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NEWS
Evelyn Waugh, Brideshead and Castle Howard

Jeffrey Manley

Castle Howard has become inextricably connected in the public perception with Evelyn Waugh’s novel *Brideshead Revisited*. This is due more to its selection as a setting for two popular film adaptations than to what was written by Waugh himself. And yet because of the overwhelming effectiveness of the portrayals of Waugh’s story in these films (or at least the earlier Granada TV production), even some literary scholars have come to accept the identity of Castle Howard as the setting intended in Waugh writings. The purpose of this paper is to compare Waugh’s descriptions of Brideshead Castle to Castle Howard itself and to review the process of the filmmakers in selecting that site as the setting for the story. The paper will then consider to what extent the identification of Castles Howard and Brideshead can be attributed to Waugh and what to the film adaptations.

Another question arises relating to the source for the Flyte family itself. They are clearly identified with the Lygon family who lived in Worcestershire at Madresfield Court. To some extent, Sebastian Flyte has similarities to Hugh Lygon, who was the second son of the Lygons and had a serious drinking problem that contributed to his early death. Hugh was to have been Waugh’s flat-mate in his final term at Oxford if Waugh had not left without finishing his degree. Hugh’s father, Lord Beauchamp, was forced into exile by homosexuality, whereas Lord Marchmain exiled himself by choice to escape his domineering wife and her religion in favor of his Italian mistress. Few among Waugh’s friends missed these connections. Indeed, several recent books have gone so far as to insist that Madresfield deserves to be considered the “real” Brideshead.¹ But to spare the Lygon family further embarrassment, Waugh provided the fictional Brideshead Castle and its residents with identities that are intended to distinguish them

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from the Lygons and Madresfield. His efforts in this regard were more successful in the case of
distinguishing the houses than it was the families.

**Castle Howard and Brideshead Castle: Waugh’s Intentions**

A considerable number of critics and scholars have noted the similarities of Castle
Howard and Brideshead Castle and believe the former inspired or contributed to Waugh’s
description of the latter in the novel, at least to some extent. This goes back as far as the 1970s,
before the *Brideshead* TV broadcast, to the biography of Waugh by his friend Christopher Sykes
who wrote:

> The original of Brideshead can doubtfully be traced to many great houses which Evelyn
knew, but I fancy that a strong contribution was made by Castle Howard. The surmounting
and majestic lantern of Castle Howard may well have suggested the dome of Brideshead, and
the fountain facing the south front is of the proportions and magnificence of the fountain
described in the book. The details of the latter fountain, however, were taken from the
great fountain in the Piazza Navona, as Evelyn told me. ²

Waugh’s friend Harold Acton, who himself contributed to the character of Anthony
Blanche, wrote in an article published by the PBS network in conjunction with its 1982 U.S.
broadcast

> It was a pleasure to learn that Castle Howard, in Yorkshire, has been chosen to be Brideshead
on television. It was the author’s prototype. ³

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Granger, producer of the Granada TV film of *Brideshead Revisited*, has suggested to me that Sykes’
identification of Castle Howard as the source may have been suggested to him to some extent by his
residence at nearby Sledmere where Waugh may have visited from time to time. (E-mail from Derek
Granger dated 30 October 2015).

Acton, who was identified by Sykes as a contributor to the character of Anthony Blanche, urges that
Waugh’s characters “should be allowed to stand on their own feet…for every novelist worth his salt
Acton offers no source for his assertion, although he had been a close friend of Waugh since their Oxford days and may have been told directly.

A few years ago, the novel was adapted for the stage by playwright Bryony Lavery for a production that opened in April 2016 in the then newly-restored Theatre Royal in York. In a BBC Radio 4 interview for its theatrical news programme Front Row, the presenter Samira Ahmed asked Lavery whether the use of Castle Howard as the setting for Brideshead in the TV and film productions had come to make it accepted locally in York as the intended setting of the story. She answered:

Everybody in the world thinks Castle Howard is Brideshead because of both the film and TV series. The book is actually based somewhere in Worcestershire called Madresfield which is much nearer to the description in the book of where Brideshead is. But when I first started talking about the publicity [for the York production] I said are we going to use Madresfield and they said, ‘No, no—everybody thinks Brideshead is Castle Howard and that’s what people have in their minds.’ So, we simply encourage them to join their imagination to our imagination and build a sort of ‘air stately home.’

A recent book of collected articles about stately homes appearing in novels also misattributes the source of Brideshead Castle:

When an excerpt from the book appeared before publication in the November 1944 edition of Town & Country magazine, [Waugh] approved it being headed by an illustration by Constantin Alajalov which showed Captain Ryder standing in front of the ancient seat of the Catholic Howard family. In an otherwise accurate article, this unsupported statement contains several errors. The Town & Country publication was an abbreviated serial, not an excerpt; the Howard family at Castle draws from personal experience. Once we start looking for models, they crop up by the dozen; it becomes a parlor game” (Idem). It would seem that the same precept should be applied to places as well as people.


Howard were Protestant, not Catholic; and neither the serial version nor the illustration had been viewed or approved by Waugh prior to publication in T & C.⁶

A nearly contemporary book of essays on the same subject by Phyllis Richardson also includes Waugh’s novel in its discussion. That book spends most of its time examining the influence on Waugh of the Lygon family and their estate at Madresfield Court. It concedes however, that aside from the chapel there is little of Madresfield Court in the

…Baroque elements [of Brideshead Castle] that seduce Charles [Ryder’s] aesthetic sensibilities. Much of the description was probably inspired by Castle Howard (where the 1981 television adaptation was filmed), a favorite [sic] building of Waugh’s.⁷

There is also a photo of Castle Howard that is captioned: “The baroque extravagance of Castle Howard, near York, informed much of the architectural detail of Waugh’s Brideshead.”⁸

No support is cited for Waugh’s “favoritism” or how the details “informed” Waugh’s text, although it is mentioned that certain structural elements of Brideshead Castle (the “grey and gold,” “the dome and columns”) “recall Vanbrugh’s vast master work” (Idem, 316). As noted below, Waugh did admire John Vanbrugh and his work in general but did not single out Castle Howard as his favorite example.

Finally, in a recent article in the Sunday Telegraph (22 December 2019), the wife (Victoria Barnsley) of the current owner of Castle Howard is quoted as attributing that house as Waugh’s source for Brideshead Castle. The story, by Eleanor Doughty, entitled “Was Castle

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⁶ See below for a reproduction and discussion of the illustration. See also “Brideshead Serialized: 75th Anniversary of Publication in Town & Country Magazine,” by Jeffrey Manley, in Evelyn Waugh Studies, No. 50.2, Autumn 2019, regarding how the serialized T&C version came to be published without Waugh’s approval.


⁸ Idem, 314.
Howar the inspiration for Evelyn Waugh’s *Brideshead*?” addresses the issue of Waugh’s intentions. Doughty summarizes this discussion:

[...] The television series has given the impression that Castle Howard was the inspiration for the novel’s Brideshead, a subject that [Mrs. Barnsley] and I, Waugh fans, debate. ‘Maybe I’m biased,’ she says with a laugh, but ‘Brideshead is Castle Howard! It’s baroque, it has a dome and a fountain.’ Waugh describes the Brideshead fountain as ‘frightful…all rocks and sort of carved animals…such as one might expect to find in a piazza in southern Italy;’ the fictional pile is where Waugh’s protagonist, Charles Ryder, has his ‘conversion to the baroque.’

Still, no one is quite sure. There is only one record of Waugh visiting the house, as he recorded in his diary on Feb 4 1937, it was a ‘pleasant unrestful Holy Week, visiting Castle Howard and entertaining dumb little boys and monks’ [at nearby Ampleforth]. ‘We are convinced he did know the house,’ says [Mrs. Barnsley]. ‘I can’t see otherwise where the dome, the fountain and the baroque came from.’

Given this volume of scholarly and popular opinion urging the influence of Castle Howard on Waugh’s descriptions of Brideshead Castle, it is worth taking a closer look at what Waugh in fact wrote. In the novel itself, Waugh builds a picture of Brideshead over several pages scattered throughout the book. The house is described as “baroque” by Charles Ryder (73, 255). It is said by Sebastian to have been built in the time of Inigo Jones, and Charles then seems to assume (71-72) Inigo Jones designed the house, although perhaps not the dome (“It looks later”). Several features of the house are mentioned repeatedly: the dome, the columns and colonnades, the prominent fountain and the terraced lakes. Beyond the fountain and lakes, there are a temple and obelisk (33). It is called a “castle” because the original house on the estate was indeed a castle that was torn down and the materials used to construct the newer house (71).

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10 Unless otherwise noted, page references to the novel are from the first edition (London: Book Society/Chapman & Hall, 1945).
Finally, it has a chapel built into the house as a wedding present from Lord Marchmain to his wife, Teresa. This is described by Sebastian as in the style of “art nouveau” (35) and is deemed by Charles to be rather dated when asked his opinion by Bridey (82-83). The house is set in a valley and approached by a long road, appearing from the distance at a turning.

Many of these features can arguably be attributed to Castle Howard, but it would hardly be unique in their possession. The house was built starting in 1699, after the time of Inigo Jones (1572-1653), and was in fact designed by John Vanbrugh (1664-1726). There had been an earlier castle (Henderskelfe) on the site but that had been rebuilt in 1683 only to burn down in 1693, and Castle Howard was built to replace it. The most obvious and noticeable exterior feature of Castle Howard is its baroque style and dome. Indeed, Waugh makes rather a meal of the dome, situating Nanny Hawkins’ room within it. He alters it somewhat in later editions to describe the dome as “false, designed to be seen from below like the cupolas of Chambord. Its drum was merely an additional story full of segmental rooms.” The ceilings in Nanny Hawkins’ room are changed from “tricky” to “coffered.” These edits would seem intended to accommodate Nanny Hawkins’ room as being situated within the dome. Such a structural formulation is inapplicable to the dome at Castle Howard. The drum, or lantern as it is called at Castle Howard, below the cupola itself, is empty except for windows to light the space below.

Moreover, there are no prominent colonnades. The only exterior colonnade at Castle Howard is in one corner of the north façade’s central courtyard. It is not one of the first things one notices about the building. The fountain at Castle Howard is large and prominently situated opposite the south façade above the lakes, as in the book, but as noted below, is not the sort

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12 This alteration in the text may have been added by Waugh when a friend or reader suggested that the siting of Nanny Hawkins’ room within the dome in the original text was architecturally suggestive of a “false dome” rather than a dome such as that constructed at Castle Howard. Waugh was known to make post-publication changes in texts from such motivations in other books. In his book Castle Howard and Brideshead: Fact Fiction and In-Between, Christopher Ridgway, Curator of Castle Howard, confirms that the dome at Castle Howard “bears no resemblance to those at Chambord” to which Waugh’s revised text refers (York: Castle Howard Estate, 2011. 13).
Waugh had imagined. There is also a temple on the Castle Howard grounds. This is another design by Vanbrugh but more Palladian in style: The Temple of the Four Winds. There is, in addition, an obelisk, according to Pevsner: “100 feet and commemorating the building of the house and making of the plantations”. But more prominent than the obelisk at Castle Howard is a pyramid, something not mentioned by Waugh. So, Castle Howard’s outward appearance is quite similar to Waugh’s description of Brideshead, but not exactly a ringer.

The real problem for Castle Howard’s case comes with the chapel. This is similar to that in the book in that it was built within the house, rather than as a separate structure, and at a later period. The décor of the Castle Howard chapel, however, is “High Victorian,” according to Nikolaus Pevsner, not art nouveau, as claimed by Sebastian. There are windows and wall paintings by Burne-Jones of Pre-Raphaelite design but with classical surrounds to fit in with the “giant Corinthian columns.” And like that at Brideshead Castle in the novel, the chapel at Madresfield was also constructed as a wedding present (but from wife to husband). Indeed, Waugh’s description of the chapel is obviously Madresfield, not Castle Howard:

Angels in printed cotton frocks, rambler-roses, flower-spangled meadows, frisking lambs, texts in Celtic script, saints in armour, covered the walls in an intricate pattern of clear bright colours. There was a triptych of pale oak, carved so as to give it the peculiar property of seeming to have been moulded in plasticine. The sanctuary lamp and all the metal furniture were made of bronze, hand-beaten to the patina of pock-marked skin; the altar steps had a carpet of grass-green, strewn with white and gold daisies. (35-36)

The Madresfield chapel was an arts and crafts design, but less Victorian and more Renaissance revival in style. This is especially true of the frescoes that brighten and colour the walls at Madresfield, making it altogether more cheerful and “modern” than the much darker chapel at Castle Howard. These Madresfield frescoes also portray members of the Lygon family, with

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14 Pevsner, 114.

children added as they were born. The frescoes may not qualify as full-on “art nouveau” but are closer to it in style than is the case of the darkly Victorian Castle Howard chapel. Indeed, the chapel at Castle Howard was so prominently Victorian that it had to be redecorated to some extent when the scenes were filmed for the 1981 TV production to assure authenticity.\(^{16}\)

Christopher Ridgway, in his *Castle Howard and Brideshead*, points out that the Castle Howard chapel passes more convincingly for a fictional place of [Roman] Catholic worship than Madresfield…. Many visitors to Castle Howard today assume that the family is [Roman] Catholic, often because they associate this degree of rich decoration with the Church of Rome rather than the Church of England.\(^{17}\)

But this somewhat misses the point that, when Waugh wrote about the chapel, he chose to describe not the typically over-decorated, heavily Italianate design associated with Roman Catholic structures built in England after the Reformation, but a less jarring and more tasteful example that had been decorated according to Anglican upper-class tastes.

Oddly, Waugh himself provided quite a different blueprint for the Chapel to be built by MGM if it were to produce a film version of *Brideshead Revisited*:

The Chapel in the book is a new one, and Lord Marchmain is represented as a recent and half-hearted convert to Catholicism. For the purposes of the film the Chapel should be old and part of the original castle on the site of which the baroque palace has been built. The Flytes should be represented as one of the English noble families which retained their religion throughout the Reformation period. *The Chapel should therefore be small and medieval and should contain the Flyte tombs which in the novel are described as standing in the parish church* [emphasis added].\(^{18}\)

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\(^{17}\) Ridgway, 42.

\(^{18}\) The memorandum (c.18 February 1947) is reproduced in Robert Murray Davis, *Mischief in the Sun* (Troy, NY: Whitston, 1999), 40; an excerpted version is reprinted in *The Guardian* (Giles Foden, “Waugh
Waugh was here in effect rewriting his own book for the purposes of a screenplay, something he was usually trying to prevent the filmmakers from doing. The MGM memo had no impact on the producers of the later TV and film versions, perhaps because it was not available to them. It is relevant for our purposes in demonstrating that Waugh had no intention that either the Castle Howard or Madresfield chapels be used as models for a film version.

Waugh’s memo may also be relevant for what it does not say. If Waugh had thought a particular country house (be it Castle Howard or some other) would be the ideal model for Brideshead Castle as he had intended it, this memo would have been a good place to mention it. While Hollywood studios in the 1940s were not as keen to film on location as they later became, they could have used his “model” in creating their settings on sound stages if they had had photos or drawings of a real-world model that Waugh had in mind. Indeed, Waugh had asked in the memo to be supplied with the studio’s drawings of its setting for the chapel and could have equally well done so for the exterior.

The fountain also presents a bit of a problem. In the novel it was brought over from Italy piece by piece and reassembled at Brideshead. It is therefore Italian, rather than Italianate or Victorian. Waugh described it in the MGM memo, as he conceived it was to be in a film version, as a “combination of the three famous works of Bernini at Rome…the Trevi and Piazza Navona fountains and the elephant bearing the obelisk in the Piazza Minerva”. The so-called Atlas Fountain at Castle Howard was constructed in the mid-19th century and first assembled in

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Versus Hollywood,” 21 May 2004). The material quoted in this excerpt is not relevant to Waugh’s proposed models for the fountain. See below.

Waugh may have overlooked an important factor in changing Lord Marchmain from a convert to a recusant. As has been noted elsewhere, a recusant family could hardly have afforded in the 17-18th century to pull down a Medieval castle and build in its place a country seat as grand as the “baroque pile” described by Waugh. See, e.g., Michael Barber, Brief Lives: Evelyn Waugh (London: Hesperus P, 2013), 81.

This description comes from the memo described in footnote 17, supra. It is also consistent with Christopher Sykes’s recollection (supra) that Waugh had told him the fountain was like that in the Piazza Navona.
London where it had been part of the Great Exhibition of 1851 in Hyde Park, London. It was afterwards moved by train, piece-by-piece, from London to Yorkshire, where it was reassembled at Castle Howard. It is large and prominent but lacks the charm of an Italian baroque reconstruction such as that described in the novel or Waugh’s MGM memo. Again, as with the Castle Howard chapel, it is more Victorian than baroque.

The fictional Brideshead fountain as conceived by Waugh may have had more in common with those at nearby Renishaw Hall. The Renishaw fountains were, indeed, moved from Italy by Sir George Sitwell, along with some statuary, and reassembled in Derbyshire before WWI.21 While they may not resemble the much grander and more famous Bernini pieces Waugh conceived as the models for the film version of the fountain at Brideshead, they at least have the same back story, which may have inspired Waugh’s description of the source of the fountain in the novel.22

The geographic location of Brideshead Castle is also a problem. In the novel, it is a few hours west of Oxford. We know from the novel that its location was in the county of Wiltshire because that appears on the stationery that Sebastian uses to write to Charles (65). Charles and Sebastian were able to drive there and back from Oxford in one day with ample time for a visit. Castle Howard is in the North Riding of Yorkshire, probably about the same distance from York as Brideshead was from Oxford. In this case again, Brideshead seems more like Madresfield than Castle Howard.

Another factor needs to be taken into account. As noted previously, Waugh took care in writing the novel not to create too many allusions to Madresfield as he wished to give himself deniability with respect to the identification of the Flytes and the Lygons, with whom he


22 Duncan McLaren made one of his Waugh-themed visits to Renishaw and has written about it on his website in a section entitled “Renishaw Revealed” (<www.evelynwaugh.uk.org >, viewed 20 January 2016). McLaren describes similarities between Renishaw’s terraced gardens and its fountains, including two transported from Italy, and the descriptions of those at Brideshead Castle in the novel.
remained friends; at least with Mary and Dorothy. He explained to Dorothy shortly before the book was published that

It’s all about a family whose father lives abroad, as it might be Boom [Lord Beauchamp] -- but it’s not Boom -- and a younger son: people will say he’s like Hughie, but you’ll see he’s not really Hughie — and there’s a house as it might be Mad, but it isn’t really Mad.23

He succeeded, as she explained, because the Roman Catholic element was so overpowering that there seemed no connection with her Protestant family, and the matrimonial problems of the Flytes were so unlike those of her parents. She also considered the physical description of Brideshead Castle and concluded:

There is no resemblance between the landscape and architecture of Brideshead-- set in a stone-wall country -- and Madresfield, except for one detail — the art-nouveau decoration of the chapel. Madresfield is a moated house of red brick, of mainly Victorian architecture superimposed on an earlier base, while Brideshead is an epitome in stone of the Palladian style he loved so much.24

This was all written after Waugh’s death, but the fact that he remained a friend of the two sisters after publication of Brideshead suggests that he succeeded in sufficiently distinguishing Brideshead and the Flytes from Madresfield and the Lygons.

In 1944-45, when Brideshead was written, Waugh had had little personal association with Castle Howard or the family who lived there. As noted previously, he recorded a visit there in 1937 in his diaries, but this visit seems to have been made as a tourist, rather than as an invited guest, as had been the case at Madresfield or Renishaw. During the third week in March (Holy...

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24 Idem, 54.
Week that year) he was staying at nearby Ampleforth Abbey, the location of one of the three leading Roman Catholic public schools. That sounds more like a day trip than an invitation.

Christopher Ridgway writes that Waugh made this visit by car but offers no support for that assertion. Ampleforth, between Scarborough and York, is about 12 miles from Castle Howard and probably had no public transport to Castle Howard itself. Ridgway’s assumption may, therefore, be a sound one, except for the fact that Waugh was not a licensed driver and doesn’t mention any companion who might have performed that role. He may simply have borrowed a car from someone at Ampleforth because, although unlicensed, he knew how to drive (at least, up to a point).

There seems to be no record of Waugh’s having signed the guest book at Castle Howard before writing Brideshead Revisited (at least, Ridgway’s book, which was published by Castle Howard Estate Ltd., doesn’t mention a guest book signature). The Yorkshire Post reported that “Waugh never actually stayed at Castle Howard but used to visit family in the area. Simon Howard recalls: ‘My father never met him but at some stage he came over to look at the house.’”Waugh would, thus, be personally familiar with the outward appearance of Castle Howard but would lack the intimate knowledge he would have had of Madresfield and Renishaw where he had visited several times as an invited guest.

Another possible allusion by Waugh to Castle Howard has been suggested to me by David Bittner, a Waugh enthusiast with a particular interest in Brideshead Revisited, both novel and film. This is Waugh’s use of Vanbrugh as the name of one of the upper-class families who

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26 Ridgway. 6, 13, 16.

27 “Howard’s Way Again for Brideshead,” Yorkshire Post, 12 June 2007 (web, viewed 28 October 2015). The family visited in the area may refer to that of Christopher Sykes at Sledmere or the Sitwells at Renishaw near Sheffield.
fail to appear at Julia’s wedding ceremony (176). John Vanbrugh is well known as the architect of Castle Howard (as well as Blenheim Palace), and Waugh had also used that family name for a character with an architectural connection in Decline and Fall, his first novel, where Lady Vanbrugh expresses her coolness toward Otto Silenus’s modernized version of the Tudor house, Kings Thursday. Sir John Vanbrugh himself is mentioned in A Handful of Dust as the architect of the fictional Brakeleigh, Brenda Last’s family seat, which was sold by her brother Reggie. Given the relatively large number of Waugh’s references to Vanbrughs, what can safely be inferred is that Waugh had more than a casual interest in John Vanbrugh and his works, of which Castle Howard was one of the most prominent.

In fact, John Vanbrugh’s undertaking of the design and construction of Castle Howard was an extraordinary event, as Waugh himself recognized in a 1954 essay:

He was the inspired amateur—soldier, prisoner in the Bastille, playwright, herald and, until late in life, convivial bachelor. Many must feel that they could build better than the

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28 After the original version of this essay was written, Bittner submitted an article on this point to Evelyn Waugh Studies and it was published as “The ‘Vanbrugh Brouhaha’ in Evelyn Waugh’s Brideshead Revisited.” Evelyn Waugh Studies, No. 47.2 (Autumn 2016).

29 Evelyn Waugh, Decline and Fall (London: Chapman & Hall, 1928), 164.

30 Evelyn Waugh, A Handful of Dust (London: Chapman & Hall, 1934), 60. The Duke of Vanburgh (sic) appears in Waugh’s early story “A House of Gentlefolks” (Complete Short Stories, London: Everyman’s Library, 1998, 39-49). Another character named Vanburgh is a gossip columnist in Vile Bodies (London: Chapman & Hall, 1930, 101-02). But neither of these earlier Vanburghs seems to have any particular architectural connection or any relevance to Castle Howard, nor is their name spelled the same as the architect. Whether this different spelling of this name by Waugh was intentional, however, should not be casually assumed. Spelling was never his strong point and both names are apparently pronounced the same in England (“van breh” like Edinburgh), and Vanburgh is an alternative spelling for the architect’s name.
professional architects given the chance. Vanbrugh, through personal charm, got the chance in his first enormous commission from Lord Carlisle.\(^{31}\)

That chance was to design and build Castle Howard. He did enlist Nicholas Hawksmoor, a qualified architect, to provide expert advice and supervision, but Vanbrugh himself provided overall management of the project and is entitled to be credited as Castle Howard’s creator. It is not, therefore, surprising that Waugh, a writer and himself something of a self-trained draughtsman and carpenter, should admire Vanbrugh, a writer who re-invented himself as an architect. However, if Waugh had, in fact, felt himself to have been specifically influenced by Vanbrugh’s design in writing his own vision of Brideshead, this review, written 10 years later, would have presented another excellent opportunity to have said so.

From all this, it is apparent that, as is usually the case when one tries to pin down the source of a character or setting from a novel, the answer is that the writer made it up and may have, in doing so, borrowed from several sources as well as his own imagination. That said, Waugh must have realized that the importance he accorded the baroque style of Brideshead Castle as well as the significant features of its prominent dome and fountain tended to remind one more of Castle Howard than other available real world possibilities. Indeed, I could find no other examples of an English domestic structure that combines these three features. As noted below, James Lees-Milne’s extensive text on English baroque country houses (\textit{infra}) contains no other example of such a combination. Whether Waugh had these features of Castle Howard in

\(^{31}\) Evelyn Waugh, “Age of Unrest” (review of \textit{The Imagination of John Vanbrugh and His Fellow Artists} by Laurence Whistler”), \textit{Observer}, 6 June 1954, reprinted in \textit{Essays, Articles and Reviews}, ed. by Donat Gallagher (London: Methuen, 1983), 459. Waugh also observed in this essay that, at the time it was written, none of Vanbrugh’s works were exactly as he had intended. In the case of Castle Howard, the building was in 1954 “sadly disfigured.” This was a result of fire damage during WWII when it was occupied by a school. The dome was destroyed as well as several rooms. This was not repaired until George Howard returned after the war and undertook the necessary rebuilding. The repairs had been completed (at least on the exterior) by 1966 when Pevsner wrote his description in the \textit{Penguin Guide: Yorkshire} (110). Whether Waugh ever saw the structure after these repairs is not known. The family used the resources of the filming projects to complete interior repairs on some of the fire-damaged rooms, as explained in Christopher Ridgway’s book (48-61).
his mind’s eye when he described the structure in the novel, however, is hard to say, and there seems nothing in Waugh’s writings to determine that he had that or any other particular building in mind (aside from Madresfield Court in the case of the chapel).

On the other hand, when the artist known as Alajalov was tasked with drawing pencil sketch illustrations for each of the four installments of the 1944-45 *Town & Country* magazine serial version of the novel, he was working from a clean slate. 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. At the time Alajalov made his drawings in late 1944, the book existed only in typescript. Aside from Waugh, his agents and the magazine editors, the book had not been read by others at that point. Alajalov was working entirely from Waugh’s written description. The illustration he came up with for the first installment depicts Brideshead Castle in some detail, and it bears an uncanny resemblance to Castle Howard. Indeed, if someone were to ask which English country house Alajalov’s drawing most resembles, Castle Howard would inevitably be at the top of the list.

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32 As noted above, a recent study of country houses in novels assumed erroneously that Waugh had himself approved Alajalov’s illustration and that the artist had based it on Castle Howard. The drawing was, as noted, based solely on Waugh’s written description in the novel and had not been approved or otherwise dictated by Waugh.

33 None of the TV and film producers anywhere suggest that the illustrations in the US serial version confirmed or influenced their selection of Castle Howard as their setting. See below. This is not at all surprising since that serial version was published only in a monthly magazine in the USA and was never widely circulated or discussed in the UK.
No matter what Waugh may have intended when he described Brideshead Castle in the novel, the choice of Castle Howard as the setting in both film versions has left an unshakeable public perception of its identity as the model for the written version as well. The filmmakers’ decisions were not dictated by Waugh’s writings, so it is of some interest to know how they reached them. There is a considerable volume of material available in which such matters are discussed. This includes memoirs as well as audio commentaries on DVD versions and several TV and radio panel programs in which the actors and crew were interviewed.

The two individuals who made the original decision to use Castle Howard as the setting for Brideshead Castle in the TV film were Derek Granger (the producer) and Michael Lindsay-Hogg (the original director). Both describe having set off on an extensive tour of country houses in their search, although Granger explains that he had made a preliminary trip to Castle Howard with art director Peter Phillips because of its proximity to Granada’s Manchester headquarters.
and came away from that visit with a positive attitude toward using it as the setting. Granger also notes that the search with Lindsay-Hogg was limited to country houses in the baroque style.\textsuperscript{34} 

Granger says that he informally consulted James Lees-Milne in connection with this venture. Lees-Milne had written a book entitled \textit{English Country Houses: Baroque 1685-1715} (1970), published as part of a series sponsored by \textit{Country Life} magazine.\textsuperscript{35} If Lees-Milne’s book were used as a source for baroque structures to be visited, a search would probably have included (in addition to Castle Howard) such baroque structures described in it as Blenheim Palace, Chatsworth House, Burghley House, Petworth House, Seaton Delaval and Easton Neston. Granger confirms that Blenheim Palace was on their list (although Lindsay-Hogg was not with him when he stopped there), as well as Dyrham Park, a large baroque country house near Bath. But none of these, nor the other dozens of baroque houses Lees-Milne writes about, combines the characteristics Waugh used to “design” the fictional Brideshead Castle in his imagination. Significantly, none of those illustrated in Lees-Milne’s book, aside from Castle Howard, has a dome on the main house.

In any event, Castle Howard was the last house on their selection tour and when they reached it, both Lindsay-Hogg and Granger agreed that it would best suit their needs. As Lindsay-Hogg writes in his autobiography:

\begin{quote}
\ldots once we saw Castle Howard in Yorkshire we knew we had it—a place of scale with its fine proportionate exterior; something imposing but also with a sense in the interior of good times mingling with private tribulation and heartbreak.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{34} Granger explains that by the time he and Lindsay-Hogg finished their tour of other houses, he had virtually made up his own mind before returning to Castle Howard. He was gratified when he found that Lindsay-Hogg, who as director would have final say, agreed with him after seeing Castle Howard himself. E-Mail of Derek Granger, 29 January 2016.


According to Granger, Lees-Milne confirmed to him, when told of their choice of Castle Howard, that they couldn’t do better than that. In his diaries, Lees-Milne may inflate his role somewhat when he recalls, in describing his visit to a reception sponsored by Granada TV in connection with the broadcast, “I was asked because I had suggested Castle Howard to them.”

Granger says that they were also impressed by the eagerness of the owner, George Howard, to cooperate with the production. Although he was at the time a Governor of the rival BBC network, Howard nevertheless fully supported their efforts. Granger says this discovery was their “first great piece of luck.” He describes Howard as “a fanatical film buff, theatre buff, a man who was absolutely soaked with the theatre and film…. He loved the idea, he was an enthusiast from the very beginning. He gave us the most amazing scope.” At one point Howard even allowed the crew to use his own bedroom to shoot a scene.

Howard also knew several of the actors. In their TV interviews, the cast members are unanimous in their praise of the Howard family for cooperating and making them comfortable. One of the actors, Jeremy Irons, remembers George Howard, before the cast had been selected, taking him aside at an unrelated London performance in which Irons was appearing and urging him to apply for a part. Luckily, Irons took up his suggestion. Irons also recalls once having

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38 Commentary of Derek Granger, Brideshead Revisited: 30th Anniversary DVD, Disc 1 (Silver Spring, MD: Acorn Media, 2011).

39 According to Derek Granger, “The play … in which George Howard would have seen the young Jeremy Irons was Wild Oats, a nineteenth-century Irish comedy by John O’Keeffe. It was done by the RSC of which Jeremy was an actor member. The true version of how Irons got the part is that I, too, had seen him in Wild Oats and immediately told our casting director, Doreen Jones, that Irons should be short-listed for either the role of Charles Ryder or Sebastian Flyte. But by the time I made my own recommendation Irons was already high on Doreen’s list too.” E-mail, dated 27 January 2016.
set off the Castle Howard burglar alarm accidentally when returning late from an outing to a nearby pub. This brought down what looked like the entire Scarborough police force as well as the other residents. But there were no ill feelings evident from the misadventure. Irons also explained that it was understood by the cast and crew that the selection of Castle Howard was not dictated by anything Waugh had written, although the existence of the interior chapel may have helped tip the balance in Castle Howard’s favor.\textsuperscript{40}

It seems as if this cooperative owner may have been more of a bonus in the selection process, however. It was primarily the style, size and situation of the house (i.e., its “filmability”) from the filmmakers’ own perspectives that influenced their selection. About 40 percent of the production was filmed at Castle Howard. Most of the remainder was filmed at other locations, with scarcely any studio shooting. Although not stated, Castle Howard’s remote location from London did not count against it, since Granada’s own studios, film labs and editing facilities were in nearby Manchester.

Another crewmember, Production Manager Craig McNeil, remembers matters differently:

We did a lot of research that indicated that Castle Howard was Waugh’s model for Brideshead. The fountain, in particular, which is described in detail in the book, is surely modeled on the distinctive Castle Howard fountain. And that’s why we went there. Of course they were extremely pleased to have us.\textsuperscript{41}

This is, however, clearly a minority view. McNeil may have indeed done such research and come to this conclusion, but his view seems not to have been relied upon by the two crewmembers who actually made the decision. Moreover, there are independent sources, noted above,


\textsuperscript{41} Notes from interview with Craig McNeil, Production Manager, \textit{Brideshead Revisited: 30th Anniversary DVD}, “The Long Road to Brideshead,” Disc 4 (Silver Spring, MD: Acorn Media, 2011).
indicating that Waugh’s own conception of the fountain was quite unlike the one at Castle Howard. Its location and prominence were perhaps in its favor, but it was not the sort of structure Waugh had in mind, and he was prepared to ask the MGM executives to construct something more like his Bernini vision than the fountain that was ultimately filmed at Castle Howard.

Since Castle Howard outwardly conforms so closely to the contours of Waugh’s conception, whether by his own intention or not, it was not necessary for the filmmakers to make any major changes in the story to accommodate their selection. There were a few minor changes to eliminate what might have been awkward passages as applied to Castle Howard. For example, a reference to the architect is changed from Inigo Jones to Vanbrugh. As noted earlier, Inigo Jones may have been, in any event, an anachronism on Waugh’s part; Jones designed structures in the Palladian/Classical style, not the baroque. Sebastian’s description of the chapel as “a monument of art nouveau” is deleted, and Charles’ equivocal opinion of the artistic quality of the chapel (“…remarkable example of its period. Probably in eighty years it will be greatly admired.”) is excluded from his answer to Bridey’s question whether it is “Good Art.” Nor is there any voiceover containing Charles’ elegiac description of the “arts and crafts” style of the chapel, which Waugh had based on the one at Madresfield. And Charles’ description of the dome as containing rooms such as that of Nanny Hawkins, of her room’s being “oddly shaped to conform with the shape of the dome” and of the dome itself being a “false dome” have also been dropped. However, in the scene where Julia and Charles return to the fountain after her earlier meltdown, Charles describes it, as written by Waugh, when he begins his ironic set piece as “Scene: a baroque fountain in a nobleman’s grounds” (255; emphasis added). Perhaps the filmmakers felt that in the dark no one would notice the discrepancies, and the tritons surrounding the pool could be considered “faux baroque” even if the metallic statue of Atlas and the globe which form the centerpiece are aggressively Victorian.

The makers of the 2008 Ecosse/Miramax film went through a similar process in selecting a setting. The director, Julian Jarrold, says that he started out being adamantly opposed to filming at Castle Howard, preferring to forge a new identity for their own production at another site. Press reports indicate that they considered other alternatives, including Chatsworth House, Burghley House and unidentified Scottish castles. Jarrold says that after looking at other houses,
however, they concluded that there were many correct things about Castle Howard, both practically for filmmaking as well as from the point of view of the architecture, the dome and the description in the book and, although Brideshead is not as big as Castle Howard, it is very similar.\textsuperscript{42}

According to press reports, Screen Yorkshire, a regional film development agency, as well as the owners of Castle Howard themselves, lobbied for its selection, and ultimately the Ecosse production team had to agree that it worked best for them for reasons similar to those that had guided the Granada team 25 years earlier.\textsuperscript{43} Among the features mentioned are Castle Howard’s baroque style, the chapel, and the fountain (both its size and location), as well as the Great Hall and Temple of the Four Winds that were deemed ideal for filming. The cooperation and receptivity of Simon Howard (George Howard’s son) and his family are also mentioned as factors favoring Castle Howard’s selection.\textsuperscript{44}

No claim seems to have been made by the Ecosse crew that Waugh’s descriptions of Brideshead dictated their selection. Simon Howard is quoted in the press on this point: “Castle Howard undoubtedly provided some inspiration for Evelyn Waugh’s Brideshead with its dome and fountain.”\textsuperscript{45} Jarrold mentions that the Ecosse crew were at pains to avoid any appearance of copying the TV film when filming the exteriors at Castle Howard. For example, in the scene where Charles and Sebastian arrive at Brideshead on their first visit, Jarrold kept the camera moving whenever the building was in view rather than stopping to admire it as in the Granada

\textsuperscript{42} Interview of Julian Jarrold, \textit{Brideshead Revisited: DVD}, Audio Commentary (Burbank, CA: Buena Vista Home Entertainment, 2009).


\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Brideshead Revisited: Ecosse Films, et al., Production Notes}, Final Draft, 4 April 2008, 10 (web, viewed 28 October 2015).

In addition, Jarrold arranged that they arrive in a different direction from that in the TV film. Thus, neither film crew felt that Waugh’s descriptions of Brideshead dictated their choice of Castle Howard, nor that he specifically “intended” that particular house as his own choice as a model. Rather Waugh’s descriptions in the novel were one among several selection criteria considered. Nor did the makers of the later film feel constrained by the choice made by the earlier crew. They made their choice independently (indeed, in spite) of the earlier decision.

**Other Models for Brideshead Castle**

There have been other contenders for houses that may have contributed to Waugh’s description and concept of Brideshead Castle. Duncan McLaren, for example, has made a case on his website that Barford House, in Warwickshire north of Oxford, may have been one of them. Barford is where Waugh’s friend Alastair Graham and his family lived. Waugh visited with him several times and continued to visit even when Alastair left Oxford and went overseas for travel and employment. McLaren does not claim that Barford House was a “model” for Brideshead but that it was in Waugh’s mind as the roots or forerunner for that grander structure. Barford House is described in the *Shell Guide* as a Regency structure “behind a wall…with giant Ionic pilasters, a garlanded urn and a central dome.” In Pevsner’s *Warwickshire*, this description appears:

> Quite an impressive Regency house, white, of nine bays, with, in the center, four attached nonfluted Ionic columns, then giant angle pilasters and, then end bays, slightly lower and slightly more decorated.

McLaren describes it as a

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splendid house, faced in white stucco, with its pilasters on either side of the front door and the glass cupola on the roof. The house also featured stables, a fish-pond, box hedges and a stone gazebo: … a big step up from the suburban setting and style of Underhill, the London house Waugh was raised in.\textsuperscript{49}

Philip Eade also sees similarities between Barford and Brideshead in his recent biography of Waugh:

Barford is nothing like the size of Brideshead or its television alter ego, Castle Howard, yet beneath its handsome, peeling, white-stucco facade can be glimpsed the same gold-coloured stone that Charles Ryder sees on his first visit to Brideshead.... Its front is embellished with a similar, albeit far less grand, row of Ionic half-columns; and there is even a dome and lantern on the roof, though again on a considerably more modest scale than in the book.\textsuperscript{50}

Unlike Brideshead Castle, however, Barford lacks extensive surrounding landscaped grounds, a chapel and a prominent fountain and obelisk. It sits very near the road, has a small formal garden at the rear, and the glass dome is not prominently noticeable from the road, intended more perhaps as allowing light into the house’s interior than to decorate its exterior. On the other hand, Barford may well be the first country house that Waugh visited on any regular basis, or at least the first where he was welcome by the family occupying it to come and go pretty much as he pleased. It was also a house where he enjoyed his visits.

Another candidate proposed by some recent correspondence in The Times is New Wardour Castle, in Wiltshire. Its main claim to have impressed Waugh is its Roman Catholic chapel (said to be the “gem” of the house and the most beautiful Roman Catholic church building in England).\textsuperscript{51} Waugh is also said to have worshipped in this chapel. Moreover, Wardour was


\textsuperscript{51} Letter of Nigel Thomas, \textit{The Times}, 6 June 2014.
owned by a family of recusants who would allegedly have been known to Waugh through Cecil Beaton and the Herbert family at Wilton House, who both lived nearby. The recusant family at Wardour Castle are named Howard and, ironically, are distantly related to the Protestant Howards who live at Castle Howard. But New Wardour Castle is Palladian/Classical in style and lacks a prominent dome and fountain. It is described in the *Shell Guide* as

… a Georgian mansion … the largest 18th century house in Wiltshire. The huge central block has a central staircase nearly 50 feet in diameter. In one of its flanking pavilions is a Roman Catholic chapel enlarged and decorated by Sir John Soane in 1785.\(^52\)

If Waugh was a frequent worshipper, guest or visitor there, he is remarkably quiet about it. But the existence of the 18th century Roman Catholic chapel in a recusant house might, if known to him, have given him comfort in situating one at his fictional Brideshead Castle.

Finally, there are the claims made for Madresfield Court (see footnote 1). While the Lygon family who lived there and the chapel there that is described in the novel certainly contributed to the chapel and the Flyte family at Waugh’s Brideshead Castle, the building itself does not. It is a moated Medieval and neo-gothic structure with brickwork predominant in its exterior, no dome, no fountain, no columns and located relatively close to the main road. Moreover, Waugh himself, as previously noted, consciously sought to minimize connections between the Flytes and the Lygons to avoid hard feelings on the part of his friends Mary and Dorothy Lygon. Madresfield may, in fact, have contributed more architecturally to the English “Gothick” Hetton Hall, the building Waugh invented for *A Handful of Dust*, than it did to Brideshead Castle.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, one cannot say, without more, that Waugh used Castle Howard as the model (or even “a model”) for Brideshead Castle in his novel. He constructed his house in the novel in his own imagination using various elements real or imagined, just as he frequently constructed his characters from various people he knew. Both film crews compared his

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description to available houses and concluded Castle Howard was the best choice for a setting. They also considered practical matters such as the fact that the owners of Castle Howard were supportive of the filming projects, rather than reluctant, house-proud occupants likely to obstruct the filming crews. Moreover, its remote situation made location filming easier since there was no interfering traffic noise and pedestrian access could be controlled by the owners. Any reasonable, unbiased person comparing Castle Howard to other available baroque residences in England would likely agree that it comes closest to the description in the novel. It would be a mistake, however, to refer to it as the model Waugh “intended” to follow in writing his description.
Acknowledgements


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REVIEWS

“The Ghosts of Romance”


Reviewed by Jeffrey Manley

In a new book, D. J. Taylor examines in more detail a subject he touched on in his 2013 novel The Windsor Faction. There he discussed a London fictional literary magazine during WWII. This was called Duration and was edited by a magnetic personality with an Irish name and financed by a margarine millionaire.1 It was effectively managed by three young women named Anthea, Cynthia and Lucy who were referred to in one chapter as “The Lost Girls.”

In what may be a subtle but unstated link to the earlier novel, the new book takes that phrase as its title and begins with an Introduction that is a fictional description of a 1942 party at the Horizon offices. This sounds quite like those at the Duration premises in Taylor’s novel. The new book quickly morphs into a historical narrative, however, and is populated with the actual personages involved in the real magazine called Horizon, edited by Cyril Connolly, financed by Peter Watson and largely managed by young women. One of the guests at the party is “a fat man in a bowler hat, who is called Evelyn Waugh and is apparently ‘terribly famous,’” according to the Introduction’s narrator, a potential lost girl who has been invited to the party (6). Other guests include George Orwell and Peter Quennell.

The “Lost Girls” of the title were so named by Quennell, referring to the “glamorous young women who flitted around London, alighting briefly here and there, and making the best

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1 D. J. Taylor, The Windsor Faction (London: Chatto & Windus, 2013). The title was actually suggested in November 1939 as a wartime magazine to be edited by Waugh and several of his friends including David Cecil and Osbert Sitwell. This project was quickly dropped when Waugh learned from Patrick Balfour that Cyril Connolly was already well along with plans for what became Horizon (Evelyn Waugh, Diaries, ed. By Michael Davie. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976), 450-51.)
of any random perch on which they happened to descend […] What distinguished them -- and used to touch my heart -- was their air of waywardness and loneliness” (17).

Taylor focuses on four principal examples: Janetta Parladé (née Woolley), Lys Lubbock (née Dunlap), Barbara Skelton and Sonia Orwell (née Brownell). On the margins he also includes discussions of Diana Witherby, Angela Culme-Seymour, Joan Rayner (née Eyres-Monsell and later Leigh Fermor), Anna Kavan (pseud. of Helen Emily Woods), and Glur (aka Joyce Warwick-Evans). This is a fairly ambitious list, but some (e.g., Anna and Glur) receive relatively little attention. Joan and Angela receive a bit more and Diana hovers near the status of the primary foursome. Connolly’s life and those of two of the principal “Lost Girls” (Barbara and Sonia) have been extensively written about in this or other contexts. What Taylor offers is original information about Janetta and, to a lesser extent, Lys, a consideration about how all of them related to Connolly and (in most cases) Horizon, as well as the cultural life of this period.

What most of them share is a fairly loose tie to their upper-middle-class families and a desire to escape (or the family’s desire to expel them) from their homes. For various reasons, they gravitated to London where Cyril and the Horizon circle offered a refuge. What attracted them differed from one to another, but one factor in all cases was Cyril. His attraction is hard to define but even Waugh recognizes it. According to Taylor,

Evelyn Waugh, to take an obvious example of the deeply ambiguous terms on which it was possible to live with Connolly, might have spent twenty years exchanging ambiguous tittle-tattle about him with Nancy Mitford, but no one was more conscious than Waugh of the debt he owed him or the respect with which he should be treated. (9)

For the women, it can’t have been a physical attraction, but Janetta (their last survivor) may have nailed it in an interview with Taylor:

‘Partly because he was awfully good at … describing things […] and I mean his analysis of things was fascinating.’ Then comes the clincher: ‘He wasn’t a bore in any way.’ (328)

Taylor summarizes this attractiveness as Connolly’s “superabundant charm” (33) and goes on to explain that Janetta seemed to share the same assessment of him as that of Waugh. There was
little that would appear to attract Waugh to Connolly (and indeed Waugh seemed to be jealous of his literary and social success), but he was not boring.

Waugh contributed to *Horizon* throughout its existence beginning in 1941. Taylor records that even in 1961 Waugh was prepared to refer to *Horizon* as the “outstanding publication of its decade” (65). There were a total of eight pieces by Waugh in the magazine, including letters. The most notable was the full text of *The Loved One* that took up the entire February 1948 issue. Waugh offered this at the cost of his annual subscription, recognizing that the magazine was struggling. Even so, Connolly had to overcome strenuous objections from the owner Peter Watson who opposed publishing the book in *Horizon* because of what he saw as its “lack of all human feeling.”

Waugh knew several of the “Lost Girls” personally and commented on them in his diaries and letters to Nancy Mitford. The two of them used a private code in these discussions usually referring, e.g., to Connolly as “Smarty Boots” or some variation and to Janetta as something like “Bluefeet,” “Barefeet,” etc. Waugh took a particular dislike to Janetta, objecting to her left-wing political views and associates and her Bohemian appearance, especially her habit of going barefoot. Waugh also frequently mentions Lys and seems to have taken rather a shine to her, as did Nancy who sided with her against Connolly when they split up.

It is these two that Taylor makes a particular effort to describe because they were relatively neglected by Connolly’s earlier biographers. In Janetta’s case this may have been due in part to the fact that she was still living. She died in 2018 at the age of 96. Taylor interviewed her and her daughter Nicky Loutit to whose father Janetta was not married. She did, however, acquire his name by deed poll. Taylor has also had access to Janetta’s diaries and letters as well to the memoirs of Nicky Loutit and her father Kenneth Sinclair-Loutit. With all that material he is able to offer a fairly robust picture of Janetta’s life.

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2 Taylor’s source-referencing format may have let him down a bit here. Watson’s reasons for opposing *The Loved One* are set forth in detail in one of Taylor’s main sources, Michael Shelden’s *Friends of Promise* (1989). That book is cited several times in the notes for this chapter, but more relating to Watson is overlooked.
She was not a major participant in _Horizon_ but provided an interesting link between Connolly and his circle on the one hand and the fading world of Bloomsbury on the other. This came from the role played by Frances and Ralph Partridge in raising Janetta; they were, in effect, her default parents. And Frances left behind detailed diaries, most of which have been published and which describe Janetta’s life with them since she arrived in their care as a teenager. They saw her through marriages, divorces and affairs with, _inter alia_, Humphrey (sometimes “Hugh”) Slater, Kenneth Sinclair-Loutit, Robert Kee, and Derek Jackson before reaching some degree of maturity and settling down with Jaime Parladé, an aristocratic and successful Spanish decorator.

Lys Lubbock, on the other hand, Waugh seems to have found both physically and personally attractive. According to Taylor, Waugh was impressed by Lys’s “ability to overcome the sumptuary privations of the war.” He described her to his wife as Connolly’s “delightful mistress” (73) and said that he always enjoyed her dinner parties. He admired both her cooking and her appearance (“beautifully neat” [195]) and in the late stages of Connolly’s relationship with her, Waugh wished he could “get Lys as a cook” (212).

Lys remains something of an enigma in Taylor’s book. She was Connolly’s live-in girlfriend and took charge of the business affairs of both his household and _Horizon_ for its entire run (except for a period of war work). She did all this as well as keeping house and arranging entertainment in often chaotic circumstances. She was obviously devoted to Connolly and wanted to become his wife, but he dithered and philandered to the point that she began to despair for her future. The closure of _Horizon_ and Connolly’s dalliances with Joan Rayner on a “book research” trip to Bordeaux and Anne Dunne (a new discovery) in London were the final straws. Lys decamped to the London office of _The New Yorker_ and from there to America (which was her birthplace).

She seems to be in a separate category from the others, more serious, more settled and determined. Taylor and previous Connolly biographers, as well as Waugh, stress her good looks (“immensely beautiful,” 59) and her work as a fashion model. In photographs, however, she appears rather plain, at least in comparison to the other “Lost Girls.” She had a brief previous marriage to an actor/schoolteacher and doesn’t seem to have been unfaithful to Connolly (or at least not much) during their relationship. Were it not for Waugh’s evident attraction to her, one
might almost suspect her of being at least a wee bit boring, and Connolly himself concedes that others may have perceived her as such.

Aside from her correspondence with Connolly, Taylor doesn’t mention any record of her life. After moving to America, where she initially worked in publishing, she married a professor of psychology. They settled down and disappeared into academic anonymity to the point that earlier biographers assumed she had died, until one of them tracked her down and interviewed her. Taylor explains all this but can offer little that is new about her. He manages to use effectively what information he is able to pull together, giving a more complete picture than in earlier attempts. As summarized by Taylor, Lys was

Lively, affectionate and dutiful [...] a magnet for the opposite sex. [...] There were complaints about her tendency to prattle and her ‘silliness,’ but her occasional gaucheness seems to have stemmed from an anxiety to please, a deference to the people around her that, in a world of super-egos and male peacocking strikes an odd note of humility. (71)

Waugh seems to have had less direct contact with Sonia and Barbara but left negative remarks about them scattered in his gossip. According to Taylor he treated Sonia with “grudging respect,” describing her appearance as “quite presentable.” When she married George Orwell from his hospital bed, Waugh remarked to Nancy Mitford: “Boots’s boule de suif [literally translated, “ball of tallow” but more colloquially “butterball” or “ dumpling”] what was her name? Sonia something is engaged to marry the dying Orwell and is leaving Horizon so there will not be any more numbers to puzzle us” (223).

Taylor also discusses at some length Sonia’s decision to marry Orwell. They had known each other since her earlier association with Horizon in 1941 and had reconnected shortly after his wife died unexpectedly in 1945. There may have been a brief affair in 1946, and Orwell at that time had proposed but to no avail.

Taylor rejects arguments, such as that made by Waugh, that she was a gold-digger, since the profits from Orwell’s writings could not have been foreseen in 1949. Rather, as Waugh himself also recognized, she was looking for an alternative to her role at Horizon that was shutting down. As Taylor points out, this might have involved nursing Orwell back to health and
assisting him in what seemed likely to be a burgeoning writing career. Moreover, she had just come to the end of a flickering love affair with French academic Maurice Merleau-Ponty. At the time, marriage to Orwell looked like a reasonable alternative from both parties’ points of view.

Waugh was even less polite in his references to Barbara. In a diary entry for January 1950, Waugh notes that Sonia has become a rich widow and wonders whether Connolly will marry her now that Lys has left but concludes: “He is said to be consorting with a dingy demi-mondaine named Miss Skelton” (248). In Taylor’s words, Waugh thought of Barbara as “not much more than a prostitute” (195).

When they married in late 1950, Waugh remarked to Nancy Mitford, “There is I believe no doubt that Boots has married the Sultan’s Circassian slave.”³ He later suggests that Cyril broke down after their wedding and had to be taken to a rehab. center

‘where he spent the first fortnight of married life in a padded cell being hosed and starved and worse …. Their total capital is £5 … two sacks of sugar and a cottage in Kent which belongs to the sultana …. He writes daily to Lys begging her to come back & saying how wretched he is but she is adamant.’ (260-61)

A few months later, Waugh adds: ‘Absolutely hates his wife whom he has taken to live in Sussex Place (telephone cutoff & water too by the look of him) […]’ (264).

Taylor is able to use the more extensive published autobiographical material left by Barbara (two novels, one volume of short stories, two volumes of memoirs, letters to such as Quennell and Connolly). She is a bit separated from the others because she played no role in Horizon and had a rather scattered career in the 1940s, not always located in London.

One of the most interesting features of Taylor’s book is the chapter in which he illustrates how writers who were acquainted with Connolly and the “Lost Girls” depicted them in their

³ He is here referring to Barbara’s affair with Egypt’s King Farouk that began when she was a cipher clerk in wartime Cairo. It was renewed on at least one occasion when Farouk was visiting Britain.
fiction. This involved most prominently Waugh, Nancy Mitford and Anthony Powell but also some lesser known novels by Patrick Balfour and Michael Nelson.

Mitford’s appeared first in her 1951 novel *The Blessing*, the final volume of her “Cold Climate” trilogy and dedicated to Waugh. This included the appearance of an Old Etonian theatrical entrepreneur named Ed Spain and “his band of acolytes, ‘clever young women all more or less connected and more or less in love with [Spain].’” They all have boarding school nicknames (Ulra, Fiona, Oenone, etc.) and live in Spain’s large house on the river where they do all the housework. Despite their Bohemian appearance, Spain had them “well in hand; they hopped to it at the merest glance from him, emptying the ash-trays and bringing more bottles off the ice.” Their political views are left-wing and they are at work on a communist play translated from “Bratislavan dialect,” sitting about in high-necked sweaters, shorts and “bare, blue feet…” (281-82).

Waugh came later with *Unconditional Surrender*, the last volume of his war trilogy *Sword of Honour*. This includes the character Everard Spruce who edits a literary magazine called *Survival* that is funded by the Ministry of Information. He lives in a “fine house in Cheyne Walk cared for by secretaries to the number of four.” In what Taylor sees as a deliberate echo of Mitford’s sketch, Waugh writes that the secretaries

‘dressed rather like him though in commoner materials; they wore their hair long and enveloping in a style which fifteen years later was to be associated with the King’s Road. One went bare-footed as though to emphasize her servile condition. They were sometimes referred to as ‘Spruce’s veiled ladies.’ They gave him their full devotion; also their rations of butter, meat and sugar.’ (282-83)

They had names like Frankie and Coney and also worked at producing the magazine; “the girl who could type answered Spruce’s numerous ‘fan letters’ and the girl who could spell corrected proof” (283). The description was so thinly disguised that several reviewers commented on it, forcing Waugh to write an apology to Connolly assuring him that the identification was a fantasy.

Taylor sees another “lost girl” in Virginia Troy, Guy Crouchback’s on-and-off wife in the *Sword of Honour* novels. He builds his case by comparing her marital career to that of Barbara.
Nothing matters to them except the present moment. Whatever disturbance their way of living causes others is of no importance. When Virginia dies in a flying bomb attack, Everard explains to his “Lost Girls” that Virginia was the “last of twenty years’ succession of heroines. The ghosts of romance who walked between the two wars” (285).

Waugh also manages another fictional allusion to Connolly and the “Lost Girls” that is not mentioned by Taylor. This relates to the writings of Corporal-Major Ludovic in *Sword of Honour*. After his return from overseas service, Ludovic sends the edited and polished collection of the “aphorisms” he has written in his diary about his service before, during and after the Battle of Crete to his patron Ralph Brompton. These are submitted and accepted for publication in *Survival as Pensées* (or possibly *Notes in Transit*).

When Ludovic attends a *Survival* party, Everard at first passes him on to Frankie who had read his *Pensées* in manuscript and explains to Ludovic how well Everard regarded them, describing them “as though Logan Pearsall Smith had written Kafka.” Ludovic is pleased with the news of their acceptance as well as with the realization that he will now have time to learn who Kafka may be. Towards the end of the party, Everard catches him up and starts exploring the meaning of the *Pensées* with him, wondering whether they are planned or haphazard, to which Ludovic responds, the former. Of course, the reader (but not Everard) knows that they are nothing more than the incoherent writings of a completely mad NCO. Everard continues:

‘The plan is not immediately apparent. There are the more or less generalized aphorisms, there are the particular aphorisms — which I thought, if I may say so, extremely acute and funny. I wondered are they in any cases libelous? And besides these there seemed to me to be two poetic themes which occur again and again. There is the Drowned Sailor motif — an echo of *The Waste Land* perhaps. Had you Eliot consciously in mind? […] And there was the Cave image. You must have read a lot of Freudian psychology.’ (51)

The humor in this scene just keeps on building because the reader knows what Everard doesn’t: that these references are to the two Englishmen Ludovic probably murdered in Crete; one in a

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cave and the other at sea. This gets even better upon the appearance of Guy whom Ludovic desperately wishes to avoid, mistakenly thinking Guy had witnessed and remembered those murders but in fact does not. The conversations are like an Abbott and Costello script.

In the course of the novel, the *Pensées* are published in *Survival* to considerable acclaim, and Ludovic sets to work on his novel to be called *The Death Wish*. This was written and sent off directly to the typist and from there to the publisher without revision at any stage. It was a “tale of romance and high drama set […] in the diplomatic society of the previous decade” (*ibid.*, 187) to which Ludovic was introduced by Ralph Brompton. It was one of many such books then being written that would “turn from the drab alleys of the thirties into the odorous gardens of the recent past transformed and illuminated by disordered memory and imagination” (*ibid.*, 188). The book is published and is an instant best seller in the USA despite the fact that it is twice the length of *Ulysses*. Coney and Frankie are appalled as they fear that Everard, in supporting the work of Ludovic and his ilk, is abandoning modernism.

Some comment regarding these matters is justified, given the participation of the “Lost Girls.” I have always understood the *Pensées* to be a satirical jab by Waugh at Connolly’s *The Unquiet Grave*, a collection of aphorisms that was published as a book in 1945. Using Everard/Cyril to praise Ludovic’s book is not intended as a compliment to Connolly’s. *The Death Wish* is an obvious self-satirization of Waugh’s own novel *Brideshead Revisited* that had recently (at the time *Unconditional Surrender* is set) become a best seller for the wrong reasons (i.e., those described in the quote). Perhaps there wasn’t space for Taylor to add his own discussion of the reactions of the fictional counterparts of the “Lost Girls” and Connolly to these somewhat peripheral matters; unless one were to accept Ludovic as the male equivalent of a “Lost Girl.”

Taylor’s book is well presented, using a format he has adopted from his previous literary histories such as *Bright Young People* and *The Prose Factory*. His narrative chapters, often crammed with facts, are interspersed with “Interludes” where a shorter story relating to a single person or subject is featured. It is in these Interludes that he discusses the second-string “Lost Girls.” Other topics such as a quite interesting discussion of Barbara’s literary output (in which Taylor compares her writing style to that of Nancy Mitford) are also addressed.
Waugh enthusiasts will enjoy the book. It is well written and enjoyable to read. It is also carefully researched and the sources are discussed in consolidated, narrative endnotes for each chapter. Waugh’s comments are quoted so often, in so many different contexts and at such length, that he is essentially a contributor to the book as well as one of its subjects (317). As a whole, it covers a literary world to which Waugh devoted considerable attention in Sword of Honour, as well as in his letters and diaries, and offers new historical insights into that world.

NOTE: An abbreviated version of portions of this review with different content appeared in the Anthony Powell Newsletter, No. 76, Autumn 2019, 8.
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 2020. Email submissions to jpitcher@bennington.edu and yuexi.liu@xjtlu.edu.cn.

An Icelandic Translation of Brideshead Revisited

Thanks are due to Jón Jónsson for informing the Editors that Brideshead Revisited has recently been published in Icelandic. The translation is by Hjalti Þorleifsson and is published by Ugla útgáfa, Reykjavik, under the title: Endurfundir á Brideshead. Trúarlegar og veraldlegar endurminningar Charles Ryders höfuðsmanns. Brideshead Revisited is the first of Waugh’s books ever to be translated in Iceland.

The Icelandic public broadcasting company, RUV, has published a review in Icelandic of the translation. The reviewer is Gauti Kristmannsson at the University of Iceland.

Link to the review: https://www.ruv.is/frett/brakandi-ferskur-texti-i-nyrri-vandadri-thydingu.

Decline and Fall one of The Guardian’s “Top 10 Books about Boarding School”

https://www.theguardian.com/books/2020/mar/18/top-10-books-about-boarding-school
Agent Jack and Metro-Land

Don Buck, of Orford, New Hampshire, was kind enough to send along the following memo.:  

When Evelyn Waugh created Margot Beste-Chetwynde in *Decline and Fall*, we learned a lot about her from the pronunciation of her name (Beast-Cheating, as I've heard it said.) But I've always been puzzled by the name he gave her in other novels, Lady Metroland. This American asks, how do you even pronounce it? What is Metroland?  

Coincidentally I came across the answer in a book about politics in 1920s London. I've attached a description of the housing development which Waugh apparently took to stand for suburban sprawl, unwelcome modernization, or the “uglification” of England. The book is not about Waugh or literature, but it accidentally answered this long-standing question for me.  

Perigoe could only approach people that she knew and trusted. That inevitably gave the Fifth Column a local feel, with many of it members living within walking distance of each other, in Wembley. This suburb of north-west London had been transformed over the previous decades, as developers built street upon street of reasonably priced homes for those who worked in the capital but wanted to escape its slums. Much of the building took place along the route of the Metropolitan Line of the London Underground. In the 1920s, the line’s owners had given the places that were now within commuting distance of the city the collective label ‘Metro-Land,’ and built tens of thousands of family homes there.  

Although these housing estates were the summit of modern suburban living, their mock-Tudor style tried to evoke the rural houses of a bygone era, with black beams and dormer windows that suggested these semi-detached three-bedroom homes were places with which Elizabeth I or Sir Francis Drake might have felt familiar. At a time when Britons suspected their nation’s place in the world might be declining, their architecture dwelt on an earlier century when its star had been on the rise.
Metro-Land was for the newly middle class, for those who were making their way in the world, and the Metro-Land spies that Perigoe recruited were drawn from these circles: people who had to work for a living, but who were clear that they weren’t working class. Perigoe herself was a picture-restorer. Edgar Bray was an accountant. Hilda Leech was a bank clerk, as Roberts had been. They shared a resentment that many of their ‘betters’ owed their stations in life to accidents of birth, rather than merit. (Hutton, Robert. Agent Jack: The True Story of MI5’s Secret Nazi Hunter. New York: St. Martin’s P, 2019. 207-08.)


As Powers’s friend Evelyn Waugh wrote, in America black Catholics faced ‘sharper tests’ than their white co-religionists, for the source of their persecution was not only Protestant prejudice but also ‘fellow-members in the Household of the Faith.’ In ‘The American Epoch in the Catholic Church,’ Waugh lauds the African-American faithful whose supernatural knowledge of their creed surpassed that of their hypocritical clergy: ‘Honour must never be neglected to those thousands of coloured Catholics who so accurately traced their Master’s roads amidst insults and injury.’

Rather, Powers’s Catholic fiction passes through the particular into the universal. As Waugh once wrote, regardless of the differences between the world’s manifold cultures, ‘any altar boy’ could tell you that ‘the ‘incantations’ of the Mass are identical whether in Guadalupe or Gethsemane, Ky.’

https://www.firstthings.com/web-exclusives/2020/03/the-first-commandment-of-fiction

“Evelyn Waugh’s Sword of Honour Trilogy Should Be on Scott Morrison’s Holiday Reading List”

Peter Saville and Waugh

In a follow-up to 2018’s *Coal Black Mornings*, Brett Anderson, of the band Suede, returned with the book he said he would never write, *Afternoons with the Blinds Drawn* (London: Little, Brown, 2019). Amidst charting the vicissitudes and fleeting moments of euphoria of his career, it includes this introduction to the art director and graphic designer Peter Saville:

> Peter is without doubt one of my favourite people in the music business. He is a rare flower of wit and sophistication in a barren desert of desperate ill-mannered bullies. At the time he was living in Mayfair rather like a character from an Evelyn Waugh novel in a hilarious parody of wealthy playboy’s pad. After ascending in one of those ancient, caged Edwardian lifts you would be greeted at the door by his assistant and led into the flat and offered a seat on a Mies Van Der Rohe Barcelona chair or a similarly designed piece of elegant modern furniture formed of leather and brushed steel. (185)

There is a similar moment in Mike Christie’s documentary, *Suede: The Insatiable Ones* (2019), when Mr. Anderson puts this analogy to Mr. Saville himself.

“Oldest Tree in Botanic Gardens Damaged by Storm Ciara”

The Gardens also had a significant impact on many authors working from Oxford. Lewis Carroll was said to have used the garden as inspiration for his book Alice in Wonderland. J.R.R. Tolkien is said to have spent much of his time at Oxford under his favourite tree at the Gardens, Pinus Nigra, which may have served as inspiration for the Ents in Lord of the Rings. Both Evelyn Waugh and Philip Pullman also reference the Botanics in their respective works set in Oxford.

The Helen Savoit Daytime Book Club

The Club meets on the second Tuesday of every month, at 1.30, at the Howland Public Library, in Beacon, NY, and discussed *Brideshead Revisited* on March 10\textsuperscript{th}.


The Old Towne Orange Book Club

The Club discussed *Brideshead Revisited*, on Thursday, February 27\textsuperscript{th}, from 7 to 9pm, at Chapman Crafted Beer.


*In the Crypt with a Candlestick*, by Daisy Waugh

‘*Brideshead Revisited* is Brought Back to Life as His Granddaughter Daisy Releases a Modern Spin-off to His Iconic Aristocratic Tale.’


“Guyanese Indigenous Tribes Hold the Key to Unprecedented Wealth of World’s Newest Petrostate”

https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/02/09/guyanese-indigenous-tribes-hold-key-unprecedented-wealth-worlds/

*The Loved One* at the Allendale Branch Library
In conjunction with its ongoing ‘Allendale at the Movies’ series, the Allendale Branch Library was due to present a screening and discussion of *The Loved One*, described as ‘the motion picture with something to offend everyone,’ on Saturday, March 21, 2020, at 2:00 p.m., at 1130 S. Marengo Ave., Pasadena, California. Light refreshments were also meant to be served.


**The Spectator, Boris Johnson, and Waugh**

_The Spectator_ has been Britain’s leading conservative magazine for centuries. It’s not a Murdochian banshee like the _Sun_, but an erudite, often naughty weekly publication. Boris Johnson, who would be reelected as prime minister later that week, was its editor-in-chief from 1999 to 2005, until he was pink-slipped by Neil. (More on that later.) Johnson and _The Spectator_ share many outward eccentricities — the foibles, occasional wickedness, love for exaggeration, half-sincere provocation, sense of cultivated irresponsibility. If _The Spectator_ were a person, it too would be an Etonian who eschews a comb and worships Evelyn Waugh. In American publishing and politics there is no analog for the socially proscribed role that this magazine embodies: the allegedly outrageous yet indisputably Establishment.


**“How U.K. Collectors Can Use Art Donations to Lower Their Taxes”**

The English author Evelyn Waugh, in _Basil Seal Rides Again, or The Rake’s Regress_ (1963), colorfully lamented the decline of the great country houses that had fallen into the hands the National Trust, the public body responsible for looking after
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donated houses: ‘You know what [the country house is] like as well as I do. Oh the hell of the National Trust…all the rooms still full of rope barriers and Aunt Barbara in the flat over the stables and those ridiculous Sothills in the bachelors’ wing.’

https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-uk-collectors-art-donations-lower-taxes

The Sitwells’ Weston Hall on the Market

In the family’s heyday in the Twenties and Thirties, Brideshead author Evelyn Waugh, Noel Coward and society photographer Cecil Beaton regularly stayed.

https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8048869/Sitwells-offer-food-thought-sell-300-year-old-5m-family-seat.html

Laughter with Larry Kramer, in the New York Times

What’s the last book you read that made you laugh?

This is a special subject for me. I love words and how they’re made beautiful. Two of my very favorite authors are P. G. Wodehouse and Evelyn Waugh. I am constantly rereading them. Each is a brilliant writer with great skill with words and the English language. No one writes a sentence like both of them. It makes me happy to laugh as I witness this expertise.


On Waugh’s Conversion, by Joseph Pearce

Xana Antunes on *Scoop*

During her stint at the Post, Antunes told Harper’s Bazaar for a photo essay featuring her and other successful women that she ‘felt a lot more stress when I was a reporter than I have as an editor.’

‘As a reporter you have to get the story, and your competition may beat you to it. As an editor, you’re taking all that talent and molding it into the best product,’ she said.

In that article, Antunes named *Scoop* -- Evelyn Waugh’s bitingly satirical novel about English journalism -- as a professional touchstone.

‘It puts this industry in perspective,’ she said of the book.

‘Never take yourself too seriously.’


Review of Randy Boyagoda’s *Original Prin*, by Gregory Wolfe

*Original Prin* owes more than a stylistic debt to Waugh, since Boyagoda shares his mentor’s Catholic faith and mordant attitude toward contemporary political cant and moral disarray. It’s also a welcome reminder that discussions of literature by Catholic writers over the past century have tended to focus more on the tragic dimension (Graham Greene’s *The Power and the Glory*, Georges Bernanos’s *The Diary of a Country Priest*, Shūsaku Endō’s *Silence*) and less on comedy and satire. After all, Flannery O’Connor and Walker Percy, for all their involvement with violence and existentialism, were fundamentally comic writers. And in Britain, Waugh’s distinguished successors include Muriel Spark and the criminally underappreciated Alice Thomas Ellis, both of whom were practitioners of comic irony so dry you could towel off with it.

https://www.firstthings.com/article/2020/04/perilous-directions
“Cecil Beaton’s Bright Young Things at the National Portrait Gallery”

https://www.telegraph.co.uk/photography/what-to-see/real-bright-young-things-cecil-beatons-photos-dont-tell-full/

“The [A-Level] exam includes a literature component. Interestingly, in the Shakespeare section, all candidates sitting for the exam opted for *Othello* and none chose *Julius Caesar* or *The Tempest*.

In the poetry section none of the candidates chose the works of Emily Dickinson or John Keats. In this case all candidates opted for Wilfred Owen.

In the novel section, the overwhelming majority opted for Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale* and Ian McEwan’s *Atonement*. None opted for Evelyn Waugh’s *A Handful of Dust*.

**Evelyn Waugh Society**

The Waugh Society has 196 members. To join, please go to [http://evelynwaugh.org/](http://evelynwaugh.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](https://twitter.com/evelynwaughsoc).

The Waugh Society is providing an RSS feed: [http://evelynwaugh.org/feed](http://evelynwaugh.org/feed).

And the Waugh Society’s web site has opportunities for threaded discussions: [http://evelynwaugh.org/forums/](http://evelynwaugh.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 japitcher@bennington.edu and 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 75th 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. 3**

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