

Waugh's *Work Suspended and Other Stories* and *The Loved One* in Spain

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Abstract: Evelyn Waugh's works were translated in many languages and studied by scholars and journalists from numerous countries. In Spain, Waugh's almost entire oeuvre was translated after the Francoist dictatorship. This article analyses the reception of two of Waugh's novels — *Work Suspended and Other Stories* and *The Love One*— during and after the Francoist regime. In order to undertake this research, the censorship files guarded at the General Archive of the Administration in Alcalá de Henares were consulted as well as the monographs and newspaper articles produced during and after the totalitarian regime. These documents prove that during Franco's period only one novel passed successfully through the censorship department, and the other one was studied mainly after the Francoist regime.

Keywords: Waugh, reception, Franco, censorship, criticism

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Resumen: La obra de Evelyn Waugh se tradujo en muchos idiomas y fue estudiada por académicos y periodistas de numerosos países. En España, casi toda la obra de Waugh fue traducida después de la dictadura franquista. Este artículo analiza la recepción de dos obras de Waugh —*Work Suspended and Other Stories* y *The Love One*— durante y después del régimen franquista. Para llevar a cabo esta investigación, se consultaron los expedientes de censura guardados en Los Archivos Generales de la Administración en Alcalá de Henares y también monografías y artículos periodísticos producidos durante y después del régimen. Esta documentación demuestra que durante el periodo franquista solamente una novela pasó exitosamente por el departamento de censura, en cambio la otra despertó interés sobre todo después del franquismo.

Palabras clave: Waugh, recepción, Franco, censura, crítica

Evelyn Waugh (1903-1966) was well-known mainly for his satirical novels which denounce the follies of British society and of all those societies the author met during his uncountable journeys. The first work to be discussed in this paper is *Work Suspended and Other Stories* (1942), which encloses a collection of short stories and Waugh's unfinished novel titled *Work Suspended*. The novel tells the story of the writer John Plant who falls in love with Lucy, his friend's wife. The second novel, *The Loved One* (1948), is based on a trip to the United States and criticises the mortuary customs of the cemetery Forest Lawn in Hollywood. In 1953, Iber-Amer and Queromon intended to publish an Argentinian translation of *Work Suspended and Other Stories*, and E.D.H.A.S.A. aimed to import from Buenos Aires two hundred copies of a translated version of *The Loved One*. These translations have been inevitably revised by the Spanish censors in order to determine whether they accomplished with the religious, moral and political values defended by the Francoist regime. Considering that Waugh converted to Catholicism in 1930 and that he was known as a Catholic writer, it may be assumed that both works were successful in Spain. Thus, the purpose of the present paper is to analyse the reception of the two novels during and after the Francoist dictatorship focusing on the answer of the censors, scholars, journalists and determine whether the censorship influenced the reception of each novel. For

the development of this research, I consulted the censorship files at the General Archive of the Administration¹ in Alcalá de Henares as well as newspaper articles and critical works about Waugh produced during and after the Francoist regime.

1. Historical Background

The theoretical framework is based on reception theory, more precisely on the model introduced by the German critic Hans Robert Jauss in the work *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (1982). The model proposed by Jauss is a response to the Marxist and Formalist schools, which deprived literature of “the dimension of its reception and influence” and limited the role of the reader (Jauss, 1982: 18). As Jauss suggests, Marxist aesthetics treats the reader the same as the author, enquiring about his social position and endeavouring to recognize him in the structure of a specific society (Jauss, 1982:18). On the other hand, the Formalist school perceives the reader as a subject who follows the text in order to distinguish its literary procedure. It presupposes that the reader has the theoretical training of a philologist who can distinguish and analyse artistic devices. None of these schools recognizes the authentic role of the reader as the genuine addressee “for whom literary work is primarily destined” (Jauss, 1982: 19).

Considering the position of Marxist and Formalist schools regarding the role of the reader, Jauss attempts to fill the gap between these two approaches focusing on the audience as an active factor being itself “an energy formative of history” (Jauss, 1982: 19). Therefore, Jauss is interested in the changing, interpretative and evaluative responses of the general or informed reader over a determined period. The changing interpretative and evaluative responses are enclosed in the concept “horizon of expectation”, which implies the reader’s own linguistic and aesthetic expectations conditioned by certain historical, cultural and ideological prejudices

¹ General Archive of the Administration refers to Archivos Generales de la Administración.

(Jauss, 1982: 25). The horizons of readers change in the course of time, and since later regular readers and literary critics have access to the literary text and to the published responses of former readers and scholars, then an evolving historical tradition develops critical interpretations and evaluations of a given literary work. This historical tradition of reception focuses on social, artistic and political factors, which are essential for the study of Waugh's works in Spain. Hence, for the reception of *Work Suspended and Other Stories* and *The Loved One* the historical background, critics and censors' answers ought to be studied.

The end of the Spanish civil war brought the implementation of a totalitarian regime, which, as in all totalitarian states, applied a censorship system in order to ensure the proper assimilation of the doctrine and protect the regime from opposing ideas considered dangerous for political, moral and religious points of view. By the time *Work Suspended and Other Stories* and *The Loved One* reached Spain, censorship was controlled by the 'Law of Press'² of 1938, which operated until 1966 when it was replaced by the 'Law of Press and Printing'³. This law intended to control, on the one hand, the press publications, and, on the other hand, the non-periodical publications such as books and other materials printed in Spain.

Thus, on 29 April 1938, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Ramón Serrano Suñer, signed an order at Burgos, which focused on the production of books, pamphlets and other printed materials (Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1938: 7035). In the introductory section of this 'Ley de prensa', Serrano Suñer clarified that non-periodical materials ought to be submitted to censorship. He also stated that restrictive measures would be applied to the foreign publications on account of economic reasons and paper shortage (Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1938: 7035). The most relevant aspect of this law was the employment of prior censorship. Thus, the publishing houses were forced to submit to the censorship office two copies of the book they intended to put into circulation, as article four

² The 'Law of Press' refers to 'la Ley de Prensa'

³ The 'Law of Press and Printing' refers to 'la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta'

highlights⁴: “Without the prior permission of the Ministry, the selling and circulation of books, pamphlets and other printed material produced abroad is prohibited in national territory, regardless of the language they are written. Publishers, booksellers or merchants who wish to sell such works must submit two copies to prior censorship” (Boletín Oficial de Estado, 1938: 7036). The infringement of this law involved the payment of a fine or the seizure of all the copies published⁵.

The censors or “readers”, as they were called, were inflexible with certain topics called “malditos” (“cursed”), as Cisquella, Erviti & Sorolla (1977: 74) mentioned in their work *Diez años de represión cultural*. These problematic topics were divided in various categories; the first enclosed those themes that referred to several aspects, such as the history of Spain, Franco’s political regime, the army, the head of the State, conflicts or strikes. The second included every issue related to Marxism, theory, practice, papers written on the socialist experience, the Soviet, Cuban or Chinese revolution or labour movement. A third category focused on anarchism, sexuality, religious texts, family, divorce, abortion, drugs and the counterculture (Cisquella et al., 1977: 74).

The publishing houses could put into circulation only those books that accomplished the conditions imposed by the regime and received a positive assessment from the censors. Thus, during the

⁴ “Art. 4.º Queda prohibida la venta y circulación, en territorio nacional, de libros, folletos y demás impresos, producidos en el Extranjero, cualquiera que sea el idioma en que estén escritos, sin la previa autorización de este Ministerio. Los editores, libreros o concesionarios que pretendan poner en venta o circulación tales obras, deberán remitir dos ejemplares a la previa censura. Esta disposición alcanza a las que actualmente se venden o circulan en territorio nacional después del diecisiete de julio de mil novecientos treinta y seis. Se concede un plazo de treinta días, a partir de la publicación de esta Orden, para el cumplimiento de dicha obligación”.

⁵ See also Zimbroianu Cristina (2019). Evelyn Waugh’s *Decline and Fall* and *Vile Bodies* in Franco’s Spain and Communist Romania. *Philologica Canariensis*, 25, pp. 86-106.

first years of the Francoist dictatorship, the publishers had to fill up a form which included the following data:

- a) The address of the publishing house;
- b) The presentation of two copies of the book to prior censorship;
- c) The name of the book's author;
- d) The title;
- e) The type of the printed material, in this case a book;
- f) The character of the book, which could be literary, documentary, artistic and infantile;
- g) Political aspects;
- h) Number of pages; number of copies and type of paper (File 1641/1943)

All this information was attached to the censors' report, which included some sections employed for the evaluation of the works they were reading such as: "literary and artistic value, documentary value, political reference, deletion in case of authorization and other observations" (File 1641/1943)⁶. These sections changed around 1944 into three questions: "Does it attack the dogma and the morality? Does it attack the institutions of the regime? Does the book have literary and documentary value?" (File 5554/44)⁷

The censor determined whether a book should be authorised or rejected in accordance to an "authorization scheme". In the period (1938 -1966) the authorization could be "pura y simple" ("pure and simple") when the censor approved the book or "condicionada" ("conditional") when the censor deleted part of the book or made

⁶ The censorship file 1641/43, from the box 21/07120, revealed the outline that the censors employed in the first years of the Francoist regime in order to assess a piece of literature. The original version of this outline is the following: "valor literario o artístico, valor documental, matiz político, tachaduras".

⁷ The censorship file 5554/44, from the box 21/07495, encloses the three questions that censors had to answer in order to issue their report: "¿Ataca al dogma o a la moral? ¿A las instituciones del régimen? ¿Tiene valor literario o documental?".

some modifications. The rejection of the book could involve or not a formal complaint as well as the author's inclusion on the "black list" (Abellán, 1980: 138).

In 1966, the 'Law of Press' was revoked by 'The Law of Press and Printing'. On 10 July 1962 the Minister of Information and Tourism Arias-Salgado, was replaced by Manuel Fraga Iribarne who on 18 March 1966 regulated censorship through the 'Law of Press and Printing'. This law, unlike the previous, was signed in time of peace and aimed at conferring the freedom of press, as Fraga Iribarne stated when he presented the law project: "We are passing each other the torch-lights of this movement. For this purpose, the political and architectonic caution must have a fundamental role, but we should also have the courage to tell the truth: this freedom of press will be real and efficient" (as cited in Cisquella et al., 2002: 29).

However, the law of 1966 did not confer freedom to the press and to the publishing houses as Iribarne promised. The second article established the limitations of the freedom as follows:

There are considerable limitations: the respect for truth and morality; the respect of the Law on Principles of the National Movement and other Fundamental Laws; the demands of national defence, state security and the maintenance of internal public order and external peace; respect for institutions and individuals when criticising political and administrative actions; the independence of the Courts, and the protection of privacy and personal and family honour (Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1966: 3310)⁸.

⁸ "(...) Son limitaciones: el respeto a la verdad y a la moral; el acatamiento a la Ley de Principios del Movimiento Nacional y demás Leyes Fundamentales; las exigencias de la defensa Nacional, de la seguridad del Estado y del mantenimiento del orden público interior y la paz exterior; el debido respeto a las Instituciones y a las personas en la crítica de la acción política y administrativa; la independencia de los Tribunales, y la salvaguardia de la intimidad y del honor personal y familiar".

Thus, since 1966 censorship continued to be employed. Even though prior censorship was annulled, article four of the law admitted the voluntary consultation aimed at replacing the prior censorship. The main difference between these two consisted in the fact that the publishing houses were not forced to present their works to the censorship office, as they had the freedom to decide about submitting or not their material to voluntary consultation. The presentation of the publishing material to voluntary consultation enclosed the risk of seizure that some of the publishing houses decided to take and other preferred to avoid. Seizure was frequently practiced by the censors, as the Ministry of Information and Tourism (MIT) had not a judicial cabinet that could present complaints to the public prosecutor. Accordingly, the censor was responsible for judging the illicit material and obliged to denounce it to the competent authority (Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1966: 3314).

Since 1945 approximately, the censors' reports on books had included questions such as: "Does it attack the dogma? The morality? The Church and its ministers? The regime and its institutions? The people that had collaborated and still collaborate with the regime? Do the censured paragraphs qualify the whole content of the work?" (Abellán, 1980: 19). This questionnaire was maintained until 1977 when the law of 1966 was revoked.

2. English Critical Reception

To understand the reception of these two works in Spain it is necessary to first introduce the response of the English critics. Therefore, one of the main books that presents most of the critical reception of Evelyn Waugh is *Evelyn Waugh: The Critical Heritage* by Martin Stannard (2002). Stannard classifies Waugh's critics into five principal categories: "Georgian litterateurs, Waugh's generation of Oxbridge literary men, the Catholic intelligentsia, the hacks and those novelists and academics who have given serious, detailed attention to Waugh's works" (2002: 27). The first category is represented by the experienced men of letters who controlled the

London literary reviews at the time Waugh initiated his literary career: Arnold Bennett, Frank Swinnerton, J. C. Squire, Gerald Gould and even his father Arthur Waugh (Stannard, 2002: 27). The second group—the new Oxbridge ‘generation’—would include “Harold Acton, Peter Quennell, Alan Pryce-Jones, Cyril Connolly, Maurice Bowra, Anthony Powell, Henry Green, Harold Nicolson, Philip Toynbee, John Betjeman and W.H. Auden” (Stannard, 2002: 28). The only aspect that these critics had in common was that they moved in Waugh’s circle of friends with the exception of Auden (Stannard, 2002: 28).

The ‘Catholic intelligentsia’ would include according to Stannard (2002) “Christopher Hollis, Douglas Woodruff, Christopher Sykes, F. J. Stopp, Graham Greene, Anthony Burgess and several ‘literary’ priests: Fr Martindale, Ronald Knox and Evans” who usually enjoyed Waugh’s work (Stannard, 2002: 28). The fourth category of critics are the “‘hacks’ who worked for the popular newspapers or society magazines” (Stannard, 2002: 28). The criticism they produced was usually low and they confused Waugh’s life with his work (Stannard, 2002: 28). Finally, the fifth category brings together Waugh’s admirers and dissenters. The admirers, who were scarce, have provided “an objective appraisal of Waugh’s work based on aesthetic rather than political or religious argument” (Stannard, 2002: 28). These were “Rebecca West, David Lodge, Frank Kermode, Malcolm Bradbury, Nigel Dennis and Angus Wilson, for instance” (Stannard, 2002: 28). The dissenters were represented by “Edmund Wilson, Kingsley Amis, Donat O’Donnell, Simon Raven and Rose Macaulay” (Stannard, 2002: 29). They appreciated only Waugh’s early fiction, and they abandoned Waugh after he wrote *Brideshead Revisited* in 1945 (Stannard, 2002: 29).

Regarding the novel *Work Suspended*, English critics seemed to appreciate it, and they have lamented that Waugh has not been able to complete the novel. The journalist and writer Tom Driberg who was Waugh’s friend at Lancing published a brief review in *Daily Express* on 1 January 1943. Driberg (1943: 2) mentions that Waugh was an excellent novelist and regrets that he couldn’t conclude this novel, however he understands Waugh’s “spiritual compulsion”

which makes this task impossible to finish. Furthermore, the critic Nigel Dennis in a review published by *Partisan Review* in 1943 comments the first part of *Work Suspended* titled "My Father's House". Dennis (1943: 352) appreciates this title because it seems to stay invisible to the rest of Waugh's titles that describe all sorts of houses, such as those portrayed in *Decline and Fall* (1928), *Vile Bodies* (1930), *A Handful of Dust* (1932) or *Put Out More Flags* (1942). The critic underlines that the houses described in these novels were falling down and were badly kept, but they represented the man who "had not existed apart from his roof" (Dennis, 1943: 352). According to Dennis (1943: 353), "My Father's House" could rather be "my Mother's" to many, as it denotes "the starting point of England's recent literary past". The house moulds the intellectuals' stance, their behaviour and their England, therefore, the house of childhood may be an instrument of writing the literary history of the thirties (Dennis, 1943: 353).

Finally, the writer Rose Macaulay published in 1946 a brief review of the novel in *Horizon*. Macaulay (1946: 371) mentions that it is well written in a serious tone that may not be fully justified as the theme was not completed. It presents a thin vein of comedy, nonetheless, predominates sobriety and solemnity of mood (Macaulay, 1946: 371). The young heroine Lucy is, not fully developed, but she is described with a subtle and "near profound" emotion (Macaulay, 1946: 371). The writer points out that the style employed is "quiet and full" and she regrets that the novel was not finished as it "feels a loss" (Macaulay, 1946: 371).

The Loved One was published after *Scott-King's Modern Europe* in *Horizon*, the magazine of Waugh's friend Cyril Connolly. The novel was as polemical as most of Waugh's works. It satirizes the American mortuary customs practiced at the Californian cemetery of Forest Lawns. Waugh considered Forest Lawns a unique place: "the only thing in California that is not a copy of something else" (as cited in Amory, 1980: 247). In a letter to Cyril Connolly, Waugh explains that the novel aimed at transmitting the lack of identity of Americans, as "there is no such thing as an American. They are all exiles uprooted, transplanted and doomed to sterility" (as cited in

Amory, 1980: 265). The author of an unsigned review of *The Loved One* published in *Times Literary Supplement* on 20 November 1948, evaluates the novel as “a satire, witty and macabre, ominous and polished, which strikes straight at the heart of contemporary problems” (as cited in Stannard, 2002: 307). The novel was considered by Americans a possible libellous material and its publication was delayed a few months (Stannard, 2002: 58).

Heath (1982) clarifies that the *Horizon* version and the first edition of the novel suffered a series of deletions, which had been restored in a Texas manuscript. This manuscript includes a more detailed portrait of the character “Sir Ambrose Abercrombie”:

On those evenings when Sir Ambrose came to Sir Francis for entertainment he swam in Sir Francis pool courted the executives wives [...] He married a ‘plain garrulous wealthy lady of the country’ [...] A coward, he was frightened by the sinking of the Titanic and when World War I began he made the ‘great decision’ to leave his ship in New York. Now began a new life of ‘women; the West, the movies; a new name, a new life... the talkies, the false, the fruity, the entirely captivating English accent’ (Heath, 1982: 309).

A deleted scene from the *Horizon* version and the first edition was the moment when Sir Francis invited Dennis Barlow to live with him when they met at Megalopolitan Cafeteria. The Texas manuscript restored also the scene when Aimée called Mr. Slump for advice, when she wanted to commit suicide. Mr. Slump advised her to “order [...] a nice big bottle of poison and drink it to his health” (as cited in Heath, 1982: 309). Aimée’s death was represented in the Texas manuscript in two versions. In the first, she drank a ‘swig of poison’ and a watchman covered her in a sheet. The second version was similar to the published one, except that it continued to describe in a rich language the “sudden convulsions”, and ‘spasm’ which afflicted her after she injected the poison” (Heath, 1982: 309).

Critics’ opinions on *The Loved One* were divided. For instance, Cyril Connolly praised the novel while writers such as John Bayley

and Edmund Wilson criticised Waugh's Catholic stance. Cyril Connolly in the introduction of the first printing of the novel in the *Horizon* magazine compares Waugh with Swift and Donne stating that Waugh had written a Swiftian satire, which displays a materialistic society:

A Swiftian satire on the burial customs of Southern California, and his irony need not be taken to reflect on America as a whole. [...] In its attitude to death, and to death stand-in, failure, Mr. Waugh exposes a materialist society at its weakest spot, as would Swift or Donne were they alive today (Connolly, 1948: 77).

John Bayley had not shared Connolly's opinion, and in a review published in *National Review* in February 1949 on *The Loved One* and *The Heart of the Matter* (1948) by Graham Greene states that both authors used Catholicism as a "weapon and a probe; they explored vice and anarchy from a definite standpoint" claiming that *The Loved One* reveals "the conviction that the Catholic and European tradition about death was right and that the Californian conspiracy about it was wrong" (Bayley, 1949: 232). Bayley regards *The Loved One* as a form of didacticism and perceives Waugh and Greene as two authors that explore life from the standpoint of a fixed idea: Catholic, Existentialist and Communist (Bayley, 1949: 234).

John Farrelly in a review published in the magazine *Scrutiny* in winter 1951 presents the criticism of Edmund Wilson regarding *The Loved One*. Wilson criticises the Catholics for "swallowing the priest's doctrine", ridicules Waugh's belief in a life after death and situates in a favourable light the cemetery patrons who practice mortuary art, as they "seem more sensible and less absurd than the priest-guided Evelyn Waugh" (as cited in Farrelly, 1951: 233). The patrons are just trying to:

Gloss over physical death with smooth lawns and soothing rites; but for the Catholic the fact of death is not to be faced at all: he is solaced with the fantasy of another world in which everyone who has died in the flesh is somehow supposed to be

still alive and in which it is supposed to be possible to help souls advance themselves by buying candles to burn in churches (as cited in Farrelly, 1951: 233).

Wilson concludes the review by stating that it was only Waugh's opinion that the vulgarization of death by using cosmetics to embellish corpses parallels a vulgar attitude to life (as cited in Farrelly, 1951: 233).

3. Spanish Critical Reception During and After the Francoist Regime

3.1. Critical Reception of *Work Suspended*

As Jauss mentions in his work *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (1982), in order to analyse the reception of a piece of literature, a presentation of the historical background is needed as well as an analysis of social determinants which in this case are given by the response of the critics. Regarding *Work Suspended*, unfortunately, during the Francoist dictatorship journalists and scholars were not familiar with this oeuvre, therefore no reviews were issued. The novel was translated many years after the regime was over, in 2000 under the title *Cuentos completos* by Jaime Zulaika and published by De Bolsillo. Under the same title was published again, some years later in 2011 by RBA. In 2009, the novel was translated into *Obra suspendida* by Maria Maestro Cuadrado and published by Treviana Ediciones. Therefore, three editions of this work were available in Spain after the Francoist period. Ignacio Peyró in the prologue of the edition published in 2009 mentions that this novel is the most enigmatic work of the novelist. Even Waugh believed that this was his best writing produced until 1941 when he decided not to finish it (Peyró, 2009). The two chapters emphasize Waugh's satirical refinement, the intensity of his emotions and his solemnity (Peyró, 2009). Waugh's unquestionable and complex character nourishes his work with aesthetic ambition and with the charm of the worlds that have just ended (Peyró, 2009). According to Peyró, Waugh is a

transcendental writer who improved the tradition of the British fiction (Peyró, 2009).

An article on the novel written by Luis M. Alonso was published by *Cultura* a supplement of *Nueva España* in 2009. Alonso (2009: 72) affirms that Waugh was the best writer of his generation and the best English satirist of the twentieth century. His abominable character and intolerable snobbism led him first to a cynical vision which he introduced in his novels, and, second to the boredom which contaminated his readers (Alonso, 2009: 72). Regarding Waugh's decision to not finish *Work Suspended*, the journalist provides two reasons: on the one hand, Waugh might have been influenced by his capricious and disturbing personality, and, on the other hand his best literature was written for an audience that was disappearing in the pre-war scenery (Alonso, 2009: 72). As for the edition published by Treviana, Alonso appreciates that the volume also includes the letter Waugh sent to the American critic Alexander Woollcott who published in *The New Yorker* to accept *Work Suspended* as part of his best literary work. Apart from this novel, Waugh could not finish either his autobiography titled *A Little Learning* (1964), but this time not on a whim, but because he passed away with a lighted puro in his hand (Alonso, 2009: 72).

An unsigned review published in *Epoca* 2009 mentions that *Work Suspended* has a double literary interest. On the one side, the novel is a prefiguration of *Brideshead Revisited* if considered that "spoilt brat" writer who narrates from his French hotel in Fez, and, on the other side, the sense of humour from the first page "I had always been a one-corpse man" (as cited in *Epoca*, 2009). According to the reviewer, the novelette has the same mocking and comic tone as *Scoop* (1938) and *Black Mischief* (1932), and it did not hold the seriousness displayed in *Brideshead Revisited* and *Sword of Honour* (1965) (*Epoca*, 2009). The novelette does not disclose Waugh's inner conflict who had to put up with himself supported by his wife and Catholic faith (*Epoca*, 2009). The reviewer states that we can "appreciate the intelligent writing of a gifted narrator who doubted between being an egocentric artist or a prophet" (*Epoca*, 2009).

3.2. Critical Reception of *The Loved One*

During the Francoist dictatorship, journalists proved to be quite interested in *The Loved One*. They issued a series of reviews and articles that allowed the readers to become more familiar with the novel. Therefore, the first article that mentioned *The Loved One* during the Francoist regime was written in 1949 by Nuño Aguirre de Cárcer⁹. In “The Catholic Novel in Contemporary England”¹⁰ published by the cultural magazine *Arbor*, Aguirre de Cárcer (1949: 93) points out that *The Loved One* is considered a “macabre farce” in which Waugh employs the manner of perceiving death in order to underline the failure of the materialistic society. According to Aguirre de Cárcer, the novel is a parody of the American customs, and it might have caused indignation among Americans. The critic concludes that Waugh did not seem to care about the Americans’ annoyance, as the sarcastic tone he employs in his last novels is a proof that Waugh is not as interested in his readers as he used to be. Aguirre de Cárcer states that disappointments transformed the novelist into a bitter person. For this reason, Waugh decided to retire to a village house and live a serene life alongside his family (Aguirre de Cárcer, 1949: 93).

In 1958, nine years after the publication of Aguirre de Cárcer’s article, the writer and essayist José María Souviron published a review titled “An Original Patient”¹¹ in the magazine *Blanco y Negro*. The author introduces Waugh as “one of the rudest humourists of the English literature”, and calls his works “savouring and picturesque, very ‘English’ and difficult to understand mainly by those who are not English, but in any case, they are of an unquestionable value” (Souviron, 1958: 102). The essayist expresses

⁹ Nuño Aguirre de Cárcer was an ambassador of Spain whose diplomatic career initiated in London in 1946. He was Spain’s ambassador to countries like Belgium and the United States. During his career, Aguirre de Cárcer published a series of essays on international politics.

¹⁰ Original title: “The Catholic Novel in Contemporary England”.

¹¹ Original title: “Un enfermo original”.

his opinion regarding the novels *The Loved One* and *Brideshead Revisited*: the former is considered a comic critique of the mortuary customs in the United States and the later is viewed as a “profound and transcendental novel” (Souviron, 1958: 102).

In 1959, the critic Carlos Luis Álvarez published an article on *The Loved One* in the magazine *Punta Europa*. Titled “Evelyn Waugh: Criticism of the Aseptic Death”¹² focuses on Waugh’s criticism of the American materialistic society, which had ignored that the “unique and authentic civilization depends on the spirit not on the substance” (Álvarez, 1959: 30). The critic notices that Waugh directs his criticism toward a society deteriorated by “a ridiculous and dangerous anxiety to reach the futurism and also by an absolute absence of faith” (Álvarez, 1959: 29). The reviewer agreed with Aguirre de Cárcer (1949) on the complaint of Waugh’s readers for introducing in his novels religious matters instead of writing comic texts: “the public wanted ‘circus’ while the writer had decided to practice surgery on the soul of that public and that society, which glorified him” (Álvarez, 1959: 29).

Álvarez considers *The Loved One* a “macabre anecdote”, which displays a series of materialistic characters with a dynamic energy who produce moral failure of the “Forest Lawn” cemetery (Álvarez, 1959: 30). He sustains that Waugh applies in the novel what Dean Howells called the “smiling aspects” of life “to confront with a civilization fundamentally absurd” (Álvarez, 1959: 30). The critic questions whether the body embellishers intended to technically erase the differences between life and death. They seem to present the positive side of death, nonetheless not from death point of view, but from life point of view, since corpses are embellished as if they were still alive. Álvarez, like Waugh, argues that death should deserve respect, as it “holds its own stigma, its own dignity and even its own scenography” (Álvarez, 1959: 31). The critic, on the one hand, approves Waugh’s criticism of the Forest Lawn cemetery practice, nonetheless, on the other hand, he concludes that in *The Loved One*, Waugh elevates the ironic character of his criticism to

¹² Original title: “Evelyn Waugh: crítica de la muerte aséptica”.

merciless levels elaborating a novel that is not actually enlightening, but rather polemical (Álvarez, 1959: 31).

Later, in 1961, Carola Osete published in the magazine *Eidos: Revista de Investigación y Cultura*, one of the most representative articles dedicated to Waugh, titled "Evelyn Waugh, a Serious Humourist"¹³. Regarding Waugh's novels, Osete (1961: 75) indicates that all of them are centred on the same problem: "the contrast between Great Britain with its past grandeur and post-war Great Britain, where a generation of snob youths were living as if they belonged to an absurd dream, from which they would wake up and discover a terrible reality". Evelyn Waugh is accused of being a snob for setting the action of his novels in high society. Osete claims that Waugh indeed is a snob, on account that Waugh knows very well this high society and succeeds in realistically describing it in his novels and conceding it a human touch that sweetened it (Osete, 1961: 75). The critic mentions that in the post-war period, it was fashionable to write about the proletariat and about writers that were confronted with a sort of problem. Nonetheless, Waugh was not in contact with such environments and for this reason he wrote about what he best knew: the aristocrats (Osete, 1961: 75). Waugh once declared: "today, mentioning an aristocrat causes more controversy than referring to a public woman sixty years ago" (as cited in Osete, 1961: 75). Even though Osete initially justifies Waugh's snobbery, she finally concludes that Waugh was certainly a snob, as it seems incredible how a critic and satirist of his category could believe that belonging to an antique family implied holding certain values (Osete, 1961: 75). Regarding *The Loved One*, Osete considers that Waugh achieved the peak of his novelistic perfection in style and technique (Osete, 1961: 79). The novel is a satire and a macabre comedy that caused controversies among the Americans, as they believed that Waugh insulted America, yet as in *Scott-King's Modern Europe* Waugh insulted Europe, then the situation was in balance (Osete, 1961: 80).

¹³ Original title: "Evelyn Waugh un humorista serio".

In 1965, the novel is reviewed by the historian and writer Jorge Siles Salinas. The review titled “Facing Death”¹⁴ was published in *ABC* on 8 April. Siles Salinas remarks that *The Loved One* is a sharp and lucid criticism of the follies of the contemporary society that decided to evade the reality of death (Siles Salinas, 1965: 55). The distinctive feature of the cemetery Forest Lawn is that the existence of death is suppressed. Siles Salinas states that Waugh reveals through a fierce critique and exaggeration the reality of contemporary society, which consists of the fact that people believe themselves immortal, and for this reason they try to remove the image of death (Siles Salinas, 1965: 55). One of the consequences of this behaviour is the progressive removal of mourning as a symbol of death (Siles Salinas, 1965: 55). The critic clarifies that the belief in an immortal life implies being aware of the presence of death, and life should be interpreted as a transition to an afterlife: “an authentic Christian behaviour consists of a lucid activity of conscience—the only way by which life can reach its authentic dimension—through which one could contemplate the perishable reality as a transition toward the unfading and perfect afterlife under the gaze of God” (Siles Salinas, 1965: 55).

In 1966, Waugh died, and Spanish journalists like Carlos Luis Álvarez, who used the pseudonym Cándido, Claudio de la Torre and Mercedes Ballesteros published on 12 and 13 April two articles in *ABC*. The first article written by Claudio de la Torre and Mercedes Ballesteros is titled “The English Novelist Evelyn Waugh Died”¹⁵. The article includes a short biography of Waugh, in which the authors mention Waugh’s conversion to Catholicism, his participation in the Second World War and his shift to a more serious writing, as he intends “to represent man in his most complete shape”, which for Waugh means the representation of man in his relationship with God (de la Torre and Ballesteros, 1966: 71). According these journalists, Waugh in the 1920s was a young innovator, and later, he became a sort of a rural gentleman who

¹⁴ Original title: “Ante la muerte”.

¹⁵Original title: “Fallece el novelista inglés Evelyn Waugh”.

believed that Christian values were being lost (de la Torre and Ballesteros, 1966: 71). The article concludes with Gerard Fay's comparison of Waugh's life with "a 'clown' who converted into Hamlet: the life of a humourist who became a thinker" (de la Torre and Ballesteros, 1966: 71).

Carlos Luis Álvarez or Cándido, the *ABC* correspondent to London, wrote another article on Waugh's death titled "Scoop: The Loved Ones"¹⁶. Cándido (1966) mentions that Waugh wrote an article to defend the writer Penham-Greenville Wodehouse who was accused by the BBC of being a Nazi collaborator. In this article, Waugh stated that he appreciated Wodehouse not because he was a great writer, but because he had "that something that one could not define" (Álvarez, 1966: 90). "That something that one could not define" was also perceived by Cándido in Waugh, and his death caused the journalist "an indefinable disappointment" (Álvarez, 1966: 90). Cándido mentions that *The Loved One* is the first novel by Waugh he has ever read, and he acknowledges that England had lost one of the most original artists (Álvarez, 1966: 90). The journalist notices that Waugh's life was for a long time "a dazzling failure", as first he was not accepted by the English aristocracy, and second his journalistic career resulted to be unsuccessful (Álvarez, 1966: 90). Cándido observes that Waugh's works seem to "tremble of resentment", and his conversion to Catholicism represents a sort of protest to the society that refused to accept him (Álvarez, 1966: 90). Cándido explains that Waugh, in his article dedicated to Wodehouse, declared that he used to write a comic line, and then he was tempted to write other lines in order to explain the first, when the "second pieces" were not actually necessary. The journalist believes that the success of Waugh's novels is given precisely in those "second pieces" that he never wrote (Álvarez, 1966: 90).

After Franco's death in 1975, Waugh's fiction raised interest and most of his works were repeatedly translated analysed and reviewed by scholars and journalists. *The Loved One* was translated by Helena

¹⁶ Original title: "Última hora: los seres queridos".

Valentí and published in 1983 by Argos Vergara, 1986 by Seix Barral, 1990 by Anagrama and 1999 by Círculo de lectores. Regarding the critical reception of this novel after Franco's regime, José María Alfaro dedicated an article to the novel titled "The Loved Ones"¹⁷ published in *ABC* on 15th October 1983. Alfaro interprets Waugh's novels as a battle camp where the weapons employed are irony and caustic satire. Waugh did not appeal to melancholy in his writing, but rather to "the irritating stirring rash and itches" (Alfaro, 1983: 47). Thus, Waugh irritates and drives situations and arguments to "the resistant walls of the absurd" (Alfaro, 1983: 47). After a large summary of the novel, Alfaro states that *Los seres queridos* depicts "a society devoted to the creation of a mythology based on hedonism" (Alfaro, 1983: 47). The journalist seems to appreciate Waugh, as he concludes that the novelist is "intelligent, sharp and brave" whose originality behaves as a detonator (Alfaro, 1983: 47).

In the Spanish academia, the scholar who dedicated to Waugh countless books, essays and even a doctoral dissertation was Carlos Villar Flor, writer, translator and Professor at the University La Rioja. His doctoral dissertation titled *The Characterization as Product and Process in the Novels of Evelyn Waugh*¹⁸ was presented in 1995 at the University of Oviedo. This doctoral thesis was followed by other studies on Waugh such as *Character and Characterization in the Novels of Evelyn Waugh*¹⁹ published by University La Rioja in 2011. In this monograph, Villar Flor (2011) states that the outcome, as well as the general tone of the book, is intentionally macabre. It denounces "the pseudo-spiritual techniques employed to make fortune such as the scenic frauds, the film and journalistic deception, spiritual insensitivity, neopaganism [...], the desire to evade the reality of death through sophistication" (Villar Flor, 2011: 24). Villar Flor concludes that the novel is a dark and playful

¹⁷ Original title: "Los seres queridos".

¹⁸ Original title: *La caracterización como producto y como proceso en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh*.

¹⁹ Original title: *Personaje y caracterización en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh*.

criticism that was already employed in Waugh's early novels aimed to show "a barbaric world pending only of material well-being at the cost of exercising self-deception" (Villar Flor, 2011: 24).

4. Censors' Reception

4.1. *Work Suspended and Other Stories*

Work Suspended was Waugh's unfinished novel written in 1939 before he enrolled in the Royal Marines in December. Waugh lost interest in completing the novel, because he believed that "the world in which and for which it was designed has ceased to exist" (as cited in Heath, 1982: 139). The novel was first published in a limited edition in 1942 by Chapman and Hall, and a revised version titled *Work Suspended and Other Stories* was published in 1949, which enclosed eight short stories written before the Second World War: "Mr Loveday's Little Outing" (1935), "Cruise" (1932), "Period Piece" (1934), "On Guard" (1934), "An Englishman's Home" (1939), "Excursion in Reality" (1934), "Bella Fleace Gave a Party" (1932), "Winner Takes All" (1936).

Work Suspended narrates the experiences of a successful novelist, John Plant, who enjoyed travelling from one place to another in order to write his detective novels. John's latter location was Fez, Morocco, where he was working on his last novel, "*Murder at Mountrichard Castle*" (Waugh, 1951: 106). He spent most of his time writing, and his recreations were scarce. Once a week he dined at the consulate accompanied by the consul and his wife. He also used to frequent Moulay Abdullah called the "quartier toléré" where he paid ten francs for Fatima's services (Waugh, 1951: 121). John was forced to return to London when he received the news of his father's death, a talented painter with a fortune of 2,000 pounds, which John inherited alongside the house. At London, John reencountered a university friend, Roger Simmonds and his pregnant wife Lucy. Roger was also a novelist and Marxist. He became communist because in those times "every clever young people" were (Waugh, 1951: 159). John and Lucy spent a lot of time

together, as she helped him to find a house at the countryside. He fell in love with her, but when she had the child, John retired to the house he bought. John could not enjoy the house for long, as the Second World War broke out and the house “was requisitioned, filled with pregnant women” and destroyed in five years (Waugh, 1951: 192). He joined the army and perceived the regimental soldiering as an agreeable way of life.

One of the most representative stories of Waugh's collection was “*Mr Loveday's Little Outing*”, which analyses the behaviour of lunatic people. Mr Loveday was interned in the “County Home for Mental Defectives” and was treated as an employee of the asylum. During many years, Mr Loveday effectively attended the patients of the hospital and he was loved by everyone. He behaved like a sane person and, one day, he was allowed to leave the asylum and enjoy himself. However, his enjoyment did not last long, as he immediately returned. Mr Loveday's “little treat” consisted in strangling a young woman:

Half the mile up the road from the asylum gates, they later discovered an abandoned bicycle [...] Quite near it in the ditch, lay the strangled body of a young woman, who, riding home to her tea, had chanced to overtake Mr Loveday, as he strode along, musing on his opportunities (Waugh, 1951: 14-15).

Once the response of the critics is presented, the political determinants mentioned by Jauss (1982) must be also analysed. Therefore, the political determinants are given here by the censorial apparatus, and its response to Waugh's novels. In Spain, *Work Suspended and Other Stories* was submitted to censorship twice in 1953. On 12 May 1953 Iber-Amer asked for authorization in order to import the translation *Obra suspendida y otros cuentos* from Buenos Aires. The novel was translated by Guillermo Whitelow and published by Emecé in 1952. The censorship department rejected the import on 22 May 1953 (File 2993/53). The censorship file does not include a report which would justify censors' rejection. Few days later, on 28 May 1953, the publishing house Queromon

editores requested permission to import 100 copies of the same edition (File 3348/53). On 10 June 1953, *Obra suspendida y otros cuentos* was rejected again, and as in the first occasion, the censor did not provide a report which could justify the rejection of this work.

Probably the references in *Work Suspended* to the Catholic religion, Marxism, communism, prostitution practice and bribing authorities might have influenced censor's decision to prohibit it. John Plant referred to his father's atheism and noted that if his father had known more about Marxism, he would have discovered the existence of God: "His atheism was his response to the simple piety and confused agnosticism of his family circle. He never came to hear much about Marxism; had he done so, he would, I am sure, have discovered a number of proofs of the existence of God" (Waugh, 112: 1951). Furthermore, John's friend, Roger was a socialist who strongly believed in the Marxist ethics and intended to write an ideological play: "Marxist ethics kept him talking until he had finished luncheon. [...] He was overworking the Marxist vocabulary. That was always Roger's way to become obsessed with a new set of words and to extend them, deliberately, beyond the limits of sense. [...] It was here that Roger had written his ideological play" (Waugh, 1951: 134).

Moreover, while in Fez, in order to entertain himself, John used to visit the "quartier toléré", which was a way of entertainment as regular as going to cinema. There, he employed the services of a prostitute called Fatima:

It was the evening when I usually visited the Moulay Abdullah the walled quartier toléré between the old city and the ghetto. I had gone there first with the sense of adventure; now it had become part of my routine, a regular resort, like the cinema and the Consulate, one of the recreations which gave incident to my week and helped clear my mind [...]. I always visited the same house and the same girl [...]. She spoke the peculiar French which she had picked up from the soldiers, and she went by the unassuming professional name of Fatima. Other girls of the place called themselves 'Lola' and 'Fifi'; there was even an

arrogant, coal-black Sudanese named 'Whiskey-soda'" (Waugh, 1951: 121).

While John was enjoying the services of the brothel, a raid of the police caught him in there without his passport and money. One hundred francs would have rescued him of spending a night at the police station: "A hundred francs, no doubt, would have established my respectability, but my money lay with my passport in the hotel" (Waugh, 1951: 123).

In this occasion, censor's rejection confirms Cisquella, Erviti & Sorolla's (1977) statement that they were less tolerant with those topics that referred to Socialism, Marxism or morality matters, in this case prostitution practice. According to María del Camino Gutiérrez Lanza (1997), some specific studies carried out on the censorship criteria that were applied to certain works coincide in pointing out that censors focused on certain aspects mentioned also by Abellán (1980): sexual morality, political opinions and the use of improper language and religion (Gutiérrez Lanza, 1997: 288).

However, it seems that censors might not have followed a well-established criterion. Gutiérrez Lanza (1997) mentioned that even though it may seem contradictory, the most outstanding feature of the Francoist censorial apparatus was precisely the lack of defined criteria (p. 287). Manuel L. Abellán has also referred to the subject with the following words²⁰:

I don't think there's a fixed criterion, generally speaking. These are norms, except for those that are untouchable in any regime of the characteristics of ours, which do not clearly express what can and cannot be done. Depending on the circumstances, the hand is opened or closed. The writer's name and career are also

²⁰ Abellán original version cited in Gutiérrez Lanza (1997): "No creo que haya un criterio fijo, hablando en general. Son normas, salvo las intocables en todo régimen de las características del nuestro, que no expresan claramente lo que se puede y lo que no se puede hacer. Según las circunstancias se abre o se cierra la mano. También se tiene muy en cuenta el nombre y la trayectoria del escritor. A veces se ha ejercido una especie de veto sobre el nombre".

taken into account. Sometimes a kind of veto has been exercised over an author's name (as cited in Gutiérrez Lanza, 1997: 287-288).

4.2. *The Loved One*

Waugh published *The Loved One* in 1948 in *Horizon*, the magazine of Cyril Connolly, and it was inspired on a trip to the United States. Waugh went to Hollywood to discuss the filming of *Brideshead Revisited* and visited the cemetery Forest Lawn, which became the raw material for *The Loved One*. The novel is a satire of the mortuary customs in Hollywood where the burial is transformed into a profitable industry based on a superficial sentimentalism. The clients of Forest Lawn, called "Whispering Glades" in the novel, pay a series of services to make their *Loved Ones* as comfortable as possible. Thus, the *Waiting Ones* can decide on one of the expensive coffins and select the appropriate attire for their *Loved Ones*:

He studied all that was for sale; even the simplest of these coffins, he humbly recognized, outshone the most gorgeous product of the Happier Hunting Ground and when he approached the 2,000-dollar level – and these were not the costliest – he felt himself in the Egypt of the Pharaohs [...] "How will the Loved One be attired? We have our own tailoring section. Sometimes after a very long illness there are not suitable clothes available and sometimes the Waiting Ones think it a waste of a good suit" (Waugh, 2014: 17).

English criticism regarding *The Loved One* was both positive and negative, as it was already mentioned earlier. On the one hand, Waugh's friend, Cyril Connolly, considered the novel a "witty and macabre" satire comparing Waugh with Jonathan Swift (Connolly, 1948: 77). On the other hand, Edmund Wilson ridiculed Waugh's belief in a life after death and he situated in a favourable light the cemetery patrons who practiced mortuary art, as "they seemed more sensible and less absurd than the priest-guided Evelyn Waugh" (as cited in Farrelly, 1951: 233). However, the Spanish

critics enjoyed the novel. Aguirre de Cárcer (1949: 39), for instance, considered it a “macabre farce” aimed at emphasising the failure of the American materialistic society. Furthermore, Osete (1961: 79) believed that Waugh achieved the peak of his novelistic perfection in style and technique. The critic interpreted the novel as macabre comedy, which caused controversies among the Americans, as they believed that Waugh insulted America (Osete, 1961: 80).

In view of this positive reception in Spain, it could be assumed that the novel was approved by the censorship department also. On 31 December 1953, E.D.H.A.S.A. asked authorization to import from Argentina two hundred copies priced at 36 pesetas each. The novel was translated into Spanish by Pedro Lecuona and published by Sudamericana in Buenos Aires in 1953. Pedro Lecuona was a Spanish diplomat and consul of the Spanish Republic in Buenos Aires (Auñamendi Eusko Entziklopedia, 2017). The censors’ report revealed that the novel is:

A satire of the beliefs of certain American sectors, which try to replace authentic religious feelings with absurd sentimentalism related to death. Characters in this novel are immoral, and the main character commits suicide. Nonetheless, as all her actions are ridiculed, the reader does not identify any reason that could prevent its authorization. (File 188/54)²¹.

The import was authorised on 29 January 1954. According to this report, the censor had not even found the suicide of Miss Aimée Thanatogenos, the cosmetician of Whispering Glades, immoral. As the actions of the characters were ridiculed, the censor considered that Aimée’s suicide act was another mockery. Moreover, her death was mocked by Dennis Barlow, the

²¹ “Es una sátira de las creencias de ciertos sectores norteamericanos, que tratan de sustituir los auténticos sentimientos religiosos con un sentimentalismo absurdo, especialmente en relativo a la muerte. Los protagonistas son personas faltas de moralidad; la protagonista acaba suicidándose. Pero como todos sus actos se ponen en ridículo, el lector no ve malo que impida la autorización”.

administrator of the pet cemetery, who gave Aimée the same treatment as to the animals he incinerated. When Aimée's corpse was introduced into the oven to be cremated, Dennis wrote to Mr. Joyboy, Aimée's supervisor, a postcard that he used to write for the pets' owners:

Tomorrow and in every anniversary as long as the Happier Hunting Ground existed a postcard would go to Mr. Joyboy: Your little Aimée is wagging her tale in heaven tonight, thinking of you. 'Like those Nicean barks of yore that gently o'er a perfumed sea/A weary way-worn wondered bored/To his own native shore' (Waugh, 2014: 59).

Two years later, on 5 April 1956, the Spanish General Society of the Library, requested authorization from the censorship department to import, this time from Hamburg, three hundred copies of a German version of the novel titled *Tod in Hollywood*. In their report, censors noted that the novel is a satire of the mortuary customs in Hollywood, and it represents a protest against the modern way of living (File 1789/56)²². The import was approved on 24 April 1956. As it could be observed, the novel had been accurately analysed by the censors, as they had all coincided in the fact that it was a satire of Hollywood mortuary customs and could henceforth be commercialised in Spain.

Censor's positive reception of this novel might have been influenced by the fact that this novel mocked some events that developed in a foreign country, more precisely in the far United States. Raquel Merino and Rosa Rabadán (2002) underlined that from the forties to the early eighties, the censorship boards employed a regular pattern in the evaluation of literary works:

²² "El autor, un antiguo periodista inglés convertido al catolicismo visita Hollywood y hace una perfecta sátira de las costumbres locales vistos por un británico. Con especial habilidad narra todas las escalas sociales y hace un análisis de la lucha por el éxito en la meca del cine utilizando un tono irónico que hace de la novela, al mismo tiempo, una protesta contra la forma de vivir actual. Puede autorizarse".

- a) Those works and authors that were ideologically affable to the authorities were easily authorised for translation and publication (Merino and Rabadán, 2002: 137).
- b) Censors usually approved those works that were ideologically “clean,” “whose plots and settings were both mentally and physically distant, e.g., far West novels, spy novels, sci-fi stories” (Merino and Rabadán, 2002: 137). This tactic allowed them to build a biased image of other cultures, being supported by the films issued in Spain during the 50s, 60s and 70s (Merino and Rabadán, 2002: 137).

With *The Loved One*, Waugh seemed to have accomplished the expectations of the censorial board. Even before revising *The Loved One*, censors have considered Waugh a great humourist able to write with refinement. For instance, in the report written in 1943 on *A Handful of Dust*, the censor considered that the novel had literary and artistic value, and the novelist wrote with elegance and psychological insight (File 1641/43). Later, in the report issued in 1944 on the novel *Black Mischief*, the censor mentioned that this is a parody, a humoristic novel where “the comic contrast is achieved though the monarchs’ mentality and the primitive atmosphere where he develops his enterprises” (File 5554/44). Thus, by the time *The Loved One* passed through the censorship department, Waugh was already known by the censors and the image they had about him was that of a humourist and satirist who writes with elegance and style, qualities that might have influenced their decision to authorise *The Loved One*.

Indeed, the image Spanish readers had about American mortuary traditions portrayed in the novel was reinforced by the film produced by Tony Richardson broadcasted in 1965 and issued in Spain under the title *Los Seres Queridos* in November 1968. In December 1968, Eufhorión Miró published in the newspaper *Diario de Mallorca* a review of the film titled *Cine para réir*. The reviewer states that in Spain such topic might have been considered a monstrosity, however the English have a refining sense of irony and they are able to highlight events without exaggerating (Miró, 1968: 13). Richardson’s film is more detailed than Waugh’s novel

and “concentrates on the macabre comedy of those mortuary gardens where among flowers and waterfalls the idols of Yankee cinematography perpetuate their limbo” (Miró, 1968: 13). Notwithstanding, the fact that the actions develop in the far away United States might have had a positive influence over the censors, since, as Merino and Rabadán (2002) stated, they usually approved those plots that were mentally and physically distant from Spain, in order to generate an erroneous image of other countries (p. 137).

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, it may be stated that the success or lack of it of each novel during and after the Francoist period was conditioned by censors' reception. The absence of a report on *Work Suspended and Other Stories* may be interpreted as a lack of criteria, which censors had to follow in order to decide whether a piece of literature may be authorised or not. We tend to believe that they were guided by the norms explained by Cisquella, Erviti & Sorolla and Abellán. Indeed, the novel presented some political, religious and moral aspects that the censorial apparatus might have found threatening for the regime. As consequence of censors' rejection, critics, scholars and journalists did not have much access to this work, as no review, academic paper or newspaper article about *Work Suspended and Other Stories* was identified during the Francoist time. After Franco, translators delayed a considerable amount of time in publishing a translation and some reviews to get the Spanish readers familiar with this oeuvre. On the other hand, *The Loved One* was from the very beginning considered a comedy and parody of the mortuary customs in Hollywood, and the censors authorised it in two occasions without deletions or modifications. Thus, during Franco's dictatorship the novel was successful, which was reinforced by the film production broadcasted in Spain in 1968. Journalists and scholars had access to the novel and were able to provide their opinions, which in most cases were positive. After the Francoist period, translators showed interest and issued various translations since 1983. Academics also contributed with a doctoral

thesis and a monograph where *The Loved One* and other works of Waugh were analysed. It could be mentioned that even though a piece of literature was not accepted and consequently not studied during the Francoist time, it did not refrain translators and scholars to retake this work and introduce it to Spanish readership after the Francoist regime.

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