1929*, by Christopher A. Snyder, Pegasus, 2019. 368 pp. \$28.95, £22.82.

Reviewed by Jeffrey Manley

The title of this book attracts one's attention immediately. Most readers of F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925) will remember the main character's references to being an “Oxford Man” as well as his affectation of referring to his associates as “Old Sport” and collecting English menswear in excessive quantities. At one point, when he is seeking to impress his former love Daisy, he explains that he “was brought up in America but educated at Oxford, because all my ancestors have been educated there for many years. It is a family tradition” (4-5). Later, when challenged by Daisy's husband Tom Buchanan, he confesses that he went to Oxford in 1919, but only for 5 months as part of an “opportunity they gave to some officers after the Armistice.” He concedes that he therefore “can't really call himself an Oxford man” (6-7).

All this being the case, and known to those like myself and countless others who have read *Gatsby* multiple times, it makes one wonder how a fairly hefty book can be made out of this relatively thin material. The answer is that it cannot. The book covers its title theme very thoroughly and makes interesting reading for Fitzgerald fans, but it also contains much material that is extraneous. It is not necessary, for example, to read through nearly seventy pages of scholarly material about the 19<sup>th</sup>-century literary / philosophical movements at Oxford, and about J. R. R. Tolkien and C. S. Lewis who taught at Oxford in the decades after *Gatsby*'s brief fictional tenure, and whose works have little relationship to *Gatsby*'s story or Fitzgerald's *oeuvre*.

Certain other themes, arguably relevant to “*Gatsby*'s Oxford,” are described in more detail than is necessary to understand his experience. This is particularly true of the space devoted to American Rhodes Scholars. Some discussion of their Oxford days is useful, particularly in the cases of outsiders such as Alain Locke and Horace Kallan, but *Gatsby* was

neither outstanding as a scholar nor an athlete, and his Oxford experience would have had little in common with the typical American Rhodes Scholar. In addition, the chapter devoted to T. S. Eliot's experience at Oxford and with the Garsington Circle, while interesting as a general review of Americans at Oxford, does not relate to the circles in which Gatsby would have found himself.

These irrelevant or marginal discussions consume four chapters and 42% (or nearly half) of the narrative text. They raise the suspicion that some of this material has been recycled from previous publication in academic journals. It is well researched and presented but is excess baggage that is simply not needed on the particular academic journey advertised in the book's title. On the other hand, these chapters are well written and may be enjoyed by those readers with an interest in Oxford history independent of Fitzgerald and *Gatsby*. Perhaps it would be fairer to consider them bonus material rather than surplusage. They can easily be avoided without interrupting the book's narrative flow by those readers who have no interest in them.

The book, which is written by Prof. Christopher A. Snyder of Mississippi State University in Starkville, begins with a description of Gatsby's claims to being considered an "Oxford man" as summarized above. It goes on to explain the program under which US Army officers such as Jay Gatsby, stationed in Europe at the end of WWI, were assigned to British universities in 1919. French universities were also eligible, and a total of 10,000 officers were enrolled in both countries. This was not so much to improve their minds as to keep them occupied and on the European side of the Atlantic in case peace negotiations under the Armistice failed and war resumed. It added a bargaining chip to the Allied position (if, indeed, one were needed).

According to the book, many of the US officers assigned to British universities spent much of their time pursuing athletic activities rather than scholarship. There are several descriptions of the experience of soldiers who participated in the program, many based on first-hand narratives. The chapter devoted to this material (Chapter 6, "Major Gatsby in Trinity Quad: Oxford and the Great War"), probably the best in the book, concludes with a history of the development of Fitzgerald's text of Gatsby's narrative of his time at Oxford as portrayed in his conversations with Nick Carraway. It shows the care and importance Fitzgerald accorded to these passages.

Prof. Snyder explains that one prerequisite for participation in the AEF program was graduation from or matriculation for two years in a university. How Gatsby managed that is not revealed in Fitzgerald's novel nor are these qualifications mentioned. Indeed, in the novel, Gatsby's education after high school in North Dakota consisted of two weeks at the "small Lutheran College of St. Olaf's in Southern Minnesota" (*The Great Gatsby*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1950. 96-97) followed by a five-year stint of cruising around North America on Dan Cody's yacht. It can be supposed that Gatsby would have inflated his tenure at St. Olaf's (or some other college) in his Army paperwork sufficiently to gain admission to the AEF university program. The book under review doesn't spend any time on Gatsby's (or James Gatz as he was then) pre-Oxford education.

Another interesting discussion concerns F. Scott Fitzgerald's own attitude toward Oxford which is reflected in his other novels and short stories as well as *Gatsby*. This "Oxonophilia" was instilled at his prep. school and nurtured at Princeton. One of the best chapters explains how Woodrow Wilson introduced Oxford educational practices and architectural style during his tenure as Princeton's President in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Fitzgerald reflects this recognition of Oxford's beauty and style in his first novel *This Side of Paradise* (1920). Prof. Snyder also provides a survey of the "Oxford novel," mentioning several examples of the genre. One that had a prominent influence on Fitzgerald's writing is Compton Mackenzie's *Sinister Street*, particularly in *This Side of Paradise*. In addition, Fitzgerald listed Max Beerholm's *Zuleika Dobson* (another "Oxford novel") among his top dozen books (67-70).

Prof. Snyder also explains the impression made on Fitzgerald during his two brief side trips to Oxford over the course of his first visit to Europe in May-July 1921. He and Zelda passed through England in both directions on their way to and from destinations on the Continent such as Paris, Rome, Florence and Venice. They left little record of their trip but there were brief mentions of Oxford. Scott wrote his editor Maxwell Perkins about the first Oxford stop: "The most beautiful spot in the world is Oxford, without a doubt" (205). On that leg of the journey, they were also invited for lunch by Lady Randolph Spencer Churchill and met several members of her family, including her son Winston. Lady Churchill was the former Jennie Jerome who was

born and raised in New York. How the Fitzgeralds managed to snag the invitation is not explained in the book. They presumably had an “introduction” from someone.<sup>1</sup>

The second Oxford trip, on the way home, is even less well documented. According to Prof. Snyder, it is described in Fitzgerald’s essay “Three Cities” (1921):

‘We have been to Oxford before--after Italy we went back there arriving gorgeously at twilight when the place was fully peopled for us by the ghosts of ghosts--the characters, romantic, absurd or melancholy, of *Sinister Street*, *Zuleika Dobson* or *Jude the Obscure*.’ (206)

Fitzgerald goes on to predict that Oxford will one day be transformed into ruins such as those that they had recently seen in Italy and that New York’s time for this transition will also come (*ibid.*). Although brief, these visits seem to have reinforced Fitzgerald’s romantic impressions of Oxford that he had already absorbed from his reading of “Oxford novels” and his student days at Princeton. He never made another visit to Oxford, however, or England, for that matter (219).

The penultimate chapter of the book (“England’s Jazz Age: Evelyn Waugh and the Bright Young People”) deals with the introduction of the American-inspired postwar youth culture into England. This occurred in the decade after Gatsby’s term at Oxford and apparently lagged only a few years behind the same phenomenon in America. The chapter begins with a discussion of the clothing styles and music that originated in America after the war. Evelyn Waugh played little role in introducing these new fashion and musical tastes into Britain, although it is implied that he may have liked jazz music and dances such as the Charleston. This seems unlikely given that

<sup>1</sup> There is a suggestion in the book (205) that Waugh, in a 1930 essay, may have satirized Lady Churchill’s luncheon. This seems unlikely, however, as Waugh was writing about elderly London ladies of the 1930s seeking to appear up-to-date by entertaining the most modern artists of the day. Lady Churchill’s luncheon occurred in 1921, and she died a few days later following a tragic accident. *This Side of Paradise*, Fitzgerald’s first novel, was published in England on 26 May 1921. At that early stage of his career, he was hardly bankable by a London hostess as a leading modern novelist. Scott and Zelda had already moved on to the Continent by then, in any event, and so would not have been in London to bask in any immediate critical glory the publication notices and reviews might have produced.

Waugh later claimed that listening to music was for him physically painful, although that problem may have developed later in life.

The book then moves on to the theme of the Bright Young People and Waugh's role as the chronicler of that movement. Prof. Snyder writes:

Waugh was the Brightest of the Young People in terms of literary talent, many would argue, and he certainly became the lens through which subsequent readers would view England's Jazz Age and the Oxonian contribution. As such, he performs a role very close to that of F. Scott Fitzgerald, even though the two never met nor took much notice of each other. (235)

What follows is an accurate and well written summary of Waugh's Oxford years and early career as a writer, with comparisons where appropriate between his writings and those of Fitzgerald. From Fitzgerald's side, this includes mostly *Gatsby* and *Paradise*, and from Waugh's, *Vile Bodies* and *Brideshead*, as well as *Decline and Fall* and *A Handful of Dust*. The discussions are interesting and well presented. The book relies primarily on Waugh's diaries, letters and autobiography, in addition to well known secondary sources such as Martin Stannard, D. J. Taylor, and Humphrey Carpenter. Several relatively new sources are used as well, such as recent books by Barbara Cooke, Alison Maloney and Philip Eade. Not all of this material will be familiar to Waugh readers. For example, there is an interesting comparison between the characters of Anthony Blanche and Meyer Wolfshiem that I am fairly confident has not been previously mooted (245).

While Prof. Snyder emphasizes at least twice that the two writers were little aware of each other's work, there was some informal recognition of Fitzgerald from Waugh's side. For example, Prof. Snyder includes a reference from Waugh's autobiography that reflects a fairly detailed familiarity with *Gatsby*. It quotes Waugh's discussion of the Hypocrites Club at Oxford, an undergraduate drinking club of which Waugh was a member: "The Hypocrites, like *Gatsby*'s swimming pool, saw the passage, as members or guests, of the best and the worst of that year" (237). It may have been useful to include a reference to another passage from the autobiography, a few lines above that quote, which provides a better insight into the extent of Waugh's knowledge:

The reader will remember the roll call in the fourth chapter of Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*. (A book incidentally which I never read until long after the author's death [in 1939]. In 1946 an American cinema agent said to me: 'You must have been greatly influenced by Scott Fitzgerald.' In fact, then I had not read a word of his.) . . . .

Waugh goes on to quote Fitzgerald's description of a list of names written in the empty spaces of an old timetable. This was Nick Carraway's meticulous record of the visitors to Gatsby's house in summer 1922. Waugh compares Carraway's recollections to his own ability to recall members of the Hypocrites in 1923, which he proceeds to do (*Complete Works: A Little Learning*, v. 19, 150-51).

In his diaries (6 May 1962), Waugh makes a similar reference to Fitzgerald's later novel *Tender is the Night*: "Yesterday, I saw a film of *Tender is the Night*. I had never heard Fitzgerald's name until after his death, after the war, when a film producer said I must have been greatly influenced by him." He goes on to compare the book ("which I like only moderately") with the film ("a very good film of a rather poor book"). After a fairly detailed discussion of the characters and comparison of their portrayals in the book and the film, Waugh concludes: "The enormously expensive apparatus of the film studio can produce nothing as valuable as one half tipsy yank with a typewriter. But we novelists should remember that our 'characters' and our 'dramas' are mere shadows compared with those of the real world" (*Diaries*, London: 1976, 787-88).

In *Unconditional Surrender* (1961), Waugh has Everard Spruce (based on Cyril Connolly), in his schoolmasterly interrogation of his acolytes Frankie and Coney, read them a quote from Aldous Huxley's *Antic Hay* (1923). He predicts they will wrongly guess that is written by Michael Arlen, but it turns out they don't know who he is. The quiz proceeds: "I daresay you've not heard of Scott Fitzgerald either."/'Omar Khayyam?' suggested Frankie" (Penguin, 1975. 200). In the novel, this takes place in 1944, at a time when Waugh himself confessed he had not heard of Scott Fitzgerald either.



These references may be the sum total of Waugh's analytical discussion of Fitzgerald's work.<sup>2</sup> I have found no record of Waugh's reviewing any of Fitzgerald's works or discussing them in an essay or published letter. Fitzgerald, for his part, seems to have made no written reference to Waugh. He did not, as a general matter, write book reviews. It is hard to believe, however, that he didn't read *Vile Bodies*, *A Handful of Dust*, or *Scoop*, although he died before *Brideshead* (the book usually compared to *Gatsby*) was published. Fitzgerald's collected essays and letters available for internet search, however, do not disclose any mention of Waugh. He may have read some of Waugh's books without publishing any written opinion or analysis of them. If there were any published references, it seems likely that Prof. Snyder would have cited them, given the generally high quality of his research and knowledge of Fitzgerald's work.

The book's discussion of the two writers ends with a relatively detailed one-page comparison of their lives and work (248). This is factually accurate and the two writers are eerily similar. There are a few bits that could be added, however. For example, as hinted at in the book, they were both social climbers and wrote about social climbing. Since they were seeking advancement in different social systems, it is difficult to say who was the more successful. They both married above their class, but Waugh's marriage (at least the second one) was the more stable. Waugh managed to achieve membership in what is usually considered the best clubs in London; Fitzgerald seemed not to have had much interest in clubs beyond Princeton where he did reach the top echelon, something Waugh failed to achieve at Oxford.

They were both good at promoting their careers at the beginning, but Waugh's self-promotion skills seemed to continue and even become more acute after he discovered television, whereas Fitzgerald's flagged after the 1920s, perhaps as a result of alcoholism and marital difficulties, and never really recovered. Both suffered declines in their reputations toward the end of their lives. Both their reputations have subsequently recovered, in part due to popular film and

<sup>2</sup> Waugh refers briefly to *Tender is the Night* in his 1962 *Paris Review* interview, remarking that he liked the first part of the book (*Complete Works: A Little Learning*. Vol. 19. Oxford: 2017, 572). In *A Tourist in Africa* (London: 1960, 126) he mentions the possibility of the "survivors and imitators of the elegant young neurotics of Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender is the Night*" being pushed off their Riviera perches by an invasion of the proletariat.

TV adaptations of their work and the publication of numerous biographies and literary studies. Both have literary societies devoted to their lives and works.

Finally, as noted in the book, they both had a drinking problem which probably contributed to their early deaths: Fitzgerald at age 44 more so than Evelyn at 62. Both were Roman Catholics, Waugh a convert and Fitzgerald by birth. When Fitzgerald died, burial was refused in the churchyard plot of his father's family at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Chapel in Rockville, Maryland. This was because, at the time of his death, the church authorities deemed that his adherence to the Roman Catholic faith had lapsed (perhaps, they might have noted, along with his literary reputation). He was buried in a nearby civil cemetery. After that fell into disrepair in the 1970s, his daughter applied to the church for his reburial in the family plot. By then, his literary reputation had recovered and the religious scruples seemed less compelling. He is now buried along with his wife and daughter in the family plot of St. Mary's Chapel. This epitaph (from the last lines of *Gatsby*) is carved on the gravestone: "SO WE BEAT ON, BOATS AGAINST THE CURRENT, BORNE BACK CEASELESSLY INTO THE PAST."

Waugh remained strong in his faith until his death and even actively took up the cause of liturgical preservation near end of his life. He remains a hero of the Latin Rite restoration movement. Waugh has also suffered from something of an unquiet burial. He was buried next to the Combe Florey (Anglican) Church of St. Andrew. His grave, which he shares with his wife and daughter Margaret, sits about 8-9 feet above the churchyard (where other graves are located) behind a retaining wall and on his own property. Recently, the retaining wall has become weakened and is in need of repair. Due to uncertainty over ownership and responsibility for the wall, the Waugh Estate, which continues to own the gravesite, has been unable to proceed with the necessary repairs to prevent the graves from falling into the churchyard.

The book is well produced and printed (although there are more typos than there should be). The dust jacket is also worth a special look since it is inspired by Scribner's original design for the 1929 first edition. It has Zelda's eyes looking out of the dark blue background rather than the so-called "celestial eyes" of the original (229). Aside from the possible problem posed by the inclusion of the "bonus" chapters, it should be enjoyed by anyone with an interest in Fitzgerald and *Gatsby*.

If there is a second printing or paperback edition some thought might be given to the *Gatsby* character whose name is spelled “Meyer Wolfshiem” in my copy of the novel (Penguin, 1950; ditto Scribner, 2008, viewed on Amazon.com, 17 June 2-19), consistently referred to as “Wolfsheim” (the German version, 74, *passim*) in Prof. Snyder’s book, even when quoting from the novel (90). Perhaps this is an accepted convention among Fitzgerald scholars, but it should be explained. The Cambridge University Press Variorum Edition of *Gatsby* (Cambridge: 2019, xxxvi, viewed on Amazon.com, 17 June 2019) traces the change to the 1941 Scribner version edited by Edmund Wilson. If there is an explanation in an endnote, then my apologies for missing it. There is no index reference to characters.

*Vile Bodies* was dedicated to Bryan Guinness and Diana, not Nancy, Mitford (see 233).

## NEWS

### **John H. Wilson Jr. Evelyn Waugh Undergraduate Essay Contest**

Submissions are welcome for the John H. Wilson Jr. Evelyn Waugh Undergraduate Essay Contest. Essays (normally limited to 20 pages or 5000 words) are invited on any aspect of Waugh's life or work and will be judged by the *Evelyn Waugh Studies* editorial board. The winning essay will be published in the journal, and the author will receive a prize of \$500. Deadline: 31 December 2019. Email submissions to [jpitcher@bennington.edu](mailto:jpitcher@bennington.edu) and [yuexi.liu@xjtlu.edu.cn](mailto:yuexi.liu@xjtlu.edu.cn).

### **The Brideshead Festival**

#### *Brideshead Revisited* Celebrated in New Festival

To mark the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publication of Evelyn Waugh's novel, *Brideshead Revisited*, The Brideshead Festival will celebrate and interrogate the ongoing appeal of this seminal novel and its screen adaptations.

Bringing together the worlds of literature, film, TV and heritage, the Festival is the brainchild of former publisher, Victoria Barnsley, and promises to be one of the most exciting new additions to the cultural calendar in 2020.

The Festival will take place from 26<sup>th</sup> to 28<sup>th</sup> June 2020 at Castle Howard, Sir John Vanbrugh's baroque masterpiece that became synonymous with *Brideshead* when it was used as the location for the agenda-setting 1981 TV adaptation and the subsequent feature film in 2008.

Published in 1945, *Brideshead Revisited* is arguably Waugh's most popular novel, having won legions of fans around the world in its 75-year history. The Festival will explore the place the book holds in the hearts of readers and viewers and the novel's themes of youth, sexuality, nostalgia, decadence, religion and class.

Speakers will evaluate Waugh's place in the cultural canon of 20<sup>th</sup> century literature and the relevance of the novel for today's audiences. Taking a modern-day perspective, presenters will also look at the impact of the TV adaptation on the imagination of generations of viewers and the role literary adaptations play in today's cultural landscape. Members of the original cast and crew will join well known writers, novelists and commentators in the festival line-up.

A host of other festival activities will pay homage to scenes and themes in *Brideshead* including a Teddy Bear's Picnic, a Wine Tasting at the Temple of the Four Winds and an immersive Brideshead Party. Bespoke Brideshead tours will offer a look behind the scenes of the iconic adaptations and a specially commissioned Sound Installation will focus on Castle Howard's place in the Brideshead story. Echoing the theme of plenty in the novel, food and drink will be a particular feature with local producers and well-known chefs providing Brideshead-inspired culinary experiences.

Victoria Barnsley who runs Castle Howard with her husband Nicholas Howard comments; "I am delighted to be launching The Brideshead Festival. It has long been an ambition of mine to celebrate Castle Howard's connection to *Brideshead*, and what better time to do it than its 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary. We look forward to bringing together a vibrant mix of speakers and performers to interrogate and interpret this brilliant work and its screen adaptations in the wonderful setting of Castle Howard."

Further programme details will be announced in early 2020.

**For more information please contact Laura Creyke at MHM**

**[laura@markhutchinsonmanagement.co.uk](mailto:laura@markhutchinsonmanagement.co.uk) / 07951 777 407/ @MarkHMgmt**

Tickets are available now from <https://bridesheadfestival.castlehoward.co.uk/>

Sponsors include Sloemotion Gin and HarperCollins Publishers who are sponsoring the Main Tent.

### **About Castle Howard**

Described by *Lonely Planet* as one of the top ten palaces in Europe, Castle Howard,

designed by Sir John Vanbrugh and Nicholas Hawksmoor, is set in the Howardian Hills Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, just outside York.

Its dramatic interiors and world-renowned art and antiquities collections are complemented by the finest example of an English Baroque landscape. Over one thousand acres of parkland are dotted with temples, lakes, fountains, statues of myths and legend, serpentine woodland paths and a ten-acre walled garden. Run today as a major tourist attraction, there is also an award-winning adventure playground, a garden centre, gift shops and a farm shop.

[www.castlehoward.co.uk](http://www.castlehoward.co.uk) Castle Howard Estate, York, YO60 7DA  
Facebook: @castlehoward Twitter: @castlehowardest Instagram: @castle\_howard

## **FT Weekend Quiz**

Evelyn Waugh was featured in the November 29, 2019 *FT Weekend Quiz: Marie Kondo, the Beatles, and Evelyn Waugh*, crafted by James Walton. The question, "Paul Pennyfeather is the main character in which Evelyn Waugh novel?" appeared amongst others, including:

Which unit of measurement was known as a Transmission Unit until 1928?

In 1908, Ludwig Roselius patented the process behind which drink?

What form of philosophical analysis was developed and named by Jacques Derrida?

## **Evelyn Waugh Letters Shed Light on His Abandoned First Novel**

Letters auctioned at Sotheby's house earlier this month mention Waugh's frustration in attempting to publish a first novel, and reveals the subsequent destruction of a manuscript by fire.

## **Sir Compton Mackenzie's Autobiography**

Peter MacNaughtan ([petermacnaughtan@hotmail.com](mailto:petermacnaughtan@hotmail.com)) was kind enough to contact the Editors with the following missive:

I read with interest the article about Sir Compton Mackenzie on the Evelyn Waugh Society website. It caused me to delve into the books my father had and which I now have since he died.

My father was the medical doctor to Compton Mackenzie, or Monty as we all knew him. Monty gave my father his autobiography, *My Life and Times*, inscribed by the author. This is a rare set of books and I am keen that, as I clear out my loft, they should go on to someone who will appreciate them. If not, they are at risk of the inevitable recycling.

## Waugh in Shropshire

Debbie and Simon Darlington, of Cremorne House, 27 Church Street, Ellesmere, were similarly gracious in informing the Editors of their home's Wavian connection, as cited below:

As you can see from the above address, we live in Shropshire, England, a very beautiful area, surrounded by several meres, upon one of which our house is set, Ellesmere. I have attached a copy of an excerpt from a book called *Chapters from the History of Ellesmere* by J.W. Nankivell:

J.A. Cotton was presented to the living of Ellesmere, and he, in gratitude to his kind patron, nominated the Reverend David Bird to the Vicarages of Penley and Dudleston. like many parsons of the out-lying parishes of old Ellesmere, Bird visited his parishioners on Sundays and left them to get on without him on the other days of the week. In his old age, Vicar Peake wrote of the procession of priests jogtrotting out on Sundays from Church Street to Welshampton, Penley, Dudleston, Petton and Cockshutt. Bird was also the Rector of Preston (Salop), a place he rarely visited. The long-lived Surgeon, Dr. Wroe, succeeded Bird as tenant of No. 1 and 11 then it became the Office. In this century Loni Brownlow had a flat for his own use over the Office when he was in residence. He often allowed his friends to use it - a notable guest was Evelyn Waugh. who shut himself in for three months writing his "Waugh in Abyssinia" at breakneck speed. (34)

As you can see, this shows that the book *Waugh in Abyssinia* was actually written in our house (the house numbers were swapped when road layouts were changed). Would this information be of any interest to the Evelyn Waugh Society? We have a first edition copy of the book and display it, with pride, in one of our guest bedrooms.



## **Evelyn Waugh Society**

The Waugh Society has 196 members. To join, please go to <http://evelynwaughsociety.org/>.

The Evelyn Waugh Discussion List has 79 members. To join, please visit

[http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Evelyn\\_Waugh](http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Evelyn_Waugh).

The Evelyn Waugh Society is also on Twitter: <https://twitter.com/evelynwaughsoc>.

The Waugh Society is providing an RSS feed: <http://evelynwaughsociety.org/feed>.

And the Waugh Society's web site has opportunities for threaded discussions:

<http://evelynwaughsociety.org/forums/>.

## **Submission Guidelines**

Essays as well as notes and news about Waugh and his work may be submitted to *Evelyn Waugh Studies* by mail or email to [jpitcher@bennington.edu](mailto:jpitcher@bennington.edu) and [yuexi.liu@xjtlu.edu.cn](mailto:yuexi.liu@xjtlu.edu.cn). Submissions should follow MLA style and be no more than 5000 words in length. Since most readers will be familiar with Waugh's work, authors should minimize unnecessary quotations and explanatory references. All submitted essays are first screened by the Editors and if deemed acceptable for publication are then sent to Associate Editors for further review. Authors should expect to be notified of the editor's final decision within twelve weeks of submission.

Call for Papers: Given the impending 75<sup>th</sup> anniversaries of its serialized publication in *Town & Country* and subsequently as a novel, the editors remain particularly interested in any and all essays and news pertaining to *Brideshead Revisited*.

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**End of *Evelyn Waugh Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 2**

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