

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVELYN WAUGH'S
CAREER: 1903-1939

by

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PREFACE

Evelyn Arthur St. John Waugh, Esq., the second son of Arthur Waugh (1866-1943), was born on October 28, 1903; his boyhood was spent at his father's new home, "Underhill," 145 North End Road, London NW3, a shabby and empty house with three "For Sale" signs at the front during the Summer of 1961. The house lies on the north side of Hampstead Heath Hill, below the manor houses and large country houses that are still to be seen there. The Northern Line "Tube" station near the Waugh home is now called Golders Green; "Underhill" was once an almost isolated house, but it is now enclosed in the rather unattractive rows of identical suburban houses. One block up North End Road sits the manor house in which the famous dancer, Madame Anna Pavlova, lived from 1912 to 1931, now the Manor House Hospital. Across the hill to the East is the National Trust's "Kenwood" where the Iveagh Bequest of Reynolds' paintings is displayed in its country house setting of wealth and elegance. On the South, or London side of the hill is "Keats House" where the "Ode to a Nightingale" was written.

Evelyn's¹ forebears, on both sides of his family, were, generally, "West Country," middle-class professional people--medical men, soldiers, and Anglican divines. His parents' status has been described in these words:

¹The name "Evelyn" must be used to prevent confusion.

But Evelyn's origin was not humble. Arthur Waugh, winner of the Newdigate Prize Poem at New College, Oxford, Managing Director of Chapman and Hall, authority on Tennyson and Browning, and a mother who was Upper Middle Class at its best, which is praise.¹

Arthur Waugh left his home at Wells, near Bath, and came to London after taking his "Third" at Oxford in 1889. He then sought and followed the advice of a cousin on the maternal side, Edmund Gosse, in his attempt to become a man-of-letters. After his "conservative" contribution to the first number of *The Yellow Book* (Jan., 1894), he progressed through reviewing and publisher's offices to the position of Managing Director of Chapman and Hall by 1902. He married Kate Raban in 1893 and his first son, Alexander Raban, or "Alec," was famous for his "Public School" novel, *The Loom of Youth*, by 1917, when Evelyn had attained adolescence. Thus, Evelyn's background would have been recorded in the usual reference books had Arthur Waugh not conveniently, for biographers, published his own autobiography.²

Evelyn's own early successes as a writer won his being included in *Living Authors* (1931),³ and literary distinction with the award of the Hawthornden Prize won his being included in *Who's Who* (1937). Two marriages into the Upper Class ranks further help the biographer in that complete genealogical tracing of the Waugh family is now found in

¹Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961.

²*One Man's Road, Being a Picture of Life in a Passing Generation* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1931). Cited as One Man's Road hereafter.

³Edited by Dillys Tante [Stanley J. Kunitz] (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1931). This article was first published as "Evelyn Waugh, a Biographical Sketch," *Wilson Bulletin*, V (April, 1931), 488.- Cited as *Living Authors* hereafter.

reference books for the Upper Classes, such as Burke's Landed Gentry; Kelly's; and DeBrett's.

His approval of these casual biographies was expressed in a statement made early during the second World War: "Any information about my previous career which I wish to make public, may be found in the ordinary English works of reference--Who's Who and Kelly's Handbook of the Titled, Landed and Official Classes."¹ This statement, of course, forbade further biographical publication. Relenting since then, however, he has approved the biographical sketch of greater length given in Evelyn Waugh, Portrait of an Artist, by Frederick J. Stopp.²

Convenient and useful though these reference biographies are, there is, nevertheless, a public record much more extensive which has never been collected and set down in one place. It derives from the contemporary public account of a precocity which manifested itself from Evelyn's earliest days. A friend referred to him soon after their University days as "Evelyn Waugh, who like all Scotsmen is possessed of genius."³ Precocious genius publicized the young Evelyn far beyond what might reasonably be expected from even his social heritage; wittiness and artistry admitted him, a Middle Class person, to the "Cafe Society"

¹Quoted from Catholic Authors, Contemporary Biographical Sketches, ed. Matthew Hoehn (Newark: St. Mary's Abbey, 1948).

²(London: Chapman and Hall, 1958), pp. 11-59. Cited as Stopp hereafter. Most of the information had been published elsewhere, though the book does not offer bibliographical data. Little if any was volunteered by Evelyn Waugh: "I did not gain a lot of information about Mr. Waugh's earlier life at Oxford, and what I did went into the book" (unpublished letter of F. J. Stopp to Charles Linck, August 2, 1961).

³Terence Greenidge, "The Cinematograph in Oxford," The Isis (Oxford), June 17, 1925, p. 10.

and the "Higher Bohemia" of London's exclusive Mayfair society during the late twenties. Marriage eventually admitted him into the restricted circles of Upper Class and Aristocratic British Society. And however much we may appreciate his literary fame and position, the role he now also enjoys as a retired, country house member of the eccentric British squirearchy is by no means the least of his attainments.

The purpose of this dissertation is to trace the development of Evelyn's manifold achievement and to show how he used with artistic skill an increasing authority in public causes which he took upon himself to support in the interests of general cultural improvement. To dissociate himself from expected upheaval he turned from the pervading agnosticism and from what he considered a debilitating democracy of the England he knew during his early adulthood; as a reactionary he became a champion of the traditional aristocratic virtues which he perceived to be part and parcel with the unchanging Roman Church. The conclusion of close observation is that, far from being a writer who "sold his inheritance [of 'bourgeois virtues'] for the aristocracy, the Catholic Church and the British Army,"¹ Evelyn is finally revealed as an idealist, whose incisive mind had foreseen various aspects of the British social personality tending toward some vague catastrophe and who stubbornly labored to prevent disaster.

The method of this dissertation is to record the fullest account of Evelyn's career as it was placed before his contemporaries. News reports are included that give a satisfying picture of his activity,

¹Sean O'Faolain, The Vanishing Hero; Studies in Novelists of the Twenties (Boston: Atlantic--Little, Brown, 1956), p. xxxix. Cited as The Vanishing Hero hereafter.

social and artistic, from his earliest beginnings as artist and writer when he attracted only a small audience to the time that his writing enjoyed a kind of national prominence. This procedure requires that the following pages be divided into various appropriate chronological periods of youth and adulthood, their aptness being determined by the several stages in his intellectual as well as by his social evolution.

The method entails the use of current reports as they materialized in school magazines and in newspapers, in both of which book reviews are actually of less importance than scattered news items and the very revealing gossip columns. I do not ignore later fugitive remarks that can be found in Evelyn's journalistic writing, in memoirs of his friends, and in secondary works, all the products of honest labor which have their bearing upon the matters at hand; but I use them more for supplementary data and to guide research than to indicate facts accurately. I have discovered no memoir so reliable about events and dates that it cannot admit correction from the chronology of currently reported news items. Conversely, I have discovered that no newspaper gossip column which contains an inaccurate report is altogether devoid of value if used carefully. I must admit that the behests of the professional historiographer have not always been obeyed when the peripheral materials of gossip columns prevailed over caution: many items have been used for reasons other than to supply facts and to adjust chronology. Further, I have solicited help from many persons, some of whom were very generous with their useful suggestions as well as with offerings of factual materials. My footnotes will attest to this help; but it must be added that much offered from doubtful memory has also been

tested by and has benefited from the corrective that can be derived from contemporary public news items.

I owe debts to persons and institutions that I shall not attempt to enumerate here. But I should like to be able to express my gratitude for initial general guidance from Professor Charles B. Realey, lately of the University of Kansas; as I am able to acknowledge a student's debt to others of my teachers there. My advisors deserve much appreciation for the patience they have shown and for the pains taken in their reading. Grateful thanks are extended to my wife's family, Al and Helen Meyer, for their provision of the means by which I enjoyed a student's visit and reading experience in London during six months of 1961.

CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	iii
Chapter	
I. BOYHOOD AND LANCING PUBLIC SCHOOL	1
Reports of Earliest Precocity	
Activities at Lancing, 1917-1921	
The "Hubris" of his Last, the Fall Term, 1921	
Lancing Postscripts	
II. HERTFORD COLLEGE, 1922-1923	28
Serious Beginnings in Debate, Satirical Art	
and Journalism in 1922	
Controversy, Humor, and Work with the Modern	
Note in Evelyn's Second year	
III. HERTFORD COLLEGE, 1924: FOUR PHASES OF ACTIVITIES . .	69
Sub-Editing <u>The Isis</u> for the "New Order"	
Union Reporting and Final Evaluation	
Apotheosis as Cartoonist-Artist	
Cinema Reviews and Film Production	
IV. POST-OXFORD YEARS, 1924-1927	110
Questions about his Leaving, and Answers	
Art School and Bohemianism	
School Teaching and Other First Work	
The Growth of the "Bright Young People"	
Oxford and London Parties, 1927	
The New Gossip Column and the Bright Young People	
V. FIRST BOOKS, MARRIAGE, FAME, TRAVEL AND PARTIES,	
1928-1929	146
His First Book	
His First Marriage	
The Success of His First Novel	
First Paid Journalism	
Youth Politics and Gossip Column Fame	
Seeking Culture on a Mediterranean Cruise	
Parties, 1929	
Some Journalism of Late 1929	

Chapter	Page
VI. DIVORCE, CRITICISM, CONVERSION AND BACHELOR TRAVEL, 1930-1931	184
<div style="padding-left: 40px;"> Divorce In the Literary Arena, Early 1930 <u>Vile Bodies</u> and Publicity in Early 1930 Detached Play and Journalism in Mid-1930 Conversion to the Roman Catholic Church The Abyssinian Coronation, later 1930 </div>	
VII. 1931 to 1935: WORK AND A CATHOLIC REACTION	212
<div style="padding-left: 40px;"> Preface Remarks for the Thirties Friends and Interests in 1931 and 1932 <u>The Tablet</u> Attacks, 1933-1936 </div>	
VIII. 1932-1937: PURIFICATION BY TRAVEL; CATHOLIC LITERARY SUCCESS; A PROTESTANT ATTACK	236
<div style="padding-left: 40px;"> Travel and Productive Work 1934: A Third Person Account of Evelyn in Spitzbergen 1934: Edmund Campion, A Catholic Book Protestant Attack on Edmund Campion </div>	
IX. 1934 to 1937: FINDING AND DEFENDING A POLITICAL POSITION	278
<div style="padding-left: 40px;"> Career Journalism--Before Abyssinia Assuming a Political Position for the Abyssinian War 1936-1937: The Works of a Catholic Conservative </div>	
X. MARRIAGE AND SETTLED POLITICAL LIFE	308
<div style="padding-left: 40px;"> Marriage and Family Adventure in Journalism--<u>Night and Day</u>: The Weekly "Books" Articles with Anti-socialism Other Anti-socialism in 1937: "Authors Take Sides" <u>Scoop</u>, to Clear the Air Work-a-Day Journalism in 1938 Religion in 1938: A Pilgrimage and a Study of Old Catholics Harmony; Work While Waiting: 1939 </div>	
CONCLUSION	334
BIBLIOGRAPHY	343

CHAPTER ONE

BOYHOOD AND LANSING PUBLIC SCHOOL

Reports of Earliest Precocity

Early in the thirties the proud though reticent father was writing and publishing some details of Evelyn's youthful enthusiasms.¹ At the nearby Heath Mount School Evelyn had participated fully in the classroom and playground activities, though he "did it all without relish or genuine interest"; for, according to his father, Evelyn's real pleasures "were entirely apart from school."² Clearly the boy had a special aptitude for organization: he wrote and arranged dramatic productions, using the neighboring Fleming children for his troupe; he solicited contributions from his elders for a magazine which he imaginatively produced, using the facilities of his father's company. These interests obviously were related to the Waugh family's participation in amateur dramatics and book publishing. Another activity that his

¹For an account of Arthur Waugh's actual pride in his son's achievement during the early thirties see Grant Richards, Author Hunting, by an old Literary Sportsman; Memories of Years Spent Mainly in Publishing, 1897-1934 (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1934), p. 245. This account helps to correct the impression obtained from the latter part of One Man's Road that Arthur Waugh may have been disgusted with his son's and Oxford's noisiness; that he was, instead, disgruntled about his son's recent "perversion" to the Roman Catholic Church in October, 1930, is more likely. The word in quotation marks was recalled in the unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Jan. 7, 1962.

²One Man's Road, pp. 333-34.

father recalled was Evelyn's organizing a "pistol troop" for the home defenses before war was being discussed; it is likely that this interest derived from reading P. G. Wodehouse's Mike, serialized in a "boys' book," The Captain, as he recalled later.¹ In a more public manner he was ardent in the cause of "Female Suffrage." Arthur Waugh wrote of an incident when Evelyn made placards and picketed a beach resort town in the cause; an early flair for oratory evidenced itself in the same cause at another time:

On one occasion, when we were giving a garden party, and half the guests had disappeared alike from the lawn and tea-room, they were found crowded into the boys' playroom upstairs, where Evelyn was delivering an impassioned address on the injustice of the male sex, and the imperative necessity of a franchise extending to women before the next General Election. His impromptu oratory was the success of the party.²

His public extended outside the family circle: a neighboring journalist, Wilson Harris, wrote that his wife used to meet Mrs. Arthur Waugh while shopping and she "generally had two small boys with her, one of them called Alec, the other Evelyn; they were said to show promise."³

These evidences of precocity indicate a lively personality in the young Evelyn; it developed strongly. One aspect of his character that in the future was turned to more artistic forms of expression was not mentioned by the father. It remained for Cecil Beaton to disclose in his recent autobiography that Evelyn was the leader of the school

¹Review of P. G. Wodehouse, Laughing Gas, Tablet (London), Oct. 17, 1936, pp. 532-33. The magazine that Evelyn produced was related to the pistol troop; Stopp's list contains the information: The Pistol Troop Magazine (Underhill: At the Pistol Troop Press, 1912).

²One Man's Road, p. 334.

³Wilson Harris, Life So Far (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), p. 90. In 1932 Mr. Harris employed both father and son when he became the Editor of The Spectator.

bullies, a small-sized leader of boys larger than himself. Beaton recalled meeting Evelyn and his gang during his first play-period at Heath Mount School:

The leader . . . halted a few inches in front of me with a menacing wild stare He then stood on his toes and slowly thrust his face with a diabolical stare, closer and closer to mine, ever closer until the eyes converged into one enormous Cyclops nightmare. . . . After the Cyclops eye had several times been retracted only to be brought back again in its symbolic horror, Waugh then stood baring his teeth at me. By the time the physical onslaught began, fright had mercifully made me only half conscious.¹

In his review of the book Evelyn corrected the memory: the tortures did not include "bending your arms back to front"; instead, "our chief sport was to stick pins into him" and this sport was "repeated many times."² The artistic use of such torture came later when Evelyn made use of Cecil Beaton's fame as a "Bright Young Person" in *Decline and Fall* (1928) for his character "little Davy Lennox," the society photographer.

Bullying aside, there was actually a strong ethical bent to his precocity: he wrote a 500-word novel, *The Curse of the Race*, at the

¹Cecil Beaton, *The Wandering Years; Diaries: 1922-1939* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961), p. 173. Cited as *The Wandering Years* hereafter.

²"Footlights and Chandeliers," *Spectator* (London), July 21, 1961, p. 96. Since then Mr. Beaton has announced in a British Broadcasting Corporation interview during March, 1962, that Evelyn was always his "enemy"; an earlier remark from a review of Evelyn's is appropriate here for interpretation of these playful remarks: "Mr. Cecil Beaton I have known, not well, for nearer fifty than forty years. He has always struck me as a genial, hospitable, light-hearted fellow" ("*The Book Unbeautiful*" [*Review of Truman Capote and Richard Avedon, Observations*], *Spectator*, Nov. 20, 1959, pp. 728-29).

age of seven; it condemns betting.¹ Moralizing reflects another important side of the Waugh family background. Correctly, Evelyn has written "my family tree burgeons on every twig with Anglican clergymen."² This background exerted its influence upon Evelyn's juvenile literary works, another of which he described later in these words:

At the age of ten I composed a long and tedious poem about Purgatory in the meter of Hiawatha and to the dismay of my parents, who held a just estimate of my character, expressed my intention of becoming a clergyman. The enthusiasm which my little school-fellows devoted to birds' eggs and model trains I turned on church affairs and spoke glibly of chasubles and Erastianism.³

It was primarily because Evelyn "had always shown a deeply religious temperament" that, when the time came for him to go to a Public School, he was placed in Lancing College at Shoreham-on-Sea, near Brighton.⁴

¹First published in a volume of similar work by his friends: *Little Innocents; Childhood Reminiscences* by Dame Ethyl Smyth et al. Preface by Alan Pryce-Jones (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1932). The story is included in Evelyn Waugh, *Tactical Exercise* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1954). It was reviewed in *The Cherwell* (Oxford), Dec. 3, 1932, p. 188: "But the highest honours go to Mr. Evelyn Waugh, who gives us his first novel, *The Curse of the Race*, written at the age of seven years!"

²"Come Inside," *The Road to Damascus. The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Fifteen Converts to Catholicism*, ed. John A. O'Brien (New York: Doubleday; Image Books, 1949), pp. 3-9. Cited as "Come Inside" hereafter.

³Though the dating varies this is probably what Stopp lists as *The World to Come. A Poem in Three Cantos* (Privately Printed, 1916). There is a further description of its contents: "At the age of thirteen, roughly, Evelyn wrote a poem which was both young and rather good about a spiritual warfare--the kind of thing John Bunyan did in prose. Arthur must have had a few copies printed, for he showed me his own, beautifully bound by the Chapman and Hall bookbinder. But Evelyn as a young man thought lightly of this work of childhood" (unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Feb. 17, 1962).

⁴*One Man's Road*, pp. 356-57. It is explained that Evelyn was refused admittance to Sherbourne, his father's and brother's school, because Alec's first novel, *The Loom of Youth*, an exposure of the school, was to come out in May, 1917. When it was issued both father and brother were blacklisted.

Lancing was a "Woodward School" of the High Church tradition, offering "reduced fees to the sons of the clergy" and, thus, fostering the religious vocation.¹

Evelyn also applied this religious fervor in the graphic arts, an interest which likewise can be attributed to family influences. The elaborate craftsmanship that he lavished on the production of his magazine shows his interest in book-making as an art. Arthur often amused his children by drawing cartoons for them.² Likely to arouse his interest in painting is the fact that in the dimmer background of the Waugh family were three distant aunts who had married painters of the Pre-Raphaelite School.³ Mrs. Holman-Hunt still survived and Evelyn has recalled visiting her, a champion of Hunt's position as the leader of the movement.⁴ He has remarked that he took drawing lessons in school, "which began with copying lithographs of rural scenery and advanced to 'freehand' renderings of still life."⁵ He has written that when he was fourteen he won a prize for an "illuminated collect," which earned him

¹Dudley Carew, The House is Gone, A Personal Retrospect (London: Robert Hale, 1949), pp. 98-99. Cited as The House is Gone hereafter.

²One Man's Road, p. 338. He read from his favorite Victorian poets for the children, another influence.

³Evelyn Waugh, Rossetti, His Life and Works (New York: Dodd Mead, 1928), p. 35. Cited as Rossetti hereafter. See William Rothenstein, Men and Memories, A History of the Arts, 1872-1922. Being the Recollections of William Rothenstein. (2 Volumes in 1; New York: Tudor, 1937), I:334, 361; Mrs. Edna Clarke Hall (Mrs. Edna Waugh); II:3: Miss Rosa Waugh.

⁴"The Only Pre-Raphaelite" [Review of Diana Holman-Hunt, My Grandmothers and I (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1960)]7, Spectator, Oct. 14, 1960, p. 567.

⁵"Tourist in Africa," Spectator, Aug. 12, 1960, p. 246. This was later published in book form by Chapman and Hall.

the reward of being taken to Ditchling to visit the famous teacher of Eric Gill; the following is his description of an original inspiration:

Edward Johnston took me into his work-room, beautifully described in this biography, took a turkey quill and cut it into a chisel-pointed pen. Then, to show how it was used, he wrote a few words for me in what is now called his "foundational" hand. I treasure that piece of writing. But still more I treasure the memory of the experience of seeing those swift, precise, vermilion strokes coming to life. It was a moment of revelation analogous to that recorded by Eric Gill, . . . It was the awe and exhilaration of the presence of genius.¹

The prize piece of work was probably the same one that rewarded him with his first notice in The Lancing College Magazine, in these words:

The Arts Exhibition was held at the end of the Easter Term. Detmar Blow, Esq., kindly came down to judge. He was much pleased with the exhibition, and thought that the standard was a high one.

The prizes were given as follows:--First, E. St. J. Waugh (Head's), an illustrated missal.²

Then, after manifesting his ability and precocity in several more pieces of religious art, which must have required very tedious labor, he advanced a further stage with the loss of his religious vocation:

"At the age of sixteen I formally notified the school chaplain that there was no God."³ To one of Lancing's war-time replacement masters

¹"The Hand of the Master" [Review of Priscilla Johnston, Edward Johnston (London: Faber, 1959)], Spectator, July 24, 1959, pp. 108, 110.

²June, 1919, p. 39. Cited as L.C.M. hereafter. Memory of ages and dates varies; the same column of "Library Notes" receipts the acquisition of Edward Johnston, Writing, Illuminating and Lettering. There had been no previous prize-giving and Ditchling was not far from Lancing; therefore it may be assumed that Evelyn was more nearly sixteen than fourteen when he visited Johnston. Detmar Blow was an architect of some stature as he is identified in Loelia Ponsonby's Grace and Favour: The Memoirs of Loelia, Duchess of Westminster (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961), p. 161. Cited as Grace and Favour hereafter.

³"Come Inside."

goes the blame; Evelyn could not follow his "modernist" logic: "This learned and devout man inadvertently made me an atheist."¹

Activities at Lancing, 1917-1921

Evelyn had already experienced wartime privation and excitement in London before going to Lancing in January, 1917. At Lancing, the nearby Shoreham Aerodrome required blackout at school; spy-hunts, harvest work-camps, substitute foods at table, and a magazine filled with war news and obituaries undoubtedly created a disturbing atmosphere.² Masters left for military service and their replacements were welcomed by the Magazine. The times were no doubt generally disturbed. For Evelyn the term was indeed particularly exciting, for Alec's novel came out to give the Waugh's a perhaps unwelcome notoriety soon after Evelyn entered the school.

Evelyn's name, with that of a friend for future years, R. T. B. Fulford, appeared in the Magazine's "Salvete" column in May, 1917; both students placed in the "Middle Fourth" form at the Headmaster's House. Their addresses were listed at the end of each term, but two years passed before Evelyn's name appeared in "Library Notes" as he won the prize at the Art Exhibition. His family were pleased: the same column notes that two books each from Arthur and Alec Waugh were gifts.³

¹"Come Inside." The Lancing Register. Third Edition, Revised and Continued to 1932 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1933) lists several such replacement masters. Any of several who were mentioned in the Magazine for rather high-spirited work might have been the one.

²B. W. T. Handford, Lancing; A History of SS. Mary and Nicholas College (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1933), Chapter XI. Cited as Lancing; A History hereafter. See also L.C.M. files.

³L.C.M., July, 1919, pp. 58-60.

The school's historian gave much credit to Mr. Brent Smith and to Mr. W. B. Harris for their leadership in a kind of literary renaissance that occurred; obviously there were more funds for books and a great enthusiasm for activities such as burlesque opera and "musical concerts" which were held at the Library. In the fashion of its day the school's history attributed to the war this heightened activity in all areas of intellectual and creative work.¹ Manifest in the Magazine from 1919 onward was a greatly increased interest in the humane arts, particularly as a result of one quite revolutionary institution that Evelyn helped to form. Already in existence were many "societies" for the more advanced boys of the Sixth Form:

But the desire for such things ran so deeply into the heart of the school that the interesting experiment was made of starting a society for those who had not yet reached the Sixth. Chiefly under the influence of Evelyn Waugh and Fulford among the boys and "Dick" of the masters, the Dilettanti had a full existence for a few years. There was in it an art group, three literary groups, two debating groups, a political group and a theatrical group.²

The Magazine recorded the manifesto of the "Dilettanti Society" in December, 1919; Evelyn read a paper on "Book Illustration" before the Art Group as one of the society's first activities.³ Other leaders who long remained among Evelyn's friends were Hugh Molson, Dudley Carew, and Tom Driberg. Evelyn persuaded Alec to come down for the society; Eric Gill and Arundell Esdaile of the British Museum also paid visits.⁴

¹Lancing; A History, pp. 271-78.

²Ibid., p. 274. See also One Man's Road, p. 369, and The House is Gone, pp. 98-99.

³L.C.M., Dec., 1919, pp. 107-108.

⁴The House is Gone, p. 99.

The Dilettanti defended itself for being a "proletarian" attempt to enable the lower forms to profit from club work which had traditionally been reserved to the "aristocratic" Sixth Form. It was also, practically speaking, a wedge by which Evelyn and his friends broke into the Lancing College Debating Society. Hugh Molson appears to have been the leader, "speaking when in the Fifth Form at a Debating Society closed except to the Sixth."¹ The Magazine's reports of debates fixes the date for the quite extraordinary development: on the Sunday evening of November 16, 1919, the balloting rose from the usual forty to over one hundred.² At this debate Evelyn moved the resolution "That the Doctrine of Re-incarnation offers the best Solution to the Problem of Immortality," which lost 29 to 75. His "maiden" presentation "on paper" received more than two hundred words, or over a fourth of the report; other speakers included Roger Fulford and Hugh Molson. Notable at this debate was the return from the war of Captain J. F. Roxburgh, the much-applauded Classics Master, to his position of "Debate Secretary."³ His encouragement helped.

¹"Isis Idol," The Isis (Oxford), Nov. 4, 1925, p. 7. Another reference to the event can be found in L.C.M., Nov. 1921, p. 82; at this time Evelyn, the President of the Debating Society, was under attack for returning the Society to drastic exclusiveness.

²L.C.M., Dec., 1919, p. 104.

³L.C.M., Nov., 1919, p. 80, where it was recorded that Roxburgh had been mentioned in Field-Marshal Haig's last dispatches of October 5, 1919. Dudley Carew, who had found "Dick" to be a great improvement over some wartime replacement masters felt it quite improbable that anyone could give "J. F." sufficient praise (The House is Gone). B. W. T. Handford, the school's historian who had left Lancing in July, 1919, wrote about Roxburgh: "There can be no question that the intellectual side of the School suffered a serious blow through the departure of Mr. Roxburgh, at the end of 1922, to be the first Headmaster of Stowe School (Lancing; A History, p. 285). Several students followed to Stowe School. See A.E.B.S., "J. F. Roxburgh, 1911-1922," L.C.M., March, 1923, pp. 2-3, for a description.

From the Fall Term of 1919 until Evelyn left the school in 1921, and even after, the Magazine noticed his work regularly.¹ His first speech was reported in unusual length:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (H.M.H.), proposing, besought us to put away both pride and prejudice, and not to reject his doctrine because it was also Mrs. Besant's, or because we feared to see a family portrait in every Landseer print. Virtue and vice, he said, were so much the result of chance environment in this life, that the universe must be essentially unjust if the balance were not redressed when this life was over. This was the consolation of the doctrine; its attractions were manifold and obvious. . . . Re-incarnation, the Hon. member concluded, was a creed of optimism and a creed of courage; it taught men to hope and helped them to endure.²

The whole debate was considered an "unusually successful one." It was also reported that Evelyn, as a Conservative, was engaged in suffragette campaigning: at a Dilettanti debate he argued for co-education in defense of the Government's proposals for the reconstruction of the Public Schools while Hugh Molson, leading the Labour Party side, ejected the

¹Evelyn's small college of four hundred students may be considered, of course, a boon to his personal publicity. As Harold Acton complained in Memoirs of an Aesthete (Methuen, 1948; to be cited as Memoirs hereafter), intellectual activity of merit was seldom noticed at Eton. The Eton Chronicle did report the activities of "The Eton Society of Arts" which included many of a brilliant generation after being instituted by H. V. Yorke, who is known as Henry Green, and Alan Clutton-Brock; among them were Harold and William Acton, Oliver Messel, Robert Byron, Brian Howard, Anthony Powell, and Cyril Connolly, all of whom were Evelyn's friends later at Oxford. But the Eton magazine did not often find space for them. There was a report of Roger Fry's judging paintings for the "Gunther Memorial Prize," most of which were submitted by members of the Society of Arts (Feb. 2, 1922, p. 151); another article reviewed The Eton Candle edited by Brian Howard and contributed to by members of the Society of Arts (May 18, 1922, p. 232); and there was an Editorial about the Society's discussion of "Post-Impressionism" (Nov. 2, 1922, pp. 317-19). These three articles are all that can be found about the numerous works that Acton discusses in Memoirs, pp. 92-93, 97-98, 101-102. Stopp suggests that there was Etonian influence at Lancing, but the dates show that any influence had to have been the reverse.

²L.C.M., Dec., 1919, p. 106.

Government. It was announced by the leaders of the Society that materials for a magazine had already been promised if subscriptions could be acquired. At the senior debate society Evelyn spoke for bachelorhood and youth in a manner that seems a reflection of his own family:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Head's) declared that it was not the paterfamilias' life but the bachelor's which was surrounded with glamour. Old age brings nothing but regrets to the latter.¹

For the Magazine he wrote the report of a lecture about art that a Mr. Cook had delivered for the Sixth Form and the Art Group of the Dilettanti.² His next exhibit did not win an Art Prize, but it was given an unusual mention: "E. A. St. J. Waugh sent in one of his delightful illuminated prayers, and this received general applause."³ His House's swimming team, of which he was a member, won second place in the School's swimming meet on May 26, 1920.⁴ Again before the senior Debate Society, he spoke facetiously about Curiosity: "The cat probably met a violent death at the hands of someone to whom its curiosity had become repugnant."⁵ From the various reports it becomes apparent that his manner and personality were being admired before he became a member of the usual School elite in the Sixth Form. In July, 1920, he was granted the "School Certificate," and thus passed into the "aristocratic" Sixth. The subjects he had completed make an interesting list: Scripture passed in the Greek text of the New Testament, English, History, Latin, Greek, French, and Elementary Mathematics.⁶

¹L.C.M., April, 1920, pp. 18-20.

²Ibid., p. 20.

³Ibid., pp. 20-21.

⁴Ibid., June, 1920, p. 36.

⁵Ibid., pp. 39-40.

⁶Ibid., Nov. 1920, p. 82.

Advancing meant leaving the Dilettanti Society behind; in the Debating Society the voting membership dropped to thirty-seven.¹ Evelyn was an active debater who was developing character; on the topic "that this House deplores the disrespect shown by the youth of today to its elders," Evelyn was Devil's Advocate:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (H.M.H.), opposer, then made what was perhaps the best speech of the evening, though he made several most controversial statements.²

He spoke in like manner upon the topic, "Man's one and only object is his pleasure," which won 21 to 15:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (H.M.H.), said that the only thing certain was that the world was going to the dogs. . . . R. T. B. Fulford, in a speech touching on Hedonism, Individualism, and Atheism, offended Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh who rose and told us so.³

He defended "the sacred joy that belonged to the illicit pipe."⁴ As Opposer of the motion that "Science is the Root of all Evil," he defended the motion:

¹The Dilettanti Society lingered for a year or so and some plaintive items in the Magazine asserted its remaining life; its activities waned until only the debate group was active. Then Peter Burra almost single-handedly revived it to a near re-reincarnation of the glory of its first years. (See L.C.M., June, 1926, p. 172, especially.) P. J. S. Burra was Lancing's "Arbiter Elegantarium," as Harold Acton was Oxford's, until he left in 1928. (See L.C.M., April, 1928, p. 94, especially.) Apparently it was under Burra's influence that A Lancing Miscellany and A Book of Lancing Verse were published by Basil Blackwell. It may also be that it was because of his revival of the fame of Evelyn's days that he was rewarded with being permitted to publish one of Evelyn's few printed poems, "Juvenalia," in his ephemeral Oxford magazine, Farrago (No. 2, June, 1930, p. 88). Burra had begun to review the "Fiction" for The Spectator in 1930 when he was killed in an air accident.

²L.C.M., Nov., 1920, p. 81.

³Ibid., Dec., 1920, p. 102.

⁴Ibid., Feb., 1921, pp. 5-6.

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (H.M.H.), would have nothing to do with Science. He denied the existence of ultimate truth, and said that if there were such a thing you would not get it by seeking it. After talking of Ibsen he stated that it was better to build life on the rock of falsehood rather than on the sand of truth.¹

These speeches appear to give a date to the time that he was suffering the loss of his religious vocation. School debating was practice, however, in standing up and giving one's best performance in whatever cause was appointed.

Debating practice has its place in the preparation of England's Educated Classes for roles of leadership; the serious topics of contemporary politics often were used. Further, students' roles in self-governing in the Public Schools serve a like cause of preparation in future leadership. Since Evelyn became a "House Captain"² during the Summer Term of 1921, what he had to say about political power is of interest. There was a motion "that this House would welcome Abolition of the House of Commons." Evelyn was Proposer; Hugh Molson, whose ambition at this time was to become President of the Oxford Union Society and then Labour Prime Minister,³ was the Opposer. Molson censured the Proposer for being "disgracefully flippant"; he admitted that Commons had its faults, but contended that the Soviet Union, the only alternative, had more. The President of the Debating Society was also disturbed by Evelyn's attack, thus the following report:

¹L.C.M., March, 1921, p. 20.

²He was "House Captain" of his House, not a "School Prefect" which was a more all-encompassing position of power. In his instance "House" meant a designated section of a main building.

³The House is Gone, p. 92.

The Proposer, Mr. Waugh, then rose and poured oil on the troubled President and his antagonist, claiming his right as Proposer to define the motion.¹

Evelyn had not intended to choose Russia; he meant that, in fact, politics was a profession of dishonor:

A Profession of breach of faith--in which fore-sworn majorities in Parliament might represent minorities in the country at large. It was not representative, it was not admirable, it was not useful.²

He disagreed with the established prerogative of the Upper and Educated Classes; apparently he had a negative opinion about the political operation of Government as he had already observed it.

Among the many extra-curricular yet educational media of college life were the various "reading societies" into which Mr. Roxburgh poured much energy. The "Modern" attitudes of "J. F." may perhaps be seen in that Evelyn read Shaw's Candida, Pinero's Gay Lord Quex, and Arnold Bennett's Honeymoon as a member of "The Modern Play Reading Society" during the Fall Term of 1920.³ Shaw's Pygmalion was read during the next term. He also joined the "Shakespeare Society" where, as the reports often stated, fervent attempts were made to master the difficulties of reading numerous parts pleasingly. Evelyn's name was listed in the membership of these two reading societies until he left Lancing--he did not join the French Play Reading group. Since Arthur Waugh regularly read his Victorian favorites to his children it is interesting that Evelyn's preference in poetry during these years was for the pessimistic verse of A. E. Housman, that he disparaged Dudley Carew's taste for Rupert Brooke's sentimental verse. To his disciple Evelyn advised

¹L.C.M., June, 1921, p. 39.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., Dec., 1920, p. 101.

the works of Austin Dobson for light relief. He parodied Landor in a manner that "J. F." appreciated; and, as Carew said, he favored T. S. Eliot's poetry at this time¹--the Waugh family's extensive literary connections may have made Eliot's verse known to him, of course.

Evelyn's reputation as an artist continued to be good. Though he divided a prize with Dudley Carew and C. F. D. Long when Detmar Blow was "unwilling to separate the three" at the exhibition in November, 1920, his work was singled out again for special remark:

E. A. St. J. Waugh had some writing exhibits and these maintained the high standard that we always associate with his work. He showed a delightful landscape in greens, and a study typical of the decadent school.²

These were not religious subjects. His art was a serious endeavor, however, and Arthur Waugh again showed his appreciation by contributing two expensive books to the Library: *Amor Fenn*, *Design and Tradition*, and *Marriott's Modern Movements in Painting*.³

Even as glimpsed through the veil of the Magazine's various reports, which show that Evelyn was regarded with appreciation for his good qualities, one can distinguish the personality of a revolutionist already in full development. At the end of July, 1921, there yet lay before Evelyn a full term for the exposure of "Hubris."⁴ The Fall Term of 1921 was the term of his greatest importance and power; honors and powers were showered upon him and he exploited them.

¹The House is Gone, pp. 96-97, 101.

²L.C.M., Feb., 1921, pp. 6-7.

³Ibid.

⁴Arthur Waugh used the term "Hubris" of his own school days to describe Evelyn's whole career at Lancing. It implied a high-spirited disregard of authority. (One Man's Road, p. 369.)

The "Hubris" of his Last, the Fall Term, 1921

Evelyn was awarded the "Higher Certificate" in August, 1921.¹ Thus, his last term at Lancing in the latter part of 1921 was occupied with preparing for the scholarship competitions; after he had won his scholarship to Hertford College, Oxford, a congratulatory note remarked that he had spent "little more than a term's hard work" for it.² Despite the labor of study he held a number of positions of duty and responsibility: he was a Lance Corporal in the O.T.C.,³ a House Captain, a School Librarian, the Editor of The Lancing College Magazine, and the President of the Lancing College Debating Society, the latter office making him also a "School Official." In the last two roles, Editor and President, he was the recipient of unusual honor⁴ for he had not served the subordinate positions which were the preliminary to the higher positions.

He labored to fill both major offices and his able handiwork was reflected in the Magazine. In a lengthy article he reviewed

¹L.C.M., Feb., 1922, p. 11.

²Ibid., p. 8.

³It is doubtful that the Lancing O.T.C. became the rather in-subordinate body that Christopher Hollis described at Eton. (Along the Road to Frome. London: George G. Harrap, 1958, pp. 37-38.) The Lancing School historian wrote the following: "The new feeling was ably expressed by Evelyn Waugh in the Editorial of the Magazine for December, 1921. Perhaps the O.T.C. suffered most from this [post-war] reaction, as was only natural, and though the main body of the School continued to be members, as in the old days, it cannot be claimed that the Corps of 1920-1925 showed the zeal of Haig-Brown's day." (Lancing; A History, p. 278.)

⁴Later at Oxford when Hugh Molson was the week's "Isis Idol" a comparison which is pertinent here was made: "It is interesting to know that at this time Mr. Molson was the great friend of Mr. Evelyn Waugh. Those that knew them judged the latter to be the one with a successful career in front of him" (Isis, Nov. 4, 1925, p. 7). There were other outstanding persons at Lancing, of course; that Evelyn was chosen above them is one index of his apparent promise.

Mr. Roxburgh's new book about how to introduce poetry, with apparent appreciation for the Classics Master's approach.¹ Another item which will be discussed further was a letter which appeared in conjunction with an action that was controversial only within the bounds of the School--a letter to himself as Editor defending his action in reducing the membership of the Debating Society to a mere interested dozen or so.² There were the usual obvious Editor's notes in the two issues that he was responsible for.

His two Editorials were extraordinary by comparison. In November, 1921, "The Community Spirit" criticized, in an ironic short story, the Public School's manner of determining the possibilities of friendships. In December "The Youngest Generation" described the attitude of the post-war generation and predicted, in an alarmingly accurate way, how the post-war generation would meet life:

The men of Rupert Brooke's generation are broken. Narcissus like, they stood for an instant amazedly aware of their own beauty; the war, which old men made, has left them tired and embittered. What will the young men of 1922 be?

They will be, above all things, clear-sighted, they will have no use for phrases or shadows. . . . The youngest generation are going to be very hard and analytical and unsympathetic, but they are going to aim at things as they are--and they will not call their aim 'Truth.'

. . . They will not be revolutionaries and they will not be poets and they will not be mystics. . . .

And they will be reticent too

But they will have--and this is their justification--a very full sense of humour, which will keep them from "the commission of all sins, or nearly all, save those that are worth committing." They will watch themselves with, probably, a greater egotism, than did the young men of the nineties, but it will be with a cynical smile and often with a laugh.

¹Review of J. F. Roxburgh, The Poetic Procession, A Beginner's Introduction to Poetry (Oxford: Basil Blackwell), L.C.M., Nov., 1921, p. 78.

²L.C.M., Nov., 1921, pp. 82-83.

It is a queer world which the old men have left them and they will have few ideals and illusions to console them when they "get to feeling old." They will not be a happy generation.¹

Certainly much of the history of Evelyn's peers bears out his prediction.

Amused at the early reaction from OL's he apparently engineered a hoaxing attack from within the School upon his first Editorial so that he could then invite more criticism from others: "We feel that we have given our own views on this question with sufficient clearness, but would welcome further correspondence from the School and Old Boys."² He probably followed the course of controversy while he was at Oxford during the next two terms. An unusual expression of his revolutionary personality is seen in his printing a letter signed "Corpse" which declared an extreme boredom with school:

Boys are now too old. They have gained all that school life has to offer by the time they are seventeen or seventeen-and-a-half. After that they cease to progress up the school; the terrible lassitude of the Sixth Form and the hideous deformity of officialdom begin to work upon them, and leave them unhappy and a nuisance to masters and underschool alike. It is not until the age of leaving is definitely lowered that school life will regain its freshness and charm.³

Generally Evelyn's term of Editorship was a time of turmoil and controversy which he seemed to stir with the clearest conscious intent. By

¹L.C.M., Dec., 1921, pp. 84-85.

²Ibid., p. 96. Such conclusion is deduced from these circumstances: the attack upon his first Editorial was signed "Laverna Scargill." Then the same signature was used to sign a letter in the issue of March, 1922, p. 31: "I remember last term that my old friend 'Corpse' and I were looking over the MS. of the Magazine correspondence which the Editor had shown us, and as we viewed the tedious and self-assured letters which converged from all parts of the Empire we resolved that when we had left, we would not write letters to the Magazine; no humour, we thought, could be more cadaverous, no pomp more funereal, than that of the OL trying to restore the School to the high position it had attained in his day."

³Ibid., p. 95.

the next term, when he was gone, the ripened fruits were being harvested from all the various activities Evelyn had indulged in and the letters show that all the individual pieces of controversy had roiled into a single confusion. Dudley Carew pursued the issues with alacrity, but the next Editor, P. F. Machin, an athlete, called the halt.¹

As the letters show for a few terms, the School knew all about the "Corpse Club" at the time.² But it was not aired in an explanatory way until twenty years later when the latest novel from Evelyn, who was a famous OL then, was reviewed by "Corpse."³ In the next issue after the review Evelyn's original Sub-Editor, C. L. Chamberlain who was at the time a Lancing master, wrote an essay of explanation:

This month of October comes the twenty-first anniversary of the Corpse Club, a short-lived society that caused a great stir, since its avowed object was to discourage any form of enthusiasm, its uniform a black tie and a black tassel, its ritual funereal and its attitude provocative.

There were thirteen members, eleven corporeal ones and two 'spiritual presences'--the Second Grave Digger in 'Hamlet' and 'Poor Little Jehoiachim! Pathetic Little Prince!' the opening words of a sermon by the Senior History Master, whose specialist pupils were the bulk of the Corpses.

¹Machin wrote in an Editorial: "The opinions of one individual have been thrust upon the shoulders of the whole community. . . . In this case it has been carried to such an extent that some past members of the school have persuaded themselves that it has become a mortuary, in which discipline is unknown, and where there is room only for the humour of the dead. . . . They have never taken into consideration the possibility that 'Corpse' stood alone. . . . This is the happiest and most cheerful burial ground that has ever yet existed," adding "No further correspondence upon this subject will be welcomed. Ed." (L.C.M., June, 1922, p. 53.)

²One letter writer, who signed "Hopeful" and may have been one of Evelyn's cohorts, wrote that he hoped the Editor would "let the last three numbers of your magazine be buried in decent obscurity" and that there would be a return to the usual Editorial non-entities about games, etc. (L.C.M., March, 1922, p. 30).

³Review of Put Out More Flags, L.C.M., Summer, 1942, p. 103.

Their subsequent activities have belied their avowed lack of enthusiasm. Evelyn Waugh, the Undertaker, won the first History Scholarship to Hertford College, Oxford, and subsequently made a name for himself as a war correspondent and a brilliantly provocative novelist. . . .

The Corpses believed they were being modern and provocative, and the correspondence columns of the Lancing College Magazine of that time show that some were provoked. Really, however, they were being just 'plain English.' . . . It is not an English habit to show enthusiasm, and the Corpses were no more original than the catch-phrase, 'Don't be a keen man,' current at Lancing some years later; and nothing could show more clearly that 'the English take their pleasures sadly' than the notice received by a newly-elected Corpse: 'The Undertaker finds a mournful pleasure in announcing the interment of the late Mr. C. L. Chamberlain.'¹

Other corporeal members were Evelyn Newman, a pilot; Jack Reid, an American oil man; Hugh Molson, a Member of Parliament; Tom Driberg, a Daily Express columnist; Dudley Carew, of the Times; Roger Fulford, a historian; a provincial newspaper editor; a lawyer; and two school-masters.

Dudley Carew also wrote about the subject to explain Evelyn's role at Lancing: "The Dilettanti and its aesthetic aspirations were dissolved, and in its place was the Corpse Club, brought into being to show how bored to death its members were."² It was through this club that "Evelyn carried on his warfare with authority from within"; "his influence, in sympathy with the trend of the times, was very much in the ascendant."³ Carew explained that Evelyn was the "debunker," the

¹"De Mortuis Nil Nisi Bonum," L.C.M., Christmas, 1942, pp. 126-27. Chamberlain was at this time almost the re-incarnation of the popular "J.F." if one may judge from his many good works of trying to cheer the School during wartime. 1939 to 1942 was a time of general reminiscing: a reader of the above article wrote to recall that Evelyn had rejoiced in "letters which provoked replies." Other friends, such as Douglas Woodruff and Christopher Hollis of The Tablet (London), often found an occasion to recall the earlier good times of their lives. Of course, Evelyn's novels usually managed to work in references too.

²The House is Gone, p. 101.

³Ibid.

leader who made "iconoclastic attacks on established reputations."¹ In explanation of Evelyn's general success Carew also wrote the following:

In his many duels with authority, Evelyn showed the same impassive exterior, the same innocence of intent to be amusing as later characterized his books. Besides, he had a cherubic face.²

Arthur Waugh's description varied from this: Evelyn was "an extremely grown-up and sophisticated type of school-boy" wearing "upon his brow the air of one who . . . would lose no time in putting down the mighty from their seat."³

It is possible that Carew comes nearer the truth than the elder Waugh. Evelyn's second Editorial disclosed his idea that "Humour" would be the basic ingredient for meeting life's problems; it would appear that the masters at school understood much of his activity to be humorous. Arthur Waugh probably understood when he wrote the only account available of the School's reaction to a satirical play Evelyn wrote and produced:

The serene encouragement of the Head Master was publicly accorded to a still bolder enterprise, in the form of a satirical play, written by Evelyn Waugh, and produced in the House-room of the Head's house, with one of the masters actually included in the cast. Conversion, as the play was called, was divided into three acts, the first of which represented the public school "as our maiden aunts believe it to be"; the second "as some of our novelists represent it," a closely-fitting travesty of The Loom of Youth; and the third "as we all know it really is"--a scene which revealed a satire of Lancing manners, only to be appreciated in its essence by a Lancing contemporary.⁴

¹The House is Gone, p. 93.

²Ibid., p. 94. Stopp notes an account of a particular attempt to rig a competition so as to expose the mockery (p. 13).

³One Man's Road, pp. 370-71.

⁴Ibid., pp. 369-70. Stopp dates the play 1921.

The father noted that after Canon Bowlby sat through the performance he allowed it to be given for the whole School, which was very tolerant. When Evelyn won his scholarship, the Head Master wrote to congratulate Arthur, saying "that success as a dramatist had not prevented the young man" from successful study. But it may be that the School did not appreciate the satire--there is nothing about this particular success in the Magazine.

On the other hand some of Evelyn's actions were more conservatively reactionary than revolutionary: making the Debating Society a "closed Society" may have been a sincere attempt to remedy a damage that had been done earlier with his help. Roxburgh, the club's sponsor, supported the move, which became quite a matter for controversy; the change in fact was a Committee action, but Evelyn, as President, cheerfully shouldered all the responsibility:

The committee has decided that the interests of the Society are best secured by making the Society a "closed" one. This has accordingly been done with considerable success. All who have spoken have been elected members and others will be elected as vacancies occur.¹

Evelyn was on the Committee only ex officio; thus R. F. Lister, Roxburgh, A. H. E. Molson, O. Plowright, and D. C. Carew would have been much more responsible than the President. Of course, it devolved upon the President to uphold the arrangement. This he probably did with as much pleasure as skill; the first public opposition occurred at the meeting of October 23, 1921, and it was handled with a parliamentary maneuver:

In Private Business a vote of censure on the President was proposed by Mr. W. H. A. Whitworth, amended by Mr. A. H. E. Molson,

¹L.C.M., Nov., 1921, p. 76.

and carried nem. con. The President, however, did not see his way to taking any steps in the matter.¹

Then, as mentioned earlier, Evelyn allowed the matter to be brought out into the open in the Magazine; a disgruntled letter writer recalled the earlier overthrow of the club's ramparts:

When I first came . . . I was soon disillusioned, finding that [the Debating Society] was attended and run solely by the aristocracy of the school. Soon after, a good deal of commotion was caused by a boy speaking, who had only been here two terms. The result was the rout of the aristocrats. . . . Everything seemed delightfully arcadian. [Now] it has been turned into a closed society, like the Shakespeare Society, secretly and without proper notice . . . [From] Scientia Omnia Vincit²

Evelyn the President answered to Evelyn the Editor as follows:

Sir,--I have seen the letter of "Scientia omnia vincit," before going to press, and feel that some reply should be made. We expected when we made the change in the constitution of the Society, that there would be some opposition, and are prepared to defend our decision; it was the result of considerable deliberation and it was with a certain reluctance that we made it.³

He denied that the club was in the hands of an "Aristocratic" clique, rather illogically, for there were fewer School officers now than formerly; he thought that an intellectual grouping from the Sixth Form was no liability; he felt that general comfort had been served; and he declared that whenever the School showed enthusiasm the rules could be changed. His signature "I remain your obedient servant" was quite proper to the tone of his letter; he felt little compunction about reversing a revolution he had helped bring into being for his own pleasure. But the spokesman for the "proletariat" was not yet crushed; still another skillful move was demonstrated at the meeting of November 28:

In Private Business the House, on Mr. Whitworth's motion, went into committee to discuss what action should be taken with regard

¹L.C.M., Dec., 1921, p. 91.

²Ibid., Nov., 1921, p. 82.

³Ibid., pp. 82-83.

to the recent correspondence in the Magazine. In committee Mr. Kimmerling was elected Chairman, and the President, seconded by Mr. Roxburgh, carried a resolution that no action should be taken.¹

Evelyn's actions in the matter, however great or small, are seen to have had the full support of Mr. Roxburgh--to say otherwise would be to say that he had duped the master completely.

The topics for debate over which Evelyn presided were, as usual when Mr. Roxburgh sponsored the Club, sufficiently varied and interesting to bring out the speakers' best efforts: "The rejection of Dominion Home Rule is in the interests of the Irish nation"; "The Canons of Good Taste rather than the Laws of Morality are outraged by murder"; "This House considers that the day of Institutional Religion is over"; and "This House deplores the Invention of the Cinema." There were also "Sharp Practice" topics for less formal debating sessions. At the first debate the President spoke "as an Average Englishman" on the Irish Question. Upon the second topic it was reported that he "did not know what was meant by morals and was not quite sure about good taste. His views on spoons, tooth-brushes, and waste-paper were more definite." Upon the third topic he echoed Hugh Molson's contention that "religion was the focus for all that was finest and best in man" and was in turn echoed by Mr. Roxburgh--but Molson had been "facetious," Evelyn was "conventional," and Mr. Roxburgh was "devout." His arrival for the fourth debate was "late, hazy and heckled" but he had good words for the cinema as Opposer: he "approved of the cinema because it purified the morals, sharpened the eyesight, trained the intelligence, cultivated the taste, and profitably invested the money of any wise man who went

¹L.C.M., Dec., 1921, p. 92.

there."¹ His approval of movies here was characteristic: all the Waughs were Charlie Chaplin fans;² perhaps the new art form was an important source for the humor that Evelyn devoted to his last term at Lancing.

The time came for Evelyn's departure: having won the first History Scholarship that Hertford College granted to Lancing,³ Evelyn left the controversies he had aroused to others. His name appeared in the "Valet" column during the Spring Term of 1922.⁴ Several congratulatory messages for him were included in the next issue of the Maga-zine, a thing not usual; a summary of the chief facts of his career disclosed additional information. He had been athletic, winning "House Colours for Swimming" and mention for his soccer playing; both had been mentioned before but the fact that "Head's First League have had a good season. They have beaten Olds, and drawn Gibbs' twice. Bevan, Booth and Waugh are stalwarts in the defense"⁵ had not been so impressive until summed up now. Because his Oxford reputation was to be that of an "Aesthete" continuously at battle with "Hearties," it is difficult to picture him as being an athlete and a member of the O.T.C. at Lancing. He won distinction for his art work. In the "Prize List" it is disclosed that he had won the prize for English Verse and the "Scarlyn-Wilson English Literature Prize," the latter being one of which the School was especially proud.⁶

¹L.C.M., Nov., 1921, p. 76, and Dec., 1921, pp. 91-92.

²Arthur wrote of attending Chaplin films during the war with his sons while Alec was a cadet. In his travel books Evelyn has often related humorous incident to Chaplin films.

³The Lancing Register, p. 515.

⁴L.C.M., Feb., 1922, p. 11.

⁵Ibid., Dec., 1921, pp. 88-91.

⁶Ibid., Feb., 1922, p. 7.

Lancing Postscripts

The Magazine continued to receive some information of Evelyn at Oxford for its "Oxford Letter." He was among the forty-five OL's who held a dinner on February 11, 1922, which was attended by the Headmaster and Mr. Roxburgh. About Evelyn it was added that "Waugh is our only representative at the Union Debates and has spoken well on several occasions."¹ Later there were several new OL's at Hertford College, including P. F. Machin who had stopped Evelyn's controversies; part of the next news from Oxford applied to Evelyn's reception of the newcomers: "Waugh is very busy, speaking at the Union, managing the business of the Oxford Fortnightly, and making witty remarks that some of his College fail to appreciate."² More than a year later it was reported importantly that "E. A. St. J. Waugh, a former Editor of this magazine, has a very clever wood-engraving in the October number of The London Mercury."³ Another very soon reported his arrival as an Oxford Personality: "Waugh is one of the ornaments of Oxford, a pillar of the Cherwell, and the owner of a famous blue suit."⁴ At this point Evelyn indeed appeared to be fulfilling the prediction that Dudley Carew had set down in his diary: "Evelyn will be the Max Beerbohm of his generation."⁵ When the twenties ended, as the thirties passed, and during the second World War new classes of Lancing men looked forward to

¹L.C.M., Mar., 1922, pp. 25-27.

²Ibid., Dec., 1922, pp. 119-20.

³Ibid., Nov., 1923, p. 100.

⁴Ibid., Dec., 1923, p. 126.

⁵The House is Gone, pp. 96-97.

Evelyn's books. He was a famous OL¹ but there is no indication in the Magazine or elsewhere that he ever revisited his Old School.²

¹Others were also famous: Viscount Sankey, the Labour Lord Chancellor; "Gino" Watkins, the Arctic explorer; and Evelyn perhaps most famous. The attempts of Hugh Molson and Roger Fulford to enter Commons were followed closely and Dudley Carew's first novels were reviewed with interest. Many OL's found moderately praiseworthy fame or success and were mentioned from time to time.

²Evelyn often referred to his school days and humorous incidents in his travel books; he has used some events in his novels. His last travel book, Tourist in Africa, includes recalled instances as vividly as ever. Generally, however, the Lancing past has been treated scathingly. Perhaps he has long felt what he wrote as he became a famous representative of his generation: "Every effort was made to encourage the children at the Public Schools to 'think for themselves.' When they should have been whipped and taught Greek paradigms, they were set arguing about birth control and rationalization. Their crude little opinions were treated with respect" ("War and the Younger Generation," Spectator, April 13, 1929, pp. 570-71). In another place he wrote "I have no doubt I was a prig and a bore" in self-assuredness at school ("Come Inside"). Of course, these were later opinions; in 1922 he had the feelings of the "Corpse Club" to guide him.

CHAPTER TWO

HERTFORD COLLEGE, 1922-1923

Serious Beginnings in Debate, Satirical Art and Journalism in 1922

The details of Evelyn's three years at Oxford can be obtained from the various University records. He "came up" to Hertford College during Hilary Term (Jan., Feb., March), 1922, with an "Open History Scholarship." He resided in College--no other addresses are listed. His tutors were C. R. M. F. Cruttwell and T. S. R. Boase. He took his "Finals" and received "Third Class Honours in History" after eight terms of residence. He "went down" at the end of Trinity Term (April, May, June), 1924. He is not eligible to proceed to a Degree in that he has not completed the required ninth term of residence.¹

His arrival in January during the second term of the Oxford school year may not have been unnoticed and cheerless. At least three well-known Lancing students had preceded him by one term to Hertford; two of them had been prominent on the Magazine and in the Debating Society when Evelyn's name has seemed widely known at Lancing: F. E. Ford and F. M. Hamerton.² He himself later described his reception as being

¹Unpublished letters of Raymond Walters, Chief Library Clerk, Oxford Union Society, to Charles Linck, July 27, 1960, and October 15, 1960.

²L.C.M., Nov., 1921, p. 81.

less than an amiable one so far as his tutors were concerned:

Arriving as a History scholar at Oxford I learned the immediate and implacable disapproval of my tutor through revealing that I did not know which way the Rhine flows.¹

This was, of course, a bit of humorous exaggeration. It is probable that there was serious friction between Evelyn and Cruttwell,² for the Dean was notably brusque in speech.³ But, since Evelyn was never "sent down" for reasons of academic discipline during his eight terms, he must have "done it all" well enough once more. Important to his public reputation is that he immediately began to establish himself in extra-curricular activity as a debater.

Debating at the Oxford Union Society.--Union debates were reported in several magazines. The Isis, one of the more sophisticated magazines, noticed Evelyn at once when he spoke on the topic "That this House would Welcome Prohibition."⁴ But he received his first full notice for speaking upon "Industry depends upon Private Enterprise." The "Don's" magazine, The Oxford Magazine, usually carried the fullest reports; it admitted losing the Union article when Evelyn first spoke, but made up for the lapse with a good notice of his second attempt:

¹Ninety-Two Days, The Account of a Tropical Journey Through British Guiana and Part of Brazil (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934), pp. 8-9. Cited as Ninety-Two Days hereafter.

²Evelyn pursued this tutor by characterizing him in various roles in several stories and novels, making the reference unmistakable by using his name. The cause of the friction is stated as follows by Evelyn's friend, Terence Greenidge: "C. R. Cruttwell, famous later for his History of the Great War, was Dean of Hertford College in Evelyn's day, and antagonistic to Evelyn, because Evelyn would not work hard enough to get a First Class in History" (unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, October 25, 1961).

³D.N.B., 1941-1950.

⁴Isis, Feb. 8, 1922, p. 12.

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford) in a short but successful speech, confirmed the good impression of his former maiden speech. Self-interest must be kept up. It was the inspiration to great achievement.¹

The Isis showed more respectful interest too; its report seems to make a knowing little comment upon his lack of historical training:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford) went as far back as he could and referred to several episodes in Greek History, all of which signified that Socialism was undesirable.²

A third magazine also mentioned his second speech; The Cherwell, an Anti-Political Weekly Review of Everybody and Everything in Oxford reported that "there also spoke for the motion: Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford)."³ Neither the Conservative Carlton Club's Oxford Fortnightly Review⁴ nor the Labour Club's The New Oxford, A Labour Political and Literary Review mentioned Evelyn at this time.

Social Satire in Poem and Cartoon.--Evelyn's public fame at Oxford is mainly to be discovered in the files of two magazines, The Isis and The Cherwell. He was Business Manager of and contributor to The Oxford Broom for three of its four issues. It is important that he was discovered by two congenial magazine groups at Oxford and that his characteristic product became the significant features of The Isis and The Cherwell, however. He had written in his second Editorial for The Lancing College Magazine that "humour" would be the means by which his generation would prosper; the chief "humour" magazine at Oxford was The

¹The Oxford Magazine, Feb. 23, 1922, p. 246.

²The Isis, Feb. 22, 1922, p. 6.

³The Cherwell, Feb. 21, 1922, p. 76.

⁴This magazine appears to have been supported by Chapman and Hall, Arthur Waugh's company. The London Fortnightly Review was associated with Chapman and Hall (One Man's Road).

Cherwell. Evelyn's first term at Oxford was one in which odd events produced a wealth of subject matter for humorous treatment in The Cherwell: the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Farnell, banned the "Grand Guignol" at a local theatre; there was a supposed "poison-plot" scandal wherein the Vice-Chancellor reasonably suspected a gift of toothpaste-filled chocolates; there was a ban placed upon a Labour Club's support of a magazine, The Free Oxford,¹ and a speaker, Bertrand Russell. "Rags," British English for practical jokes of all magnitude, were common. Certain members of The Cherwell staff, however, distinguished themselves with the most famous rag of all--"The Great Psychology Hoax."² The different magazines carried editorial comment upon these events, necessarily allusive rather than particularized, though one angry Editor, after summing up all the Vice-Chancellor's disciplinary actions, concluded: "We feel that the authorities are carrying out some decided policy to reduce the undergraduate to his pre-war position."³ Some students merely laughed: The Cherwell reflected humor by appearing with an orange-colored cover and a new motto--"A Satirical Immortalization of the Casual." It was in the membership of several groupings of

¹When The Free Oxford was banned, a "sent-down" Etonian produced another number in London and distributed it in Oxford, to the delight of many (Terence Greenidge, Degenerate Oxford? A Critical Study of Modern University Life. London: Chapman and Hall, 1930, pp. 201-205). Cited hereafter as Degenerate Oxford? In a letter to the Editor of The Spectator Arthur E. E. Reade avowed his editorship of six numbers of The Free Oxford in 1921 (July 7, 1939, p. 21).

²Cherwell, March 15, 1922, Cover and several articles. Dr. Emil Busch's lecture on "Freud and the New Psychology" was given by George Edinger; the Chairman, "Dr. Heythrop," was H. J. S. Wedderburn. See Along the Road to Frome, pp. 63-64.

³H. H.-W. [Heathcote-Williams], "The Vice-Chancellor," The Isis, Feb. 1, 1922, p. 1.

students who found "Humour" to be in the ascendant that Evelyn found the arena for expending his energies.

During the Summer Term when Douglas Woodruff and Christopher Hollis were trying to save the bankrupt magazine,¹ Evelyn apparently began his creations of several small column-head cartoons for The Cherwell; his cartoons here are the first evidences of an art that he developed fully in time. His first major published work was a poem for The Cherwell, entitled "A University Sermon to Idealists who are Serious Minded and Intelligent."² In two stanzas of twelve and five couplets, its content was admonitory from the University preacher's point of view:

Oh, fierce young men! with flashing eyes,
 Ill tailored and unworldly wise,
 Who pace conversant up and down,
 Most scholarly in flowing gown
 Using great words with pond'rous ease.
 Oh, Errant Knights with bagging knees!
 Be gracious you who shine so bright,
 And do not scorn us fools, whose sight
 Is blinded by such wealth of light.

 Centuries ago and more
 Oxford heard all this before!

The last couplet defined the object of the advice with a pun on the two main streets of the University's campus:

¹Douglas Woodruff, "Talking at Random," Tablet, July 6, 1940, p. 18.

²June 8, 1922, p. 66. Signed by "SCARAMEL," a pseudonym that Evelyn used. The identification depended upon similar cartoons signed by Evelyn and by "SCARAMEL." Harold Acton wrote "of course 'Scaramel' was a pseudonym, transparent to his friends" in welcome confirmation (unpublished letter of Harold Acton to Charles Linck, June 24, 1961).

For Oxford men should live and die
To seek the Broad and shun the High.

Although the satire was directed toward Dean Inge's University Sermon of February 12, in which he "dealt with the Modernist position which is now agitating the Church,"¹ it is difficult not to suppose Evelyn's feelings were much the same about sartorial imperfections. His second major piece of work was a cartoon entitled "Men Who Talk Too Much" which he placed in *The Isis* at the same time. It covered two-thirds of a page and, in Evelyn's distinctive, heavy-lined, wood-cut technique, depicted the various types of the campus who talked: "Scholarship Candidates," "The J. C. R. Die-Hards," "The Union Idealists," "Scouts," and "Tutors."² His caricatures of animated or desultory talking figures were ingenious in that they caught the very character and distinctive feature that distinguished a type. Obviously his was already a fully developed technical ability for political cartooning; his wood-cuts were definitely artistic. Moreover, he had discovered the market for his typical product.

Political Conservatism at the Union.--Speaking at the Union Society twice during his second term, Evelyn tried hard to identify himself as a Conservative. On the topic "That the Government should adopt at once a Foreign Policy based on the League of Nations" he spoke against the motion, which was carried 86 to 48.³ One reporter wrote

¹W. R. Inge, *Diary of a Dean, St. Paul's 1911-1934* (London: Hutchinson, 1949), p. 74. Dean Inge was the object of many less artistic poems in doggerel verse that *The Cherwell* printed at this time.

²*The Isis*, June 14, 1922, p. 18. Signed by "SCARAMEL."

³*The Oxford Magazine*, May 25, 1922, pp. 383-85.

that "Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford) tried his best to be that inconceivable creature, the reasonable Diehard."¹ A third gave more detail:

Mr. E. A. H. J. Waugh (Hertford), was not conscious of the presence of his audience, hence his argument that the idea of the League was not new lost much of its effectiveness. It was the attempt to put the idea into practice that was new.²

Then on the topic "That this House deplores the tendencies of Modern Democracy" he spoke for the motion which won 62 to 60.³ At this time one reporter very helpfully defined a "Die-Hard" by commenting that Evelyn was "a humble follower of the Die-Hards who are fighting a losing battle against fad and panic."⁴ Another added the opinion that political debate, which had dominated the term's debates, was beginning to pall:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford), to a house that was not sleepy, only because it was empty, protested against professional politicians, with which protest the debate closed.⁵

Evelyn was not a major speaker; he was not yet even the witty speaker that he later became. Rather, these reports oddly show him as a very serious Conservative politician. During the Fall Term he was a

¹The Cherwell, May 25, 1922, p. 43.

²The Isis, May 24, 1922, p. 26. His name was still new.

³The Cherwell, June 8, 1922, pp. 79-82.

⁴The Oxford Magazine, June 8, 1922, pp. 419-20. Upon the national scene the "Die-Hards" were conducting an attack upon the Coalition Government of Lloyd George; Austen Chamberlain spoke at Oxford on March 3; others were Lord Hugh Cecil and Sir William Joynson-Hickes, famous as "Jix" later. The latter was the Home Secretary during the time of Evelyn's first two novels. See Charles Loch Mowat, *Britain Between the Wars, 1918-1940* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 137. Cited as Mowat hereafter.

⁵The Isis, June 18, 1922, p. 2.

Conservative of some stature; these first Union speeches were his attempts to identify himself as such.

Cartoons about Union Dullness, and Oxford Manners.--The incidental circumstance that Union debate had become boring during this Summer Term provided Evelyn with subject matter for two cartoons which he published during the Fall Term. The dullness of Union debate had been the subject of remark in both The Cherwell and The Isis during the the Summer. In The Cherwell was reproduced a time-exposed and unlighted photograph of "An animated Union Debate" in which there were no blurred lines because no one had moved during the two minutes that photography required.¹ The magazine's Union reporter had written in the vein of criticism:

Thereafter the debate became duller and duller, and at the end it was quite unintelligible. It is kinder not to give the names of the speakers.²

Evelyn's first cartoon on the subject was a small wood-cut of a bored-appearing, lounging group who were listening to a speaker; entitled "Heard at the College Debating Society," it was the accompaniment to a speaker's paradoxical statement about the lateness of the hour. The second was a pen-and-ink line drawing which depicted an equally bored and lounging group with the identifying label "An Impression of the Union Library, A.D., 1922."³ Evelyn's two cartoons about the Union Society coincided with the transition period during which a group of younger speakers were drawing apart from the dominant and more serious

¹The Cherwell, May 11, 1922, pp. 9-10.

²Ibid., June 22, 1922, pp. 110-11.

³The Isis, Oct. 18, 1922, pp. 7, 20. The first by "SCARAMEL" and the second signed with "E.W."

leaders; in 1923 Evelyn joined the humorists and witty speakers, best represented by Douglas Woodruff and Christopher Hollis who were officers during the Fall Term of 1922.

Evelyn's other cartoons of the last term of 1922 are a good index of current interests in clothes and clubs. He produced a full-page cartoon entitled "The Great Club Problem" with an artistically lettered commentary for the appropriately clothed figures of his wood-cut caricatures:

We are told that the Bullingdon (cartoon), Vincents (cartoon), the Oxford Carlton (cartoon), the O.U.D.S. (cartoon), the Grid (cartoon), and the Union (cartoon), not to mention the New Reform, the Hypocrites, Philistines, etc. (cartoons of several figures), all have their own types; then: why does every club look exactly like every other (cartoon of loungers in a Commons Room)?¹

Actually they did not in his treatise. Another large drawing or collection of figures that made up a whole was called "Evolution and Plus Fours"; it related the story of an evolutionary development of clothing from an ape ("Scratch"), to a Cave Man ("Plus One"), to an Elizabethan courtier ("Plus Two"), to an eighteenth century Beau Brummel ("Plus Three"), to a modern Oxford student in checked knickerbockers ("Plus Four").² Both collections of Oxford figures catch the essence of the various personality types; each figure demonstrates fully developed technical skill and a superior caricaturist's observant eye. Further, these cartoons indicate that Evelyn anticipated the satirical movements

¹The Isis, Oct. 25, 1922, p. 10. By "SCARAMEL."

²Ibid., Nov. 1, 1922, p. 10. Signed "P.Q.H.S." and "SCARAMEL." This is the only instance of Evelyn's acknowledging a collaborator; if there was one, he cannot be identified.

that gained momentum later. His perceptions were acute for the oddities of his day.¹

Conservative Journalism and Debate.--His position as a leading Conservative gave him a base for his criticism. During the Fall Term of 1922 Evelyn's name was displayed on the cover of The Oxford Fortnightly Review, A Political, Social and Literary Journal as "Business Manager." He wrote the "Union" column from the Conservative viewpoint. H. J. S. Wedderburn, who had been "Dr. Heythrop" of the "Great Psychology Hoax," had risen from the position of "Union" reporter to the Editor's chair. These two succeeded an illustrious group, most of whom had left Oxford at the end of the Summer Term and seldom contributed during the magazine's last and weakest term. The loss suffered by The Oxford Fortnightly was great: the Political Editors had been E. J. Strachey and R. J. Boothby; the Literary Editors had been David Cecil and John M. Rothenstein; the Music Editor had been Edward Sackville-West; contributors had included Leslie Hore-Belisha, A. E. Coppard, Edmund Blunden, Anthony Asquith, Adrian Stokes, C. Williams-Ellis, William Gerhardt, and L. A. G. Strong, all of whom can be identified in

¹Evelyn's work was generally in concert with The Cherwell's humorists from the beginning; but The Cherwell fell into the hands of an American during the Fall Term and was lost to Evelyn as well as to Woodruff and Hollis--its distribution was probably never wide if one can judge from the fact that "The Great Psychology Hoax" was revealed during the Spring Term of 1924 by the owner of The Isis as if it had not been disclosed before! Perhaps Harold Acton in his Memoirs takes too much credit for his leadership in originating the satire of various aspects of Oxford life; his first term was the last in 1922 whereas Evelyn's satirical work had been operating earlier. The Oxford Broom was begun in February, 1923; Acton's first strong support came from Evelyn in The Isis during the first term of 1924; only in 1925 was Acton's work the object of general acclaim. Evelyn's precedence here is like Lancing's over Eton (Supra, p. 10n).

standard reference works. Past association with these personages probably had been, and certainly could have been during the next term, of great help to both the magazine and the new Editors. Continued association with the Carlton Club's titled Lords--their fathers having been killed in the war--and aristocrats, who had their ties with the brighter social occasions, must have been exhilarating.¹ Nevertheless the magazine lacked their support and failed after the four numbers of October to December; Evelyn never became the Editor.

The Conservative cause was in an ascending phase at the Union Society during 1922 and was worth a strong helping hand. The Union voted 202 to 195 for the proposition "That in the present Crisis of National and International affairs a Conservative Policy is Best" at the meeting of November 16, 1922. Liberal President Edward Majoribanks noted that "this is the first Majority for Conservatism since the War in the Union," perhaps in punning vein.² During the term Evelyn spoke only once, but for the Conservative cause on the topic "That the Introduction of Prohibition would benefit this Country," which lost 98 to 145. In his report the President noted that Evelyn was "gruff and

¹At the Carlton Club Evelyn would have met many of those who became known very soon as "The Bright Young People." Cecil Beaton visited Oxford during 1922; in his book he named several who became members of the set: Robert and Edward Gaythorne-Hardy, Edward Sacville-West, Lord David Cecil, Princess Bibesco, "Puffin" Asquith (The Wandering Years, pp. 18-20). During 1922 the Oxford Fortnightly Review was unique in its carrying many articles about avant garde theatre and local Society events. Terence Greenidge wrote a confirmation of Evelyn's acquaintance with the Upper Classes: "Evelyn pursued the aristocracy towards the end of his Oxford period, mainly in the University political and cultural clubs, not so difficult a job, but he did it, as ever, well" (unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, October 25, 1961).

²The Oxford Magazine, Nov. 24, 1922, pp. 103-104.

businesslike, speaking as a Conservative in support of the motion."¹

In the words of Liberal Douglas Woodruff, Evelyn "supported the motion because he was a Conservative and he thought Prohibition ought to be a Conservative principle."² Another new friend, Liberal Christopher Hollis spoke well against the motion.³

In the Carlton Club's magazine Evelyn carried on the former Editor's stringently incisive commentary in the "Union" column: there is sufficient likeness between his articles and their crochets to indicate that his opinions were like theirs had been. An example may illustrate the freedom to criticize that he enjoyed in the magazine; upon the topic "That this House deplores the recent policy of the Government in the Near East, and regrets that the solution of the question involved was not entrusted to the League of Nations," which won 470 to 206, he wrote as follows:

¹The Oxford Magazine, Nov. 30, 1922, p. 123.

²The Isis, Nov. 29, 1922, p. 15. This could hardly have been his actual conviction, except perhaps for this term. He has written a book about wine. In it he recalled brewing "bee wine" at Lancing; he wrote that "beer is the natural for adolescents," and "ale is the proper drink for university undergraduates, medical students and the very thirsty. It goes excellently with bread and cheese. . . . In early youth I tried to acquire the habit of drinking it at breakfast and persisted through two terms of university life, only to relapse in the end to the exotic and newfangled tea" (Wine in Peace and War. London: Saccone and Speed, 1949, pp. 44-46). See also Alec Waugh, In Praise of Wine, and Certain Noble Spirits (New York: Sloane, 1959), p. 25, for an enlightening discussion of Evelyn's education in wine drinking.

³Evelyn may have been a member of the Chatham Club (Stopp, p. 18). He may have been a member of the Canning Club, too (unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Feb. 17, 1962). The Hypocrites Club was closely associated with the New Reform Club (Hollis, Along the Road to Frome, pp. 60-61). Old Liberals were also aristocratic, of course, and Evelyn's friends among the Liberals were congenial ones. Leftist "liberalism" was to be found in the Labour Party at this time, and Evelyn never expressed sympathy for "socialism" while at Oxford.

There was a very large crowd both of members and guests; the discomfort in the gallery was acute.

The speakers on paper were all members of established reputation, who spoke as the House has learned to expect of them. Mr. Scaife proposed the motion, and in the first part of his speech spoke with interest and facility. . . . Up to this point Mr. Scaife had held his audience with ease; now his speech seemed to lose continuity. He read some rather uninteresting correspondence and finished disappointingly. . . .

Mr. H. J. S. Wedderburn spoke with a keen sincerity and verbal facility which are seldom found together. . . .

He was followed by Lord Robert Cecil, who spoke at length. . . . It was a great privilege and a great pleasure to hear the noble Lord.

After this there was a general excursion . . . and a handful of enthusiasts were all that remained to hear the next speaker, who put in an able plea for law at the expense of sentiment.

He was followed by Mr. Bandaranaike, eloquent as always; but the debate had lost its vigor.

At length the debate was enlivened by the emergence of Mr. Epstein, who, being permitted to speak as a visitor, exhorted the noble Lord in the name of the New Europe, which Mr. Epstein represented, to put away the desire for power and follow after righteousness. This triumph of mind over manners was an immediate success, and the debate closed by a victory for the motion.¹

His four pieces of objective evaluation needed the support of a strong political club; he did not pause in applying the same objective pen to others who were notably connected with his Oxford career to say nothing of his elders, including among them Gerald Gardiner, Richard Pares, Hugh Molson, A. C. Collingridge, and Peter Rodd. But it was C. H. O. Scaife, a Liberal snubbed by the previous Editors,² who began to feel the bite of Evelyn's wit and irony from this time onward. Scaife was a stellar poet and politician who became President of the Union Society and Editor with Graham Greene of *The Oxford Outlook*; who was a well-known "Georgian" poet, an artist in the folk song and dance, and

¹Oxford Fortnightly Review, Oct. 21, 1922, pp. 13-14.

²Ibid., Feb. 10, 1922, p. 338, especially. Mr. Scaife had written a letter that criticized Oxford for justifying Prohibition on the same grounds that Americans did; the Editor disagreed with his logic in an unkind manner.

generally a leading campus figure through 1922 to 1925. Some time earlier he had been described as "one of the best of that very much neglected class of speakers who attempt to impress a serious frame of mind upon the House."¹ His seriousness may well have been his vice during the time when Evelyn was cartooning the dullness of Union debate; later, after Harold Acton began his campaign against folk singing and dancing and "Georgian" poetry, Evelyn contributed to the newer reproach. Perhaps Evelyn had at first picked Mr. Scaife as the opponent over whom he would climb to the Union Presidency himself; after that road to fame was abandoned the attack continued.²

Evelyn was a serious Conservative at the Union Society and elsewhere during 1922. Moreover, his earliest cartoons criticized Oxford manners from this distinct point of view for he held an eminent position in the party at Oxford. When he could no longer pursue Conservative journalism after his magazine failed, a discernible change to lightness and humor in his own speaking became evident to everyone. The change in his cartoons is less discernible.

Harbingers of Change.--Another matter that must be stressed is the decay of Oxford journalism at the end of 1922. When The Cherwell was lost to Evelyn and his friends there was a casting about for new outlets, because already their journalistic impulses were strong.

¹The Cherwell, May 25, 1922, p. 44.

²Evelyn pursued the attack when Scaife was President in 1924 from his advantage as the Sub-Editor of The Isis. After he had left a writer commented "no respecter of persons, Mr. Waugh!" (Socrates, "A Night Out," The Isis, Jan. 21, 1925, pp. 13-14.)

Christopher Hollis contributed one article to the Labour Club's New Oxford.¹ This magazine's next Editor, Richard Pares, became a most likeable companion after The New Oxford failed in mid-1923 and was the Labour Co-Editor of the "new" Cherwell during 1924-1925. The Labour Club's journal absorbed several among the Etonian friends of Harold Acton and some articles appeared which were quite congenial with the opinions that Evelyn began to hold in common with his newest Etonian friends. Among these were items about "Cubism" and Dean Inge which showed the potential bases for friendship in 1923.² The articles were related to the last exhilarating event of 1922 which directed much of the humor of 1923. At the Union Society Beverley Nichols and Dean Inge were opponents on the topic "That this House would welcome a Return to Victorian Ideals," which lost 410 to 326. Dean Inge attacked modern art as a "return to the Nursery,"³ and in so doing started two humorous rags that persisted during the next year. Mention of the "Nursery" almost instituted a sociological movement about "Childishness" to which Evelyn contributed a cartoon for The Isis' "Children's Corner." Evelyn also created two "Cubist" cartoons for Harold Acton's new magazine, The Oxford Broom. The Union Society event at the end of 1922 combined with the term's advent of Harold Acton upon the Oxford scene heralded many

¹Review of H. Miles and B. Mortimer, Oxford Circus, The New Oxford, Dec. 5, 1922, p. 8, a suggestive book in itself. Hollis later recorded his doubts about his political allegiances (The Oxford Magazine, March 15, 1923, pp. 299-300) after Lloyd George's Coalition Government failed. See Along the Road to Frome, pp. 75-76.

²Ibid., Dec. 5, 1922, pp. 6-8.

³Ibid., Dec. 5, 1922, p. 5. Also The Oxford Magazine, Dec. 7, 1922, pp. 139-140; The Isis, Nov. 29, 1922, p. 13, and Dec. 6, 1922, p. 10.

changes in the nature of literary and aesthetic Oxford. From the pre-dominance of athleticism and "Georgian" interests there was a change to a new era of the Hypocrites' Club, the Hearty versus Aesthete struggles, and a growing chorus of praise for Harold Acton as the leader of aesthetic values. The change was gradual and did not reach its crescendo until mid-1925.

Controversy, Humor, and Work with the Modern
Note in Evelyn's Second Year

The Oxford Broom and the "New Order."--An important manifestation of the changed spirit which preceded The Oxford Broom that Harold Acton and Alfred Nicholson published early in 1923 was an attack upon Georgian Poetry, 1922, and Peter Quennell's poetic career. A writer who signed "X"¹ wrote an article in The New Oxford which presented an interesting criticism of the reigning school of poetry generally; but X's harsh treatment of Peter Quennell's contributions in the recent issue of

¹The identification of "X" as Brian Howard, Harold Acton's friend and the Editor of The Eton Candle, depends upon the exact phrasing and content one finds in this article and another entitled "Diminendo: The Poetry of Peter Quennell" by Brian Howard (The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, pp. 16-17). Jealousy, perhaps, was involved: Harold Acton thought Peter Quennell even more precocious than Brian Howard and chose Quennell as Co-Editor of Oxford Poetry, 1924 (Memoirs, p. 132); Brian Howard had been favored by Edith Sitwell who published his poem in Wheels, 1921, under the name "Charles Orange." There was a strong animosity shown by Howard toward Quennell in his two articles; Quennell was already the darling of Edward Marsh and his London "Georgian" coterie. Howard found Quennell's childhood genius, early published in the new Public School Verse and in a volume of poems, to have produced diminishing returns by the time of the third major publication. For an apt picture of Brian Howard at Oxford, see Cyril Connolly's "Where Engels Fears to Tread," The Condemned Playground, Essays: 1927-1944 (London: Routledge, 1945), pp. 136-53. First published in Press Gang! Crazy World Chronicle, ed. Leonard Russell (London: Hutchinson, 1937), a book of parodies, as a review of "Christian de Clavering, From Oscar to Stalin. A Progress (The Clay Press)." Cited as "Where Engels Fear to Tread" hereafter. Infra, Chapters III and X.

Georgian Poetry was the earliest signal for a general assault upon the Oxford "Georgians."¹ Quennell, who had just arrived from Berkhamsted College with Graham Greene, fitted naturally into the group that controlled The Oxford Outlook, Oxford's main outlet for poetry. With Christopher Hollis, P. J. Monkhouse, C. H. O. Scaife, Graham Greene and others, there was a most formidable "Centre Party"² of poets at Oxford. The party had to be dislodged.

There was room for another magazine that published verse and fiction now that Acton's Etonian associates were at Oxford. The Oxford Broom appeared in the same role that The Eton Candle had earlier--it was the defender of the poetry of the "Imagists," of the Sitwells' Wheels, and of T. S. Eliot; of "Post-Impressionism" and the art movements of France. It was, actually, a close imitation of the continental Broom: An International Magazine of the Arts Published by Americans in Italy.³ Hence the first number of The Oxford Broom in February, 1923, included "A Modern Credo" as its vague call for a "New Order" of art. Declaring a weariness with both Georgian sentimentality and Dostoyevskian psychologizing in poetry and fiction, the "Credo" advised making

¹The New Oxford, Feb. 3, 1923, pp. 8-11.

²Harold Acton, "A Fresh Young Advocate of the 'Centre' Party" [Review of Graham Greene, Babbling April], The Cherwell, May 9, 1925, pp. 51-53. Acton referred to "what Mr. Graves calls 'the centre-party, the genius of which is practical rather than adventurous,' which advocates a poetry of bare statement rather than a poetry of incantation or of august eloquence--a party with which we do not sympathize." There was a bitter exchange over this.

³Harold A. Loeb and Alfred Kreymborg edited the number of January, 1922 (Vol. I, No. 3), but Editors varied. Each issue had quite avant garde cover cartoons or paintings and contributions by illustrious artists and writers of England and America. Acton's home in Florence was a center of such coteries. See Mark Schorer, Sinclair Lewis, An American Life (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), pp. 322-23, et passim.

literature out of contemporary life. The Broom's contents were not fully in keeping--Alfred Duggan defended the traditional Upper Class control of Parliament. The tangerine-colored cover was shocking to reviewers; they directed some of the year's humor at the newcomer.¹

Evelyn's Cartoons for the Times.--Harold Acton wrote that Evelyn "was my chief support in The Oxford Broom, designing the covers and giving us his first, most passionately earnest short story."² No such help was given to the first number unless it was in the advertising: "Are you a corpse mentally?"³ Evelyn may have given up hope that his Fortnightly would appear. Transcribing his acute observations of Oxford affairs, he was publishing the cartoons in The Isis; he also began a series of elaborate woodcuts to be used for column headpieces in The Isis.⁴ His reaction to the jibes of Richard Pares, whose New Oxford found the plight of the Conservative Club's magazine to be funny, was a cartoon depicting a stubby youth with an umbrella posed in the "Excelsior!" attitude; it was labelled "Suggestion for Alley Workshops

¹Reviews appeared in The Isis, Feb. 7, 1923, p. 12, partly sympathetic; The Oxford Magazine, Feb. 22, 1923, p. 235, wholly condemnatory; and The New Oxford, Feb. 17, 1923, pp. 7-8. The latter discussed the scene overall: Porcus Desperatus in "The Decay of Oxford Journalism" chided The Isis for staidness, called The Oxford Broom "decadent," and contended that The New Oxford stood for something--Labour; he noted that The Oxford Fortnightly and The Cherwell were now defunct. His article was good advertisement in that it called for journalistic reform. The New Oxford soon failed too.

²Memoirs, p. 126.

³"Isis Idol," The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, p. 7.

⁴Evelyn's distinctive cartoons for "Union," "Theatre," and "Book Reviews" were among the best pieces of his art that appeared in The Isis in 1923. Some were signed and were used until 1940.

Toy. Mr. Pares, Editor of the New Oxford."¹ Another large cartoon, used as the advertisement of "The Great Bulldog Insurance Scheme," showed two "Bulldogs" and a Proctor in silhouette under a street lamp, with two cut-aways below of life in a pub and in a dance hall; this was Evelyn's contribution to the current Isis rag about the vigilance of the Proctors.² Another cartoon pictured a tall youth with megaphone in hand, standing beside a Unicorn pennant; it was labelled "At the Sign of the Unicorn. Mr. Harold Acton (Editor of The Oxford Broom), The Last of the Poets."³ Evelyn's contribution to the "Childishness" movement was a truly artistic cartoon: it showed a student's room with four-poster bed, a desk covered with literary reference books, and a filled waste-paper basket; there is a startled youth sitting up in bed

¹The Isis, Jan. 24, 1923, p. 7. By "SCARAMEL." Since Pares often wrote his Editorials in The Isis' office, Evelyn was aware of his joking; the cartoon is not unkind exactly.

²Ibid., Feb. 7, 1923, p. 10. By "SCARAMEL." The chagrin and the humor of this particular rag was aimed at University discipline. The insurance scheme suggested rather scandalous means for further association between the men and women's colleges. It served to classify the colleges and clubs according to their loss liability--Christ Church premiums were £450; New College 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

³Ibid., March 7, 1923, p. 6. By "SCARAMEL." W. B. Yeats, an Oxford host to students, may have inspired the use of the Unicorn symbol here: Brian Walter Guinness wrote that it meant man's instinct for experiment to Yeats ("Youth," Cherwell, Spring, 1927, p. 158), and the comment agrees with the various definitions in Virginia Moore, The Unicorn, William Butler Yeats' Search for Reality (New York: Macmillan, 1954). It has been stated that the "cornucopia" was a "Modernist irony" brought from the Continent by the Wheels group; this appears also to be applicable to the various uses of the Unicorn symbolism--in Freudian fashion. Alec Waugh's The Lonely Unicorn was meant in the first manner; but Evelyn's uses in the cartoon about Harold Acton and in a reference to Alec as "The Lordly Unicorn" (Review of Card Castle, Alec's sequel novel, The Isis, June 18, 1924, pp. 16-17) seem to be meant more in the second manner. For Yeats' relations with Oxford students, see L. A. G. Strong, Green Memory (London: Methuen, 1961), Chapter XIX.

watching the slow approach of "Bertram, Ludovic, and Ann"--an humble bee, a giant snail and a large ant--who have come down to Oxford to visit a friend according to the accompanying letter of The Isis' "Children's Corner."¹ The new feature had been inspired by Dean Inge's last year debate and was thriving. The "Childishness" motif was to become a much acclaimed business venture in the form of Basil Blackwell's Christmas annual, Number One Joy Street, as well as an inspiration for Oxford literature such as Graham Greene's poem; it even became a Sitwellian "cult."²

Evelyn contributed a black-and-white cover cartoon to the second number of The Oxford Broom which appeared in April, 1923. It depicted a man flourishing a broom vigorously. The number contained a second manifesto, "Poetical Bread: a Note and Recipe," which exhorted artists and

¹The Isis, May 24, 1923, p. 23. By "SCARAMEL."

²The rag lasted several seasons. Actually Peter Quennell's deficiency was that he had lost his poetic genius by growing up, according to Brian Howard. Graham Greene's "Childishness" very pointedly celebrated his inability to grow up (Oxford Outlook, Nov., 1924, p. 272, and Oxford Poetry, 1924). Richard Pares wrote about an exhibition: "I have always claimed, when I have dared to raise my voice, that children are the only human beings with any sense of the fundamental proprieties of life and that childhood is the only pattern upon which every right thinking man will model his actions" ("Children's Art," Cherwell, Feb. 2, 1924, the Editorial). It is in this connection that one finds the first use of the word "entertainment" to describe a type of literature: Richard Pares reviewed Number One Joy Street and other children's books and commented that "the ruin of every good entertainment" ever done for children had been parental favor-seeking ("Children's Books," Oxford Outlook, Feb., 1924, pp. 115-119); then Graham Greene used the word in an essay on "The Average Film"--with reference to J. B. Priestley's remarks about a "Recent Light Musical Entertainment"--commenting that "in certain moods a limerick is more satisfying than a lyric" (Oxford Outlook, Feb., 1925, pp. 96-97). Blackwell's annual continued to draw students' praise; notable persons, such as Chesterton and Belloc, contributed. One may wonder whether "Alley Workshops" was a related business. For the Sitwellian "cult" see W. Y. Tindall, Forces in Modern British Literature, 1885-1956 (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), p. 88, et passim.

writers to "live where life ferments, transmute!" The contents follow more aptly than did some of the first number. In June the third number appeared with Evelyn's signed "Cubist" cartoon of an ascending unicorn, in black and orange. An allegorical manifesto by X of The New Oxford, three aphorisms by "G'ug,"¹ and improved contributions were offered; among them Evelyn's long short story, "Antony, Who Sought Things That Were Lost," appeared under his signature too. The fourth and last number finally came out after much comment about its lateness during 1924; it contained Evelyn's signed and dated--"Evelyn Waugh, 1923"--"Cubist" cartoon in black and white of several ascending unicorns whose riders were also sweepers in a wild merry-go-round of action.²

These cartoons in The Isis and in The Oxford Broom were Evelyn's very artistic contributions to Oxford humor. His works in 1923 were not quite the same sort of criticism of manners he had belabored in 1922; there was noticeable lightness of feeling. His art work was a serious avocation nevertheless; his cartoons were always superior in "wood-block" technique, never slovenly. That it was seriously meant as art is demonstrated by his exhibiting at the Oxford Arts Club Undergraduate Exhibition; no work received higher praise than Evelyn's, if inversely:

¹"G'ug was the late Mr. Kolkhorst--a young don, reader in Portuguese, when I was an undergraduate. He used to attitudinize at genteel little sherry parties on Sunday mornings--a dear good creature, to whom John Betjeman pays tribute in his poem 'Summoned by Bells.' 'G'ug' was generally known as 'Colonel' Kolkhorst though nobody was less like a colonel" (unpublished letter of Harold Acton to Charles Linck, July 15, 1961).

²Supra, p. 46n. The last number of the Broom was the "Literary Supplement" of The Cherwell, Feb. 9, 1924.

I am sorry that Mr. Evelyn Waugh (Hertford) should only be represented by book plates, for his ability is, I think, rather in the direction of illustrative broadside woodcuts.¹

The "New Order" in Battle with Georgian Hearties.--Nor was the intention of The Oxford Broom frivolous. There is no doubt that this magazine changed literary Oxford;² Acton became a figure for homage and adulation in a year's time.³ A chief influence of the magazine was that it focussed attention upon the disparities between "Hearties" and "Aesthetes" at the University as never before--a "Georgian" poet was traditionally capable of being, if he was not, also a "Hearty" and the poetry usually reflected this. A growing and constant warfare distinguished the two; the warfare was undiminished even through John Betjeman's days in the later twenties. That Evelyn was foremost in this tumult too is proven by his letter about "Rugger Night" addressed from the Hypocrites' Club:

Sir,--I noticed with interest that your paper, in its last issue, seemed prepared to take a more sombre view of undergraduate bad taste than it has been renowned for before. I do not say that I welcome this change, because it seems to me that there are more decorous magazines in this University than undergraduates.

I am, however, encouraged by this pronounced "fourth year" tendency to make a protest that would otherwise, I fear, be out of place.

¹The Isis, June 20, 1923, p. 12. Arundel del Re, the reviewer, was a foremost art, drama and literary critic for all the magazines during several years; his authority was compelling.

²Memoirs, p. 99. One may surmise that the insistence upon making literature from life was a first cause of the later "socialist" poets who finally caused Acton to flee.

³The New Oxford's final number reviewed Acton's book of poems, Aquarium, with cautious approval, the first of a slowly rising chorus of praise which reached its peak of full approval by mid-1925 (June, 1923, pp. 8-11). Evelyn as Sub-Editor of The Isis during the Spring Term of 1924 was the first who dared praise unstintingly in that magazine--it ceased as he left.

I see in your London Letter that "the scene that night (Rugger Night) in the Prince of Wales' Theatre was unforgettable." I may be midjudging the attitude of your correspondent, but surely this implies approval? an attitude which ill matches the stern reprimand to the silly young men who disembowel rats.

I think it is hardly necessary to rehearse the details of that night. It is well known that this University, having been badly beaten, saw fit to celebrate the event by drinking too much, insulting passers-by, singing bawdy songs and treating a first rate London theatre like a second rate Oxford Cinema. I am confident, Sir, that you do not clearly remember what happened. It was an evening little worthy of the approval of your paper.¹

"Aesthetes" did not care to have their pleasures in theatre interrupted by "Hearties." This note grew strong in the magazines in combination with the attack upon "Georgian" poetry, folk song singers, arts and crafts exhibitions, "Merrie Englanders," the "Boars' Hill Set" of North Oxford and Robert Graves, and the cricket-playing literary coteries such as was epitomized for these iconoclasts in J. C. Squire's London Mercury. All such activities were criticized in one humorous fashion or another at various times; the magazines record a running account of the barrage. Though Harold Acton has written that the "New Order" was brought about with "Humour," there often was a necessity for resort to

¹The Isis, Feb. 7, 1923, p. 8. By "SCARAMEL." Writing before The Oxford Broom had its influence, Evelyn sounded in this letter like he had sounded in last year's Union speeches. His address at the Hypocrites' Club was indicative of change that became general.

fists and weapons as the "Aesthetes" fought for their convictions.¹

The Hypocrites' Club, a Center of Humour.--There was a chief gathering place for the emanation of their organized humor, the Hypocrites' Club from which Evelyn wrote his letter. He had included the club among the several campus groups which he depicted in his cartoon "The Great Club Problem" of 1922; it may be added that this was not one that resembled all the others because of its bored lounging. Apparently it was a pre-war club revamped to a more bohemian dining club which also served as entertainment headquarters for all types and creeds among the students; it certainly served as headquarters for many of the most high-spirited escapades of the University. It was the address of the "new" Cherwell; it was the scene of Harold Acton's impressario-like leadership. After it was banned Terence Greenidge wrote the following descriptive account:

Many people in Oxford must be wondering what has happened to that flourishing little institution which used to be the peculiar

¹Terence Greenidge wrote of a "wine" at Christ Church; they had to fight their way free of the "hunting" and "rowing" sets. Of course, some "Aesthetes," such as Longford and Plunkett-Greene were gigantic and powerful; Greenidge was a famous long-distance runner (Degenerate Oxford?, pp. 56-60). Harold Acton was the "prominent aesthete" who "felled a Rugged Blue with a loaded stick" on Election Night, 1923, and repelled a mob of "Hearties" by cutting off one's thumb with a sword (Robert Graves and Alan Hodge, The Long Week-End; A Social History of Great Britain, 1918-1939. London: Faber and Faber, 1940, p. 124). Perhaps the thumb had belonged to "a now famous Socialist Q.C."--Gerald Gardiner ("The Years with Kinross," Punch, August 9, 1961, p. 212). Harold Acton wrote of using his megaphone as a weapon (Memoirs, p. 119). Henry Green wrote about the Oxford Railway Club's being mobbed by twenty football players and he related incidents of wily defensive tactics (Pack My Bag, A Self-Portrait. London: Hogarth, 1940, pp. 218-221). Echoes of these affairs were heard in Evelyn's gossip column in The Isis in 1924; he advertised for his lost cane and complained of being disarmed by the Proctors. A Balliol student, F. A. Philbrick, once chastised Evelyn over an accusation of vice (unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961).

ornament of St. Aldgates' Street, just because it was the gathering place of the variegated intelligentsia of Oxford, namely the Hypocrites' Club. British rowing men, of the kind which derides possessors of five-edged sports-coats, will say, "Dead--thank God!" . . . Last term it began to pine. . . . And those sweetly submissive souls, who longed to become clients, with Mr. Acton for a patron, rustled a little too noisily.¹

Harold Acton named some of the members: Richard Pares, Robert Byron, Mark Ogilvie-Grant, David Plunket-Greene, Oliver Messell, Graham Pollard, "Widow" Lloyd, Keith Douglas, Peter Ruffer, et al.² Christopher Hollis wrote of Evelyn's being an enigmatic and Puck-like spirit there.³ It was a famous club for all its members apparently.⁴ A fine descriptive passage was printed to enlighten any who did not know at the time:

The Hypocrites' are perhaps the most entertaining group of people in the University. They express their souls in terms of shirts and grey flannel trousers, and find outlets for their artistic ability on the walls of their club rooms. To talk to they are rather alarming. They have succeeded in picking up a whole series of intellectual catch-phrases with which they proceed to dazzle their friends and frighten their acquaintances; and they are the only people I have ever met who have reduced rudeness to a fine art.⁵

Evelyn associated with the liveliest and wittiest companionship of Oxford in this club; here they learned "Humour" for life's use.

Evelyn's "Plain Man" Union Approach, and Failure.--There is one further aspect of Evelyn's activities during the first two terms of

¹"Concerning Certain Pilgrims' Progress," The Isis, Oct. 15, 1924, p. 8.

²Memoirs, pp. 122, 124.

³Along the Road to Frome, p. 61.

⁴In addition to Acton's and Hollis' books, a bibliography of pertinent references would include the memories of L. A. G. Strong (Green Memory, p. 227) and A. E. Coppard, It's Me, O Lord! (London: Methuen, 1957), pp. 188-89, both of whom were older students.

⁵C. M., The Isis, May 14, 1924, p. 17.

1923--his appearance at the Oxford Union Society. Now that he was no longer a leading Conservative since his magazine was defunct, the change in his demeanor showed more clearly at the Union than elsewhere. There is less "Hubris," perhaps; he was being encouraged by Douglas Woodruff, President, and Christopher Hollis, Junior Librarian. Douglas Woodruff received many accolades when his term as President ended; one compliment was that he had "an avuncular if not paternal interest in younger speakers."¹ Woodruff's reports were in both The Isis and The Oxford Magazine when Evelyn spoke before his changeover on the topic "That this House deplores present French policy as a menace to Europe," which won 192 to 72: Evelyn had "made a bright little contribution" and "also spoke."² He was then put "on paper" to speak fourth in opposition to Secretary C. H. O. Scaife on the topic "That the Time is come to bury the hatchet with the Central Powers," which won 177 to 74. The President again wrote two remarks about him, both giving evidence of a different style in Evelyn's presentation:

Mr. Evelyn Waugh (Hertford) is a distinctively promising speaker. He frankly based his case on sentiment, and in an exceedingly agreeable way he unfolded a strong doctrine of patriotic hate. His line throughout was that he was the only man in the street present among the precocious intellectuals of Oxford. Mr. Waugh has considerable possibilities.³

Evelyn's changeover was that he had left off being a "Die-Hard" since losing his Conservative magazine and had become a "man in the street."

¹"The Union," The Isis, May 2, 1923, p. 13.

²Ibid., Jan. 31, 1923, p. xviii, and The Oxford Magazine, Feb. 1, 1923, p. 181.

³The Oxford Magazine, March 1, 1923, pp. 258-59. The "Don's" magazine was now chosen for the official Union report; thus the President always wrote something rather pedagogic for "The Union" column.

Woodruff's column in The Isis repeated the information with more descriptiveness:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford), making his first speech on the paper, said that this was purely a question of public sentiment, which could only be settled by the Man in the Street, an individual whom he claimed to represent, and indeed, boldly asserted that he was the only Man in the Street present. Mr. Waugh was both amusing and attractive, and will do better upon a subject which provides more scope.¹

Unfortunately, no mention was made of any barbed or pointed remarks that may have been cast in the direction of Mr. C. H. O. Scaife; the latter was probably one of the "precocious intellectuals," however. During the Summer Term, when the Presidency was lost to Christopher Hollis by 21 votes, H. J. S. Wedderburn was Secretary, but his was not enough influence to get Evelyn on the floor. It was once announced that Evelyn would speak fifth upon the topic "this House has full confidence in the present government," but there was no subsequent report that he actually did.² What was reported of interest is the election results for the next term's officers, and the polling: Hollis won over Scaife, 309 to 134, for the Presidency; Wedderburn became Junior Librarian; Bandaranaike became Secretary with 171 votes, and Evelyn fetched

¹The Isis, Feb. 28, 1923, p. 4. For a later disavowal of there being such a creature see Strix [Peter Fleming], "The Picadors," Spectator, Nov. 20, 1953, p. 557.

²The Isis, June 13, 1923, p. 13. Some evidence for argument that Evelyn may have been writing The Isis' "Union" column as "The Vice President": His remark in Labels about the silent cinema's being the "one hopeful tendency of the age" was the same as a remark in The Vice President's column of The Isis, June 6, 1923, p. 2. The latter was repeated in "Film Notes," Evening Standard (London), June 12, 1923, p. 12; then was again repeated in a comment on "The London Press," The Isis, June 20, 1923, p. 19. If Evelyn wrote The Isis' report on a motion which Hugh Molson introduced, he may with reason either not have spoken fifth as announced or not have mentioned his contribution, for he had just mistreated Molson in a short story (Infra).

up the tail-end of this balloting, in sixth place with 25 votes for Secretary. Evelyn had been elected to the Library Committee for the Summer Term of 1923¹ and then stood for election to office. It was his first and last attempt to win Union office--his appeal was at best only to a small group of voters.

The Summer Term of 1923 was the term that Evelyn took his "History Previous" examinations; perhaps it was on this account that his public personality appears to have been more quiet. There was an item in The Isis that is in the tradition Evelyn perpetuated ever after--pseudo-adulation for his tutor, C. R. M. F. Cruttwell:

Belated congratulations to the Dean of Hertford on his recent bowling successes. The following headline has been suggested:

CRUTTERS COLLECTS CONSIDERABLE KUDOS
IN COUNTRY CRICKET

Macte virtute esto, 'Googly Dean.'²

Evelyn's First Short Stories.--But there is another explanation for Evelyn's possible quietness--he had seriously accepted The Oxford Broom's behests to take life and make literature. His first short story appeared in The Isis of May 30, 1923, with the title "Portrait of Young Man with Career."³ The caricature of his old Lancing friend, Hugh Molson, is easily identifiable.⁴ It recounts in the first person an irritating visit to his own rooms and his day-dreams of murder.

¹Unpublished letter of Raymond Walters to Charles Linck, July 27, 1960.

²The Isis, May 24, 1923, p. 6.

³Ibid., p. xxii. By "SCARAMEL." This story supports the identification of Evelyn as "SCARAMEL" in that the first person narrator is "Evelyn."

⁴Carew, The House is Gone, p. 92: Molson wanted to be President of the Union and Labour Prime Minister as did the Old School visitor in Evelyn's story.

Mr. Molson, now an even more single-minded political climber, apparently, visited his rather ornate and elegant rooms just as Evelyn was about to enjoy a luxurious bath--for which he had only enough time before dinner. But Molson had time to smoke Evelyn's slow-burning foreign cigarette, drink his sherry, and talk Union "shop" for half an hour. Evelyn's reverie of murder and attempted disposal of the body was interrupted by the exit of the annoyance; it was too late for a bath. The story ended with the hope that someday he might be proud of his acquaintance. Evelyn's way of life had changed sufficiently so that some of his old friends annoyed him if they were too serious. His second published story has been mentioned earlier: the long story in *The Oxford Broom*¹ may have been, as Harold Acton stated, the result of a personal disappointment.² If so, the piece of "life" is deeply buried under an allegorical disguise and does not reveal itself as easily as the story about Hugh Molson; in this respect it does not fit *The Broom's* requirements either. It is a romantic, horror story about dungeons like Poe's "Cask of Amontillado." The hero, whose revolution has failed, is placed

¹Supra, p. 48: *The Oxford Broom*, No. 3, June, 1923, pp. 14-20. I am indebted to Harold Acton for the loan of three numbers of this otherwise unavailable magazine.

²Memoirs, p. 126. The unpublished letter of Harold Acton to Charles Linck, July 15, 1961, states: "Of course the story of 'Antony' was inspired by a personal relationship." The letter implies that the relationship was with "a bevy of 'bright young people' [who] besieged Oxford in those days." But the unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Jan. 7, 1962, provides a further clue if one can allow an adjustment of the dates: "I think it was in 1925 that he rather fell for Olivia Plunket-Greene, who liked him but didn't love him." Olivia was David Plunket-Greene's sister; David introduced the "Jazz Age" to Oxford and was an eminent Bright Young Person for a time. Evelyn's friendship with the Plunket-Greenes extended up to the time of his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1930 (*Infra*, Chapter VI).

in a dungeon; his lady begs to spend her life with him and her request is granted; but deprivation forces the lady to make love to the prison keeper for food; the hero strangles her and dies himself; their bones are left for aye. These two stories appeared at the same time. Both show considerable mature skill, especially with the conversation.¹

They precede a number of other good stories mainly about life at Oxford that Evelyn published in the "new" Cherwell during the time he was active in its revival during Fall Term, 1923.

Instituting the "new" Cherwell.--John Sutro, who had just formed the Oxford University Railway Club,² called upon a number of the best spirits of the Hypocrites' Club for his Cherwell staff.³ Evelyn was, as

¹Stories in the Oxford periodicals were often very good. Several in The Oxford Broom certainly followed the manifestoes with good results. Graham Greene's stories in The Oxford Outlook showed the genius that he has turned to account since. It was not, however, until the mid-twenties that "bright" dialogue was used in Oxford gossip columns.

²The Railway Club was as famous as the Hypocrites'. The bibliography overlaps. Its first notice is found in an Isis Editorial by A. C. Collingridge: "It met last Wednesday and--dining and making speeches the while--travelled at 60 mph. to a Leicester which could not understand it, spent 20 minutes there, and then travelled at 60 mph. back again to Oxford. . . . Oh, most magnificent of Organizations! Oh, masterpiece of irrelevance! Long live the Railway Club! May it never know who are its members, or when it is going to meet next!" (May 30, 1923). The Cherwell reported the second meeting with some names given: Dr. Counsell, Alastair Graham, Terence Greenidge, Richard Pares, I. L. Henderson, Harold Acton, Mr. Roberts, Richard Elwes, Mr. Brennan, A. C. Collingridge, Christopher Hollis, and Reginald Smith (Dec. 8, 1923, p. 142). Much later Lord Donegall wrote in his gossip column that he thought Harold Acton had started the Club (Sunday News [London], June 12, 1927, p. 7). The Hon. Patrick Balfour--"Mr. Gossip"--wrote in his column that John Sutro and the Hon. Hugh Lygon had inaugurated the club (Daily Sketch [London], Feb. 9, 1929, p. 5). The Club was photographed once, but names were not given (The Cherwell, May 30, 1925, p. 110). It celebrated its Tenth Ordinary and First Reunion dinner on a run to Brighton just after Evelyn had left for the Mediterranean in 1929 (Mr. Gossip, Daily Sketch, Feb. 9, 1929, p. 5). Evelyn had been a member at least once (Infra).

³Along the Road to Frome, p. 63.

his Old School's Magazine, reported, "a pillar of the Cherwell."¹ That Evelyn was a leading power is seen in the fact that, in addition to his own feature contributions, he solicited others for the new magazine; he obtained a series of practical articles from Alec and he persuaded Terence Greenidge to review Alec's Myself When Young.²

Starting the "New Series" after two terms of The Cherwell's absence with Editorial Offices at the Hypocrites' Club in August was a bit unusual. Ordinarily student magazines were published "in term" only, as The London Mercury noted, but the new magazine was to appear in and out of term.³ Obviously it was a business venture of the most practical mein. "J. S." (John Sutro) and "M. C. H." (Maurice Christopher Hollis) signed the Editorials; John Douglas Woodruff, now a teacher at Sheffield University, contributed witty articles about University life and examinations, began a series called "Types of Humbugs" and wrote some of another called "A Posy of Poses."⁴ Hollis contributed doggerel verse of the old Cherwell type; F. W. Bateson and I. L. Henderson wrote drama and book reviews; George A. Edinger (the Original founder) and "John Silver" wrote travel articles; Richard Pares of the defunct New Oxford wrote ingenious parodies of literary scholarship,

¹L.C.M., Dec., 1923, p. 126.

²Cherwell, Nov. 10, 1923, p. 68. The unpublished letters of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Nov. 19, 1961; Jan. 7, 1962, and Feb. 14, 1962, are partly concerned with the role Evelyn played on The Cherwell. Mr. Greenidge at first thought his review appeared in The Oxford Outlook; but Evelyn would not have associated so closely with the "Centre Party," especially not at this time when the Outlook was being edited by C. H. O. Scaife (and Henry Graham Greene).

³The London Mercury, VIII (Sept. 1923), 454.

⁴Some of these may have been Evelyn's Theophrastian Characters.

including a series on the word "runcible," and later was its Labour Co-Editor. L. A. G. Strong gave his short stories regularly and Alec Waugh wrote a very useful and practical series of articles about "The Literary Market." There were also series of articles about the various vocations and professional walks of life. Harold Acton, Brian Howard, and even members of the "Georgian" poets contributed poetry and other work. Editors of the future--Robert Byron, Brian Guinness, and John Betjeman--were Evelyn's friends; in fact it was through the staff of this magazine that Evelyn maintained a continuing association with Oxford for many years.

Evelyn's Cartoons and Stories for the "new" Cherwell.--Evelyn apparently spent the long vacation in preparing a stock of stories and cartoons. As regular features, his woodcut cartoons set the magazine's distinctive tone of sophistication and modernity. His large Editorials Page woodcut was used also on the orange cover; with an "All the World's a Stage" motif, his cartoon depicted various University types in their distinguishing Oxford dress--athlete, playboy, aesthete, hunting man, scholarly grind, and don--as suspended puppets on a picture-window stage. The heavy-bodied don dangled from a single rope about his neck--an unsubtle depiction of his own heavy-bodied tutor, Cruttwell.¹ His sad-faced Clown for the "Drama" column; his three readers beside a pile of disarranged books for "Book Reviews"; his gesticulating speaker, with two smaller foreigners and the warning caption "Europe Listens where

¹For Cruttwell's physical description, see "Isis Idol," The Isis, March 5, 1924, pp. 7-8; also D.N.B., 1941-1950. Terence Greenidge remarked that the other stubby figures in most of his cartoons rather resembled Evelyn himself (unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961).

Oxford Sleeps," for "Union" reports; and his many and varied small space-filling cartoons--all have his stamp of skilled and distinctive artistry. As were his column-head cartoons for *The Isis*, all were used for many years--some until World War II. The Cover cartoon was revised and modernized on February 2, 1929, then used in the new form until the war.¹

To the first number Evelyn contributed one of his very best short stories, "Edward of Unique Achievement."² This, too, was aimed at his tutor, Cruttwell. A very sophisticated story about the perfect crime, it related how a student murdered a don and escaped because of the complicated circumstances of Oxfordian self-interest and complicity in vice and evil--a verdict of "accidental death" freed the murderer even before he had been a suspect. It was a bitter story if it were related to his personal desires; but it fitted The Broom's manifestoes rather well and is the superior work of a matured craftsman. From the same stockpile of materials came three shorter stories: "Fragments: They Dine with the Past," of August 15; "Conspiracy to Murder," of September 5; and "The National Game," of September 26.³ "Fragments" is enigmatical about men who hear Imogen is in town again; they gather to dine,

¹Depending upon the degree of friendliness Editors felt for Evelyn from term to term, his cartoons were used irregularly during the thirties. An experiment with an italic type for headlines during September and October, 1923, may also have been his: he had an interest in Edward Johnston's and Eric Gill's lettering and type models.

²The Cherwell, August 1, 1923, pp. 14-18. By "SCARAMEL." The story was reprinted in 1925 with the additional title "A Tale of Blood and Alcohol in an Oxford College" (The Cherwell, June 13, 1925, pp. 166-69).

³The Cherwell, August 15, 1923, p. 42; Sept. 5, 1923, pp. 116, 118; Sept. 26, 1923, pp. 174, 176. By "SCARAMEL."

silently thinking of the siren who had been a part of all their pasts. The next was a second Poe-like tale of the closeted life, morbidity about being murdered, and ultimate madness in an Oxford dormitory. The last related the events of a dull day that summer when, it appears, Evelyn was forced to play cricket by his brother--he could have spent the money, time and energy much more pleasurably. The latter was closely fitted to The Broom's requirements: there was an event very similar in Evelyn's summer. Greenidge related it thusly:

Here is a trivial, yet jolly anecdote. . . . Evelyn was bullied by Alec into playing for Alec's literary cricket team against Stowe School. (I umpired!) Arthur Waugh heartily offered Evelyn a shilling for every run he made. Evelyn batted in the most appalling style, and miraculously scored 29 runs!¹

From a burst of creative effort came a new series of distinctively different woodcuts with a moral, entitled "The Seven Deadly Sins" and also published in The Cherwell. Their titles indicate the subject matter, which was usually depicted in the attitude or action of a single, heavily-blackened woodcut figure: "No. 1. The intolerable wickedness of him who drinks alone"; "No. 2. The horrid sacrilege of those that illtreat books"; "No. 3. The wanton way of those that corrupt the very young"; "No. 4. The Hideous Habit of Marrying Negroes"; "No. 5. That grim act parricide"; "No. 6. That dull, old sin Adultery"; and "No. 7. The grave discourtesy of such a man as will beat his host's servant."² These situations of sin were aptly portrayed, the virtue

¹Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Nov. 19, 1961.

²The Cherwell, Oct. 17, 1923, p. 238; Oct. 27, 1923, p. 14; Nov. 3, 1923, p. 32; Nov. 10, 1923, p. 64; Nov. 17, 1923, p. 77; Nov. 24, 1923, pp. 110, 116. None were signed but there is no mistaking Evelyn's work; his technique was identifiable and there were no cartoonists with comparable skill.

being as in all of Evelyn's cartoons the acute eye of genius for identifying the essence of an oddity in its most ironical form. Several were accompanied by more or less apt verses which Christopher Hollis signed and some were fitted to some occasion or news item.

His cartoons and stories were his obvious contributions to the business venture; there may have been others. Then the plan to make The Cherwell an all year publication failed when the financial backer absconded.¹ The magazine continued as an in-term weekly to which Evelyn occasionally gave other works. His efforts were sufficiently noticed in London so as to lead to the publication of a cartoon labelled "Youth" in The London Mercury of October, 1923. Though success for The Cherwell might have changed his creative career, its failure meant that he remained with The Isis, and became the re-incarnation of his Lancing self in 1924.

Cartoons and Cinema Reviews for The Isis.--During the last term of 1923 Evelyn added to his repertory of cartoons for Isis, column heads. One of his best was the distinctive and artistic woodcut showing "Author," players, and stage hands on and in front of a stage in his latest grey-and-black toning technique, used for "Theatre." Signed "Evelyn Waugh, 1923" it was among those that kept his name before the Oxford audience throughout the twenties and thirties. A main interest of the Fall Term was Mr. James Bernard Fagan's repertory theatre which

¹Along the Road to Frome, pp. 62-63. The next owner's name was Sissons (unpublished letter of John Sutro to Charles Linck, August 10, 1961). Derek Kahn, the Editor of 1933, wrote that the magazine had a relationship with "The Bright Young People" for years ("Journalism in Oxford," The Cherwell, Nov. 11, 1933, pp. 110-111).

the Vice Chancellor had been prevailed upon to permit;¹ a very good calendar of plays was offered, for, as Mr. Fagan graciously reported, Harold Acton had advised that Oxford needed waking-up.² The productions of the Oxford Playhouse were the delight of "Aesthetes" for many seasons to come; leading figures of this time, Glen Byam Shaw, Robert Speaight, Gyles Isham, and Gerald Gardiner, worked for both the Oxford University Dramatics Society and Mr. Fagan. Evelyn counted friends and acquaintances among them, especially Gyles Isham and Arthur Tandy who also edited *The Isis*. Closely associated with the Hypocrites' Club whose rags were featured in *The Isis*, the magazine heralded the organization of student film productions with Gyles Isham's Editorial, "Movies," in the issue of October 24, 1923. Contending that British films needed criticism if ever they were to achieve the levels of art, *The Isis* Editor proposed to begin a column of reviews with the "best critic we can find." Thus for the next two terms under a "Seen in the Dark" cartoon, Robert Byron, an Etonian of the Society of Arts, Evelyn, and others wrote the most astringent reviews of the films shown locally. During the next few years Terence Greenidge led the movement in obtaining permission to form legal film clubs at Oxford and in producing several films. *Isis* reviews were their preparatory steps in developing knowledge of how to make films; once again, Evelyn was a central figure in the new activity during 1924.

¹The *Isis*, June 20, 1923, p. 14, gives a list of the eminent patrons. Terence Greenidge remarked that it took the intercession of the Chancellor of the University, Lord Curzon, to obtain the permission that the Vice-Chancellor had refused (*Degenerate Oxford?*, p. 211).

²*Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1923, p. 22.

A Paradoxical-Humorist at the Union.--Finally a leading figure at the Union Society, Evelyn appeared a more congenial speaker than hitherto. His friend Hollis was a busy President preparing for the Union Centennial celebrations, which were then post-poned because of a General Election.¹ Evelyn spoke freely as a humorist; the President offered stern advice:

Mr. Waugh (Hertford) was too long before he came to the point. His paradox was ingenious but superficial. It is an unnecessary handicap for a speaker to dub himself a member of a particular class.²

The debate topic had been Buckmaster's project for Divorce Reform and Evelyn "objected to the case in favour of the motion as too academic."³

The Cherwell's reporter thought he was funny:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford) uttered the most outrageous collection of twentieth century Hobbist aphorisms the Union has ever listened to and one good mot, which I seem to have heard before.⁴

But since "Femel" of The Isis and "The Cheshire Puss" of The Cherwell, pen-names used for the Union reports in these magazines during the term, were probably identical with Christopher Hollis, the somewhat different comments are compromised.⁵ The next subject Evelyn spoke upon, as fifth speaker, was "this House regrets that the Population of England has

¹Douglas Woodruff, "Talking at Random," The Tablet (London), December, 1939, p. 754.

²The Oxford Magazine, Nov. 8, 1923, p. 87.

³The Isis, Nov. 7, 1923, p. 14.

⁴The Cherwell, Nov. 10, 1923, p. 51.

⁵Identification is made possible because comments were not changed in some of the reports and because "The Cheshire Puss" aptly described Hollis' grin; "Femel" would, moreover, appear to relate to "Scaramel" in some manner, but Mr. Hollis evaded any explanation (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, June 14, 1961).

increased beyond five millions," which won 135 to 107; his personality showed more clearly throughout the President's reporting:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford) could not see how anyone opposed the motion. Life obviously was now so unpleasant. It was perhaps the fault of the motion that there was very little to say in strict relevance. If you dislike modern life you dislike it, and that is that. Mr. Waugh was commendably brief and was able to leave it very clearly known to the audience what exact point he had made.¹

In The Isis, the reporter was sterner:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford), in a curiously muffled voice, expressed his surprise at anyone being found to oppose the motion, and his conviction that the lives of the great majority of people in England were not worth living.²

But the humor magazine's reporter thought Evelyn even funnier:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford) thought that to make jokes would not help; they could not, however, have further obscured his argument than he obscured it himself.³

An Established Oxford Figure at Year's End.--It is very difficult to state exactly the personality of Evelyn at this time of his life. The Union reports depicted him as being a witty, clever, paradoxical person; perhaps as a clown, jester, and madcap rebel. In his Old School's Magazine, he was reported in these words: "Waugh is one of the ornaments of Oxford, a pillar of the Cherwell, and the owner of a famous blue suit."⁴ A friend and contemporary, Patrick Balfour then, recently wrote about the clothes called "Oxford bags" very soon:

I myself affected plus four suits or a green or orange tweed, with ties and stockings to tone and, when the fashion was introduced, high-necked jumpers in contrasting shades of blue or yellow. The tweeds of Mr. Evelyn Waugh were, so far as I remember, blue. Others, like Mr. Harold Acton, wore costumes of a less tweedy and

¹The Oxford Magazine, Nov. 15, 1923, pp. 110-11.

²Nov. 14, 1923, p. 13.

³The Cherwell, Nov. 17, 1923, p. 75.

⁴L.C.M., Nov., 1923, p. 100.

more imaginative kind, while his rival as leader of the aesthetic world, the late Mr. Brian Howard, preferred hunting clothes. For he had succeeded in entering the athletic world as well, riding races in addition to writing poems, and so reducing some athletes to the level of aesthetes.¹

Christopher Hollis related how Evelyn, in the noisy Hypocrites' Club, went across to an old man and asked: "Excuse me, Sir, but can you hear yourself speak?" The man was deaf and dumb, and, as expected, quite unbothered. The account is a fine picture of impish personality.² One of the Chapman and Hall novelists, Berta Ruck, has also given a neat vignette of Evelyn at this time:

--Of Evelyn Waugh, twelve years younger than he is now, with thick curly hair and bright defiantly laughing eyes, inveighing mordantly against--I don't remember what conventional celebrity-of-the-moment. "A sub-man I call him, a real sub-man!"

"Evelyn, don't be so cruel. Some day you'll be older, you'll have suffered more. You'll be more tolerant some day."

"Some day I'll be a rotting corpse," retorted Evelyn Waugh relentlessly, "but that's not now."³

About another London occasion, "The Party" which Evelyn and Alec Waugh arranged in Mary Butts' flat in 1923, Alec's friend Douglas Goldring recalled that Evelyn came down from Oxford, laced the wine, and ended the evening by playing football with the butler's top hat.⁴ Other persons knew him to be an artist as well as an "Aesthete" and, sometimes, a rather too savage caricaturist in cartoon and story; Hugh

¹Lord Kinross, "The Years with Kinross," *Punch*, Aug. 9, 1961, p. 211.

²Along the Road to Frome, p. 61.

³Berta Ruck [pseudonym of A. R. Onions], A Story-Teller Tells the Truth, Remiscences and Notes (London: Hutchinson, 1935), p. 267.

⁴Douglas Goldring, Odd Man Out, the Auto-biography of a 'Propaganda Novelist' (London: Chapman and Hall, 1935), pp. 282-83; and Douglas Goldring, The Nineteen Twenties (London: Nicolson and Watson, 1945), pp. 212-13.

Molson, who had a grievance because of Evelyn's story, remarked that "he got rid of his older friends."¹ The various facets of personality that observers saw might well make it appear that Evelyn's was still an unformed character. That he himself realized the tensions of growing up can be seen in his cartoon, "Youth," printed in The London Mercury: it depicts an Oxford youth in the agony of physical awareness of life's struggle; he is shown to be straining to extract one foot from a cradle while being aware of the clutch of the grave and the vine upon the other.²

By 1924 Evelyn was easily one of the most well-established personalities of Oxford. He was by reputation associated with the avant

¹Interview with Lord Molson at the House of Lords granted to Charles Linck, July 26, 1961. Not all, however, were lost to him; he made new friends who remained through the Oxford years--Terence Greenidge and Anthony Bushell of Hertford for instance (unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Feb. 17, 1962).

²The London Mercury, VIII (October, 1923), 635. Terence Greenidge knew the cartoon by the title, "From the Cradle to the Grave" (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961). "Youth" was Evelyn's only contribution to J. C. Squire's rather elegant literary magazine, though his Lancing friend Dudley Carew was on the staff and though many of his Oxford associates obtained their first helping hand from it. The cricket-playing literary coteries were being derided almost regularly in Oxford at this time; his family's intimate acquaintance with J. C. Squire accounts for the cartoon's publication. Mr. Brian Howarth, who is currently doing the official biography of Squire, wrote "Squire was quite a close personal friend of Alec Waugh, but he told me once he did not care much for his brother" (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, August 11, 1961).

garde, sophisticated personages of the mid-twenties, whose Oxford careers lasted a year or two longer than his own.¹

¹See Christopher Sykes, Four Studies in Loyalty (London: Collins, 1946), pp. 80ff. Sykes described the era of 1925-1926 as "a great Oxford period" which was dominated by Harold Acton, Robert Byron, and Evelyn Waugh, though the latter was there in spirit more than otherwise. Sykes correctly stated that the memory of the great days continued to survive at William Acton's weekly hunt luncheons, where all were frequently assembled (Infra, Chapter IV).

CHAPTER THREE

HERTFORD COLLEGE, 1924: FOUR PHASES OF ACTIVITIES

Evelyn's remaining student career included the Spring and Summer terms of 1924. His activities during these terms produced results voluminously in at least four different areas. He was a provocative Sub-Editor of The Isis; he was active at the Union Society both as a speaker and as a reporter of debate; there were significant successes in his cartoon and art career; and he was the writer and director of one of the Hypocrites' Club's best films. A career as active as he pursued at Oxford makes it appear that he was only casually involved in academic work; perhaps he had a greater capacity for work than is ordinary.

Sub-Editing The Isis for the "New Order"

First there was his journalism, performed under the Editorship of Arthur Tandy, who was probably a weak partner.¹ The Isis had changed greatly since early in 1923 when "Porcus Desperatus" of The New Oxford had called it a stodgy journal for the establishment. But there had been no revolutionary change such as the magazine now saw. Evelyn, the stronger influence in part of its policy, could participate in a

¹About Tandy it was written later: "a good-looking, rather child-like undergraduate . . ., an excellent actor, a decent journalist and, in general, a rather sentimental and rabbit-like person" (Degenerate Oxford?, p. 214).

"Hubris"-filled and rewarding rivalry with the more cautious Editors of The Cherwell as he had not been able to do since his Lancing days. Oftentimes the high-spirited rags of the Hypocrites' Club-centered Isis appear to be planned antagonism for the scorn of the social superiority of the changing Cherwell. Both magazines had the same enthusiasms during the term, but The Isis dared to venture more dangerously in every case. Both welcomed Mr. Fagan's avant garde production of Hamlet, which was to be done with the Oxford University Dramatics Society; both looked forward to the "1840 Exhibition" which was composed at "great labor and expense" by Harold Acton and Robert Byron, and both were critical of the administration when it was banned; both conducted a hoax campaign with fictitious candidates in the Election, The Cherwell's "Bludski" vying with The Isis's "Julia Jorrocks";¹ both publicized Harold Acton's rivalry with Charles Williams about Tcheckov and both followed Williams' series of "Popular Idols Dethroned" with great interest (Williams dethroned H. G. Wells, Augustus John, Miss Gladys Cooper,

¹Christopher Hollis was Evelyn's mentor in Oxford politics perhaps (Along the Road to Frome, p. 73). Terence Greenidge wrote that Evelyn has often spoken of the part he played in the defeat of Winston Churchill in March, 1924, when he sought the seat of the Abbey Division of Westminster, London: "Evelyn and Chris Hollis had been given last minute notes to people who, if rounded-up, would be sure to vote for Winston, but Evelyn and Chris fell to the temptation to reveal, and the notes were posted, and arrived too late" (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, Feb. 17, 1962). Churchill, an "Independent anti-Socialist," lost by 43 votes; he won at Epping later in the year as a "Constitutionalist," and returned to a Conservative Cabinet (Mowat, p. 177).

Dean Inge, The British National Opera, and Rudolph Valentino);¹ both conducted a popularity contest, though The Isis' bid to gain the victory for Harold Acton and other "Aesthetes" proved very disappointing; both advertised Terence Greenidge's challenge to the "Hearties" to race him from Banbury to Oxford;² both reported incidents of strife between "Blues" and "Artists" in rather High School-ish gossip columns which Evelyn appears to have invented. The Isis produced its own first "Literary Supplement" with Arundel del Re as Editor and Harold Acton as "Idol" to vie with The Cherwell's cooperative production of the last number of The Oxford Broom. Their rivalry tended to make the most interesting kind of journalism for Oxford during the term, though The Isis came very near to being simply what was called American-inspired Daily Mail journalism, which, without Evelyn's canny guidance during

¹This controversial series appeared in The Isis while Evelyn was Sub-Editor. An equally controversial article was written about Tcheckov for Gyles Isham the term before. Isham later became a Roman Catholic. Whether the well-known Anglo-Catholic was then interested in religion does not evidence itself, for, in the one opportunity to attack a "modern Churchman," Dean Inge, Williams criticized only his popular journalism. That there may have been mutual interests in religion is possible, but only his poem of 1922 is evidence that Evelyn was so interested. Still, the matter of Evelyn's Roman Catholic acquaintances at this time is of compelling interest and I shall refer to them frequently.

²This challenge was accepted by four lovers of the English sport and they ran the first week in February, 1924. Greenidge won easily with Evelyn's help: "He took no part in College sports--I can be proud of the fact that he paced me on a bicycle when I won the Banbury-Oxford race, 23 1/2 miles, though Evelyn complained subsequently that he was more tired than I was" (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, Feb. 17, 1962). Evelyn's friends, Robert Byron and Alastair Graham, with Mr. Frank Gray, the Oxford politician, followed the runners by car (The Isis, Feb. 6, 1924, p. 5, with photographs).

the next term, brought about disaster for Tandy and Gerald Gardiner.¹
Sensational journalism was intended to be profitable.

The hand of the old Lancing iconoclast was clearly evident in The Isis' absolute lack of respect for authority during this term. Rags and critical outbursts were intended to increase the circulation, but the campaigns were heart-felt too. The advertisement of the "1840 Exhibition" as "one of the most important and certainly the most entertaining of the artistic events of the term" was proper among friends.² But the reaction of "Another Lost Cause!" when the exhibition was banned went a bit beyond the respectfulness due to authority one suspects:

With intense surprise and the most profound regret we learn that the Proctors have refused their consent to the 1840 Exhibition. No explanation was given for this strange action except that the authorities could "see no reason" why it should take place. . . . It is hard to see why it should have appeared undesirable to the Proctors, who so generously allow so much that is silly and vulgar. . . . We can see nothing in the present restriction which is not unnecessary, tactless and acutely aggravating.³

Then, as if the first outburst was not sufficient, came the heavy irony of another:

After the Proctors' curious action in banning the 1840 art exhibition, we are surprised to see that the Newman Society are daring to hold a meeting at which Mr. Acton will read a paper dealing with this obscene and offensive period. Will the Proctors raid the meeting, we wonder, and suspend the Club. Such an action, surely, would be quite consistent with their attitude.⁴

¹Infra, Chapter IV.

²The Isis, Jan. 23, 1924, p. 3. According to Harold Acton, 1840 was the latest year of "stylized deportment" in all things before Victorian vulgarity set in.

³Ibid., Feb. 14, 1924, p. 3.

⁴The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, p. 4.

The immediate sequel was a report of the Newman Society's meeting, called "1840 and the New Orthodoxy":

Like their fathers in time of persecution, the Newman Society met on Sunday to hear a paper from Mr. Acton on that dark age, the early years of Queen Victoria's reign. Every precaution had been taken by the Secretary, Don Alfonso de Zulueta, but at the last moment his courage failed him and he had to be represented by his more robust friend, Mr. de Clery. The meeting was held in an Upper Room in Cornmarket Street, pickets were posted at the doors, and secret staircases revealed in case of a Proctorial raid. So skillfully, however, had the meeting been kept secret that it passed off without trouble. Mr. Acton's paper was heard by a large audience and greatly admired. All escaped without molestation.¹

This report, one notices, had little to say about what Acton had discussed--it was centered on ironical attack which was then transferred to another even less successful enthusiasm. In the same tone "Artistic Enterprise and the Oxford Authorities" made its appearance next, for another of Evelyn's friends was under surveillance:

A strange sequel to the banning of the 1840 Exhibition has been the action of the Vice-Chancellor in forbidding Lord ("Billy") Clonmore to organize his "Friends of the Ashmolean" fund. Whatever might have been urged in favor of the 1840 ban . . . Lord Clonmore's fund was organized to help the Ashmolean to buy more pictures and to keep pace with the FitzWilliam Museum at Cambridge; it received the enthusiastic support of the Slade Professor of Fine Art. Lord Crawford and the Committee of the National Art Society were much in favour of it. The Vice-Chancellor has banned it because he considers, unlike those whose study of the question enables them to form a more reliable judgment . . . Does the Vice-Chancellor intend this, or does he merely want to discourage under-graduates from interesting themselves in art?²

For this there was an apology in the next issue of *The Isis*, the last

¹*The Isis*, Feb. 27, 1924, p. 3. Such was the public beginning of a considerable interest in the Roman Church among students. Alfonso de Zulueta, who had very good political and social connections, became a popular President of the Newman Society; the meetings to which he could invite important personages were well attended by Oxford men.

²*The Isis*, March 5, 1924, p. 2.

of Evelyn's term.¹ Disappointingly, the Slade Professor himself wrote a letter denying all part in The Isis' "misunderstanding."² The significance of the series of disrespectful remarks can not be calculated except in terms of Evelyn's personality at Oxford--such had not happened before.

Again benefitting Harold Acton was an article which reviewed the lectures of the new Professor of Poetry; Mr. Garrod was a bit dull and The Isis had a suggestion:

Why cannot we have a Junior Professor of Poetry? Here is a chance of starting a really popular institution. And if (say) Mr. Harold Acton could be persuaded to fill the post there is little doubt that a powerful creative stimulus would be given to the jaded study of poetry in Oxford.³

Another gesture was to choose Harold Acton for "Isis Idol." An Etonian friend's sketch, "Dawn," was used instead of a photograph in a comic error.⁴ The article itself stated that Acton was not an older style of "Aesthete" for he didn't dress as they had and he was not effete:

Ordinarily well-made clothes and a blackthorn stick, fairly short hair, and perhaps a copy of The Isis under his arm, are his chief "properties." His contempt for "aesthetes" is unbounded, and not long ago, when accused of being one by a group of youth round the door of one of the smaller colleges, he waved his umbrella and scattered them with unexpected ferocity.⁵

¹The Isis, March 12, 1924, p. 3.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., Jan. 23, 1924, p. 10.

⁴Ibid., Feb. 20, 1924, p. 7. The caption read "Dawn by J. Byam-Shaw"--clearly an error in the spelling of "drawn." Of course, in one sense the name was apt for what Harold Acton tried to bring about at Oxford. It provided Richard Pares with materials for wry joking about its being a misrepresentation in his Editorial about "Noise" (The Cherwell, Feb. 23, 1924). He approved the Isis' making an idol of The Cherwell's chief poet, however; then castigated Acton's megaphone techniques of reading poetry. He also had some criticism for Christopher Hollis' mid-night revels.

⁵The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, p. 7. Supra, p. 5ln.

It could hardly be denied that Acton did strange things, however:

In Oxford he found a more congenial atmosphere. He painted his rooms in Meadows bright yellow, and collected the most incredible Early Victorian decorations. He also purchased a megaphone through which he reads his own and the Sitwells' poetry in a way which, with all respect to the assiduity of the O.U.D.S., is inimitable.¹

Further, the article related that Acton had started an intellectual revolution:

The Oxford Broom first appeared in the spring of last year. . . . There was a grim, pipe-smoking intelligentsia who lived in Wellington Square, ran the "Ordinary," and despised almost everything; there were a few ornamental and rather tiresome folk who were proud of having read Mallarme; and there was the Oxford Outlook under the care of Mr. Scaife, and Mr. Murray and Mr. Hollis. With the Broom high spirits entered into this foetid atmosphere. It was advertised with the impudence of a patent medicine--"Are you a corpse mentally?"--and fully justified its boast. It has proved a magnificent tonic for the sullen mind of the literary undergraduate.²

In all of this, one is impressed by the degree to which Evelyn's friendship was extended to a personality and a cause. Previously, Gyles Isham and Arthur Tandy had offered their hesitating approval to the "New Order" in The Isis; afterward Gerald Gardiner and Arthur Tandy returned immediately to the more usual attack and ridicule.

Co-ordinating with the praise of Acton was The Isis' attack upon the "Georgians." In the advertisement of its "Literary Supplement," a division was made obvious:

In the next issue we are publishing a Literary Supplement. Mr. Harold Acton is to be the Idol, and one of the chief features of the number will be an article by Mr. Brian Howard, entitled "Diminuendo; or the Poetry of Peter Quennell." Mr. Scaife (St. John's) will not contribute a poem.³

The last sentence was gratuitous nastiness aimed at one "Georgian";

¹The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, p. 7.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., Feb. 14, 1924, p. 5.

Howard's article was repeated meanness toward another. As a continuation of his earlier attack, Howard stated authoritatively that Quennell's genius had declined still further in his recent collection, Masques and Poems:

Indeed, on finishing the book one cannot well help entertaining a sinister (and I hope mistaken) doubt that Mr. Quennell's talent was one of those which, unable to survive the trails attendant upon the precarious business of "growing-up," are put away, sadly enough, with other childish things.¹

Quennell may not have been bothered much; he did edit Oxford Poetry with Harold Acton in 1924. But this attack was referred to with some glee several times--it was certainly taken at face value by many readers. Though it appears to be unusual, it was merely a part of the "high spirits" which "entered into this foetid atmosphere" of Oxford literary life with The Oxford Broom and "proved a magnificent tonic for the sullen mind of the literary undergraduate" of the time.

There were equally strenuous campaigns for lower bus and taxi fares, which elicited many letters but little success. There was a campaign for better personal hygiene among men students in a new Isis feature, "Woman's Page" for the "undergraduettes" (an Isis coinage this

¹The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, pp. 16-17. Supra, p. 43n. Evelyn did associate with Quennell at Oxford. In "Youth at the Helm and Pleasure at the Prow" (The London Magazine, August, 1955, pp. 51-53) Evelyn wrote that Quennell ("present Literary Editor on the Daily Mail") had loaned or sold him a second-hand copy of Aldous Huxley's Antic Hay and had superciliously told him it was "dreary." But it wasn't; Evelyn loved the London that the novel showed, and sought the same high-spirited and active existence for himself.

term).¹ But the supreme act of "Hubris" for the term may well have been the choosing of C. R. M. F. Cruttwell as "Isis Idol." The homage thus offered to Evelyn's History tutor--a "badger-like figure, clad in ancient tail coat and lop-sided white tie," who, after "scrabbling at the keyhole," "pads pensively northward" for his beer (and "should we not all be the better for more malt and more hops within us?")--is the very reverse of respectful homage.² Evelyn had directed several telling blows at his unloved tutor earlier, but this was better. The style of the "biographical" article, lodged as it is ambivalently between extreme nastiness and safety, shows Evelyn's mature talent at its very best. However, the article may be the cause of Evelyn's not succeeding to the Editorship next term.

Evelyn also publicized the affairs of his friends with private innuendo and veiled reference to their public activities in a gossip column which he began. It was a weekly series of queries under the caption "We Can't Help Wondering":

¹Such campaigns were apparently Arthur Tandy's chief interests for they were subscribers' bait (Infra, Chapter IV). The "Woman's Page" may not have been by an undergraduate during Evelyn's term (though Miss Dilys Powell did it the next), for women were still generally separated from the men at Oxford. Evelyn had an old interest in "Female Suffrage" and Co-education which allowed him to participate fully, of course. The Frittillary of 1923-1926 was a woman undergraduate's magazine. It had a back cover cartoon which Evelyn might, perhaps, have drawn; Evelyn knew its last Editor, Renee Haynes, in 1930 at least as the daughter of his lawyer and as a novelist.

²The Isis, Mar. 5, 1924, pp. 7-8. There is something low-class about a don's beer drinking. Beer is fine for undergraduates, but an educated adult should have a taste for wine. Wine, especially port, makes English dons the sharp controversialists they are (Wine in Peace and War, pp. 73-74). The brusqueness of his tutor was probably what irked Evelyn at this time, which makes his later approval of sharp-tongued dons slightly droll.

Whether Mr. Harold Acton is a client of Mr. C. J. Piper?
 What the Oxford barbers think of Mr. Richard Pares?¹

If Mr. A. Duggan is likely to find the South Sea Islands as delectable as the Britist ones?

Why Mr. Brian Howard was so cross and rude in the New Cambridge, recently?

What Mr. Anthony Bushell and R. S. Addinsell (both Hert) were doing shouting in King Edward Street recently one night?²

What was Lord Clonmore's temperature Friday morning?

Whether it was accidental that the "Four Horsemen" caught fire the evening the Dean of Hertford attended?

Who the Devil hid the Sub-editor's revolver?³

There were references to Ogilvie-Grant, John Sutro, C. H. O. Scaife, and Christopher Hollis in the latter column; the texts of each prove reliable guides to his friends and his interests. With an easily surmised relationship to the Sub-Editor's revolver was another personal item in one issue:

Lost, Lost, O! Lost!

Mr. Evelyn Waugh regrets to announce that he has lost a walking stick made of oak, preposterously short with a metal band round it. It is a thing of no possible value to anyone but himself; for him it is an incalculable loss. If it should fall into the hands of any honest or kindly man or woman, will he or she bring it to the Isis Office, and what so poor a man as Mr. Waugh is can do, shall not be lacking.⁴

He had lost both his weapons to the Proctors; weapons were needed in the warfare between "Hearty" and "Aesthete"--he referred to the confiscation a third time:

The other day I was walking home with a pickaxe which I borrowed to complete the costume of "the Conservative Working Man" for a

¹The Isis, Feb. 27, 1924, p. 4.

²Ibid., March 5, 1924, p. 12. Note the play on "hurt" in the abbreviation of Hertford College.

³Ibid., March 12, 1924, p. 4.

⁴The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, p. 4.

fancy dress party, when I was stopped by a bowler-hatted servant and brought to the Proctors, who told me that it was not seemly to carry workmen's tools about. I wonder if it was just snobbery or ill-nature, or whether he was afraid of being attacked.¹

There were two lengthy articles. As if he were aware of future reputation they paralleled the subjects of his two Lancing Editorials. The first revealed again his conclusions about school, or, University; the second his opinion about the future of his own generation. The first, "Wittenberg and Oxford," expressed the opinion that Hamlet was an ordinary University student and that there were many Hamlets at Oxford, to say little of all the other mad persons to be found there:

Mr. Fagan himself, I believe, remarked on this and suggested that the "lick-spittle" courtiers, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, would probably have edited the Wittenberg Broom. Doubting, as in courtesy we must, the closeness of the analogy between these rather horrid young men and the contributors to our distinguished contemporary, we welcome this point of criticism. But surely the comparison might be carried further? From any window in Oxford it would not be hard to pick out twenty Osrics and two hundred Horatios, and surely Polonius himself, napkin in hand, may be seen hobbling from dinner to the Senior Common Room.²

He suspected that like Oxford students Hamlet would have been debating "Was Hamlet mad?" at the Union Society that very evening. The second article, "Oxford and the Next War," in the form of a letter to a friend abroad, contained a summary of the term's activities. It was a sharp criticism of everything; the Lancing "Corpse" had not been more weary of school. Beginning with "the complete heart-breaking dreariness of everyone and everything in Oxford," it enumerated a series of disappointments. Friends had been unkind to each other; the Proctors had banned the "1840 Exhibition" without cause; he himself had been deprived

¹"Oxford and the Next War," *Ibid.*, March 12, 1924, p. 10.

²*Ibid.*, Feb. 14, 1924, pp. 1-2.

of his costume pickaxe by the Proctors; the Union Society was even more dreary than ever in the past. Of course, the O. U. D. S. Hamlet had been good; that is, "a thoroughly good amateur show; that is to say, everyone knew his part tolerably well." C. H. O. Scaife had treated the London Press with vile contempt during the Oxford Union Society's Centennial celebrations; the London Press had quite overdone its praise of Gyles Isham's portrayal of Hamlet; the Bicester had closed because of "foot-and-mouth" disease--"but that doesn't affect a poor man like myself." There were no bright spots.

Then he turned his attention to their futures, suggesting a solution to the problem of unemployable undergraduates: they needed a war or something to fight for or escape to:

We also know that when there is a war the fighting people at least have moments of really intense enjoyment and really intense misery--both things which one wants at our age. As far as I can see, there is just no chance of any of us being able to earn a living, or at least a living decent enough to allow of any sort of excitement or depravity. Here we are with bills, over-fastidious tastes, and a completely hopeless future. What can we do but to long for a war or a revolution?¹

The end of the essay is indicative of gloom and depression. In the "letter" Evelyn asked for a cause, anything would do: the undergraduates could "invade America in the cause of alcohol, or China in the cause of opium, or France in the cause of Sabbatarianism, or the Vatican in the cause of compulsory vaccination." Oxford students were ready:

We can raise a very jolly platoon of gentlemen-adventurers . . . if they, he or she will pay us handsomely and give us a chance of a speedy death.

¹"Oxford and the Next War," *The Isis*, March 12, 1924, p. 10.

There should have been a news item stating that a new chapter of the "Corpse Club" had been founded. Accompanying the essay was Evelyn's woodcut of a youth in the attitude of both removing his coat and attacking with a brandy bottle in one violent gesture.¹ Perhaps Evelyn actually felt so high-spirited.

These were the causes of his journalistic venture in Sub-Editing The Isis; the magazine truly reflected his old Lancing personality and reputation. Further discussion will discover that in addition to being gay in his gossip column, a firm champion of Harold Acton and the "New Order," and then disgruntled at the end of the term, he was bored at the cinema and at the Union Society where he was also iconoclastic in his attacks upon established reputations.

Was Evelyn actually unhappy? Because it was not long before references to "offal" were found in the magazines,² it may be well to balance his apparent depression with his other reputation: that of being a happy "Offal Luncheon" companion. Along with his participation in Greenidge's Banbury-to-Oxford race and in Winston Churchill's election campaign, the "Offal Luncheons" undoubtedly reflect his happier personality better than his essay about war or other gloomy remarks. Christopher Hollis cleared up the matter that Harold Acton's Memoirs left open to misinterpretation:

"Offal" derived its name from a sentence in the sermon of a priest at St. Aloysius'. He chanced to say one day, "St. Paul says, 'All the world is offal.'" We adopted the name to distinguish us from our more respectable fellow-undergraduates, and used to lunch

¹Labelled "Brandy," the cartoon was one of a series.

²The Cherwell, May 31, 1924, p. 113: "Everything is being called 'offal'--why?"

every day in Evelyn Waugh's rooms in Hertford, off beer and bread and cheese. That was the ritual, and the only trouble about it was that Harold Acton did not like beer. I can see him to this day, sitting like a willow-tree in the middle of the room, before him incongruously for such surroundings, a glass of water. We were not generally considered a very dignified body, and one day as we went down the Broad towards Hertford we issued an invitation to an Oxford politician. . . . He replied, "I usually prefer a Hot Lunch."¹

The latter part of the above quotation gives other useful perspective:

Evelyn was not wealthy, he was not actually Upper Class. His being on The Isis, which usually presented the attitudes of the athletic aristocracy, did not make him the spokesman for the wealthy Bicester set, for instance. Because of ambitions, undoubtedly driven by awareness of talent, he may have posed too much and, consequently, suffered.

Union Reporting and Final Evaluation

Secondly, after his role as journalist, must be discussed two aspects of Evelyn's career at the Oxford Union Society. During his last two terms in 1924 he was a successful speaker and a reporter for The Isis. A chief vein in his reports was a running attack upon President C. H. O. Scaife. His general commentary was no less astringent than it had been in his early reporting for The Oxford Fortnightly Review; he showed a willingness to praise too. The Spring Term was finally the term for the celebration of the Union's Centennial, but this historic occasion did not prevent or deter either Evelyn nor "John Cicero" of

¹Along the Road to Frome, p. 62. Acton had written thusly: "His period of mediæval tutelage drew him into the circle of Chestertonian friends, to Christopher Hollis and other robust wits already steering for Rome. They assembled in his rooms for what they called offal" (Memoirs, p. 126). This passage has often been quoted to mean that Evelyn was already steering for the Catholic Church. Indeed Hollis and Gyles Isham were very soon to become notable at Oxford for their conversions. But "Chestertonian" means nothing more than "beer-drinking" here; their meal of bread-cheese-beer was the same that Arthur Waugh had eaten when he was at Oxford.

The Cherwell from attacking the eminent Liberal, C. H. O. Scaife.¹ The running series of comments from Evelyn's pen about Scaife were part of the general assault upon the "Georgians" in The Isis, of course; but there must have been cause for the deeply-rooted trouble between them. Partially it lay in the difference of opinion about the proper manner to approach Union speaking: Scaife was serious, Evelyn approved humor. In a debate about France's aid to the Separatists in the Rhineland,² there was a great deal of emotional outburst; Evelyn wrote that "it is a pity that the President does not do something to discourage these interruptions."³ He did have praise for Scaife's choosing the motion that "in the opinion of the House Shakespeare did not intend Hamlet to be mad"; in the report on this topic he made an enlightening observation about political debate:

The President is most sincerely to be congratulated on his choice of motion. It was excellent discipline for the House, grown tolerant of the generalizations and inaccuracies inevitable in political discussion, to be confronted with a motion requiring taste and genuine knowledge of authorities. Members had to speak by the card or equivocation undid them. One result of this was the silence and soon the absence of that large body of regular speakers who gain considerable success on ordinary party questions and the emergence of many new and little known speakers of great promise.⁴

¹It is attractive to speculate about whether Evelyn was not also "John Cicero" part of the time; in some reports the stylistic method is very much like Evelyn's.

²The Cherwell's "John Cicero" pointed out that France was not giving the alleged aid (Feb. 9, 1924, p. 54). If it were Evelyn who wrote this it accounts for his own attitude; he was apparently disrespectful on the topic (Infra).

³The Isis, Feb. 6, 1924, p. 13.

⁴Ibid., Feb. 20, 1924, p. 19. He expressed satisfaction with the topic in "Wittenberg and Oxford" as well.

The topic and debate was so agreeable that he felt quite kindly toward some of the new speakers: Patrick Monkhouse, an eminent Oxford "Georgian," faltered at first but ended well with "a jolly note of comparison between Wittenburg and Rugby"; Richard Pares, a Labour Party member, brought "a beastly story about a boy and a whip" which Evelyn quite approved, adding "why is Mr. Pares always so nervous? We all like him." Even a visitor had a "lovely story about his grandmother, whom he had found chopped up behind a door." Evelyn appears to have enjoyed tainted stories when speakers presented them wittily.

On political questions he became weary and bored. The topic "that this House would welcome the Disappearance of the Liberal Party" forced him to voice his disgust: "It was all utterly dreary. I hope that the Cambridge representatives will believe that we are not always quite as stupid as we were on Thursday."¹ Adding to his list of enemies, he found Mr. Bernays, a Liberal, to have been an insolent person-- The Cherwell's reporter denied the charge soon but Evelyn was not deterred from finding the same person to be a bore later. He was little happier upon the advent of the Centennial debate:

The crowd at the Union on Thursday was prodigious. They began assembling at about tea time, and were admitted at dinner-time; care had been taken to obstruct all the gangways with stewards; for sheer physical discomfort I have never known such a successful debate. It was successful for other reasons, too. All sorts of exceedingly important people came up for it; there was a general atmosphere about the room that we were all taking part in an historical event; one can easily forgive the President for his slightly nervous and self-important manner. We began by standing up in silence at Mr. Scaife's suggestion, in respect to those members of the Society who were "no longer in the land of the living"--a curious phrase but a praise-worthy sentiment.²

¹The Isis, Feb. 27, 1924, p. 10.

²Ibid., March 5, 1924, p. 9.

The debate topic was that "Civilization has advanced since this Society first met." Gilbert Murray proposed and John Buchan opposed, with Phillip Guedalla third and Father Ronald Knox fourth. There was time for comparisons: Evelyn reported that Guedalla seemed "to represent cosmopolitan Oxford oratory in its most excited form" and that Father Knox showed a similar training though "wholly different from him in mentality." Father Knox did little to alleviate Evelyn's growing gloom:

[He] showed how from the anthropological consideration of our present ideas about food and drink, the apportionment of work between men and women, burial customs and drama, we were rapidly approaching the civilization of the savage.¹

Compared with these speakers Mr. Scaife showed very badly in several inept parliamentary procedures during the evening. Evelyn reported that, though all were tired when the vote of approval was found to be 576 to 279, "we went away to bed after really rather a good evening."

A side issue that grew in the Oxford and London Press was a public quarrel about President Scaife's slighting the London reporters at the Centennial Banquet held two nights after the debate. Being busy with his "Isis Idol" feature article about Cruttwell and with his "Oxford and the Next War" perhaps, Evelyn did not report the Banquet for The Isis. But in the latter essay he certainly took the attitude of those who felt that the Press had been insulted; the event gave him occasion for another remark about his long-time foe:

The Union has been sadder than ever and has just been celebrating a centenary. I do think it is time that something was done to stop the thing. You cannot imagine what the debates have been like this term, with Scaife setting a tone of arrogant mediocrity

¹The Isis, March 5, 1924, p. 9. "John Cicero" gave much more space to enthusiastic remarks about the famous convert: he gave "quite the most wonderful speech of the evening" (The Cherwell, March 8, 1924, pp. 162-63).

and people like de Gruchy trying to clear things up. They have elected Gerald Gardiner President this term--do you remember him? A tall man with a jerky voice who is generally writing things in the O.U.D.S. The O.U.D.S., by the way, have shown themselves in no way as contemptuous of the Press as Scaife.¹

Evelyn's general frustration lasted through the Presidential Election debate: "the centenary celebration coming just before seemed to have left everyone rather bored."²

During the next, Summer, term, Evelyn continued for some time to report Union debates, though his cousin, F. Claud Cockburn, reported several. Evelyn welcomed the new President with what appears to have been a surge of confidence and hope:

I don't think that I ever remember so much Private Business. First the President made about a hundred odd announcements about how he proposed to run the Society--all very much like a new Head of the House at school, but quite agreeable. . . . After the haughty incompetence of Mr. Scaife, the President's treatment of debate was rather refreshing. He did not lose his head in the very difficult web of motions for "the previous question," on amendments to the amendment, etc. He was also rather good with tiresome people who wanted to speak when no one wanted them to.³

He praised Hugh Molson, expressing the opinion that Molson, "a speaker of some reputation," had "gained enormously in diction and certainty of phrase." He even thought him favorably improved over another friend, his former Editor H. J. S. Wedderburn:

I yield to none, as they say at the Union, in my admiration for almost all Mr. Wedderburn says. I do think, however, that it is a

¹The Isis, March 12, 1924, p. 10. C. B. Gull, owner of The Isis and a columnist, was almost brutal about Scaife's "insolence"; Scaife published a letter of defense which pointed out the hugeness of the crowd of illustrious guests. Some who persisted were given Press passes, were driven from their interviews with dining guests, etc. The Daily Telegraph's reporters acquiesced and had "scoops" over their haughtier colleagues.

²Ibid., p. 15.

³Ibid., May 7, 1924, p. 12.

great pity that he should develop so little when one considers how greatly Mr. Molson has added to his stature by taking thought.¹

About another illustrious Oxford friend he was also forced to temper his admiration:

Mr. Gyles Isham made his maiden speech in the Union. It breaks my heart to say so, but I am afraid that it was terribly commonplace. Made by a maiden speaker of less eminence in other directions and less physical bulk, it would have gone by unnoticed.²

His tolerance was extended to yet another speaker, who made jokes at the expense of Public Schools:

Mr. Alfonso de Zulueta made a jolly maiden speech. He began badly but soon got clearer, and told an enchanting story about a school where the matron was wanton.³

Actually it is unusual to find examples of such elevating encouragement in the Union reports, except, perhaps, in those of a President like Woodruff. These items of praise for the deserving did not prevent Evelyn from offering any necessary criticism. He soon had occasion to chide President Gardiner about his choice of topic and speakers when visitors from the United States came during Eights Week. Evelyn noted that the usual practice was to allow only the clowns to speak when U. S. visitors came; in an enigmatic note tacked to Evelyn's report, President Gardiner said the visitors were in England for one week only, thus he had been forced to choose Prohibition as the topic.

¹The Isis, May 7, 1924, p. 12.

²Ibid. Gyles Isham had played Hamlet in the recent production, had edited The Isis during 1923, and was one of the notable Oxford converts to Roman Catholicism in 1925.

³Ibid., May 22, 1924, p. 34. Mr. de Zulueta soon was the very popular Newman Society President.

Perhaps it was a joke between them.¹ But Mr. Scaife then re-appeared as a speaker on the topic "that this House deserves its doubtful reputation." Evelyn delivered his final blows:

Mr. C. H. O. Scaife, looking a comical figure in a preposterous double-breasted coat, and fidgetting precisely with the order papers while he spoke, protested with rather alarming ferocity against the discussion of the Union's private affairs in this open way.²

Further along in the same article, Evelyn was again reminded of Mr.

Scaife:

Mr. R. L. Hill 'heard his voice as another's speaking,' and it suddenly occurred to me that it was rather like poor Mr. Scaife's.

Amidst the deafening laughter of an ex-President in the garden (not Mr. Scaife), Mr. Maclehoose protested against the triviality and frivolity of the Union.³

There were no more printed words from Evelyn about Mr. Scaife. The constant barrage that had started during his first year ended thus. But the very last words were yet to come: nearly a year later, a writer who identified himself as "Socrates" came back on his night off from special torments in Hades to a gathering of Isis figures; he encountered Harold Acton, Peter Quennell, Brian Howard, Charles Williams, Robert Speaight, Terence Greenidge, Gyles Isham, Gerald Gardiner,

¹The Isis, May 28, 1924, p. 21. In the dim light of the possibility that Gardiner had a feud with Harold Acton (Supra, p. 51n) and supported by the open animosity shown to Acton in The Isis after Evelyn's term, Evelyn's early approval of President Gardiner cannot be understood quite. Of course, any earlier approval of Gardiner the actor has since disappeared for Gardiner the famous Socialist Q. C. Indeed Gardiner wrote that "while I knew Mr. Waugh by sight I do not think that I ever met him, or, if I did, I have no recollection of having done so" (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, Oct. 6, 1960).

²Ibid., June 4, 1924, p. 16.

³Ibid. Evelyn refers to either Christopher Hollis or Douglas Woodruff. Both were at the debate; both were singled out for being too noisy by Richard Fares, "Noise," The Cherwell, Feb. 23, 1924, Editorial page.

John Sutro, and Evelyn in their familiar roles. Of the latter he wrote:

And Mr. Waugh, squatting savagely with a pet monkey, was noting the 'haughty incompetence of Mr. Scaife in a preposterous double-breasted jacket.' Mr. Waugh was the Thersites of modern Oxford. He delicately tipped his pen and venom and doled it out to all and sundry. No respecter of persons, Mr. Waugh!¹

That Evelyn was famous at Oxford for his pursuit of one serious Liberal politician and poet--President of the Union Society, Newdigate Prize Poem winner, Editor of The Oxford Outlook, prominent "Georgian" poet, folk song-and-dance performer, etc.--who was a notable success at everything he did may only indicate that Evelyn was considerably out of step with a major part of the times.² Little is the necessity for pointing out his occasional scornful comments about serious "Labour" or "Socialist" politics or politicians.

What Evelyn preferred in Union debate was humor and he apparently was quite successful in demonstrating it. His reports upon himself do not indicate his wit; but reporters of the other two magazines often did. Early in 1924 he reported this of himself:

¹Socrates, "A Night Out," The Isis, Jan. 21, 1925, pp. 13-14.

²At this point a new conjecture may be added: it is possible that among Mr. Scaife's other faults was his outspokenness about the "bad taste" of the Roman Church in such as his "A New Statue," The Cherwell, June 21, 1924, p. 183. For among the many friends surrounding Evelyn were those who tended toward conversion--several were in the cast of his current film (*Infra*); Douglas Woodruff had only recently told the Railway Club that all roads lead to Rome as many of Evelyn's friends listened in jovial respect (*Uncle Julius* [John Sutro], "The Railway Club," The Cherwell, June 21, 1924, p. 191). If Evelyn sympathized, of course, his film seems to be made from changed attitudes; likewise in the first pages of *Labels* (1930) his attitude was different in that he told an irreverent story about the conversion of Christopher Hollis and of the Oxford Jesuits. The story in *Labels*, however, was the prologue to an apologia that shows his own conversion to have been partly brought about by an appreciation for Roman Catholic art (*Infra*, Chapter VI); Evelyn may have felt the same way in the face of Scaife's remarks during the Oxford years.

After some tedious private business, in which Mr. Evelyn Waugh moved an amendment which gained four votes, the House proceeded to Public business.¹

A colleague explained that an annual deficit of 300 Pounds had elicited a motion to suspend the Members' postal privileges; Evelyn had offered a different solution:

An amendment was moved by Mr. Waugh recommending as an alternative the increase of subscription. Mr. Waugh's speech was amusing, but not convincing, and the Junior Treasurer's motion was passed in its original form by "a large majority."²

Evelyn's practical solution was chosen a few terms later. Concerning the Public business of another debate upon the topic "that this House approves the support given by France to the Separatists in the Rhineland," Evelyn reported only that he "was succeeded by the Teller for the Ayes,"³ a modesty in itself. But "John Cicero," whomever he actually was in this instance, praised Evelyn's new personality:

We believe that the House prefers, and is right in preferring the rhetorical maxims and political generalities, of, let us say, the Junior Librarian, or the plain-man paradoxes of Mr. Waugh to the elaborate and tedious relations of fact which most of the speakers on Thursday chose to put forward.⁴

This debate was on a serious political topic, excepting only its possible misinformation about France's participation, which was ignored. An on-the-scene observer gave evidence that should have elicited some seriousness, but Evelyn was the opposite:

After this point, the debate unfortunately became supernaturally dull; but for a pleasantly bloodcurdling relation of French atrocities by Mr. C. R. Greene (Pembroke) and the ridiculous quixotry of

¹The Isis, Jan. 30, 1924, p. 15.

²The Cherwell, Feb. 2, 1924, p. 38.

³The Isis, Feb. 6, 1924, p. 13.

⁴The Cherwell, Feb. 9, 1924, p. 54.

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford) . . . there was nothing worth hearing at all.¹

President Scaife did not condemn Evelyn's frivolous attitude in his report:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford) lightly refuted statements of other speakers in an agreeable and sprightly manner.²

It may have been that France could do no wrong, so far as Evelyn was concerned, no matter what the facts or evidence; primarily, however, Evelyn suspected the facts and evidence and treated the topic jocosely, as he was inclined sometimes to treat all political subjects. He preferred the topic "that Shakespeare did not intend Hamlet to be mad" as a corrective for political laxness with the facts. His report upon his own offering to this subject, one which required scholarly knowledge as he had written in his Editorial, was that he "had attempted to justify prejudice with pendency."³ His counterpart on the rival magazine appreciated his offering:

Of the old speakers whom we recognized, perhaps the best was Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford), who made a speech of more than usual charm and penetration in support of doctrines less than usually absurd.⁴

The President's report helps make clearer what Evelyn's pedantry was:

¹The Cherwell, Feb. 9, 1924, p. 54. Mr. Greene and his brother Graham had recently visited the Ruhr and Graham Greene produced several articles at the time condemning France's actions; in later life he centered a novel (The Name of Action) upon the experiences of the visit.

²The Oxford Magazine, Feb. 7, 1924, pp. 252-54.

³The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, p. 19.

⁴The Cherwell, Feb. 23, 1924, pp. 115-16.

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford) asked what good Hamlet could do himself by feigning madness. An "Antic" disposition ought to read "Antique," which means murderous.¹

Then, during the Summer Term, Evelyn spoke once again, on the topic "that immediate and drastic reform is needed in our so-called Public Schools." Of himself, Evelyn wrote a self-criticism: "Mr. Evelyn Waugh was guilty of a breach of good manners for which he is sorry."² His lapse was partially explained by another reporter:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford) denied that Public Schools had ever developed a governing class. The principle of the Public Schools was to overlook things. An entertaining contribution.³

Finally, now smarting as ex-President Scaife had never allowed himself to, President Gardiner administered a penance:

Mr. E. A. St. J. Waugh (Hertford) was sorry that all the speeches had so far been so bad. His was certainly no better.⁴

This was the end of Evelyn's career before the Union Society; except for a visit during Eights Week in May, 1939, there is no evidence that he was ever a visitor or a speaker again. His general attempt to lighten the political fury of the Society's debate won him some praise, but no more. In any case, had he desired to become President, he should have had to stay on at the University much longer. H. J. S. Wedderburn achieved the Presidency during the Fall Term of 1924; Hugh Molson was President in the Fall Term of 1925; Gyles Isham was elected for the Spring Term of 1926; and Roger Fulford was, finally, successful in the Spring Term of 1927. The Presidency was a goal to be won only after

¹The Oxford Magazine, Feb. 21, 1924, p. 298.

²The Isis, May 22, 1924, p. 34.

³The Cherwell, May 17, 1924, p. 69.

⁴The Oxford Magazine, May 22, 1924, pp. 474-75.

much persistence; Evelyn may have visited these old friends, but he could not wait as long as they. He was a Life Member of the Oxford Union Society but there is only one reference to the fact in his later writing--it came in relation to a current joke about "who is a 'Clubman'?" in his Labels (1930).¹

Apotheosis as Cartoonist-Artist

The third aspect of Evelyn's extra-curricular work during his last two terms at the University is his work as an artist. His partisanship in the press for Harold Acton and Art was gone during the Summer Term of 1924 as The Isis reverted to the usual offensiveness about Acton during Gerald Gardiner's term of Editorship. The Oxford Magazine was quite abusive in a news item about Acton's poetry reading at a League of Nations Union garden party in June; the Editor wrote this in defense of the news report:

We don't review in "Notes and News" and don't dismiss "The Waste Land" though don't call it "significant"--but Mr. Acton's naivete, even if a trifle petulant, is very disarming, and his epistolary style almost as entertaining as that of his reading.²

Acton was answered because he had written to complain when the "Don's" magazine reported "we heard a megaphonic comic turn from Mr. Acton."³ There prevailed a negative attitude about any kind of non-Georgian artistic expression; Acton labored in many ways to win the influence he

¹Evelyn Waugh, Labels; A Mediterranean Journal (London: Duckworth, 1930), p. 34.

²The Oxford Magazine, June 19, 1924, pp. 569-70.

³Ibid., June 12, 1924, p. 537. Recently Peter Quennell himself rather made fun of Acton's performance (The Sign of the Fish /London: Collins, 1960/, p. 37). Evelyn's review of that book left no doubt of his own partisanship for Acton ("Literary Musings," Spectator, July 8, 1960, p. 70).

gradually gained. But even he admitted that there was one area in which he had not yet attempted to prevail: "An institution called the Oxford Arts Society does exist, but I have never discussed why it exists. . . . Everyone is middle-aged. How quickly they are abandoning themselves to senility!"¹ It was the one area where Evelyn himself had begun to have some influence.

Evelyn's interest had always been more in graphic than in poetic art. It had become a bit more common for magazines to include cartoon drawings; though *The Cherwell* reproduced one by Peter Quennell, several of Anthony Powell's, and products of other members of the Eton Society of Arts, there still was no one to challenge Evelyn's leadership as an artistic cartoonist. Further, he was developing new technical approaches. His column head-piece for *The Isis*, "Theatre," signed "Evelyn Waugh, 1923," was in his newer black-and-grey manner, which he used for quite smart or sophisticated subjects and attitudes. His "Cornish Landscape with White Cow in Thought," signed "E.W., 1924," is a complete "picture," "with all its depths and variety of tone."² It depicts a cow grazing, with a background of cluttered skyline and ruins of buildings; it is somewhat "Cubist" in form and is the only landscape Evelyn ever printed, though he had exhibited one at Lancing.³ At the apex of this smart style stands his cartoon of a jaded and sleeping

¹"Oxford and the Frenchman" [Review of M. Jean Fayard, *Dialogues a Oxford*], *The Oxford Outlook*, VI (Dec., 1924), 319-22.

²*The Cherwell*, Feb. 2, 1924, p. 40. The quotation is from Evelyn's discussion of cartooning techniques in Rossetti, p. 97.

³*Supra*, p. 15.

couple, youthful and seated, in evening dress, in a college garden as dawn and a bird have arrived; under it is a quotation: "On with the Dance! let joy be unconfined; etc."¹ The sophistication and sentiment was that of Noel Coward's advanced twenties' manner; the setting and scene in the cartoon was equally "smart" in depiction.²

Other cartoons newly published this year included the "Cubist" cover cartoon for the belated Oxford Broom, which appeared in The Cherwell in February, 1924.³ Evelyn created a new series with moral attitudes about various forms of alcoholic beverages. The first, "Angostura and Soda," signed "E. W., 1924," demonstrated a stage of the transition in his style, being partially grey-and-black, and very sophisticated in manner; it revealed a youth cheerfully lounging back in a high-backed, over-stuffed chair, and holding his glass forward--it is the exact posture and attitude of "Evelyn Waugh. Aged 26" that Henry Lamb created later.⁴ Its representation of polite social drinking contrasts with the subject matter of two other cartoon representations of drinking

¹The Isis, June 18, 1924, p. 3.

²Oxford was aware of Noel Coward. His sketch, "Swiss Family Whittlebot" in London Calling, caricaturing the Sitwells--"Hernia Whittlebot," "Gob," and "Sago"--was referred to by a reviewer (R. Leigh, The Cherwell, Jan. 26, 1924, pp. 20-21); Harold Acton wrote to correct a usage: "satire" ridiculed immorality; there was nothing immoral to ridicule in the Sitwells; Noel Coward held the same opinions of the Sitwells that J. C. Squire did (Letter to the Editor, The Cherwell, Feb. 2, 1924, p. 36). Whether one could say the same for Evelyn's satire is problematical, but it is an interesting source for a definition.

³Supra, p. 48.

⁴The Isis, Jan. 30, 1924, p. 5. See the "Frontispiece" in Stopp. Henry Lamb's portrait was done after Vile Bodies appeared in 1930. The same pose of a more youthful Evelyn, excepting a pipe instead of a glass was used, that Madam Yevonde photographed is found in One Man's Road, p. 370.

alone. Technically the latter show a quite different, heavy-lined, blacked and smudged manner, silhouetting figures in attitudes of a street-brawler and of a pub-drinker--"Brandy" and "Beer."¹ They were related to the year's shady feelings that Christopher Hollis recalled.²

Entirely different in technique, mood, and subject is a large pen-and-ink drawing (not a "picture") that appeared obtrusively in the Eights Week number of *The Cherwell*. The issue featured Evelyn's name on the cover with names of the other distinguished contributors: Harold Acton, J. D. Woodruff, C. H. O. Scaife, with Peter Quennell and Brian Howard too. Evelyn's two-page drawing, crowded with figures and captions, represented a humorous view of an early railway accident; its title was "The Tragical Death of Mr. Will. Huskisson. Sept. MDCCCXXX." It was further inscribed "Dedicated in grateful friendship to the Founder of the Oxford University Railway Club" (on a vase held by a classical figure) and "Mr. John Sutro from Mr. Evelyn Waugh. April 28, 1924."³ The cartoon was commissioned to celebrate the Oxford University Railway Club's recent run to Bletchley on March 7 in a competition with the Cambridge Railway Club for the "Huskisson Cup."⁴

These were the published products of his art work in 1924. He was an active member of the Oxford Arts Club; his name appeared regularly in an advertisement for the June Exhibition of Undergraduates'

¹The Isis, March 12, 1924, p. 10, and May 7, 1924, p. 4, the latter with the complimentary caption "A characteristic example of the work of Mr. Evelyn Waugh."

²Along the Road to Frome, p. 62. Supra, p. 82n.

³The Cherwell, May 24, 1924, pp. 86-87. Supra, p. 57n.

⁴Ibid., March 1, 1924, p. 131.

Work during the Spring and Summer terms, for he was an official:

The Committee of the Arts Club invites undergraduates to submit original work (water-colours, drawings or prints) for an Exhibition to be held in the Arts Club, Barnett House, during Trinity Term. . . . The Hanging Committee will consist of the Slade Professor, the Ruskin Master of Drawing, Mr. A. H. Smith (New College), Mr. Michael Holroyd (Brasenose), Mr. M. A. E. Franklin (Queen's), Mr. H. H. Lloyd (Exeter), Mr. T. D. Luling (Magdalen), and Mr. Evelyn Waugh (Hertford).¹

Professor Hind, the Slade Professor of Art, was the Arts Club's sponsor; he gave practical help with students' painting after his lectures. The Club sponsored various exhibitions and visits from speakers and critics among the notable practicing experts of the day, including many visits by Roger Fry. One may conclude that the experience was valuable for a budding artist.

In June the exhibition of 40 to 50 works, mostly in water colors, included Evelyn's cartoon done previously for the Railway Club. Though neither The Oxford Magazine nor The Cherwell mentioned Evelyn's offering in their notices, two periodicals did. The City's weekly newspaper carried an enlightening review account which gave some basis for Acton's remarks; it stated, in part:

The exhibits generally showed good, sound work along more or less conventional lines, and, apart from Mr. Evelyn Waugh's very bizarre cartoon, "The Tragical Death of Mr. Will Huskisson," there was nothing of eccentric character.²

The student reviewer also noted that "there is a feeling that the promoters of the exhibition have hardly given it fair publicity," which seems to be a dim reflection upon Evelyn's actual industry in his

¹The Isis, May 7, 1924, p. 4. But the advertisement appeared in all the magazines repeatedly.

²Robot, "Arts Club Exhibition, A Little-Noticed Display," The Oxford Chronicle, June 20, 1924, p. 16.

official capacity. But the second review, signed by a regular Isis critic, was indicative of unconventional spirit in the Arts Club by at least one other than Evelyn himself. Between an unenthusiastic series of comments which included the notice of "an eccentric portrait of 'The Hon. Patrick Balfour' by Mark Ogilvie-Grant" and followed by a notice of the reviewer's own contribution was the following:

Evelyn Waugh!--well, space forbids it--but--'I could write whole volumes in folio.' "The Tragic Death of Mr. Huskisson" is indescribable! It is a satire on the first railway--it is almost faultless in drawing; there is not a single line in it that is not required. The lettering is impeccable and the humour delicious. It simply must be seen to be believed. Of course, there is a plagiarism in it of the nineteenth century Punch drawings, but--well, it has originality. I could not make out quite how the poor gentleman came to have his leg cut off--but still! And the Burne-Jones "Lady of Quality Swooning!" Waugh is a craftsman with his tongue in his cheek.¹

This acute interpretation and tribute seems a fit compliment and climax to Evelyn's Oxford career as a cartoonist; it came from a fellow artist and member of the Railway Club, M. A. E. Franklin.

Evelyn's later career as an artist is notable for his attendance at the Heatherleys School of Art in London and for his cartoons in "illustrated novelettes"; his career as an art critic was manifested mainly in his book about Rossetti which qualified him to be a reviewer of art books ever after.

Cinema Reviews and Film Production

The fourth aspect of Evelyn's work during his last two terms is connected with his movie reviewing for The Isis and his writing and directing the production of one Hypocrites' Club movie. Since Gyles

¹M.A.E.F[ranklin], "Oxford Art Exhibition," The Isis, June 18, 1924, pp. 18-19.

Isham's Editorial announced that British cinema could only become art if given proper criticism, reviews and articles had played a featured part in the issues of *The Isis*. Reviewers included Evelyn, Robert Byron, Terence Greenidge, Gyles Isham and Arthur Tandy among those who signed their work. All offerings were strong and astringent pieces of analysis.

Evelyn's reviews were overall a chronicle of personal boredom. His method of reviewing was to paraphrase the story, indicate his initial expectations and summarize his consequent disappointment; if he praised, he usually praised small bits which he thought were good much as he praised the illustrative anecdotes that Union speakers sometimes used. His was also a practical study that preceded his own scenario writing and film-making direction. The first signed review¹ was of "The Merry-go-Round" for the first number of *The Isis*, that he helped to edit; some examples of what he wrote must be quoted:

The Merry-go-Round at the "Super" cinema obviously sets out to be a "big" film. It starts well in the grand manner with the awakening and toilet of an Austrian nobleman, and one settled down to expect a "high-life" drama of the Ingram-Ibanez sort. One was almost immediately engulfed, however, in a violent and sentimental circus life. . . . It was rather a pity; one could with pleasure have seen more of the Viennese debauch, and, to be honest, the clown's dying wife was a little tiresome. There was only one unusual part of the story; one had, not unnaturally, supposed that the faithful hunchback would go to the war, be wounded, and emerge from the hospital whole and handsome. This did not happen; he won a lottery and solaced himself with his gorilla, while the heroine married the wicked nobleman. For so much injustice one was grateful.²

These general remarks were followed by some praise for parts:

¹Earlier reviews may be identified from his style.

²*The Isis*, Jan. 23, 1924, p. 5.

But, of course, the real charm of the Cinema is in the momentary pictures and situations which appear. There were two of these in "The Merry-go-Round" which made any shortcomings immeasurably worthwhile. One was the gorilla standing in the window before it killed the circus-master, and the other, a little before it, was the scene in which the villain pursued the heroine round the half-lighted merry-go-round. The violent struggle in the strange, unmoving jungle of monstrous animals was almost Sitwellian.¹

It is worth remarking that these bits and pieces, picked from the whole, actually indicate appreciation for "montage" effects and quick changes of scene on Evelyn's part before there had been any discussion of the film-making techniques of Eisenstein.² Evelyn's appreciation of the odd and eccentric bits of a film characterize his reviewing, but his use of movie techniques in his novels later focuses interest upon his earlier work of this year.

One review was concerned with the making of films from books:

I cannot think that it is at all probable that "If Winter Comes" will be very popular in Oxford. It is described as being "mightier than the book"; that is curious enough, because I should have thought that however moving or entertaining or agreeable one might have found Mr. Hutchinson's novel, one could not with much honesty have described it as mighty, unless perhaps in the bulk of copies sold. I do not remember the novel very clearly, but as far as I can judge the film version follows it pretty faithfully.³

He did not indicate whether following the novel closely was a virtue, nor discuss the problems of attempting to do so. He did think the story was "simple" and rather pointless; he ended with his most characteristic

¹The Isis, Jan. 23, 1924, p. 5.

²General information about Eisenstein may be found in Sergei Eisenstein, *Film Form, Essays in Film Theory and The Film Sense*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Meridian Books, 1957). Eisenstein was not much older than Evelyn; he had published some of his ideas in 1923. One finds no references in film reviews until the thirties; Apemantus [Peter Fleming] dropped the name here and again in his *Spectator* reviews then.

³The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, p. 28.

note: "But for all these people it was a sickening film. I don't think I have ever been bored quite so much."¹ The story was too simple; the actor principals were too closely connected with inane actions for his taste; but there were some good character parts:

There are lots of other characters, too: a wicked woman who is chased all over the garden by Lord Tybar, and an ecclesiastical furniture dealer who looks like a sea-captain and two maids called High and Low Jinks--I thought that was the best of poor Sabre's jokes; they liked it anyway--and a really jolly lawyer, who looked like the Hunchback of Notre Dame and certainly needed whipping.²

He reviewed a smart and modish film, as judged from his account, but added a stern note of morality which seems worthier of a later Waugh:

Poor David is in a difficult position, and his solution is a little surprising. His wife adopts his son and his lover dances herself to death.

All this is very quaint, but it is none the less significant as showing the standards of values which films often most adopt. The conventions of social distinction are regarded with contempt, while the more unreasonable convention that one is doing a noble action by sacrificing one's love and happiness in order to have one's son recognized by a disagreeable woman, is humbly observed.³

The plot of "Woman to Woman" was concerned with anticipated marriage, illegitimate son-hood, marriage to a "snob" for her money, etc. He thought the acting of the snobbish wife was excellent and the acting generally "pretty good." One character reminded him oddly of Arnold Bennett, "but he did not appear much."⁴

Finally he found a film that he liked. A personal note in the review indicates that his public likes and dislikes were matters of some interest:

¹The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, p. 28.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., Feb. 27, 1924, p. 6.

⁴Ibid.

"The Four Horsemen" is a really good film. Since I started writing these notices I have been repeatedly assaulted by such few people as read them and asked what I do think good. I am glad to be able to show them. I think "The Four Horsemen" quite the best film I have seen. The acting, from Mr. Valentino down to the monkey, is thorough, and, more than that, charming. The drunk Germans, the peasants about to be shot, the Argentine cafe crowd, all showed Mr. Ingram's amazing flare for choosing good faces. The photography was splendid, and in almost all cases, the composition was excellent. I say in "almost all cases" because it seemed to me that some of the arrangements had been done before and were rather untidy.¹

His observations about the technical end of film making reflect his current interests in the problems involved. He thought two scenes "brilliant" and offered an acute judgment about the use of the "story":

The story is not remarkable, and chiefly seemed to be summed up in the remark, "It is wrong to love like this, to be so happy when there is so much sorrow around us"--a sentiment which always seems to be particularly futile. It was excellent, however, as a peg on which to hang big scenes which, after all, is at present the chief use of a cinema story.²

His technical detachment faltered, however; his End-of-Term Gloom was reflected in a final observation:

One thing which did strike me very forcibly during the film was what a wonderful God from the machine the war was to the young men of 1914. There was poor Mr. Valentino overwhelmed with bills and parents and adultery and duels, and then he went out and was shot and honoured. But I suppose that this is no place for such reflections.³

He put his reflections into "Oxford and the Next War" the very next week. Obviously a good film involved the emotions too.

Soon in the next term it was announced that the Hypocrites' Club would do more than offer criticism:

¹The Isis, March 5, 1924, p. 24. The next week's Isis contained Charles Williams' essay about Rudolph Valentino; his opinions about this film were the same as Evelyn's, but he found it difficult to praise Valentino's acting in the film sufficiently.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

Work has apparently been started on the great Hypocrites' super film which is to be taken in Oxford by certain prominent members of that Club this term. No expense is being spared, and the early scenes of the film, taken from the top of the Radder, have already been perfected at the cost of several thousand wasted feet. It is quite time Oxford had its film clubs.¹

From this time onward there were voiced frequently the students' complaints and their appeals for Oxford cinema clubs; the Proctors were adamant, as usual. A greater blow to immediate aspirations, however, was the banning of the Hypocrites' Club itself.² Evelyn's film was begun at Oxford, but had to be completed during the summer near his home on Hampstead Heath. Not until the next June, in 1925, was it disclosed fully to the Oxford public that something had been accomplished; Terence Greenidge then published "The Cinematograph in Oxford, A Year's Work and an Appeal." He disclosed that he and Ronald Matthews first planned a film in April, 1924, about the Oxford "Underworld"--the Hypocrites'; it was to be a "burlesque of the American moralizing melodrama." Included was a synopsis of "The City of the Plain--A Story of the Oxford Underworld," and the names of some of the cast: Hugh Lygon, Christopher Hollis, and Ronald Matthews in leading roles. A second film, planned

¹The Isis, May 14, 1924, p. 4. The "Radder" is the tall, circular structure named the Radcliffe Camera across the street from Hertford College. Other items can be found in The Isis, May 28, 1924, p. 4 ("Stills" ready); Ibid., June 11, 1924, p. 1 (Gerald Gardiner's plea for Kinema Clubs); Ibid., p. 15.

²See Acton's Memoirs, p. 148, for an account of the Club's last party. Terence Greenidge wrote the account for Oxford: after the Club began a "decline" when some members "rustled a little too noisily," a few tried Thame but were jailed for rowdiness; then "a strapping sailor-boy" [probably Richard Plunket-Greene] suggested Lundy Island in the Bristol Channel and there they made a film or two and "live forever" [which is like Grimes in Decline and Fall] ("Concerning Certain Pilgrims' Progress," The Isis, Oct. 15, 1924, p. 8). London gossip columnists often referred to members of the famous club in later years; its banning hurt many feelings, of course.

with Guy Hemingway, was to be "a choice item of the programme for a Labour Club social" named "666." Two others were being completed, one taken on Lundy Island and produced by Alan Titley, with David Talbot Rice (who was Robert Byron's associate in their study of Byzantine art) as the leading actor. None of the films were yet completed; nor was Evelyn's, which was given the most enthusiastic praise by Greenidge:

"The Last of the Borgias," our best work photographically and dramatically, is a London film. Many of the scenes were taken on Hampstead Heath. Evelyn Waugh, who like all Scotsmen is possessed of genius, wrote a wonderfully fantastic scenario and directed it with an enterprising imagination. This film can offer Else Lanchester, of professional fame, as leading lady, and the great Alec Waugh himself as a little old mother, along the best conventional lines except that she was unfortunately rather given to beer. The caste looks distinguished, comprising the Pope, the Chief Cardinal, King George V, Edward Prince of Wales, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Dean of an Oxford College.¹

In the article Greenidge then gave a summary of the virtues of the various producers--Hemingway, Titley, Nye, and himself; there was a saddened note about Evelyn:

Evelyn Waugh is unfortunately no longer with us, and of course, for all his talent, he has too many other interests to allow him to concentrate on film-work.²

Evelyn may have paid some of his visits back to Oxford in helping to finish the film; its slowness in coming caused The Cherwell's hopeful exhortation:

"Terence Greenidge," as I suppose he would like to be called was once again to be seen in Oxford. Fretted by the conventional restraints and scanty public-houses of Oxford City, he has been

¹"The Cinematograph in Oxford, A Year's Work and an Appeal," The Isis, June 17, 1925, pp. 10, 12. Some details about the filming were taken from an essay Greenidge published later, from a reviewer's article, and from several of the unpublished letters of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, 1961-1962.

²Ibid.

considering life in the seclusion of Lundy Island. It is hoped that he will finish the film made in collaboration with Mr. Waugh.¹

Shortly the film was completed; there was rather a gala showing before the Oxford University Dramatic Society with Lennox Berkeley providing a musical accompaniment. An Isis reviewer was enthralled with it; one of the other films which had been shown could not measure up to "the second film, which is truly a masterpiece":

Its title, "The Scarlet Woman: An Ecclesiastical Melodrama," betrays Mr. Greenidge at once, in spite of the flickering assurance that "Mr. Evelyn Waugh Presents." The film is sheer burlesque from beginning to end. It concerns the efforts of a Pontiff to convert England to the Romish Church by means of a gigantic, dark, deep plot. A comic cardinal, Montefiasco by name, is sent to this country, and the results are the most ludicrous happenings in which are concerned a king, a prince, a cabaret lady and an eminent Catholic layman well known to Oxford men.²

Because there is no other source for information about the contents of so startling a piece of work in Evelyn's repertory, more quotation must be given. First, there was a good description of some of the technical methodology for introducing characters:

The peculiar method of introducing the audience to the leading characters is delightful. Each figure in this drama of intrigue is disclosed indulging in his favourite sport. So we have a scene in the Papal gardens with the Papal whisky and its owner, the private chamber of the King and the royal gin, the Count of Montefiasco with the Romish cognac, and the eminent Catholic layman with his academic vodka. This convivial introduction had the effect of making us feel that we had known the characters for years.³

Evelyn had expanded his current series of cartoons upon the subject of the various alcoholic beverages into another piece of artistry. The

¹"The Wanderer Returns" in "La Gazette," The Cherwell, Oct. 24, 1925, p. 24.

²John Fernald, "Mr. Greenidge's Films," The Isis, Dec. 2, 1925, p. 10. Fernald was an eminent man on the campus for a few years; he is now the Director of the London School of Dramatic Arts.

³The Isis, Dec. 2, 1925, p. 10.

reviewer, John Fernald, could not relate all the details of the plot, nor name all the characters; he did disclose some of the most memorable:

The performers were all good, and the memory of Mr. John Sutro as the villainous papal legate is one which I shall never forget. Mr. Sutro's face in repose is charmingly peculiar: when it is contorted into the horrible convulsions of priestly duplicity it is too funny to describe. The cast is too long for it to be praised in any way but collectively, but mention must be made of Mr. W. S. Malcolm as Smeaton Wilkes, a man of incredibly evil life but high Evangelical principles, Mr. Waugh's Catholic layman, and Mr. Greenidge himself as a young Jesuit, soulful and sweet, although, as Cardinal Montefiasco says, "A bit of a zany."¹

Evelyn played the role of the far-famed "Sligger" Urquhart, Dean of Balliol and kind friend to Roman Catholics and potential converts, in whose rooms Cyril Connolly remembered meeting Father Ronald Knox, watching "the coming and going of the new generation."² Evidently Evelyn had reacted to the growing student interest in Catholicism, and reacted adversely, jocosely.

Nearly a year after the first showing in December, 1925, Greenidge followed his first article with another historical summary; his praise for Evelyn's film was repeated with added details about the filming and success:

The other film, "The Scarlet Woman--An Ecclesiastical Melodrama," of which Evelyn Waugh was author and director, proved a joyous success. I was glad of that, because a great deal of hard work was put into it, and Waugh was enterprising enough to secure that talented actress, Elsa Lanchester, as leading lady. We managed to fake some

¹The Isis, Dec. 2, 1925, p. 10.

²See Evelyn Waugh, Monsignor Ronald Knox, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Protonotary Apostolic to his Holiness Pope Pius XII (Boston: Little, Brown, 1959), p. 214. Cited as Ronald Knox hereafter.

convincing interiors out in the open, and the prima donna was magnificently supported by Hemingway and John Sutro, who proved themselves natural film-actors. The only pity was that a good story suffered mutilation towards the end owing to the unavoidable absence of some of the actors.¹

Then there was no further mention in the Oxford magazines. The film, however, lived on in the memory of those who had seen it; it had a most illustrious career in private showings, continuing to the present time when Mr. Graham Greene recently was a guest of Mr. Greenidge.² Greenidge, who pursued a film career himself, wrote a few novels about movie colonies, and is known as an actor, wrote the following detailed information to complete the account given in the contemporary notices:

The Scarlet Woman was made mainly in the summer of 1924, in Vacation. The capitalists (£5 each) were myself, my brother John Greenidge, John Sutro and Evelyn Waugh. Evelyn wrote the story, which concerned an attempt by the Pope to convert England to Roman Catholicism by influencing the Prince of Wales (Edward VIII, as he subsequently became) through the Dean of Balliol College, Mr. Urquhart, who was, in fact, a Roman Catholic and a snob. The intrigue was finally foiled by the Prince falling in love with a cabaret singer, of Evangelical principles.³

Of actors thus far unmentioned, Greenidge added that the Hon. Hugh Lygon's brother, Viscount Elmley who is now Earl Beauchamp, played the Lord Chamberlain under an assumed name because his father led the Liberals in the House of Lords; a Guards officer played the role of George V, also under an assumed name; and John Greenidge represented the Prince of Wales. Of some of the acting he offered these judgments:

¹"The Story of Oxford Films," *The Isis*, Nov. 24, 1926, p. 10.

²Unpublished Letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Nov. 19, 1961.

³*Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1961.

Evelyn has never been keen on acting, but his performance of the Dean of Balliol was superb. We did not know of the Marx Brothers in those days, but by telepathy (?) Evelyn drew enormously on Harpo Marx. Elsa Lanchester distinguished herself by a priceless 'ham' (in the good sense of the word) performance. In those days she was known mainly as a dancer, and generously she refused to accept a wage, but 'opted' for a free lunch on any day when she worked for us. Evelyn can claim to have discovered her for the films.¹

Upon the material content itself, Greenidge stated that "the tone of Evelyn's story was akin to that of Decline and Fall, and the technique of the film tends to skit D. W. Griffith, who was familiar to us in those days." Further he offered his considered opinion that the film was not intended to work in any pro-Roman Catholic way nor was it sympathetic with Belloc's "new historian-ism"; the question arises because Belloc's re-interpretations of the Elizabethan era were subjects of discussion at Oxford.² Recalling The Isis' remarks about Harold Acton and the Newman Society, one may suspect that Evelyn's humor, as one detects it in the various reports about his film, had some timely relationship with the popularity of the Roman Church. The film was truly a representative outgrowth of the high-spirits of the Hypocrites' Club. Strangely, "The Scarlet Woman" did not prevent conversions; several of the actors became converts later and some already were converts. Guy Hemingway, who played the part of the Pope "stipulated that he must utter no heresy in a subtitle."³ John Greenidge

¹Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 8, 1961.

²Along the Road to Frome, pp. 78-81.

³Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 8, 1961.

and Evelyn himself were converts later. The immediate reaction even from learned Roman Catholics was favorable rather than otherwise:

A show was given by request to the Society of Jesus at Campion Hall, and Father Martindale was so pleased that my brother, without consultation, insisted on inserting a subtitle, Nihil obstat--projiciatur--C. C. Martindale, S. J.¹

Evidently Evelyn's humor could be appreciated from the start.

¹Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 8, 1961.

CHAPTER FOUR

POST-OXFORD YEARS, 1924-1927

Questions about his leaving, and Answers

The record of Evelyn's non-academic work at Oxford is full in the available school magazines. This record does not exist so extensively for the next few years for his leaving had naturally cut him off from these media. His name was ever-present in his many column-head cartoons and there were occasional references to his reputation and work. However it is not disclosed why he did not proceed in the normal way to become Editor of The Isis, and it is not clear why he did not return for the ninth term that was required for taking a degree. His last term was as already described a full one; but it is not clear what the other "many interests" that Greenidge mentioned actually were. Perhaps they were largely social ones:

Two tiny points. Evelyn pursued the aristocracy towards the end of his Oxford period, mainly in the University political and cultural clubs, not so difficult a job, but he did it, as ever, well. And I should say that he was a whole-time 'bright young person.'¹

The cast of his film should indicate that he made many successful friendships among several social classes.

¹Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961.

Again, perhaps the general impression from rumor that Evelyn was "sent down" or "failed" has some basis in fact; one finds the general impression and there is material for rumor. An example of the latter is the note in the "Isis, Idol" article when Hugh Molson was chosen in 1925: "Oxford decided that Mr. Molson should achieve success and Mr. Waugh failure, though brilliant failure."¹ It is probable that his term as Sub-Editor had proved too disrespectful and one may conclude that both Editors found trouble from the fact that Arthur Tandy soon was the Sub-Editor, superceded as Editor by Gerald Gardiner. If one may judge from their ultimate fate, Evelyn did incur some disciplinary measure; the two succeeding editors were both "rusticated" for pursuing sensational journalism, as Evelyn had, too far.²

¹The Isis, Nov. 4, 1925, p. 7.

²Journalistic rags intended to draw subscribers ended in the disaster--Gardiner never returned though Tandy did later. Bits of allusive matter in The Isis revealed the incident, one note later purporting to speak for all in missing the presence of G. A. G. (The Isis, Oct. 5, 1924, p. 3). The account in Terence Greenidge's Degenerate Oxford? (pp. 213ff.) can be followed in the files of The Isis for the Summer Term of 1924: Trouble arose when a "Yellow Pamphlet" disclosed scandal between members of The Isis staff and a girls' college. Gardiner and Miss Dilys Powell were the ones chiefly implicated according to the pamphlet which had much "inside" information. Actually the "Yellow Pamphlet" was the culminating point, a hoax, of a campaign The Isis had been engaged in throughout the term. A series of weekly articles attacking the chaperone system, all for advertising purposes, had grown unmanageable. The pamphlet's hoaxing lacked the delicate touches that Evelyn might have given it and failed. In an Editorial, "The Joke That Failed," The Cherwell was stern and pleased by turns while revealing that the pamphlet was produced by the very persons it seemed to indict (June 14, 1924). Unpublished letters of Gerald Gardiner to Charles Linck, August 11, 1961, and of Dilys Powell to Charles Linck, August 4, 1961, attest that Evelyn had no part of the affair. The term "undergraduette" had been coined during his term of Editorship, however, and the "Woman's Page" was featured; both are indications that he was not disinterested.

Other conjectures are that Evelyn was very disappointed with his "Third" in the examinations; he has written "I have never (except with singular lack of success in the Final Schools at Oxford) sought reputation as a historical Scholar."¹ The banning of the Hypocrites' Club seems to have dampened many of the livelier spirits of the time. There were many notes about "gloom" in items other than those that Evelyn wrote; one note remarked that it was general at Oxford about the time of Eights Week.² The cumulative effects of many events might easily have dampened an even livelier spirit and caused a decision not to return. Evelyn wrote one last article for The Isis; the contents of "A Bald Story," a review of Alec's Card Castle which was the sequel to The Lonely Unicorn, permits the supposition that it was written under the duress of a personal disgust. It began with what appears to be an unkind remark: "Card Castle is a contribution of 'The Lordly Unicorn'" It would appear that Evelyn felt both volumes were intended for his instruction:

It might well be called "the decline and fall of Roland Whateley's prosperity," for it shows that all of Roland Whateley's triumphs obtained in the former volume by the aid of providence and by the possession of a certain amount of cheek are empty. . . . Thus in his previous success shown as a Card Castle. Those who are successful should read this book It will be good for their pride, and will serve as a warning as to what may happen to them.³

"Decline and fall," "cheek," "previous success," and "pride" are key words that apply to Evelyn's career. The conclusion of his review

¹"Edmund Campion" [Letter to the Editor], Listener, Feb. 26, 1936, pp. 410-11.

²"Gloom," The Isis, June 4, 1924, p. 14.

³Ibid., June 18, 1924, pp. 16-17.

strengthens the suspicion--Evelyn was a very clever person; the books do appear to have been taken personally:

Why did Mr. Waugh write this book? . . . Perhaps he may have had this remark out of Jurgen in mind: "You are such a monstrous clever fellow, that life will get the better of you," and tried to show how inefficient and futile success . . . is.¹

Evelyn may, of course, have known already in June, 1924, that he was leaving Oxford; perhaps the mere thought of leaving was a gloomy affair as it had been earlier at Lancing.

His film was an outside interest that drew him to London's Elsa Lanchester. He was understandably attracted to the stimulating life among the literary and bohemian sets he had already met at Mary Butts' party in 1923. In addition to describing Evelyn's appearance at "The Party," Douglas Goldring recalled seeing the two brothers at Elsa Lanchester's cabaret in the "Cave of Harmony," 107 Charlotte Street, Bloomsbury, near the 1917 Club and the very bohemian Fitzroy Square; Goldring mentioned their attending the performance of Aldous Huxley's play, "Happy Families."² The 1917 Club was an *omnium gatherum* club such as the Hypocrites' had been and many of its members attended Elsa Lanchester's nearby cabaret:

Among the early frequenters were Mary Butts and her brother Anthony, Pat Kaye, then a pupil of Mme. Astafieva and subsequently known to fame as Anton Dolin, Edgar Jepson and his wife and daughters, Alec and Evelyn Waugh, that genial pundit, the late J. W. N. Sullivan, and a host of others who belonged to the intellectual half-world from which Aldous Huxley derived many of the characters in *Antic Hay*.³

¹The *Isis*, June 18, 1924, pp. 16-17.

²The play was named by a reviewer who saw it later at The Court Theatre with the "Cave of Harmony" repertoire (Bernard Causton, "The London Theatres," *The Cherwell*, Jan. 24, 1925, pp. 11-12).

³Douglas Goldring, *The Nineteen Twenties*, pp. 145-48.

Evelyn has written that he was attracted to the London life of Antic Hay.¹ At some point in early 1924 he acquired the services of Elsa Lanchester for his film.

Again, Harold Acton wrote of the occasion when he introduced Evelyn to the Sitwell circle after the performance of Edith's Facade at the Aeolian Hall.² Evelyn himself has also remembered this as a very stimulating experience.³ Further, in the light of the statement that Evelyn "pursued the aristocracy" and because Lord Elmley was in his film, it is likely that Evelyn was, with Patrick Balfour, invited to the big ball at Grosvenor House to celebrate Lord Elmley's coming-of-age in 1924.⁴ Finally, the summer of 1924 would appear to have been his only undergraduate year for making the trip to Greece and Corfu that is mentioned in Labels.⁵ Certainly it was the summer when many Oxford associates and friends were travelling: Hollis and Woodruff began their world-circling debating tour; an Isis Editorial referred darkly to the adventures of Oxford personalities who had been abroad during the summer.⁶

However, there is an explanation in an article signed by Alec Waugh that satisfies most of the questions. Oxford, no matter whose

¹"Youth at the Helm and Pleasure at the Prow," The London Magazine, II (August, 1955), 51-53.

²Memoirs, pp. 128-130. See also Osbert Sitwell, Laughter in the Next Room (Boston: Little, Brown, 1948), pp. 207, 215.

³"Urbane Enjoyment Personified," The New York Times Magazine, Nov. 30, 1952, p. 71.

⁴Patrick Balfour, Society Racket, A Critical Survey of Modern Social Life (London: John Long, 1932), p. 63. Cited as Society Racket, hereafter.

⁵pp. 148ff, 156.

⁶The Isis, Oct. 15, 1924, p. 1.

signature was attached, attributed the matter to Evelyn:

We are not offering any prizes for guessing the name of the Oxford undergraduate whose letters of protest against his parents and dons Mr. Alec Waugh has published in the Sunday Times. To judge by this week's correspondence in that paper the letters have aroused a good deal of excitement. What funny little men there are outside Oxford.¹

The article, headlined "Youth's Protest, The Right to Satisfy Oneself, A Letter to a Father,"² purports to be a generalized collective statement of what many undergraduates who will not return to school are writing in letters to their fathers. Alec, acting as the editor, introduced the article with "where the arguments it [the overall statement] presents have not been expressed in writing they have been in personal discussions"; the remarks were "typical" and "symptomatic" of a general feeling, he wrote. Overall, the remarks bear the recognizable stamp of one particular feeling, that of Evelyn. Beginning with an expression of contrition "that my career in Oxford is making you unhappy" and an admission that more study might make a "Second" possible, the edited letters deny any deception rather defiantly:

I worked extremely hard to get my scholarship, because I knew that probably I should not be able to come up without it. I worked fairly hard to pass my history previous, because had I not passed it I should have lost my scholarship. . . . Since then I have done the minimum of work. I am quite frank, you see. I confess to it. I have done practically no work at all.³

The father is reminded that he himself had advised his son to follow his own judgment; at Public School he was advised to ask only the question:

¹"Spotting the Protestant," The Isis, Nov. 5, 1924, p. 3.

²Sunday Times (London), Oct. 26, 1924, p. 11. A column-long article.

³Ibid.

By the following of which path shall I be the better off twenty years from now? To me my way seems the wiser.

I am not going to be a schoolmaster or a barrister or a civil servant. And I cannot help feeling that outside the learned professions the distinction between a first and a third is not going to matter much. Not enough, at any rate, to make me feel that the gaining of it would compensate for the number of things I should have to lose by working for it.¹

John Henry Newman's argument about living among a community of scholars was modified here to suit the activities that Evelyn indulged in at Oxford:

I should have to drop the Union. . . . There would be an end of those long wars of dialectic that sharpen one's faculties more than lengthy study . . . and for what? For a label, a word, a name. . . .

That, at any rate, father, is the way in which I and my friends look at things. We are prepared to pay for our mistakes, but we have, we consider, the right to satisfy ourselves that they are mistakes and not, as we think now, the ways of wisdom.²

Satisfyingly enough, Evelyn set down these views later in a review article which also names the Oxford friends who felt the same:

[Mr. Alfred Duggan] belonged to the Oxford of Robert Byron, "Henry Green," Mr. Cyril Connolly, Mr. Anthony Powell, Mr. Harold Acton and the rest of us. Like us he sought no academic honours.³

All who are mentioned here had received "Thirds" a year or so later than Evelyn,⁴ excepting Mr. Duggan [Lady Curzon's son], whose departure, also a year later than Evelyn's, was a forced one. Since an informative item about Duggan's departure shows parallels with the rumours about Evelyn's situation, it too is worth citing:

¹Sunday Times, Oct. 26, 1924, p. 11.

²Ibid.

³"The Art of Mr. Alfred Duggan," Spectator, Nov. 18, 1955, pp. 667-68.

⁴See Supplement to the Historical Register of 1900, including an Alphabetical Record of University Honours and Distinctions for the Years 1901-1930 (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1934).

It is pleasant to hear of the adventures of Mr. Alfred Duggan and Mr. Gavin Henderson, who both, in their way, contributed to the gaiety of Oxford. Indeed, it must be said that they have left no successors, which causes the keenest regret that Mr. Duggan should have been a victim of Oxford Tape, the reddest in the world.¹

Some of his friends left, but many more stayed. Evelyn's present convictions, or at least his explanation for not going back, must be seen in the light of his feeling that he had gotten all he could from academic Oxford. Those of his friends who remained were still available for conversation whenever he cared to re-visit. That he did re-visit may be assumed from the frequent visits of the best wits of his day, whose appearances were constantly being recorded in the gossip columns of *The Cherwell*, and from the occasional items the same columns carried, in their veiled manner, about Evelyn's activities. He returned and was spoken about, with affection, or with venom.

Art School and Bohemianism

Authoritatively recorded in reference books is some information about what Evelyn did in his immediate post-Oxford days; the earliest account states that he "also studied painting at an art school in London"; a second version reads "after leaving Oxford he spent a year in London attending art school."² Lately Nicolas Bentley has written a more detailed account:

My ideas of what life would be like at an art school were mostly based on my recollections of *Trilby*, which I had read when I was about fourteen, and I think I was a little disappointed that Heatherley's was not as like the atelier Carrel as I had expected.

¹"*La Gazette*," *The Cherwell*, Oct. 17, 1925, p. 2. Robert Byron was Editor. For more about Gavin Henderson, *Infra*, Chapter V.

²*Living Authors and Twentieth Century Authors* (1942), the revised version of *Living Authors*.

Or was it so unlike? There was no Laird, but there was a student who was later to become a country squire and who took himself as seriously as the Laird, in his easy-going way, took the opposite view of life in general. He was chubby and red-faced and shy, or so we thought at the time, though it may have been that he felt himself to be a cut above most of us intellectually, which he was. His name was Evelyn Waugh.¹

These printed "authorities" are set down here because the matter apparently is hardly so clear-cut in the minds of the living persons who should remember. Iain MacNab, P.R.O.I., R.E., was Co-Principal with the owner of Heatherleys, Henry Massey (deceased) from 1919 to Easter, 1925, while the school was located at 75 Newman Street. Mr. MacNab taught three days each week; but he contended that Evelyn was not there during his time.² Gordon Eames, who became the school's business manager after Iain MacNab went to the hospital, and who still retains the school's records, had no memory nor record of Evelyn's being at Heatherleys. Gordon Eames suggested that Evelyn may have attended Iain MacNab's Grosvenor School of Modern Art, founded in October, 1925, at 33 Warwick Square, which is the present site of Heatherleys.³ Iain MacNab denied the possibility. Each of these gentlemen has an alternate set of recollections of what actually occurred. Gordon Eames wrote the following version:

It is, however, my opinion that Mr. Waugh never actually studied at Heatherleys. I have some recollection that he and the then Principal, Mr. Henry G. Massey, met and disagreed over something, and

¹Nicolas Bentley, A Version of the Truth (London: Andre Deutsch, 1960), p. 99.

²Interview with Iain MacNab at his studio in Warwick Square, granted to Charles Linck, Aug. 14, 1961.

³Unpublished letter of Gordon Eames to Charles Linck, May 20, 1961.

that if Mr. Waugh ever was at Heatherleys it was only for a few days.¹

Iain MacNab recalled the following situation: Evelyn wrote for a prospectus and the school's secretary replied to a "Miss Waugh"; Evelyn's retort is remembered as a classic piece of invective.²

The reference authorities probably obtained information directly from a questionnaire, however. Mr. Bentley was adamant in reply to a query:

I think Mr. MacNab may well not remember Mr. Waugh at Heatherleys, but I certainly recollect him being there, though we never became very friendly. If my memory is correct, he was not there very long.³

This qualification may be accepted. The possibility that there were published or exhibited works disappears however. Evelyn had experience in some art school which he used for his long short story, "The Balance; a Yarn of the Good Old Days of Broad Trousers and High-Necked Jumpers."⁴ This autobiographical story gives its hero, Adam, a realistic setting at "The Maltby School of Art near Regent's Park" before he leaves for the disappointment in love that sends him into an Oxford "blind."

Evelyn's career as artist probably followed what has been generalized in a history of the era to be the usual procedure for the youthful artist:

¹Unpublished letter of Gordon Eames to Charles Linck, May 20, 1961.

²In 1928, the anonymous TLS reviewer of Evelyn's Rossetti made a similar error, earning a blazing epistle.

³Unpublished letter of Nicolas Bentley to Charles Linck, August 16, 1961. Since Mr. MacNab's memory appeared sound, the innuendo escapes me.

⁴Georgian Stories, 1926 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1926), pp. 253-91.

The correct thing to do, for intelligent young people with a fixed income and no particular vocation, was to call themselves 'artists' and live in Chelsea studios. There they gave 'amusing' parties and played at being Bohemian.¹

Evelyn might easily have done this with his brother's help; Alec lived at various addresses in London. That Evelyn at least visited studio parties is attested to by one frequenter who recalled the social appearance Evelyn had made at studio parties:

Another Chelsea studio which played a part in these happy go lucky days was the De Morgan Studio where Herbert and Suzanne Hughes always had some out-of-the-way pleasure in store for their innumerable friends. . . .

When Herbert and Suzanne Hughes called together a company of people, you could rely on its being well mixed. Authors, singers, music-hall artists, composers, dancers, poets, stage-players, critics, solicitors--all sorts and conditions and callings percolated into these gatherings, so that it was a common thing for two people, meeting for the second time and at a loss to tell where they first met, to suppose it had been at the De Morgan Studio. These Chelsea studios offer an admirable subject for a composite picture. . . . Alec Waugh, not unlike Gillie Potter, and practicing his peculiar prestigitation of speech; Evelyn Waugh, of the gimlet look and metal tongue, fixed in a corner and telling people, without regarding them, that he is just off to Marseilles; C. R. W. Nevinson . . . Ethel Mannin . . . James Laver.²

Here he would have met the Bohemian world, of real and pseudo-artists. His brother and his father could both show him the literary world, low and high. Terence Greenidge suggested that friendship with "Elsa Lancaster and Harold Scott would come under Bloomsbury, and Evelyn seemed to like them as rather wild Bohemians."³ Peter Quennell recalled Evelyn's

¹Graves and A. Hodge, The Long Week-End, p. 124.

²Basil Maine, The Best of Me. A Study in Auto-biography (London: Hutchinson, 1937), pp. 172-174.

³Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Nov. 19, 1961. Supra, pp. 113-114.

physical appearance as many saw him then:

Many of his early friends must regret the vanished bohemian. "All gentle and juvenile, curly and gay," in the fashion recommended by the less conventional of the two more expensive Oxford tailors--a light-blue suit of rather hairy tweed, accompanied by a loose silk tie--with a thick stick, short and knotted, which he frequently thumped upon the pavement. Evelyn Waugh presented an engaging appearance.¹

Harold Acton described Evelyn's more general social actions: he "would hide himself for months in some suburban retreat, and then burst upon the town with capricious caperings."² Of course, this period of his life is not chronicled fully in the public press; but the general character of it is well described in these words:

Living at his parents' home, and mixing with a wide circle of Bohemian friends, drinking, making debts, and generally causing his family much anxiety, ended in a debt settlement conference with the father, and an undertaking to pay his own way.³

School Teaching and Other First Work

A period of "gay bohemianism" and then a "debt settlement conference" encompassed the main activities of his first year out of Oxford. Then, in order to earn a living Evelyn taught at two schools, the work being open to those of the educated classes in disgrace he has said,⁴ for about eighteen months during 1925-1926. The location of the school in Wales is not disclosed; description in *Decline and Fall* would appear to identify it as Penrhyn Castle, one mile east of Bangor. He was not chastened into complete solemnity as a later news item attests:

¹The Sign of the Fish, pp. 63-64.

²Memoirs, p. 126.

³Stopp, pp. 19-20. See Evelyn Waugh, "Fan-Fare," *Life*, April 8, 1946, pp. 53-54, et passim. Cited as "Fan-Fare" hereafter.

⁴Ibid.

Mr. Waugh has done many things since he became famous in Wales for his bright blue flannels and his silver cane.¹

His first novel shows that he had a full knowledge of Wales. Terence Greenidge wrote the following about the Welsh School:

At the Welsh school, at which he was unhappy, Evelyn burnt his unfinished novel, The Temple at Thatch, and nearly set light to the headmaster's chimney.²

But further detail must be deduced from Decline and Fall; the setting of that novel was in Wales and apparently Evelyn learned a great deal about the area whether he were unhappy or no. The second school provided some of the people who became characters in his novel. It was an experimental school for "backward children of old families"³ at Aston Clinton, near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, quite near enough to Oxford and his friends and their country homes for him to pay visits on his motorcycle.⁴ Terence Greenidge added a detail about this school too:

At the Aston Clinton school the headmaster was encouraging a romance between his daughter and the head-boy, who in process of time would become a Peer.⁵

A master at this school, nick-named "The Cavalry Officer,"⁶ was the prototype for "Grimes" of his novel he has said:

¹The Star (London), June 25, 1936 (quoted from The Champion-Parsons Invasion Plot, p. 6. See Bibliography for its lengthy title).

²Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Feb. 17, 1962.

³Ibid., Oct. 25, 1961.

⁴Infra.

⁵Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Feb. 17, 1962.

⁶Ibid., Oct. 25, 1961.

There I met a man who made what has seemed to be the lapidary statement, 'This looks like being the first end of term I've seen, old boy, for two years.'¹

From the few details one can glean, it would not appear that Evelyn had completely given up his gay bohemianism nor had he found cause to lose his sense of humor; certainly in *Decline and Fall* he utilized "life" for literary materials and fun. About his teaching experiences he is quoted as saying:

It is no use pretending I was involved in any way in Education. I enjoyed it very much. . . . I left when I was expelled. For drunkenness. There were no hard feelings on either side.²

Then during sixteen days in 1926 he was employed by *The Daily Express*, Lord Beaverbrook's morning paper in London,³ establishing friendships which served him well later. At about the same time he planned to devote his time to his woodcuts and he attended the Central School of Arts and Crafts, Southampton Row, London; Evelyn Gardner persuaded him to write *Decline and Fall* instead of making a career of carpentry, however.⁴

His literary and artistic labors resulted in a few new published items. At Oxford a new cartoon for the "Music" column appeared sporadically in *The Cherwell* throughout 1925-1926,⁵ the years during which his

¹"Fan-Fare." The name "Grimes" was one from Lancing College.

²Stopp, pp. 19-20.

³Labels, p. 142, and *Ninety-Two Days*, p. 22.

⁴Unpublished letters of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961, and Nov 19, 1961. See *Living Authors: Stopp*, p. 20; and *Strix* [Peter Fleming], "The Picadors," *Spectator*, Nov. 20, 1953, p. 557.

⁵First used in November, 1925. It was open to salacious interpretations and was used during the time that Acton-Howard-Byron made didactic use of *The Cherwell*.

acquaintances were changing Oxford history into the era best known as that of the Bright Young People. His best short story of 1923 was republished in The Cherwell with additional title: "Edward of Unique Achievement; A Tale of Blood and Alcohol in an Oxford College."¹ This new title was matched by that of a much longer short story, "The Balance. A Yarn of the Good Old Days of Broad Trousers and High Necked Jumpers."² As mentioned already, the story was autobiographical in that it placed its hero, Adam, in an art school setting. Further in the story Adam met his girlfriend, whose high-born mother has advised her to abandon Adam. Disappointed, he then went to Oxford where he searched out old friends, attached himself to a party-hopping crowd and became very sick. With reference to the Oxford "blind" a reviewer at Oxford wrote "this is something that rings true; that recalls personal experience."³ Other experience than that of Oxford manners and London art schools can be seen in the blighted-

¹The Cherwell, June 13, 1925, pp. 166-69. Still by "SCARAMEL," it was among a number of reprints that celebrated the glories of the past.

²Georgian Stories, 1926 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1926), pp. 253-91. According to William Gerhardi, Memoirs of a Polyglot (London: Duckworth, 1931), p. 296, it was Alec Waugh who collected and edited this annual parallel to Georgian Poetry in 1926.

³M.A.S., The Cherwell, Nov. 13, 1926, p. 155. The event may have been an experience quite realistic: "A last note about Arthur, against myself. Evelyn had left Oxford, but went down to attend a riotous party given by my brother and myself. Evelyn remained in Oxford several days for several more parties, and returned to Golders Green in a liverish state. Arthur was heard on the phone declaring to a crony, 'Evelyn went down to Oxford, and then Terence Greenidge and six other devils got hold of my son--'" (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, April 1, 1962).

love story.¹ Still other is used in the story's structure and technique: it was written in a complicated, experimental style which incorporated movie scenario presentation with "fades" from life situations to screen situations. The conversation was already as "smart" and as modish as that of Vile Bodies; his later style in dialogue was already a finished one in 1926, for he imitated the talk of his friends that can also be found in gossip columns of The Cherwell, 1925-1930.

In 1926 he also published privately the study that may have been a family-connected interest: P. R. B. An Essay on the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, 1847-54.² There was also the attempted novel which he burned, The Temple at Thatch;³ since "Thatch" is a country home in "The Balance," it is possible that this "novel" later became his short-story. It cannot be concluded that Evelyn did little work during his first two years out of Oxford; quite the contrary, for he had, despite appearances, some of what he has called the "moral stability" of an artist.⁴

The Growth of "The Bright Young People"

An equally significant activity of these years, for his later novels, was Evelyn's enlargement of the circle of acquaintances he had begun during his Oxford days among the Upper classes. His continuing

¹Supra, p. 56n and Infra, Chapter V.

²Stopp's list. Cited as P. R. B. hereafter. Supra, p. 5. The item is unavailable but Dr. Stopp wrote that it was a simple, un-illustrated pamphlet, the materials of which were incorporated into Rossetti (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, August 2, 1961).

³Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Feb. 17, 1962.

⁴Rossetti, p. 98.

associations with them are also the material antecedents for his first novels. Evelyn's social status would not have enabled him to know the "Bright Young People" and their pleasures at first hand otherwise. Correctly, as the Editor who reviewed Vile Bodies in his Cherwell Editorial remarked, "it was his environment and his circle of friends in London that gave him his theme." It is highly appropriate to show his acquaintances numbered among themselves aristocratic and wealthy persons who could introduce him to the fullest participation in and knowledge of their "Bright Young People" affairs.

By looking ahead into the new feature of sensational journalism which erupted in the London press during 1927, the gossip columns, one can learn who the "Bright Young People" generally were. By recalling a few passages about certain circles of persons who were at Oxford during Evelyn's University days, one can discover that many of those who got into the gossip columns in 1927 and onwards were at Oxford when Evelyn was. For instance, a group of them were identified by Harold Acton, a very "Bright Young Person" himself:

A bevy of "bright young people" beseiged Oxford in those days. Guinness girls . . . Elizabeth Ponsonby; David Plunkett-Greene's night-club parties . . . matinee idol Tom Douglas of "Fata Morgana" fame. The present Lord Faringdon (then Gavin Henderson). Brian Howard, David Plunkett-Greene, and his sister Olivia--all were as bright and sparkling as could be! Evelyn Waugh noted and observed while others made merry.¹

Cecil Beaton, another prominent member, also has recorded his meeting with a number of the more famous personages during his visit to Oxford in 1922: Robert Gathorne-Hardy, Edward Gathorne-Hardy, Edward Sackville-West, Lord David Cecil, Princess Bibesco, "Puffin" Asquith, et. al.²

¹Unpublished letter of Harold Acton to Charles Linck, July 15, 1961. The letter identifies as being "Bright Young People" the same persons mentioned in *Memoirs*, p. 146. To these must be added Brian Howard who cultivated the "riding" set (*Memoirs*, pp. 136-37). Further, it is necessary to make a major distinction about the particular "Bright Young People" whom we discuss primarily. Evelyn's generation were a second generation of that Mayfair Society phenomenon; they made their mark in the London Press' gossip columns in 1927 (*Infra*). A first generation who won the name "Society of the Bright Young People" had made headlines in The Daily Mail in 1924 ("The Prince in a Treasure Hunt, Midnight Chase in London, 50 Motorcars, The Bright Young People," Daily Mail, July 26, 1924, p. 7). In addition to Edward, Prince of Wales, this group included Miss Gladys Cooper and Miss Tallulah Bankhead, as well as the original founders and the others who made up 50 car-loads in the "treasure hunt" that was reported. Although there are various other attributions in gossip columns, the accounts of origination in Lady Eleanor Furneaux Smith, Life's A Circus (London: Longmans, Green, 1939) and Lord Birkenhead [Frederick Winston Furneaux Smith], Lady Eleanor Smith, A Memoir (London: Hutchinson, 1953), may be taken as authoritative. Eleanor Smith, "F. E." Birkenhead's eldest daughter, several Guinness girls and Jungmann girls invented the "treasure hunts" that Society took up very soon; these girls also indulged in a number of outrageous practical jokes which earned them "Bright" reputations which attracted the "Bright" people of Oxford. Evelyn and his friends knew and associated with the elder or first generation, of course. See Also Loelia Ponsonby, Grace and Favour, p. 119.

²The Wandering Years, pp. 18-21.

Since these are the names one had looked for in the later gossip columns, it seems doubly important to know they were regular visitors or students in Oxford while Evelyn was there. Further, they were often the associates of Cherwell editors and other journalistic personalities of Oxford, whom Evelyn knew throughout the several years before his novels came. Linking the two sets were John Sutro, Robert Byron, Brian Howard, Harold Acton, Brian Guinness, John Betjeman, all of The Cherwell primarily; Peter Fleming and Osbert Lancaster, of The Isis; Frank Pakenham, and the Lords Ava and Furneaux of The Oxford University Review. Oxford and London cooperated closely. As Derek Kahn noted in 1933 before The Cherwell became a more serious magazine:

[The Cherwell for many years had] been prolific of stunts and oddities and for long periods been completely esoteric-- its gossip columns satirizing, with ingeniously concealed obscenity, the life of a very small set.¹

After Evelyn left Oxford, his presence was ever before the Oxford audience in the cartoons he had left to the magazines. His name was mentioned prominently in the articles about his film; the film was shown continually too. His long quarrel with C.H.O. Scaife was referred to by the venomous "Socrates." His short story was reprinted; his newest cartoon was sufficiently sensational to excite remark. Alec Waugh, whose books were always commented upon in Oxford, dedicated Kept, a Story of Post-War London "To My Brother, Evelyn, with much affection," in 1925. It, too, with two earlier novels already noticed, seems to have been a story for Evelyn's instruction! Further, when Acton, Howard, Byron, and Monkhouse assumed The Cherwell during the Fall Term of 1925, Evelyn's

¹"Journalism in Oxford," The Cherwell, Nov. 11, 1933, pp. 110-11.

cover cartoon appeared brightly in its black-red-white colors instead of the orange of earlier times. The Isis, in addition to printing "Socrates'" article, made the following invidious comparison between Evelyn and his Old School friend, Hugh Molson, the chosen "Isis Idol":

In 1919 he [Molson] went to Lancing. One remembers . . . his speaking when in the Fifth Form at a Debating Society closed except to the Sixth. . . . It is interesting to know that at this time Mr. Molson was the great friend of Mr. Evelyn Waugh. Those that knew them judged the latter to be the one with a successful career in front of him. Oxford decided that Mr. Molson should achieve success and Mr. Waugh failure, though brilliant failure.¹

This remark was countered by Robert Byron in The Cherwell:

A paragraph in a Contemporary Oxford publication which has been called to our notice deserves a word of comment. In it reference is made to the brilliant success of Mr. Molson (Idol) and the brilliant failure of Mr. Waugh. We should like to say, on behalf of many mutual friends, who have had the privilege of seeing Mr. Waugh's drawings and writings, hearing his conversation and enjoying his company, that we do not agree.²

During 1926, Terence Greenidge's second article about Evelyn's film was enthusiastic recall of his career. Evelyn's long story in Georgian Stories, 1926 was reviewed well in The Cherwell, now edited by Brian Guinness, the successor to Robert Byron. Both John Sutro and Robert Byron sent back the "London Letter" and kept up their associations with the newest editors in other ways so that there was a continuing relationship among old and new. But indicative of Evelyn's even wider acquaintances is his being mentioned in the Hon. Frank Pakenham's

¹The Isis, Nov. 4, 1925, p. 7.

²"Success and Failure," The Cherwell, Nov. 14, 1925, p. 103.

new magazine, The Oxford University Review, on the occasion of a visit from Aston Clinton; in a column named "Intimacies" there was an intimate note:

Evelyn Waugh made a perilous but successful journey to Oxford the week before last on Queensbury, his new motor-bicycle, and a few were privileged to watch him, leather-coated and leather-helmeted, pushing it along the Corn in a gallant but blasphemous effort to shame the wayward machine into some sort of activity. His friend Rupert Fremlin¹ has also been seen in Oxford, and those who knew him will be glad to hear that he has postponed indefinitely his departure for Nigeria, where he was to have been in voluntary exile scarifying black men in the name of the King.²

Frank Pakenham, younger brother of the Earl of Longford, was becoming illustrious as a Conservative wit at the Union Society in 1926. Thus the intimate mention of Evelyn in the first numbers of his magazine proves the scope of Evelyn's acquaintance among the younger generation of aristocratic persons who were associated with Mayfair activities in the later twenties. Evelyn knew the Longfords well and continued the Oxford friendship at Pakenham Hall, County Westmeath, Ireland, as well as at North Aston Hall, Oxfordshire, where the parties were gay, friendly, and conducive to wider acquaintanship with such as the Smiths [Lord Birkenhead's

¹R.J.D. Fremlin was Evelyn's friend at Lancing: "Molson, Mallowan and Fremlin are still our representatives at New College" ("Oxford Letter," L. C. M., Dec., 1923, pp. 125-26). He won his Third in Modern History in 1925. Of him Greenidge wrote: "Their friendship was pretty close. Rupert had great charm . . . His gentleness would prevent him from being very effective" (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, Jan. 7, 1962).

²The Oxford University Review, No. 2, Feb. 9, 1926, p. 42. When Frank Pakenham was forced to turn his attention to study, Lord Furneaux [Eleanor Smith's brother Freddie] and Lord Ava assumed the editing during 1927-1928. They were all very "Bright Young People."

family⁷, the Mitfords [Lord Redesdale's family], and surprisingly various other persons, such as Maurice Bowra, who was an associate "Bright Young Person."¹

Pakenham's new magazine found especial interest in the various alcoholic activities of the younger Society set. There was one letter from Evelyn's former tutor which is illustrative of this interest, and would have attracted Evelyn's attention:

Sir,--I am anxious to utter a word of protest at the conduct of the Queen of Podham. This same Maurice has brought into disrepute all our noble order. Last Saturday night he had the audacity to be present at a party at Islip. On the arrival of the proctorial authorities he stepped boldly forward and said that he was responsible for the indecent smocks and obscene masks that marked the festivities. Most of the roysterers escaped, and the fast sports models left the proctorial tin lizzie far behind, but I venture to hope that on the next occasion the proctors will arrive beforehand, and not dissipate the evening by chasing one unfortunate cocktail drinker into the ladies resting room at the George.

Hertford C.R.M.F.C., Dean.²

¹Evelyn Waugh, "An Irishman in the Making," *Observer*, Feb. 12, 1961, p. 9: an obituary and remembrance article for the Earl of Longford. Also, Lord Pakenham, *Born to Believe, An Autobiography* (London: J. Cape, 1953), pp. 11-12, 22, 44, 50, 60, et passim. Cited as *Born to Believe* hereafter. Frank Pakenham's intimacy at Charlton, the home of the Smiths near Oxford, is an important connection between Evelyn and Lady Eleanor Smith, who often featured Evelyn in her gossip column for *The Weekly Dispatch* during 1927-1929.

²The *Oxford University Review*, June 17, 1926, p. 391. There was a feud between the two deans. Mr. Bowra reviewed Evelyn's collection of short stories in 1936, relating with zest that Evelyn's "Mr. Loveday" had originally been "Mr. Cruttwell" ("Mr. Waugh's Short Stories," *Spectator*, July 10, 1936, p. 70). Harold Acton recounted details of Oliver Messell's mask-making and other work for the fancy dress party which terminated the career of the Hypocrites' Club (*Memoirs*, p. 124). Cecil Beaton was much in demand in London for mask-making and costume-designing; it gained him his entrance into Bright Society.

For Oxford was becoming indeed rowdy; Maurice Bowra, Dean of Wadham [not Queen of Podham] and the intimate of this set, was thickly involved in the Oxford as well as in their London "Bright Young People" activities, which another excerpt illustrates:

Following the episcopal revels reported last week, Brian Guinness gave a cabaret show. Prominent among the artists were John Sutro and Oliver Messell; and in the auditorium were Harold Acton, Brian Howard, the Earl of Ross, the Earl of Dumfries, Lord David Cecil (a very late arrival) and Lord Claude Hamilton; also a few commoners, notably Billy Astor, Sciff, Jim Phillips, Ogilvie-Grant (who looked charming in a sailor suit), Roy Harrod (with disastrous results for his matutinal tutorials) and Mr. Maurice Bowra, the Dean of Wadham.¹

Rich people, such as Brian Guinness, could entertain in a lavish manner; such parties required that hosts collect the best wits available. Evelyn had talent in this direction as Cecil Beaton's comment of indefinite date of reveals:

Miss Ponsonby would, on an impulse, arrange a last minute party and ask her friends to contribute an essential ingredient: some benvolent godfather would supply a band, other guests provided supper, all brought champagne. Nancy Mitford, and a bevy of new personalities just down from Oxford, Lord Kinross, Evelyn Waugh, Harold Acton and Oliver Messel, were the nucleus of a group who were either of the aristocracy or entertained the aristocracy by their talents. They had a splendid zest for life and an ability for expressing that zest.²

¹The Oxford University Review, Nov., 1926, p. 205.

²The Glass of Fashion (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954), p. 299. This was Loelia Ponsonby, not the moer famous Bright Young Person, Elizabeth Ponsonby. Patrick Balfour was an Oxford friend who became Lord Kinross later. Loelia only became rich after she married the Duke of Westminster in 1930; but she conducted parties at Westminster Palace while she lived with her parents, courtiers of the Royal Household. She recently wrote that her first acquaintance with Evelyn was at the Hon. Mrs. Richard Guinness' parties in Great Cumberland Place, off Mayfair (Grace and Favour, pp. 117-18). Her situation and the first "Bottle Party," which she held in 1926, recalls the party at No. 10 Downing Street of Vile Bodies.

If Evelyn was part of the nucleus later, he was discovered earlier; as at Oxford, so later in London.

Further indication of the close relationship between those who had gone down and those still at Oxford may be found in reports of Cherwell reunions which kept intimacies alive:

At the Oriel Restaurant the Editors of The Cherwell gave a small dinner to a few friends last Saturday evening. The guests included Mr. John Sutro, Harold Acton, Gyles Isham, Robert Byron, Bryan Guinness, Brain Howard, Reginald Smith, Denys Buckley, Dennis Kincaid, David Dent, Edward Hulton, and Villiers David. Mr. Harold Acton gave the toast of "Our dear, good King."¹

Other Oxford interest in London affairs can be seen in Harold Acton's label for Sir William Joynson-Hicks which amused The Cherwell: "Hicks Pasha: The Public Morals Man."² "Jix" had already elicited complaints because he had "decided to turn night into day"; Acton's early announcement of the warfare preceded the later London Press' attacks upon the Home Secretary.

Oxford and London Parties, 1927

In 1927 the party spirit was even livelier. John Betjeman, now the Editor of The Cherwell, aided by Tom Driberg, Evelyn's Lancing friend, published an enigmatic, yet sufficiently revealing, item about Evelyn's observations of Oxford life:

Noah, or "The Future of Drunkenness," is to be Mr. Evelyn Waugh's protest of "leviora canamus" to the serious subjects

¹"La Gazette," The Cherwell, Feb. 6, 1926, p. 60. The toast to the Stuart across the water was in the Railway Club's ritual too.

²Ibid., April 29, 1926, p. 7.

of Daedalus and Icarus. Abraham, or "The Future of Strange Vices" is, I hear, a possible addition to this library.¹

Evelyn was involved. He was beginning to impress Editors with his opinions. He may well have become critical. In the light of a current obsession of the "Bright Young People" both in Oxford and in London, it may be worth recalling that Evelyn had once taken a dim view of racial mixing in a cartoon as he had unflatteringly portrayed some types of drunkenness in several. A nightclub troupe of Negroes had become most popular among his acquaintances; illustrative is this:

The Blackbirds were entertained at a delightful fancy dress party given by Mr. Oliver Messell in his studio in St. John's Wood on Saturday. Her Majesty Queen Victoria honoured the assembly by her presence, her soul having been borrowed by the body of Mr. Robert Byron for the occasion. She was dressed in black silk and wore a white veil on her head surmounted by a small bejewelled crown. Her bosom twinkled with many a noble order of the Empire.²

According to The Cherwell's gossip, the London popularity of the "Blackbirds" was transported to Oxford where Harold's younger brother, William Acton, entertained;³ at one party his guests included Brian Guinness, Lord Rosse, Christopher Sykes, Mark Ogilvie-Grant, David Plunkett-Greene and his wife, Robert Byron and his Greek tutor--all "Bright Young People" known to Evelyn. During the same week-end Lord Lathom and his fiance

¹The Cherwell, May 7, 1927, p. 7. John Betjeman had earlier been an editor of The Isis and The Oxford Outlook; he was a celebrity, as Tom Driberg was, at this time. The item may have referred to Evelyn's story about an Oxford "blind" in "The Balance."

²Ibid., Spring Term, 1927, p. 188. Byron's role was the same in the last Hypocrites' Club party (Memoirs, p. 124).

³Ibid., May 14, 1927, p. 52. Christopher Sykes recorded the fact that William Acton was the link between the Oxford of his later day and the illustrious past (Four Studies in Loyalty, pp. 81ff).

were in Oxford; The Cherwell was interested in Lord Lathom who was central in an exclusive and glittering Mayfair set which Beverley Nichols had become involved with enough to write a "Bright Young People" novel.¹ The Lathoms, and even John Fernald who had liked Evelyn's film so much, also entertained the "Blackbirds" during the visit. At another party, John Betjeman, inveterate party giver, included Brian Guinness and John Sparrow among his guests.² During the next week William Acton again entertained the "Blackbirds," John Sutro, Christopher Sykes, and others. The rash of peculiar parties among this rather narrow set in Oxford and London could not have been overlooked by Evelyn's critical eye.

Oxford continued to be gay; gossip columns continued to be filled with allusions, innuendoes, and references to the affairs of the same set of persons, though younger members become prominent too. Lords Furneaux and Ava, Christopher Sykes, Peter Fleming, and Osbert Lancaster joined "Bishop Betjy" as social leaders when "post-Acton" days arrived; that is, when the Actons took rooms at the Adelphi Hotel in London,³ when the "Socialists" such as Stephen Spender and W. H. Auden became

¹The Cherwell, May 14, 1927, p. 52. The Lathom set was scarified by Beverley Nichols' *Crazy Pavements* (London: J. Cape, 1927); Nichols identified the set in *All I Could Never Be, Some Recollections* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1952), pp. 42-45.

²*Ibid.*, Summer Term, 1927, p. 75. See Betjeman's own *Summoned by Bells* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960) for a contrite portrait of the social climbing, rowdiness, and "High Church" politics of "Bishop Betjy." While reading selections at Foyles Bookshop one afternoon during the Summer of 1961, Betjeman made these aspects of the past very lucidly clear.

³The Cherwell, June 11, 1927, pp. 181-82.

Acton's successors, and when the serious influence of Bloomsbury became more sobering at Oxford. The differences are evident but, of course, real seriousness did not completely overtake The Cherwell until 1933. There was a considerable critical air at times in Oxford. A review of Brighter French, Colloquial, Idiomatic and (mildly) Technical for Bright Young People,"¹ was not especially flattering:

But doubtless this lesser froth of that circle rising in notoriety under the name of the Bright Young People will be flattered by this tribute to their quasi-cosmopolitan gallantry; and we anticipate an extensive sale of this pretentious manual.²

Terence Greenidge announced his intention to destroy Oxford with a book, which excited a certain mock horror from Editor Betjeman.³ But however gay Oxford continued to be, the trail of interest must now shift to London with an announcement by "Tottie Goldstein" in a new column, "Revue Feminine":

Myself and Lord Birkenhead: What a coincidence, girls that I should start writing my Home-From-Home column at the same time as Lord Birkenhead's daughter in the Sunday papers!⁴

Evelyn's public portrait could now be followed in Lady Eleanor Smith's half-page, "From a Window in Vanity Fair," which began in The Weekly Dispatch with the issue of January 30, 1927.

¹See Patrick Balfour, *Society Racket*, pp. 65 et passim, for comments on their flying visits to the continent for parties; see also the first part of Evelyn's Labels.

²The Cherwell, Fall Term, 1927, p. 232.

³Ibid., May 14, 1927, p. 38. Degenerate Oxford? was reviewed by Evelyn in *The Fortnightly Review*, March, 1930, pp. 423-24.

⁴Ibid., May 7, 1927, p. 7.

The New Gossip Column and the Bright Young People

Lord Castlerosse had begun his gossip column, "The Londoner's Log," in The Sunday Express in 1926 and appears to be an originator of the gossip column; but he was not a young "Bright Young Person." Lady Eleanor Smith was the originator of the stunts that brought about the original "Society of the Bright Young People."¹ She succeeded two struggling attempts to found a column, by "Lorgnette" and Viola Tree, and cannot be called an originator. But her contact with the first as well as the second generation of "Bright Young People" supplied her (and Patrick Balfour?²) with the best possible sources of information for her new column, which is particularly lucky. Another "Bright Young Person," Lord Donegall, began his "Almost in Confidence" in The Sunday News' issue of June 5, 1927; and the Hon. Patrick Balfour was soon "Mr. Gossip" with his "Echoes of the Town" for The Daily Sketch. Since the latter three writers were intimately acquainted with Harold Acton's friends, their columns became, in addition to recording the social items necessary to their trade, the peculiar medium for advertising the works of their young friends. Further, their style was "smart" before the regular society magazines, such as The Tatler and The Bystander, found it necessary to become as sophisticated; the newcomers paid their attention primarily

¹Supra, p. 127n.

²Her column was certainly signed by herself; but Patrick Balfour has given himself varying credits too. In Society Racket, p. 93, Balfour wrote that many contributed while he edited the column. Recently he wrote: "I continued this practice [writing about persons he did not know], first on a Sunday newspaper under the name of Lady Eleanor Smith, then on a daily newspaper under the name of Mr. Gossip" ("The Years with Kinross," Punch, August 16, 1961, p. 246).

to Mayfair's Cafe Society, with little emphasis on the off-season affairs of the county or the hunt.

In Eleanor Smith's column one finds the most complete weekly record of activities among the circle of particular interest here. Her sophisticated and intellectual interests vie for primacy of place. Some selected items will illustrate: she saw the Prince of Wales Charlestoning, used a photograph of Lady Diana Manners in cowboy garb in Arizona, followed Mrs. Ernest Guinness' parties for Aileen and Maureen with interest, and noted Sir William Joynson-Hicks' embarrassment because of the Charlestoning at the Kit-Kat Club where he had a large party. She recorded the nightly entertainment of the very popular Florence Mills and her "Blackbirds," commented upon Cecil Beaton's "Futurist" photography of society women, and, perhaps, made more observations upon the Roman Catholic Lovats, Laverys, and others than any columnist. But, with all her enthusiasm, by March 6 she had already become bored: "O, gaiety! What dullness is committed in thy name!" In a change of pace she admitted admiration of Beverley Nichols' Crazy Pavements for its potential lucrativeness in "impertinence." Her first veiled reference to Evelyn was an impertinence:

"Pekingese," I was told today, "are apt to become violent when crossed in any way. Their tempers, from puppyhood onwards can in no way be relied upon."

Whether this is or is not true, I cannot say, but I know one Pekingese who has for some years bitten anyone and everyone with whom he comes in contact, including the mistress who cherishes him to her bosom.

He is appropriately named "Wu."¹

¹Weekly Dispatch, March 13, 1927, p. 5. See Diana Cooper, The Light of Common Day (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), p. 151 et passim, for the identification of Evelyn as "Mr. Wu." Evelyn's troubles in love were part of "The Balance."

Lady Eleanor noted most of the activities of the "Bright Young People" from the start, a thing new in itself. On March 27 she wrote that the Berkeley Restaurant was always filled by them; she announced the engagement of two of their most prominent members, Kitty Kinloch and Lord Brownlow.¹ She remarked that chic Mrs. W. S. Maugham always had them about, on April 10; and on May 15 she included among them two brilliant and unabashed conversationalists--Edward Majoribanks and Harold Acton. Mrs. Howard (Brian's mother), she reported on May 29, had numerous "sleek young men" at her party; it would have been at such a party that Evelyn might gain his opportunities to enter "Society."

In her column of June 5, she discussed the first sensational event of the social season: the Kysant-Gavin Henderson wedding was a Page One news item because someone had covered the Thames with gasoline and set it afire and someone had sent two hundred "bogus" wedding invitations. Since Eleanor Smith was a known prankster, she was compelled to deny that she had played a part in either practical joke; she reviewed her past history in "intellectual and harmless" hoaxing and affirmed that she knew better now.

By July 17 she complained bitterly about too many parties; she complained about the unimaginative "bogus" invitations sent by someone for Evan Morgan's birthday party. On the contrary, she thought that Martin White's "Sailor Suit" party and Nina Hammett's "Bloomsbury" party had been more fun and more intelligent overall. The debutante season was palling rapidly--her boredom was soon reflected in a social revolution.

¹Evelyn dedicated Waugh in Abyssinia (1936) to Kitty and Perry Brownlow.

The party action that launched the new era of the second generation of "Bright Young People" was given by Captain Neil McEachern at 72 Brook Street about July 30, 1927. All columnists were enthralled, and became noticeably "modern" in their reporting as if by signal. The party was fully chronicled by modish writers in The Tatler and in its feminine counterpart Eve, with photography by Cecil Beaton. In the "Letters of Evelyn" (but not Evelyn Waugh) there is an account that had never been matched in The Tatler before:

This last week or two has brought out an entirely new craze in the shape of fancy-dress dances of one kind or another. They are fancy dress, but new style. No longer do we go hoping to look pretty, handsome, decorative or picturesque. To be amusing and arresting is the chief idea. Undoubtedly Captain Neil McEachern's, which happened last week in Brook Street, and was followed by several more, and several tentative ones no doubt inspired by the success of his, was the best of all. We had a good band, and a good supper, and Hutchinson, the coloured singer from Chez Victor, but the best part of the entertainment was provided by the guests who all impersonated living people. Daring, yes. But really terribly amusing.¹

A general statement in this style might have been seen in The Cherwell; but it was a complete revolution in the style of Society reporting for London. The article continued with names:

One of the main ideas seemed for the men to come as women and the women to come as men. I was not present at the wedding of Lord and Lady, or rather Mr. and Mrs. Asquith as they were then, but young Mr. Cecil Beaton, who has already made himself famous by his dress designs and his photographs, achieved a huge success by his conception of the bride. A golden wig wreathed in orange blossoms and a thick net veil reaching to his feet, while the long white satin train stretched half across the room, and certain adjustments to his face. Mr. Bryan Howard, who is Mrs. Francis Howard's son, and gave another of these parties himself on Friday with Mr. David Plunkett Greene, was Everybody's Mother with a big hat, well trimmed with ostrich feathers perched high up on the hair frame, a

¹
Tatler, July 27, 1927, p. 142.

sequin bodice and velvet skirt, black cotton stockings and low-heeled shoes. Not too good really for those who can remember the beauties of the 'nineties.'¹

The list of impersonations is long, but it indicates who were the chief Mayfair personages well; Mr. Ernest Thesiger as Miss Violet Vanbrugh; Mrs. Richard Guinness as her sister-in-law Mrs. Benjamin Guinness; Mr. Martin White as Lady Diana Cooper; Captain Dick Wyndham and Mrs. Sacheverell Sitwell as Frank Dobson and his model; Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell in a beard as King Faud; Lord Alington as Cowboy Tex McLeod; Mr. Bobbie Howard as Josephine Baker (of the "Blackbirds"); Mrs. Garland as Lady Cunard; Miss Allanah Harper as "a certain Grenadier Guardsman"; Mrs. Gracie Ansell as Lady Diana Cooper's Miracle nun; Miss Elizabeth Ponsonby as Miss Iris Tree, who was there; Miss Tallulah Bankhead as tennis star Jean Borota; Captain Richard Norton as the King of Spain; and many others, some of whom were photographed. In The Tatler were photographs of the Hon. Stephen Tennant as Queen Marie of Roumania, Miss Inex Holden, and Harold Acton. In Eve were photographs of Oliver Messell as Miss Tallulah Bankhead; the Hon. Hugh Lygon as Maurice Chevalier, of Whitebirds; Lady Seafield, Robert Byron's cousin, as a Russian dancer; and others.² Lord Donegal noted that a dozen King Fauds were made up at the last moment with whiskers.³ There could hardly be a better list of the Mayfair personalities who appeared at parties.

¹Tatler, July 27, 1927, p. 142.

²Ibid., 201 et passim; Eve, August 3, 1927, pp. 217, 254 et passim.

³Sunday News, July 24, 1927, p. 7.

Of course, to be included in a social column required name, social rank, money, fame, or all combined; Evelyn's name is not found in these columns as an attendant at parties. Many of his friends were often noticed: Harold Acton, Brian Howard, Elizabeth Ponsonby, Cecil Beaton, Mr. and Mrs. David Plunkett-Greene, Eddy Gathorne-Hardy and others of the younger generation had the necessary connections for notice. The end-of-season parties reached their climax in sensational fashion in 1927; indeed so much so that there appears a rather hushed shock about them as the season ended and columnists turned to country affairs. Lady Eleanor Smith joined in the subdued criticism with her comments upon one of the last parties:

A Red Rag to a _____.

Instance Mrs. Reginald Coke's party last week. Mr. Cecil Beaton came in ill-favoured, milk-white rags, with a white handkerchief tied round his head. Mr. Brain Howard, who is generally dressed as the firmament, was also in rags.

Mr. Eddy Gathorne-Hardy favours red rags. Fortunately for him there are few people in London society who have the spirit of bulls.

At this party there was a strange mixture of people, from Mr. Osbert Sitwell to Miss Nadine March.¹

Finally, The Tatler's "Evelyn" explained the excuse for such parties:

"It was all tremendous fun for the Bright Young People after a long diet of debutante dances."²

Then, instead of following the country sports, Eleanor Smith's column still followed persons known to Evelyn. She discussed the affairs of her friends from a base in London: Billy Clonmore's home in County Wicklow; David Plunkett-Greene's family relationship with Lady Maud Parry

¹Weekly Dispatch, July 31, 1927, p. 4.

²Tatler, July 27, 1927, p. 142.

and Baron von Hugel; the Plunkett-Greenes' and Brian Howard's retirement to Lundy Island; Harold Acton's going to Scotland with Lady Seafield; Robert Byron, Brian Guinness and Mark Ogilvie-Grant's trip to Turkey;¹ the Horners' of Wells and their relationship with Lord and Lady Oxford and Asquith; Lady Ottoline Morrell and Arthur Waley of the "Bloomsbury Set," which had "intellectual priority" but was beset with "small fry," a reference to Lady Ottoline Morrell's weekly gatherings in Gower Street no doubt.² She went to the wedding of Kitty Kinloch and

¹Robert Byron's book on their first trip, Europe in a Looking Glass (reviewed in The Cherwell, Nov. 13, 1926, p. 155), was later referred to by Evelyn when he assumed the leading role as advertiser for his friends as one of the best travel books ever written (Infra, Chapter V). His followed in the new tradition; in his numerous reviews of travel books, Evelyn usually has had much to say of "the travel book" as a genre.

²The bibliography about Lady Morrell's patronage of artistic persons can be long. The official study with her memoirs is now being completed by Robert Gaythorne-Hardy (two interview visits with Mrs. Igor Vinogradoff /Julian Morrell/ at her home in Gower Street, proffered to Charles Linck by virtue of a Letter of Introduction from Miss Dorothy Brett of Taos, New Mexico, August 12 and 18, 1961). Lady Morrell's house is still filled with mementos: paintings, portraits, albums of photographs of the "Bloomsbury Group" at both Garsington and Gower Street, dairies, and books with their author's inscriptions. There is no evidence that Evelyn visited; however, John Lehmann assured me that everyone did (Interview at his London home in Egerton Crescent, proffered to Charles Linck by virtue of a Letter of Introduction from Professor Thomas Cranfill of The Texas Quarterly, May 24, 1961); the Hon. Nancy Mitford wrote that Evelyn was intimate with Bloomsbury (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, July 18, 1960). The Waugh family had literary associations of all sorts, of course (Supra, pp. 113-14). Remarks about the possible sources of Evelyn's underlying seriousness in his social criticism are conjectures about his knowledge of Bloomsbury, not without reason (Sean O'Faolain, The Vanishing Hero, Introductory Chapter). Among the convenient descriptions of Lady Ottoline Morrell's rather famous salon must be included Stephen Spender, World Within World, the Autobiography of Stephen Spender (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1951), p. 159 et passim; John Lehmann, The Whispering Gallery, Autobiography I (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954), pp. 184-85; and Harold Acton's Memoirs; Osbert Sitwell's five volumes of memoirs; L. A. G. Strong's Green Memory, most intimate of all; and Peter Quennell's The Sign of the Fish. The latter four persons' accounts tie Evelyn's friends with Garsington during their Oxford days.

Lord Brownlow, where Nancy Mitford was a bridesmaid and Christopher Sykes a guest; she discussed Peter Rodd's absence in Africa and his friendship with Hilaire Belloc; at different times she met Oliver Messell, Gavin Henderson, Rosemary Wilbraham, Evan Morgan, the Maharanee of Cooch Behar, Lord Rosse, Rebecca West, and other Bloomsbury-Fitzroy Square and Mayfair-Ritz Bar personalities. She went to a "Sitwell Party" where Lord Donegall, her "contemporary," entertained with fire-crackers; often she receipted letters from Beverley Nichols who was lecturing in the United States; she announced that Evan Morgan was to marry Lois Sturt, both "Bright Young Persons" of the first generation; and she commented upon the Hon. Hugh Lygon's being a youthful car salesman. These are all indications of her closeness with Evelyn's friends throughout 1927-1928.

Lady Eleanor once wrote about how one "entered Society by a side door" through canny use of artistic talents. In this item the mistake was made of calling Miss Tallulah Bankhead an "Anglophobe" instead of an "Anglophile," or so her apology read--Miss Bankhead won a libel suit.¹ Lady Eleanor's comments about Tallulah, who as the stage star and "Flappers'" ideal was seldom omitted from such columns, were a bit over-nice and possibly malicious ever after. Lady Eleanor had her crochets; in fact, one may suspect the fact that her opinions of Aimee Semple McPherson in her column and Evelyn's in Vile Bodies coincided. She might have been Evelyn's mentor; "Agatha Runcible" of Vile Bodies might easily have had Tallulah for prototype. It is more simply explained

¹Weekly Dispatch, July 3, 1927, p. 4. See Tallulah, My Autobiography (London: Gollancz, 1952), p. 11.

however, in the fact that Evelyn's section of the "Bright Young People" shared a community of opinion.

One respects the considered judgment of Lady Eleanor's comments about the uses of talent for entering society: Evelyn finally became an acceptable gossip column figure in London for his writing. Lady Eleanor cheerfully and handsomely advertised his first venture into full sized books--in advance:

I met young Evelyn Waugh, who is Alec Waugh's brother and Arthur Waugh's son, and Edmund Gosse's cousin. "When," I asked him, "is that brother of yours going to give us another novel?"

"Ah," he replied, "it's my turn this time." And then he told me that he himself was publishing a book next month --not a novel, though: a Life of Rossetti, called "The Last Born of Eve."

Generally one member of a family is ample in print. . . . But we can always do with another Waugh, and Evelyn Waugh is remarkable, as his book should prove.¹

Evelyn, too, "entered Society by a side door"; his name began to appear more frequently as his friends cheered him onwards.

¹"His Brother's Turn," Weekly Dispatch, Feb. 19, 1928, p. 4.

CHAPTER FIVE

FIRST BOOKS, MARRIAGE, FAME, TRAVEL AND PARTIES, 1928-1929

His First Book

Evelyn had still to discover whether his was the "way of wisdom." Practical necessity forced him to follow a course which was his father's usual advice,¹ and private inclination probably combined with necessity in his production of a timely study of Rossetti. First, it could be foreseen that a good book about Rossetti's art would be most acceptable to reviewers wishing to write articles in celebration of the centennial of Rossetti's birth date. Second, he had already prepared the way with P. R. B., which in addition to being a family interest was also a Public School and an Oxford topic of the time.² P. R. B. was a good beginning for his expanded study, named Rossetti, His Life and Works and issued by Duckworth on April 18, 1928, probably after the arrangements were made

¹One Man's Road, pp. 219-20. Arthur Waugh had prepared his study of Tennyson upon his cousin Edmund Gosse's advice for publication after the poet's death; thus Arthur Waugh's usual advice to the young literary man was to publish a book so that reviewing work could be obtained.

²Supra, p. 5. Cyril Connolly discussed the atmosphere of "Pre-Raphaelitism" at Eton (Enemies of Promise. London: Penguin Books, 1961 /1938/, Chapter XXII). Christopher Hollis wrote "The Frescos in the Union Library" during the Union Society's Centennial (The Cherwell, March 8, 1924, pp. 155, 157).

with Anthony Powell who was a partner in the Duckworth firm by then.¹ It was a scholarly piece of demanding work that required both his devoted attention to artistic technique, which he could use as a measure of Roger Fry's "Bloomsburian" criticism, and a subtle modification of the Lytton Strachey School of biographical writing. Rossetti's painting in the Tate Gallery and the reproductions in books such as Marillier's² plus a reading list of memoirs and biographies were his source materials. He acknowledged special help from Sir Hall Caine.³

The book was a distinct success with reviewers, most of whom made some reference to it in their centenary essays; there were no other studies to be used as the excuse.⁴ Some writers merely referred to it, most carped a bit about Evelyn's poor opinion or disregard of Rossetti's poetry, but the book attracted long feature articles in nearly every newspaper and magazine. His "modern" attitudes were criticized or praised according to the degree of old - or new-fashioned attitudes that governed a periodical; there was a certain light-heartedness in Evelyn's style that had to be reckoned with. He could not complain of neglect--all the leading reviews and reviewers seem to have chosen to feature articles

¹ Many youthful writers of Evelyn's generation had their books published at Duckworth. The Sitwells and the Bloomsbury Group both had influence with the house and used it for friends. Evelyn, of course, knew Anthony Powell at Oxford; it is probably Powell who was the youthful publisher in Vile Bodies, nevertheless, for Duckworth would not take Decline and Fall.

² Henry C. Marillier, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, An Illustrated Memorial of His Art and Life (3d ed. abr. and rev.; London: George Bell, 1904 [1899]). Listed in his book.

³ Both his father and Harold Acton could provide him with an introduction to Sir Hall Caine.

⁴ Both Sir Hall Caine's Recollections and R. L. Megroz' Painter Poet of Heaven in Earth were issued later in the year.

either about the book or about the subject. Some were poets John Drinkwater in the rather conservative Daily Telegraph, and Roy Campbell in the Bloomsburian Nation and Athenaeum; crochety Edward Shanks in J. C. Squire's Georgian London Mercury; Georgian family friend J. C. Squire in the Liberal Observer;¹ D. S. Meldrum in the Edwardian Bookman (London), where Arthur Waugh was a regular contributor; and R. A. Taylor in the Conservative Spectator's feature article. It was reviewed for his Old School Magazine, probably by Peter Burra; at Oxford H. M. T. reviewed it for The Cherwell, Osbert Lancaster for The Isis. Reviews in The Saturday Review, The Times Literary Supplement's feature article, and in the Bloomsburian Desmond MacCarthy's new Life and Letters, were unsigned.² Accompanying a generally appreciative chorus was Evelyn's "Dante Gabriel Rossetti: A Centenary Criticism," an essay which Chapman and Hall's Fortnightly Review featured.³

Evelyn found only one review dissatisfying: He wrote a stormy letter to the Editor of The Times (London) Literary Supplement:

In this week's Literary Supplement I notice with gratitude the prominence given to my Life of Rossetti. Clearly it would be frivolous for a critic with pretensions even as modest as my own to genuine aesthetic standards to attempt to bandy opinions with a reviewer who considers that Rossetti's drawings "refine on" those

¹As Book Editor of The Observer, J. C. Squire gave the book as fine a pre-publication announcement as had Eleanor Smith: "Mr. E. Waugh has already attracted attention by an unusual skill in the difficult medium of the short story, and before Easter he is to show his competence in another kind. . . . [It] should be a real contribution to the mass of literature. . . . His sympathies are sometimes a little tart, but never impertinent. . . ." ("Books and Authors," Observer, March 11, 1928, p. 8).

²See the Bibliography for publication details.

³May 1, 1928, pp. 595-604.

of Ingres; but I hope you will allow me space in which to call attention to three points in which your article appears to misrepresent me.¹

First, he felt the "unleisured" critic of "limited social experience" might have looked inside the wrapper for the prefix "Mr." before he "tumbled into print with such phrases as 'a Miss of the Sixties.'" One suspects the error was partly malicious, though perhaps the reviewer was thinking of "Grand" Holman-Hunt, a Miss Waugh of the Sixties. Evelyn found it lacking in humor and objected to misrepresentation generally:

In the second place, she, or he, writes "The 'squalid' Rossetti," the inference of the inverted commas being that the phrase is my own; it is not. In the third place, there is nowhere in my book or in any of my other writings any statement or suggestion that could possibly imply, to an intelligent reader, that I prefer "Morris' interminable, flaccid, 'grinds,' to the best constructed narratives in English verse."²

These misrepresentations aside, his book was in general very well treated. In any case, the work, a labor of love in itself, served several purposes.³

His First Marriage

One immediate purpose is seen in the dedication "To Evelyn Gardner." During the years of association with the aristocratic friends he had made at Oxford, he had improved his relations with Lady Burghclere's youngest daughter despite any frustrations reflected in his contribution to Georgian

¹T. L. S., May 17, 1928, p. 379. His angry letter does not lead one to suppose this was an advertising stunt. However, persons who knew Evelyn were probably numerous on the Times' staff, including Douglas Woodruff, Graham Greene, and Dudley Carew.

²Ibid.

³It did not go into a second edition until Duckworth's "Georgian Library" series republished it in 1931 along with S. Sitwell's Southern Baroque Art, Robert Byron's The Station, and Hugh Kingsmill's Matthew Arnold. Evelyn hoped that more people would rush out to buy it in Labels (1930).

Stories, 1926 or in Lady Eleanor Smith's first reference to him in her column. Opportunity for marriage came during Lady Burghclere's absence in Egypt;¹ it was a very quiet ceremony on June 27, 1926, that Harold Acton, Robert Byron, Alec Waugh, and Pansy Pakenham witnessed:

Before long I found myself standing, in the guise of 'best man' at a secret wedding in a Protestant Church off Baker Street. Robert Byron gave the bride away. So overcome was she that she could scarcely bring herself to breathe the words 'I do.' It was a pretty sight. Evelyn's brother Alec and Pansy Pakenham were the only others present, and I gave a 'wedding breakfast' at Bouleston's after the ceremony. We were all very gay. It was June, sunny and warm, and we shared sentimental visions of love in a cottage. . . . I cannot forget the smile of the radiant faun Evelyn Waugh.²

It was not a fashionable wedding; the Burghclere girls never achieved mention in debutante news and Evelyn could hardly have desired publicity if this was indeed a "secret wedding."³

That the wedding received no public notice at the time is seen in its omission from an early advance announcement of Evelyn's first novel by "Mr. Gossip," who was his Oxford friend, Patrick Balfour:

¹Tatler, Feb. 22, 1928, p. 371. Lady Burghclere returned in October (Observer, Oct. 7, 1928, p. 19).

²Harold Acton, *Memoirs*, p. 202. Pansy Pakenham was the wife of Henry Lamb who did two paintings of Evelyn; she was the sister of the Earl of Longford and Frank Pakenham, both his Oxford friends. Her novel, *The Old Expedient* (London: Chapman and Hall, Oct. 9, 1928), was referred to once as being in the tradition of the upper class "Bright Young Person" cruel novel, a tradition into which Evelyn's novels also fitted.

³Life Baron of Walden, Lord Burghclere, died in 1921. Lady Burghclere, eldest daughter of the Fourth Earl of Carnarvon, had first married the Hon. Capt. Alfred Byng. Her second marriage had produced four daughters, of which the Hon. Evelyn was the youngest. The family was in "reduced circumstances" since Lord Burghclere's death; the daughters did not "come out" apparently. But Lady Burghclere's travels from the country to 30 Green Street were often noted in "court activities" columns, as were her frequent trips to the Residency in Cairo.

The elder sister, Juliet, was attacked by *The Daily Herald* during an election for being a shop girl from the "idle rich" classes and for advertising for secretarial work; a society magazine thought the Socialists could not have it both ways (*The Bystander*, Feb. 27, 1929, p. 416).

The two young Waughs, Alec and Evelyn, are among the most outstanding pair of brothers in the younger literary world, though they write very different kinds of books. Each has a new novel coming out in August. . . .

Evelyn's is a satire, called Decline and Fall.¹

Patrick Balfour could not mention the marriage in July; but Lady Eleanor Smith did in September when she announced his first novel and explained their "love in a cottage," apparently because of their rather bad address:

Mr. Evelyn Waugh is the brother of Mr. Alec Waugh; he married a few weeks ago the Hon. Evelyn Gardner, the charming daughter of Lady Burghclere.

They are living economically in Islington, that mysterious, historically romantic quarter of the metropolis which also harbours Mr. Richard Sickert, the painter.²

Harold Acton has given a good description of their home, too:

He had discovered a temporary paradise in Canonbury Square, Islington, a shabby genteel eighteenth-century square such as Sickert loved to depict, no longer a fashionable quarter, but agreeably symmetrical and soothing to the eye. With his flair for amusing trifles, he was picking up odd pieces of furniture which he painted and varnished himself; he had even painted the walls of his apartment.³

Such an unfashionable life would naturally not be what Lady Burghclere could approve.

But their "economical" life together and Evelyn's indulgence in what might be called "Arts and Crafts" work is worth noticing in the light of another remark by Acton: he hoped that Evelyn might become "another

¹"The Waugh Brothers," Daily Sketch, July 28, 1928, p. 5. Patrick Balfour roomed with Cyril Connolly and both chose to further Evelyn's career with praise; in fact, Balfour seems almost to have been a collaborator.

²"Islington Home," Sunday Dispatch [Weekly Dispatch renamed], Sept. 23, 1928, p. 4. Walter, or Richard, Sickert was a member of "The Camden Town Group" of painters; it is most unfashionable in this part of London.

³Memoirs, p. 204. The Post Office (London) Directory, 1930 lists them thus: "Evelyn and Hon. Mrs. Waugh, 17a Canonbury Square, Islington, N. 1."

William Morris and solve some of our more pressing social ills.¹

His contemporary's remark is evidence for contending that there was a critical background, a serious sociological basis for the humorous scarifying of wealthy Mayfair and the wasteful "Bright Young People" in Evelyn's novels. Cyril Connolly's later comments that Evelyn's satire "was derived from his ignorance of life" and "he found cruel things funny because he did not understand them"² is not the whole truth. Evelyn was dependent upon friends for his indulgence in the activities of the "Bright Young People" and it would be erroneous to believe that his social criticism was altogether accidental. His actual poverty belies such detachment or aimlessness.

The Success of His First Novel

"He was able to communicate that fun"³ however. When *Decline and Fall*, an Illustrated Novelette⁴ appeared on September 18, 1928, it was not long before the sources of its fun, for Society, were disclosed in gossip columns. In another section of the column about Evelyn's home Eleanor Smith first pointed out that several characters were actually caricatures of known persons:

Although Mr. Evelyn Waugh protests in the Author's Note to his book, *Decline and Fall*, that none of his characters are taken from life--he had "never met any one at all like any of them"--his book is Definitely About People.

His book treats of people who are suspiciously recognizable. Mr. "Kevin Saunderson," for instance, who walked around, "making rude little jokes in a shrill, emasculate voice." And there are two young

¹ *Memoirs*, pp. 204-205.

² *Enemies of Promise*, p. 140.

³ *Ibid.* ⁴ London: Chapman and Hall, 1928.

men (one of them a photographer) who drive about in an electric brougham.¹

In "The Talk of London" for The Daily Express, another columnist, "Dragoman," who was partly Tom Driberg,² Evelyn's old Lancing friend, had discovered some of the characters to be "distinctly recognizable, if composite, portraits"; he singled out one especially: "Mr. Waugh makes one of his characters, a newly created peer, choose the title of Viscount Metroland."³ From Oxford came the firm warning of his friend Peter Fleming: "Avoid the temptation to be smart by dabbling in personalities."⁴ The columnists and reviewers who knew details of the correspondence thought the novel "very funny indeed."

It was not long before Eleanor Smith could report that her criticism had brought about changes. Accompanied by a large photograph of the two Evelyns, arms about each other and reflected in a mirror, looking youthful, attractive and serious, with the caption, "Mr. and the Hon. Mrs. Evelyn Waugh are living and writing in Islington," was Lady Eleanor's note:

¹Who Are They? Sunday Dispatch, Sept. 23, 1928, p. 4.

²"A Socialite named Sewell and a swarthy Oxford graduate named Tom Driberg were the contributors" (Arthur Christiansen, Headlines All My Life. New York: Harper, 1961, p. 98). Driberg later became "William Hickey" for the Express.

³"Less Serious," Daily Express, Sept. 18, 1928, p. 19. An elaborate joke lies behind the name: "Maltravers" was an apt name for Sir William Joynson-Hicks, the antithesis of a "Minister of Transport" in his closing of night clubs, etc. "Jix" expected to be given a title and was, later. Evelyn anticipated by naming him after the "Metroland," as the suburbs of London were known. The joke lies in the fact that moralists of the day denounced the vice and immorality of the "Metroland" which the new, extended Underground Railways were opening up to London inhabitants. Supra, p. 34n.

⁴Review of Decline and Fall, The Isis, Oct. 17, 1928, p. 11. Frank Pakenham listed Peter Fleming and Evelyn as being members of his circle of friends at this time (Born to Believe, p. 50). Peter Fleming received wide publicity as a versatile Oxford personality, even in the London columns.

I have heard about the Power of the Press and about the Power of the Pen; but I was skeptical about the Power of the Paragraph.

Until I met Mr. Evelyn Waugh again. Mr. Waugh has beetle brows, a house in Islington with furniture painted by himself, youth, and the funniest book for years to his credit. I had criticized the latter attribute (it is called Decline and Fall) because the characters in it were so recognizable--even the names were only fantastic distortions of reality.

Mr. Waugh said simply: "Thank you for your outspoken comment about my book. In my new edition I have altered the names you objected to."

This I find he has done by the facile distribution of titles. This is where the novelist gains over the paragraphist.¹

In the same connection, a friendly reviewer remarked:

A new edition is just out, by the way, and if such things amuse you, you will find that a few of the names have been altered. And why? One or two of Waugh's contemporaries professed to find themselves pilloried under disguises that were too thin.²

This, too, was a comment from a source intimately connected with social gossip; Ralph Straus was a Chapman and Hall director who reviewed books for *The Bystander* and who served Evelyn's cause quite powerfully.

Thus, in the "new edition," actually only a Third Impression, one finds that "Martin Gaythorne-Brodie" and "Kevin Saunderson" (which obviously are quite similar to Eddie Gathorne-Hardy and Gavin Henderson) were changed to "Hon. Miles Malpractice" and "Lord Parakeet," which, perhaps, obliterated their identities sufficiently.³ Other caricatures

¹"Tasting Power" and "Titular Legerdemain," *Sunday Dispatch*, Nov. 18, 1928, p. 4.

²"Froth and First Novels," *Bystander*, Nov. 21, 1928, p. v.

³Lord Molson volunteered the information that the quick sketch of Gavin Henderson (now Lord Faringdon) was immediately recognizable no matter what the name (interview granted to Charles Linck, July 26, 1961). Evelyn's ability was that of the cartoonist in this respect; a quick sketch was sufficient.

remained unchanged--"David Lennox, the photographer" can be recognized as Cecil Beaton; "Mr. Jack Spire" of the "London Hercules" obviously was J. C. Squire of The London Mercury; and of the many facets of various Mayfair hostesses that went into the composition of "Margot Beste-Chetwynde," the recognizable feature of the Hon. Nancy Cunard with a Negro companion was enough for all who had the social intimacy which this aspect of identification required.¹

For several years after, The Cherwell gossip columnists referred to various Oxford visitors by the names Evelyn had given them. His "impertinence" now matched that of Beverley Nichols, whose impertinence Lady Eleanor Smith had recognized as potentially lucrative. But most of the "Bright Young People" were probably flattered: "Dear Evelyn, of course, put me into it!"² Patrick Balfour wrote later that the book had made him laugh aloud in a train, much to his embarrassment, all the way from London to Doncaster on Legar Day; he was certainly a "Bright Young Person."³ Some social gossip columnists put a brazen face on and denied everything.

Mr. Evelyn Waugh.--Whose first book, Decline and Fall, a quite modern story, has had a big reception, because principally, it is so inconsequential and amusing. It is a "rag" from beginning to end about people who probably never could have existed but who are very entertaining.⁴

¹Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961. See Beverley Nichols, The Sweet and Twenties (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1958), p. 98.

²Cyril Connolly, "Where Engels Fears to Tread."

³"And Humiliation," Daily Sketch, Jan. 30, 1929, p. 5.

⁴Richard King, "With Silent Friends," Tatler, Nov. 7, 1928, p. 266. King was the book-reviewer, but never a very serious one; the magazine itself had just become "smart."

It is generally held by those who should know that most of Evelyn's caricatures were "composites" of selected aspects from various friends and acquaintances and, sometimes, "some lurid vice" added.¹ Then, perhaps, the last bit of Evelyn's joking came in the form that Eleanor Smith reported.

Mr. Eddy Gathorne-Hardy, and another Oxford friend, got letters with £2 notes and 'Keep these. They are yours absolutely.'²

The letter was postmarked from Ipswich, near Croydon Airport, from which Evelyn left on his belated honeymoon trip.³

From the foregoing it can be concluded that Evelyn's novel caused a minor sensation among Mayfair intimates. Some details of its publication help to cast a bit more of light upon the hopes and fears held for it by the book's publishers. The dedication "To Harold Acton in homage and affection" is a reminder that Harold Acton took some credit for its being published "without copious bowdlerizations" which Duckworth would have required,⁴ probably because Anthony Powell recognized the potentially libellous nature of it. His father's company published it, but required the Author's Note which protests that the book is not, as his publishers say, "a shocking novelette" and concludes that "IT IS MEANT TO BE FUNNY." To assure that readers and reviewers should not miss the humor, Evelyn used his skill as a cartoonist to give a correct interpretation to several key scenes. No reviewer mentioned them, however; but several society

¹One statement reads: "Evelyn rolled two real people into one imaginary one, very often, often adding some lurid vice. His readers would not know, but could surmise. It is remarkable how much Evelyn used reality" (unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961). Another reads: "Evelyn Waugh selected various idiosyncracies from his various friends and acquaintances for the most amusing characters in his earlier novels" (unpublished letter of Harold Acton to Charles Linck, June 24, 1961). See Memoirs, p. 203 also.

²Sunday Dispatch, Feb. 10, 1929, p. 4. ³Labels, p. 11.

⁴Memoirs, p. 202.

columnists noticed the artistic "dust wrapper" design and cartoons. It was indeed notable as Tom Driberg described it:

The dust wrapper, designed by the author, bears four portraits of a young man, the hero of the book. His face does not alter at all, but his clothes are successively those of a somewhat shabby undergraduate, a society bridegroom, of a convict, and of a clergyman.¹

Dust wrapper cartooning was a practical and artistic sideline that Evelyn pursued for his father's company and for Duckworth through several more years.

Gossip column notices were purposefully sought to assure the favorable reception of his book; the gossip columnists were already friends and friendly, requiring only to know about the book to write lively comments upon it. More could be done, too, as Evelyn had written about the reviewers of Rossetti's poems:

Everywhere there appeared a host of reviewers eager to add their sonorous, and no doubt sincere, tribute to the new master; but all of them were more or less directly associated with the man they revered. . . . Anyone knowing "the conditions governing critical reviews" will readily understand that Rossetti was only complying with the universal custom of his and almost all other ages in seeing to it that his friends had the writing of these articles.²

Some of the reviews of his novel were by his friends; some were by Chapman and Hall personnel; some were by other persons who could be influenced by Arthur Waugh. For instance, in his society magazine's rather high-brow book column, Ralph Straus, a friend to Arthur Waugh and a Chapman and Hall

¹"Less Serious," Daily Express, Sept. 18, 1928, p. 19.

²Rossetti, pp. 153-54.

director,¹ could and did give Evelyn's novel tremendous prestige by reviewing it with Aldous Huxley's Point Counter Point.² The association was not accidental--no other reviewer waited to do this. Straus then gave Evelyn's primacy of place, calling it the outstanding first novel of the year: "The palm, I suppose, may be given to Evelyn Waugh, whose Decline and Fall is certainly a brilliant affair."³ Recalling his and the general expectancy that Harold Acton's Humdrum might be the year's best, Straus remarked that the latter had "little to recommend it." Their mutual acquaintance, Cyril Connolly, compared the two novels and came to the same conclusion,⁴ and it is consoling to know that Harold Acton agreed then.⁵ Arthur Waugh used his powerful influence to obtain a review from the leading book promoter of the time, Arnold Bennett, as Reginald Pound disclosed from his examination of the unpublished notebooks:

He noted that on one day, "Philip Gibbs, John Henderson . . . and Arthur Waugh of Chapman and Hall, all wrote asking me to take notice of books by their sons." He was not unsympathetic; he understood this natural bias and often responded to it, but with the reservation that he was possibly being a little less than fair to writers not having the same facility of access to his attention.⁶

¹Arthur Waugh, One Hundred Years of Publishing, Being the Story of Chapman and Hall. Centenary, 1830 to 1930. By the Managing Director, 1902-1930 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1930), pp. 290, 304.

²"A Bystander Among the Books," Bystander, Oct. 21, 1928, p. 260.

³"Froth and First Novels," Ibid., Nov. 21, 1928, p.v.

⁴"New Novels," New Statesman, Nov. 3, 1928, p. 126.

⁵"The author himself said that he could not imagine how he had ever written it, and was sorry he had" (The Cherwell, Fall Term, 1928, p.72). See Memoirs, p. 203, for a different view later.

⁶Arnold Bennett, A Biography (London: Heinemann, 1952), p. 323.

The influence resulted in a good notice in Bennett's highly paid and famous weekly article, "Books and Persons," in the Beaverbrook Evening Standard:

A genuinely new humorist has presented himself in the person of Evelyn Waugh, whose Decline and Fall is an uncompromising and brilliantly malicious satire, which in my opinion comes near to being quite first'rate--especially in its third part dealing with the prison system. I say without reserve that this novel delighted me.¹

Such notice could not have been less than gratifying, even though Bennett said little that others had not said at greater length; parenthetically one adds that the results may have been fewer sales than Evelyn expected. He has written of the event:

I remember the time when the Evening Standard was undisputed leader. A good review there by Arnold Bennett was believed to sell an edition in twenty four hours. The claim was exaggerated, as I learned to my disappointment when he kindly noticed my first novel. The ensuing demand was, I think, something between two and three hundred.²

There were, of course, many lukewarm and cold reviews. The book's reception was enthusiastic among "modern" reviewers, but rather cautious and even condemnatory among the old-fashioned or conservative Press whose reviewers recognized the target of some of the satire. The twenties were only just arriving in the literary magazines; Evelyn's generation were arriving much faster. Six impressions were sold eventually.³ The novel was chosen by Winston Churchill as his Christmas present to friends.⁴

¹"Turning Over the Autumn Leave. Defects in Book Lists for an unusually Distinguished Season," Evening Standard, Oct. 11, 1928, p. 5.

²Evelyn Waugh, "Dr. Wodehouse and Mr. Wain," Spectator, Feb. 24, 1956, pp. 243-44.

³Chapman and Hall advertisement, Observer, Sept. 25, 1932, p. 10. Vile Bodies had gone into twelve impressions by the time of this advertisement; there is no available information about actual profits.

⁴Stopp, p. 21.

Its sale was no doubt best among those interested in its Mayfair antecedents; its satirical treatment of the Public School system probably appealed to many readers too.

Finally, a feature that may not have excited interest or sales was the early portrait by Henry Lamb that was used with many of the reviews. Evelyn in this painting, far from appearing the attractive youth he was, seemed to be a gangling and rather dowdy schoolboy, with a heavy sweater under his coat.¹ This portrait fitted into the Edwardian Bookman far better than it did in some of the places where it was used. Another was an unflattering photograph by Olivia Wyndham, who was an associate of Evelyn's set, showing a puffy, thickclipped adolescent; it was used in *The Tatler*.² A better photograph, of a slim and attractive young man, accompanied Arnold Bennett's review remarks. The very best of all the various portraits that appeared was the artistic photograph of the two Evelyns, reflected in a mirror, that Lady Eleanor Smith used. In the latter Evelyn seemed a bit too young to have produced his two books, perhaps; but they were a very attractive couple.

Aside from the social success of his novel, for Evelyn was socially acceptable in gossip columns from this time onward, the most significant result of his novel was that he became the spokesman for his friends and an authority on "modern youth." He soon was asked to write several articles about his generation, which appeared early during 1929 in *The Evening Standard* and *The Spectator*; he had already presented like opinions

¹Henry Lamb was Pansy Pakenham's husband. The portrait may have been shown at Lamb's exhibition at the Leicester Galleries during March, 1929 (P. C. Konody, "Art and Artists," *Observer*, March 10, 1929, p. 14).

²Nov. 7, 1928, p. 266.

in articles at Lancing and at Oxford before their London appearance. Further, his book about Rossetti had good results in his obtaining reviewing work from The Observer. Problems of income were thus met and must be discussed.

First Paid Journalism

Certainly it would have been a difficult matter to discover the arena of Evelyn's first regular income-producing review work had he not recalled the facts himself:

My own first regular literary employment was reviewing for the Observer in the late twenties. I, too, enjoyed it. The world seemed full of exciting new books and Miss Garvin's office a free book-shop. We used to assemble among the piles of bright wrappers and each make his choice. The pay was low and we supplemented it by selling copies at half-price. There were usually one or two expensive "Art Books" and these would be surreptitiously shifted from pile to pile in the course of the afternoon.¹

In another article he repeated this information and added comments about "fairplay" in reviewing: if a book was read, then it was fair to abuse it; if it was from a familiar author and of little interest to the reviewer, he might scan it, remark that it would be welcomed by that author's followers, and re-sell it immediately.² Neither article gives sufficient detail about the amount of reviewing Evelyn did, and there is no bibliography. A study of the Observer files shows it to have been one of the finer large Sunday newspapers, owned and edited by J. L. Garvin, a Liberal. His daughter, Olivia, apparently was the literary editor; the feature article on books was regularly by J. C. Squire, and Gerald Gould signed the review of new novels. Other reviews were usually unsigned;

¹"Mr. Waugh Replies," Spectator, July 3, 1953, pp. 23-24.

²"Dr. Wodehouse and Mr. Wain," Ibid., Feb. 24, 1956, pp. 243-44.

a very frustrating fact is that the four "issues" for the four regional zones of the British Isles sometimes carry different reviews--whole columns replaced in the later issues.¹

The first review with Evelyn's signature appeared in all issues of December 9, 1928;² resale would have netted him only half a guinea. The second signed review was a long article, "Illustrated Books"; half the price of the six books would have netted Evelyn six and a half guineas, a large sum of money to help him on his cruise.³ Only these two were signed at this time; however, these and later review articles reveal certain clues in the style, subject matter, and overall treatment, with an internal signature to suggest other articles.⁴ His later comments about the employment suggest that it may have produced a regular income, which was supported by the additional money from re-sales of review copies; it can be supposed there were more than these two articles therefore.

¹The Observer kindly made its files available; only the "Final" edition is carried by the British Museum.

²"Peter Wilkins," Observer, Dec. 9, 1928, p. 8. See the Bibliography for the book reviewed.

³Ibid., Feb. 17, 1929, p.9. It appeared after his Mediterranean cruise began. See the Bibliography for the books reviewed.

⁴Evelyn's signed reviews dropped an ostentatious Latin tag in the first paragraph, a tenuous identification--but no other reviewer was observed to do this. Three reviews that appeared during January, when he needed money, have this signature; they were about books that dealt with Eric Gill. Harold Acton had mentioned Evelyn's devotion to Eric Gill (Memoirs, p. 126). Prior to his trip abroad to examine Mediterranean art, Evelyn may have chosen to read, to mention only two of four possibilities, Eric Gill, Art and Prudence (Gill's discussion of Christian morality in art) and Percy Gardner, Principles of Christian Art (which contained a discussion of Gill's ethical ideas and art). Evelyn's subsequent book, Labels, is certainly filled with his preoccupation for civilizations and art (Infra, Chapter VI).

One piece of his other journalism is to be found in an early flirtation with the "Bloomsbury Group": in Desmond MacCarthy's Life and Letters, where many of Evelyn's acquaintances' names were associated, he placed a timely essay on "Ronald Firbank"¹ which coincided with the republication by Arthur Waley of Firbank's Collected Works. Both the republication and the article were timely in that Oxford and the "Bright Young People" had recently "discovered" Firbank, probably because Harold Acton had praised him earlier in an Oxford article.² Evelyn contributed a good analysis of the Firbankian humorous style to explain how it succeeded with the spaced repetition, much as he had done with the slow demise of "Lord Tangent" in Decline and Fall.

Before leaving England he had placed two essays on modern youth in the press: "The Claim of Youth" or "Too Young at Forty. Youth calls to the Peter Pans of Middle-Age who Block the Way" and "The War and the

¹ Life and Letters, March, 1929, pp. 191-96.

² "Mr. Ronald Firbank and the Eloquence of Indifference," The Cherwell, May 24, 1924, pp. 78-79. A note about Oxford and Firbank referred to his frequent appearances at the Russian Ballet (Bystander, June, 1929, p. 642). Cyril Connolly's essay, "Where Engels Fears to Tread," puts Firbank and the "Bright Young People" in close association. Patrick Balfour disclosed that Evan Morgan, a very "Bright Young Person," was said to be "the sone of the Lord Intriguer" in The Flower Beneath the Foot; he also reported that a boom in Firbank's Works had sent the price up to fifteen guineas (Daily Sketch, Jan. 11, 1929, p. 5). Lady Eleanor Smith wrote that Eddy Gathorne-Hardy, now a book dealer, remarked the rise in price of first editions of the "favourite of Oxford" (Sunday Dispatch, June 9, 1929, p. 8).

Younger Generation."¹ He later wrote that he had received ten guineas for the former article, which indicates that he wrote it for money.² He soon sent from Egypt a sequel article to clear up several matters for protesting readers, oddly named "Matter-of-fact Mothers of the New Age."³

Youth Politics and Gossip Column Fame

Of course his literary articles are not devoid of interest; but aside from their limited value as expressions of his brief opinions about art, perhaps even about morals and art, they are not unusual. Much more revolutionary are the pieces of journalism which placed him in the forefront as the defender of his particular part of his own generation. Criticizing the whole generation because of the sins of the "Bright Young People" had become a common practice in the press which even Arnold Bennett followed in a most popular fashion in his "Books and Persons" column.⁴ Evelyn, whose beardless youthfulness remained with his photographs for several years, shifted the onus of guilt from his own friends:

In reply I can mention five writers all known already to a considerable public who seem to me to sum up the aspirations and prejudices of my generation. There are, first, Mr. Harold Acton, poet novelist; Mr. Robert Byron, the art critic; Mr. Christopher Hollis,

¹Evening Standard, Jan. 22, 1929, p. 7; Spectator, April 13, 1929, pp. 570-71. Both excited much comment. Evelyn's first article was introduced with an Editorial Note which praised him well: "Evelyn Waugh at the age of 25, is among the most promising of our young writers" (Evening Standard, Jan. 21, 1929, p. 7). His article was the second in a series begun with Dr. Nairn /Former Headmaster of Merchant Taylor's School/ "Greedy, Rebellious, Anarchic Youth. Whither are They Tending?" (Ibid.). It may be in point that earlier Sylvia Nairn had broken her engagement with Evelyn's friend, Mr. Alfred Duggan, the elder son of Lady Curzon ("Society Engagement Broken Off," Ibid., Jan. 17, 1929, p. 1).

²Labels, p. 27. ³Evening Standard, Apr. 8, 1929, p. 7.

⁴"Idleness and Dawdling; The Sins of an Age Which Exults in Cocktails and Bed at 2 a.m.," Evening Standard, Jan. 24, 1929, p. 9, especially.

the Catholic apologist; Mr. Peter Quennell, poet and literary critic; and Mr. Adrian Stokes, philosopher.¹

According to Evelyn it was the "Peter Pans of Bloomsbury, the skittish old critics who will not grow up, who must always be in the movement," who blocked the way of youthful promise--they forced the youth of the land to seek infamy to get any sort of attention.² In the more serious Spectator essay, he repeated themes he had earlier set down at Lancing and at Oxford in blaming modern youth's lack of taste upon their war-time experience of "substitutes." He was also quite critical of the post-war failure to provide the promises that all had expected--a political failure.

But he had not been understood:

A crop of intemperate letters of protest written by elderly people from obscure addresses, some even threatening whippings and hidings, followed me to the obscurity of my own address. Clearly I had not made myself plain. I appear to have given the impression that I thought youth was admirable.³

¹"The Claim of Youth," Evening Standard, Jan. 22, 1929, p. 7.

²Ibid., Although the Waughs had many contacts with the bohemia of Bloomsbury, including Elsa Lanchester and Harold Scott, the "Bloomsbury Group" were generally anathema to many of Evelyn's Oxford generation. Harold Acton's animosity probably dated from his Eton Society of Arts days when Roger Fry slighted his painting in 1922. As one critic of Charles Williams' Isis series had remarked in 1924, the older generation were the established group and had to be unseated. The Oxford magazines of Acton's day often carried slighting remarks about "Bloomsbury" and many about Margaret Tennant [Lady Oxford and Asquith], apparently a stern, out-spoken woman like "Lady Circumference" of Evelyn's novels. Evelyn's satire in novels may have scored off them: John Lehmann used his BBC manner to remark that "Bloomsbury may have been slightly amused" by Evelyn's novels (interview granted to Charles Linck, May 24, 1961).

³"Matter-of-fact Mothers of the New Age," Ibid., April 8, 1929, p. 7.

He did not approve of all members of his generation. He thought, instead, that they had generally been brought up wrongly; he thought that the modern generation of mothers with their attitudes towards keeping a sophisticated distance from their children might make a great improvement. He thought the England his generation had grown up into was less than admirable. It was the purpose of his present trip to compare societies abroad, to search for values in the earlier civilizations, apparently.

An immediate result of these essays about youth was that Lady Eleanor Smith wrote an item about "Freemasonry among young authors, wise in publicity," even though she had not read Evelyn's article:

There is Mr. Evelyn Waugh who wrote the novelette Decline and Fall. In a review recently he referred to a group of modern authors, including, I think, Aldous Huxley, Carl Van Vechten, Harold Acton, James Joyce.

Mr. Harold Acton is one of the young authors. He wrote Humdrum and Cornelean. Mr. Harold Acton has an imposing forehead, a courtly grace, and store of superlative compliments.

And, similarly, the other members of a loosely defined coterie 'do each other a good turn' whenever the occasion arises.

The younger generation intends to decline and fall together, anyhow.¹

Her testimony that she was persuaded to write about Evelyn's friends reinforces the conclusion one draws from her practice, but it is welcome. A second result of the whole "freemasonry" came a bit later, first in a series of articles by Percy Wyndham Lewis called "Youth Politics" generally which first appeared during the Summer of 1931 in Time and Tide, then in a book called The Doom of Youth. The book contained two chapters that were devoted to the Waugh brothers, Chapter VI. "Winn and Waugh," and Chapter VII. "Three Score and Ten." Both were "youth Agitators," both participated in some American anarchical movement which Hitler was

¹Sunday Dispatch, April 7, 1929, p. 4.

using, too, called "youngergenerationconsciousness." Evelyn might claim to have done it in 1921 at Lansing, before anyone else. The book was withdrawn immediately; Evelyn later reviewed another Lewis book venomously.¹

In the struggle for advertisement, journalistic work and controversy served a purpose; everything presented a public portrait that might sell books. When Evelyn left upon his continental trip, he did not neglect to inform various gossip columnists. Because his "Too Young at Forty" caused some prankster to substitute a portrait of mustached Neville Chamberlain for Evelyn's in the early issues of the Evening Standard,² there was some gossipy comment about Evelyn's youth. That newspaper's writer, "Domino," carried the joke farther with correctly identified photographs:

I simply could not bring myself to say to Mr. Evelyn Waugh, "It is rumoured that during your tour in Eastern Europe you are going to cultivate a set (or outfit, or brace) of Turkish whiskers."

"Moustache" is far finer, and I am sure any moustache grown by a discriminating author like Mr. Evelyn Waugh will live up to its name. It will probably effect such a dramatic change in his youthful appearance that we shall not recognize him when he returns from his travels. Shaking our heads in bewilderment we shall mutter:--

"It is magnificent, but it is not Waugh."³

This columnist followed the theme for several days. No reference was made to the mustache that "Paul Pennyfeather" grew as disguise on Corfu in Decline and Fall, but the incident in Evelyn's book may well have

¹Infra, Chapter VII. Evelyn knew Lewis and the "Blast" group of "Futurists" through his family (unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Nov. 19, 1961).

²"Ritz-Carlton," Bystander, Jan. 30, 1929, p. 212.

³"There's a Divinity Who Shapes our Moustaches--But She Likes Them Manly," Evening Standard, Feb. 4, 1929, p. 4; et. seq.

inspired the rag originally. Another quotation will further illustrate the kind of fame Evelyn enjoyed at the moment; Lady Eleanor Smith's column gave much better information:

Mr. Evelyn Waugh, the young author who has written a very funny satirical novelette called Decline and Fall, has this idiosyncrasy: That he considers that only two good travel books have ever been written.

1. Mr. Robert Byron's Europe in the Looking Glass.
2. The Acts of the Apostles.

The third he proposes to write himself.

In order to do so he is going to "do," in prose and picture, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and Soviet Russia.

He is starting shortly from Monte Carlo in extreme luxury in the Stella Polaris, preparatory to real squalor in a Turkish cargo boat.

His coming tour has awakened a second idiosyncrasy--he is to grow a very hearty, terrific cavalry moustache.

Which should match his beetling brow rather well.¹

Not at all outdone, Patrick Balfour had written a very long item: he was miserable in London's mud and rain, envying several far-travellers. He met Evelyn on the street and recounted how "humiliated" Decline and Fall had made him by causing him to laugh aloud in a train. Then he related Evelyn's good news:

After a few moments I was envying Mr. Waugh as well, for he told me that he and his wife, whom you see here, and who is a daughter of the late Lord Burghclere, were about to spend the proceeds of Decline and Fall in a tour of Southeastern Europe and the Levant from Monte Carlo to the Crimea.

What is more they are going in the Stella Polaris, which is the most luxurious boat in the whole Mediterranean.²

Balfour added further information about Evelyn's intentions:

¹"Determined--To Impress," Sunday Dispatch, Feb. 3, 1929, p. 4. Robert Byron's trip with Brian Guinness and Mark Ogilvie-Grant, who were put into the book, was taken in the summer of 1925; the book was issued during 1926 and may be considered the first of the new type of travel book that Evelyn and his friends promoted.

²"And Humiliation," Daily Sketch, Jan. 30, 1929, p. 5. The fact that the English knew the trip was a honeymoon trip taken with his wife casts a humorous sidelight upon the American title of Evelyn's book, Labels--here it was called A Bachelor Abroad; of course it was written during his divorce proceedings.

"But the trip to Soviet Russia," said Mr. Waugh, "will be on a Turkish cargo boat." That should be something in the nature of a contrast.

Mr. Waugh is going to write a travel diary about the trip. When I tell you that his publications so far consist of such diverse works as a book on Rossetti and a farcical novelette you will be able to form some estimate of Mr. Waugh's literary versatility.

But there is more to come: "I am really going to concentrate on drawing during the voyage," said Mr. Waugh. "I hope I can bring back enough sketches to hold an exhibition in June, and, if it is successful, abandon writing for painting."¹

Evelyn had not, as yet, given up his intentions to seek fame as an artist; but there was no exhibition, as such. He had not given up seeking fame of any kind as these arranged notices attest.²

Seeking Culture on a Mediterranean Cruise

In spite of Evelyn's apparent good humor, he was going abroad to study and compare other cultures and civilizations. Like many others of his time, he wanted to imply that a choice between good and evil was in the offing:³ he told gossip columnists he was going to Russia, an unlikely prospect for the staunch Conservative he had always appeared to be. His search at the very time that an election choice was in process of being made for Labour seems to indicate uncertainty; several of his friends were out beating the political wilderness for seats in Commons. The society

¹"Evelyn Waugh as Artist," Daily Sketch, Jan. 30, 1929, p. 5.

²When he returned, Evelyn looked through the files to see how well he had been advertised. He did not find a mention in Lord Donegall's "Almost in Confidence" of The Sunday News--that column dwindled, then disappeared in February, 1929, the last being published on February 3, 1929, as if Donegall had put his head in a gas oven like a gossip columnist did in Vile Bodies.

³Calvert Alexander, The Catholic Literary Revival, Three Phases in its Development from 1845 to the Present (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1935), p. 6.

magazines were overfull of a general disgust with "Jix" and the "Dora" restrictions upon gaiety, though the "Bright Young People" were not noticeably stopped;¹ there were dire predictions that the "Flapper Vote" would oust the Conservatives because of Sir William Joynson-Hicks alone. When it happened, there was the "I told you so" attitude, but little real joy; when "Jix" was given a title, it was generally felt he should have been boosted from his interfering position earlier.² Since Evelyn was actually a critic of the sort of gaiety that abounded, yet enjoyed it himself, the relief from having to make choices may almost alone have driven him abroad. His stated intention to go to Russia seems suspicious; but he did not go.

As seen in *Labels*, his subsequent account, his wife was ill upon their leaving Paris; they stayed for some time in Egypt, probably with Lady Burghclere, while she recovered. There he examined the artifacts from King Tut's tomb, a matter of some family interest since Lord Carnarvon had participated in their discovery; he was generally disgusted with the

¹Among the many parties reported in the gossip columns that occurred while the Waugh's were abroad are two that Evelyn included in the much-quoted parenthesis of *Vile Bodies* (Uniform Edition; London: Chapman and Hall, 1947, p. 118): Cecil Beaton was among those at Mrs. William Wright's "Circus Party" (*Tatler*, Feb. 20, 1929, p. 343), and Harold Acton's "Wild West Party" was attended by Lord Donegall, Peter Rodd, Elizabeth Ponsonby, Brian Howard and the others of the "Bright Young People" (*Tatler*, March 13, 1929, pp. 471, 487, et passim). See *Memoirs*, p. 223.

²"'Jix' at last is to become a Viscount. If this bigoted kill-joy had been translated there a year ago probably the Conservatives might have scraped home" (*Bystander*, June, 1929, p. 621).

tastelessness of other Eastern civilization, as he was later on Crete. This disgust and his wife's illness probably played its role in their decision not to venture on the Black Sea as much as the reported storms. While in Egypt he contemplated a novel on the English colony there; an item in a London gossip column about Mrs. Waugh's illness indicates a close association with that colony. There was a photograph of the Hon. Mrs. Waugh by Edmund Harrington, showing a most attractive girl who resembled Clara Bow, seated in a reed armchair in a garden, holding a large sun-hat, and wearing what appears to be a man's shirt and tie. The caption gave the information about her illness:

The Hon. Mrs. Evelyn Waugh photographed in a garden in Cairo, recuperating after pneumonia. She is the youngest daughter of the last Lord Burghclere.¹

After her recovery the couple went to Malta where Evelyn examined early Renaissance and Christian Art and was impressed by the relationship between art and religion; Cretean excavations caused him some disgust on the same grounds. In Constantinople Evelyn decided to allow Robert Byron his area of Byzantine specialization. They visited Athens, then went to Venice; he felt quite incompetent to do Venice justice and expressed the opinion that Ruskin should have been a Roman Catholic. Albania, Sicily, Monte Carlo, Barcelona, and Algiers came in order as they stayed with the comfortable *Stella Polaris* after rejoining in Malta. About stops in Spain Evelyn's temper was warmer for religious art and for religion.

His journal demonstrates a most competent examination and re-evaluation of the many tourist areas that had already been "labelled" by generations of tourists. If his journal is proof, the one hope that

¹Bystander, April 24, 1929, p. 169.

he found for future art and taste was in the "Art Nouveau" of Gaudi in Barcelona. Regardless of the fact that "Art Nouveau" was John Betjeman's special preserve as mosques and Byzantine art were Robert Byron's, he felt compelled to say that the artifacts left by Gaudi made up the most exhilarating example of modern creativity that he had discovered on the trip. He wrote a major section of his book in description of his new enthusiasm.¹

However, neither his interest in religious art (as we see it in his account, written a year later) nor Labour's victory as he returned in June, 1929, prevented his joyous return to the gay life of a section of the "Bright Young People." His well publicized activities during the coming warm season show a spirit not at all bowed by the dreariness of the England that he sometimes criticized.

Parties, 1929

In spite of the election outcome and some early notes of the coming financial crises, the social carnival which had been in full swing during Evelyn's absence continued. Perhaps it was a bit more democratic. One gossip columnist attempted to summarize events under Noel Coward's phrase, "On With the Dance," which Evelyn had used in 1924 for a cartoon; the same column of comment related what the youthful Waughs were doing in June:

The Kindersley-Guinness wedding started the carnival . . . and even the spacious Guinness mansion in Grosvenor Place seemed to bulge. . . . The night following saw a clash of some half-dozen dances. . . . Then, of course, there was a much-trumpeted party on board the old sailing ship that is moored at Charing Cross Pier. Though the invitation was to embark for "Cythera," the good ship never once budged

¹Antoni Gaudi i Coronet (d.1926) was rather eccentric and very much unnoticed or forgotten at the time. Evelyn's enthusiasm may be recognized as discovery of genius: Henry R. Hitchcock, *Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Pelican History of Art Series; London: Penguin, 1958) devotes considerable space to his work; *The Texas Quarterly* (Spring, 1961) honors Gaudi with a lengthy article. Evelyn's earlier appreciation goes unobserved, however.

from her moorings. . . . It was a fancy dress party, inspiration to be taken from Watteau, but now-a-days such routs seem to be seized upon not so much for fancy dressing as for fancy undressing.

There was a cosmopolitan and bohemian mixture of guests, that included. . .the Hon. Nancy Mitford and the Hon. Mrs. Evelyn Waugh, whose husband has isolated himself in the country in an attempt to excel his first novel success, *Decline and Fall*.¹

Parties aboard the *Friendship* attracted huge crowds and caused sensations, as when someone in a bathing suit was arrested to the crowd's and the Press's delight--it was said that the guilty one was carrying out Dean Inge's pleas for dress reform. A columnist noted that the crowds of men, women, and "darling little things who did not know quite what they were" were nearly five thousand strong.² Apparently Upper, Middle and Lower classes came. Brian Guinness and Diana Mitford, who had married at the end of January as the Waughs left and whom the Waughs had avoided meeting during their honeymoon in Sicily, were now prominent hosts:

Mr. Brian Guinness gave a costume party the same night and many of his guests proceeded to the *Friendship*, making the same costume do for both.²

Among his guests were Nancy Cunard and Edward Sackville-West; among the guests on the ship were Augustus John, C. B. Cochran and the Baddeley sisters (one of whom became Mrs. David Tennant). For the Waughs the

¹Bystander, July 3, 1929, pp. 4-5. Terence Greenidge supplied the information that Evelyn "would retire now and again to a lonely country inn in Oxfordshire, alone, for he was fussy about being disturbed" (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961). While in the country Evelyn could pay visits to the Mitfords (Jessica Mitford, *Daughters and Rebels*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), the Sitwells (Osbert Sitwell, *Laughter in the Next Room*), and the Pakenhams (Supra, p.131n). Nancy Mitford accompanied Mrs. Waugh in Mayfair and at Islington during the same time: "His first wife was my greatest friend and during the year of their marriage I saw them constantly and even stayed in their flat in Islington. He was then writing *Vile Bodies*" (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, July 18, 1960).

²Bystander, July 10, 1929, p. 77

³Sunday Dispatch, June 30, 1929, p. 4.

presence on the ship, and elsewhere, of "Mr. John Heygate, a member of the B.B.C. solar system," was disastrous.

Heygate, whom Evelyn might have known at Oxford, had also become a popular host during this season because of the repetitions of his "Party Without End" where his knowledge of sandwiches and salads pleased guests who came, left, and returned later:

[Such a party was a certain success] with such spontaneous conversationalists present as the Hon. Diana Sackville-West, the Marquis of Donegall, Lady Rosemary Wilbraham, Lord Lathom's sister, Mr. C. W. R. Nevinson, the artist, and his wife, and Miss Elizabeth Ponsonby.¹

Perhaps from what he read or heard Evelyn sensed that he should return. He and his wife were among the five thousand guests who witnessed "The Gate-Crasher as Zulu" at the next publicized party on the Friendship. The attractive couple were photographed at the "Tropical Party" in their Egyptian whites and in fetchingly "surprised" attitudes; the caption identified them knowingly:

The Hon. Mrs. Evelyn Waugh and her husband attired for the "Tropical" party--which was hot in more ways than one--on board The Friendship. The author of Decline and Fall looks somewhat scared, although there were no fierce Zulus on board.²

The same photographer sold another copy of a sitting pose to the rival society magazine; in this photograph, Mrs. Waugh appeared to be still somewhat worn from recent illness, Evelyn a bit stern, but both very youthful:

¹Bystander, June 5, 1929, p. 503.

²Ibid., July 17, 1929, pp. 178-79

Mr. and Mrs. Evelyn Waugh

Aboard Friendship off Charing Cross one tropical night last week when a tropical party was organized. All you had to do was come caparisoned against sun-stroke. It was a very cheery success and quite the right kind of party for that particularly tropical moment.¹

Both captions allude to the Zulu hoax which was in progress, though it may also be that photography had discovered the couple in a disagreement.

While he was in town Evelyn participated in one of the season's more appreciated social events: "The Bruno Hat" hoax which was played upon art critics by Brian Guinness and his friends. Eleanor Smith was the gossip columnist who had pre-knowledge of several similar hoaxes during the season² and she helped set the stage for this by using the prepared brochure:

What will be almost a cocktail party is the private view of the exhibition of paintings by Bruno Hatte, to be held next week--on Friday, I think it is.

Bruno Hatte is a painter of German extraction, and his work is mainly of the abstract type, seemingly derivative from Picasso and

¹Tatler, July 24, 1929, p. 145.

²For instance, she had helped set up Miss Elizabeth Ponsonby's "Queer Party" or "Mock Wedding Party." In a long item about Miss Ponsonby, "who is famous for giving surprising parties," she predicted one in which Miss Ponsonby, Eddy Gaythorne-Hardy, Brian Howard, Mrs. David Plunkett-Greene, and Robert Byron effectively celebrated a mock wedding with a gorgeous wedding breakfast at a Picadilly restaurant. The purpose was partly to parody "extravagantly bourgeois clothes. Shiny bowler hats, clumsy patent boots with tops to them, flagrant ties and flashing tiepins for the men. Smart 'costumes' and 'two pieces' and shimmering silk stockings for the women" (Sunday Dispatch, Jan. 20, 1929, p. 4). It succeeded and many thought it a good joke, but many others did not; for instance, Evelyn himself: "Because of wartime substitutes, Modern Youth lack "qualitative standards," he wrote in his second essay to The Evening Standard. "Even those who can distinguish qualities are afflicted with an intolerable tolerance. Young politicians dine regularly with hostesses they despise because it is too much trouble to refuse their invitations. Important young authors allow themselves to be photographed at 'Mock Weddings'" (Matter-of-Fact Mothers of the New Age, "Evening Standard April 8, 1929, p. 7). (Italics mine.)

Chirico. But the queer thing is that his work is not derived from any painter--he was discovered by Mr. Brian Guinness near Clymping.¹

The brochure proceeded to relate details of the discovery and the artist's background; there were factors, such as the artist's German origin, his shyness, and physical debility to protect him from being revealed as a fraud at the exhibition. Post-mortem gossip items were related descriptions of awed guests who had not penetrated Brian Howard's disguise. One columnist thought it "quite the most amusing happening of last week" and revealed that Mr. Lytton Strachey, Mr. Constant Lambert, Lady Cynthia Mosley, and Mr. and Mrs. Sacheverell Sitwell were guests.² Another was rather gleeful at the possibility of a famous person's being outwitted:

Although the paintings suggested that the artist was as mad as a (Bruno) hatter, many of the guests felt it incumbent upon them to fall into ecstasies over his work on the assumption, apparently, that anything you can't understand must be clever. Mr. Lytton Strachey purchased one of the pictures, but whether he did so because he really admired it as a work of art or because he was in search of material for a new book on Eminent Neo-Georgians I don't profess to know. Anyhow, the many poseurs who gushed like oilwells over the "master-pieces" of Bruno must now realize that, in the words of advertisement, "Guinness is good for you."³

Tom Driberg ("Dragoman") felt that the act had not convinced Mrs. Sitwell; but "Mrs. Converse," his appellation for a certain American hostess and artist, was noticeably rapt, and he had heard an art critic murmur appreciation of "colour values," while the Hon. Cecilia Keppel, Miss Marjorie Glasgow, Miss Penelope Chetwode, and Miss Rosalie Willoughby were quite

¹"Bruno Hatte," Sunday Dispatch, July 14, 1929, p. 4. This hoax has been described in several books, without all the names and details, including Jessica Mitford, Daughters and Rebels and Patrick Balfour, Society Racket. Its fame is such that it can still be referred to as "the hoax picture exhibition" by the brother of Elizabeth Ponsonby (unpublished letter of Lord Ponsonby to Charles Linck, March 1, 1962).

²Tatler, July 31, 1929, p. 192.

³Bystander, August 7, 1929, p. 302.

overwhelmed. But Driberg's mention of Maurice Bowra must be quoted:

Nothing, however, can overwhelm Mr. Maurice Bowra, who is an extremely brilliant and exuberant young Oxford don. He approached Mr. Hat, and began talking volubly in German. Mr. Hat made a gesture of distaste.

"Ach!" he said, "I am naturalised Englisch. I do not care to remember that I speak Cherman."¹

Strangely enough Patrick Balfour was not an insider; he reported that it was Tom Mitford in the invalid's disguise, and that Tilly Losch found him quite vocal though not fluent in German. He did say that he appreciated the hoax:

This type of intellectual hoax is so much better than the stupid pranks of the Bright Young People, besides being harmless, and requiring greater ingenuity and histrionic powers to carry it off.²

The fact that "Mr. Gossip"--a very "Bright Young Person"--was now on the edges of Evelyn's inner circle of acquaintances gives us a proper perspective for his second novel--Evelyn was definitely drawing apart from some of the "Bright Young People" while supporting those who revealed the shallower side of modern smartness. He had helped Brian Howard to write the brochure and plan the hoax, as Eleanor Smith soon disclosed when she saw the two Evelyns at another party:

I saw George Metaxa, the hero of Bitter Sweet, at Mrs. P. G. Wodehouse's cocktail party in her house near Park Lane. Mrs. P. G. Wodehouse is very P. G. Wodehouse--you will know what I mean if you have read his books--and very kind and sweet. Mrs. Metaxa was there, just back from Paris.

Mr. and Mrs. Evelyn Waugh were there. It was Mr. Evelyn Waugh, the novelist, who wrote (with the help of the artist) the now famous note upon "Bruno Hat," the Bogus painter who turned out to be Mr. Brian Howard.³

¹Daily Express, July 24, 1929, p. 15.

²Daily Sketch, July 25, 1929, p. 5.

³"He is So," Sunday Dispatch, July 28, 1929, p. 4.

Though Evelyn's ambition to present an exhibition of drawings was not realized, he did participate in an exhibition; he successfully hoaxed the "Middle-Aged Peter Pans of Bloomsbury," a certain satisfaction no doubt.

Further, he and his wife were being hosted in Mayfair and he was thus drawing the lines along which his next novel would be constructed-- it was encouragingly evident that gossip columnists liked the hoaxing treatment of the "Bright Young People." There was much ammunition in their activities during the summer season of 1929 for a novel. Cecil Beaton related information about Evelyn's attendance at Miss Loelia Ponsonby's parties in St. James' Palace in company with Nancy Mitford, Patrick Balfour, Harold Acton, Oliver Messel and others;¹ these were perhaps more "intellectual" than many he may have attended if he wished. Hostesses and hosts were quite plentiful during this summer, as were the publicized parties. Among the many were Mrs. "Syrie" Maugham's "White" party for stage people² Mrs. Brian Guinness' "1860" party,³ and others at the Savoy or elsewhere with 'the usual ingredients in all party making of Lygons and Guinnesses forming the foundation of this recipe.'⁴ Among the more strictly "Bright Young People" parties were these: "The Theatrical Garden Party" where Elizabeth Ponsonby, Denis Pelly, and Brian Howard

¹The Glass of Fashion, p. 299. Loelia Ponsonby, later Duchess of Westminster, had met Evelyn first at Mrs. Richard Guinness' parties, as mentioned earlier (Grace and Favour, pp. 117-118).

²Sunday Dispatch, June 30, 1929, p. 4, and Tatler, July 3, 1929, p. 4.

³Tatler, July 3, 1929, p. 4.

⁴Tatler, July 24, 1929, p. 146.

were active;¹ Mr. Norman Hartnell's "Circus" party where "Archie" Campbell and Mrs. Evan Morgan shied coconuts at windows and where Eleanor Smith took a pony;² the "Second Childhood" party at Rutland Gate where guests arrived in prams and baby-clothing, ending noisily with motor-racing around the square in "the wee sma' hours of the morning, to the accompaniment of shouts, yells, cat-calls and the hooting of motor horns."³ There was Miss Elizabeth Ponsonby's wedding to Mr. Denis Pelly, which was more conventional than expected, at first: wedding at St. Margaret's, Westminster; cabaret reception; cocktails. But it ended better:

Finally Mrs. Denys Pelly, as Miss Ponsonby had by this time become, sprang into the arms of Mr. Brian Howard, whose white velvet tie needs no further advertisement, and opened the ball.⁴

To escape the heat there were the parties conducted by Lords Ava and Furneaux to moonlight bathing along the Thames, near Bray;⁵ there was boating on the river with Lord Ava, Sir Michael Duff, Lady Diana Fellowes, Miss Loelia Ponsonby and Mr. David Herbert among the company.⁶ Nina Hamnett has given an account of Evelyn's being on a river trip to which she had received a "strange green card inviting me to a river party."⁷

¹Tatler, June 19, 1929, p. 571.

²Ibid., July 3, 1929, p. 49; July 17, p. 134, and Sunday Dispatch, July 7, 1929, p. 4.

³Bystander, July 10, 1929, pp. 20-21.

⁴Tatler, July 17, 1929, p. 98.

⁵Ibid., July 24, 1929, p. 145.

⁶Sunday Dispatch, July 21, 1929, p. 4.

⁷Nina Hamnett, Is She a Lady? A Problem in Autobiography (London: Allan Wingate, 1955), pp. 57-59. Cited as Is She a Lady? hereafter.

With Lady Brenda Dean Paul, about whom wondrous stories are still related, she caught the boat at Westminster Pier, noticing the dancing to accordians, the guests in bathing dress, the mattresses for guests to sit upon, etc. The hot night trip to Tilbury and back soon produced a "claustrophobia" in the guests, she related:

Evelyn Waugh was particularly cheering, reminding us from time to time how many more hours it was before reaching Tilbury. He regretted that he had not hired a motor launch to follow the ship.¹

It was a very unseemly occasion, according to Miss Hamnett's description-- her small group sat disconsolately and watched some rowdiness, some strange inebriation, and Elizabeth Pelly playing a slot machine, while "on the top deck the mattresses were filled with sleeping people under tarpaulins, as they had all passed out." The end of the trip was probably typical:

The guests were in pretty good form by the time Battersea pier was reached again and they climbed up the lamp-posts on the pier and were "shot" by the Press photographer, who, I think, was the most relieved person to step ashore.²

The world of the "Bright Young People" palled after the heat-wave and the summer season; the gossip columnists were becoming particularly vicious, too. Lady Eleanor Smith fled from her column in September. Many members of the elder generation of the "Society of the Bright Young People" were voicing protests about being included in the category at all, for democracy had by this time allowed a third generation to attempt to steal the spotlights. Eleanor Smith had given much space to the declaimers of the first and even to some of the second generation. Viola Tree, who succeeded her as columnist, summed up the present state of their affairs;

¹Is She a Lady?, p. 58.

²Ibid., p. 59.

marriages, financial crises, and other disorders were breaking their spirit:

But once when bright young people were bright young people it meant these four: Miss Elizabeth Ponsonby, Mrs. Babe Plunkett-Greene, Mr. Brian Howard, Mr. Eddie Gathorne-Hardy. Elizabeth married charming Mr. Pelley, and became Mrs. Pelly. Babe Greene married Tony Bosdari, and became Countess Bosdari. And now Brian Howard was gone to the South of France [for the hot sun and to work]. So that there is only Eddie Gathorne-Hardy left. And to what he has come!

"I feel that there will be no more parties," he said. "And I feel that if there are I shall not be there."¹

Miss Tree's notice of the recent affairs of Mrs. David ("Babe") Plunkett-Greene, former wife of Evelyn's close friend, was followed by a second:

The Countess Bosdari was in London last week--she went back to her husband in Paris yesterday.

It is so nice and natural, if unconventional, that she should dine openly with her first husband, David Plunkett-Greene.

The best friends in the world are divorced husbands and wives, at least among the younger generation.²

For some time Babe Greene had appeared as a leading figure in society gossip; her marriage to Count Bosdari was an unexpected event. Tallulah Bankhead had been reportedly about to marry the Count for nearly two years during which time there had been several postponements. However, stranger things could happen. Evelyn's marriage, too, had broken; he had spent too much time in the country. Mrs. Waugh was seen without him by Viola Tree:

New places as well as new faces. Chez Quaglino is new, just off Jermyn-street, where I saw the ravishingly beautiful Mrs. Armstrong Jones, Oliver Messell's sister, and the boyish-looking Mrs. Evelyn Waugh.³

¹ Sunday Dispatch, Oct. 13, 1929, p. 4. ² Ibid.

³ "Ravishingly Beautiful," Ibid., Oct. 6, 1929, p. 4. Her name frequently appeared in gossip items later; she married John Heygate as he became a successful novelist with Decent Fellows. See "John Grosvenor," "Wandering Solitary," Sunday Dispatch, April 20, 1930, p. 4, and "Dragoman," "The Hon. Mrs. John Heygate," Daily Express, Nov. 10, 1930, p. 19.

During this year's end an anarchic (he has written) Evelyn frequented the "subterranean bar in Chancery Lane" with E. S. P. Haynes, a family friend, for the legal advice he needed to terminate his marriage.¹

Some Journalism of Late 1929

But, in order not to give the impression that the Waughs spent the whole of 1929 in gala affairs, one must return and recall just how much money-earning work they managed to turn out. Evelyn, though working at both a novel and a travel book, was still a reviewer for The Observer. In one long review article he ardently championed the town-planning of Le Corbusier's The City of Tomorrow and criticized London's lack of city-planning.² In the same article he also reviewed The New Interior Decoration by Dorothy Todd and Ray Mortimer. Interest in the furnishings of elegant houses was shared with his wife, for "Evelyn Gardner" wrote the essay commentary lthat accompanied photographs of "49, Glebe Place, Home of the Countess of Erroll" in the newest Mayfair magazine, Harpers Bazaar.³ To the same number of this fashionable magazine Evelyn contributed a version of what became Chapter Five of Vile Bodies, a short story called "The Hire-Purchase Marriage, An Inconsequent Version of the Love-in-a-Cottage Myth."⁴ At year's end Evelyn

¹Evelyn Waugh, "Max Beerbohm, a Lesson in Manners," Atlantic, CXCVIII (Sept., 1956), 75-76.

²"Cities of the Future," Observer, Aug. 11, 1929, p. 6.

³Harpers Bazaar, No. 3 (Dec., 1929), 62-63, 102.

⁴Ibid., pp. 22-23, 98, 101. Illustrated with five unseemly cartoons by Eric Frazer--Evelyn's stories appear quite different in "tone" because of their original illustrations. A second episode of Vile Bodies was published in The New Decameron (Author's Note in Vile Bodies. Boston: Little, Brown, 1945); The New Decameron, Sixth Day (Osford: Blackwell, 1929), was edited by Vivienne Dayrell [Mrs. Graham Greene].

still had sufficient good humor to create a "Futurist" Christmas card for his friends, from newspaper cuttings.¹ He used the same technique for the dust wrapper of Labels later.

Articles that appeared in January of 1930 were also the products of their industry in 1929; "Evelyn Gardner" produced an article about motherhood, which patently echoed Evelyn's article a year before in the same newspaper, called "The Modern Mother, A Young Wife's Challenging Plea, Last Generation Blamed for their Children's Failures and Sufferings."² There is a plaintive note in her not disinterested plea, which came just as Lord Merrivale granted Evelyn his divorce decree, Nisi.

¹Dragoman, Daily Express, Dec. 24, 1930, p. 9.

²Evening Standard, Jan. 9, 1930, p. 7. She was answered with scorn and ill-temper by Marjorie Bowen's "Why This Plaint about Our Parents? Modern Doctrine of Jaunty Conceit."

CHAPTER SIX

DIVORCE, CRITICISM, CONVERSION AND BACHELOR TRAVEL, 1930-31

Divorce

From the easily obtainable transcript of the "Decree Absolute for Dissolution of Marriage," which was granted on July 28, 1930, it is found that an action by "Waugh against Waugh and Heygate" had resulted in a Decree "made in this Cause on the 17th day of January 1930."¹ The charge of adultery was proven and there was no necessity for going through the usual procedures of the age which Evelyn described well in A Handful of Dust; Evelyn Gardner had left Evelyn during one of his absences in the country for John Norse Heygate of "The Party Without End" fame.² All the evidence leads to the conclusion that Evelyn did not respond to the termination of his marriage as had his friend David Plunkett-Greene; it was probably very galling that their three names often appeared in the same issue of Harpers Bazaar, as contributors during the years afterward. Evelyn has written of his attitude then--of the "anarchism" and the "insolence" which he and his friends Harold Acton

¹Extract obtained from the Divorce Registry, Somerset House, London, for about one dollar, on about May 8, 1961.

²Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961.

and Robert Byron professed.¹ As mentioned already, Evelyn Gardner seems to have had the sympathy of "Dragoman" and of "John Grosvenor" in a few gossip items later; she was often described in the pages of Harpers Bazaar, as a travel and a motor-cycle racing enthusiast as she continued to write various kinds of articles. Heygate remained with the BBC, became famous for a best-selling novel about Eton, and also interested himself in film-making in Germany. Their marriage did not last long either.

In the Literary Arena, Early 1930

Evelyn himself continued strongly during 1930, giving his next novel strong pre-publication publicity with a much-anticipated piece of popular literary criticism in a series that was begun by Arnold Bennett for The Evening Standard. The elder novelist put "A Searchlight on a Classic" with his re-examination of Westward Ho! Evelyn followed with his examination of Thomas Hardy's non-modern technique in Tess of the D'Urbervilles.² His comparison of its structure and general character with that of a "modern" novelist's work demonstrates rather skillfully that few other than Evelyn Waugh possessed all the virtues of a "modern" novelist. The analysis was worthy; the publicity could hardly have been better: an Editorial appeared to defend Evelyn's assault from a storm of letters;³ letters which were printed were kind to Evelyn and patronizing to Bennett at the ratio of four to one.⁴ Another result was that Bennett did not

¹"Max Beerbohm, a Lesson in Manners," The Atlantic, CXCVIII (Sept., 1956), 75-76.

²"A Searchlight on a 'Classic'--2. Tess--as a 'Modern' sees it," Evening Standard, Jan. 17, 1930, p. 7.

³"Overhauling the Classics," Ibid., Jan. 18, 1930, p. 6.

⁴Ibid., p. 7.

like Vile Bodies, nearly as much as he had liked Decline and Fall¹ and, although he had been asking for a "new" travel book,² he did not mention Evelyn's Labels. Very soon Somerset Maugham referred to Evelyn's article in Cakes and Ale, at a point of intense interest so as to suspend the action, which was a pleasing notice from an elder novelist. Bennett referred to Maugham's reference, not with praise, and devoted his attention to an attack upon Maugham for desecrating the memory of Hardy.³ The reactions from his essay should have been exhilarating. Evelyn also reviewed "A Miscellany of Art Books" for The Observer,⁴ and Terence Greenidge's Degenerate Oxford? for The Fortnightly Review,⁵ which gave him the opportunity of recalling the great Oxford past. As J. A. Hamerton (a familiar Lancing College name) remarked in The Bystander, Evelyn was indeed having a jolly time at the moment in throwing his weight about in the literary arena.⁶

Vile Bodies and Publicity in Early 1930

There was also a considerable publicity in gossip columns about Evelyn's new novel, Vile Bodies, which was released on January 14, 1930. In her pre-publication notice Viola Tree set the scene at Mrs. P. G. Wodehouse's party in Norfolk Street where, she wrote, the conversation veered to "Surgery with scalpel and pen" and Evelyn's novel:

¹"Laughter--and a Lobster Supper; The Humorist Benefactor," Evening Standard, Jan. 30, 1930, p. 9.

²Ibid., July 17, 1930, p. 5.

³Ibid., Oct. 2, 1930, p. 9. Maugham was a stern advisor to Harold Acton; "Syrie" Maugham of "All White" decorative fame was a lavish hostess to youthful writers and artists.

⁴Jan. 12, 1930, p. 6. ⁵March, 1930, pp. 423-24.

⁶July 30, 1930, p. 191.

Then a discussion started in a corner of the room about Mr. Evelyn Waugh's new book, *Vile Bodies*, which I think very funny indeed. It holds up to ridicule Bright Young People and gossip writers very brilliantly; and since Mr. Waugh has been both journalist and bright young person, his book is inclined to be a very correct picture.¹

The particular object of Evelyn's humor about gossip writers, "Mr. Gossip,"² was blithe:

I am indebted to Evelyn Waugh (herewith, a photo), whose new book, *Vile Bodies*--a very funny satire on the Bright Young People, with not a few of them recognizable--is published today; for he has given me an idea.

One of Mr. Waugh's characters is "Mr. Chatterbox," who writes a daily page of gossip in a newspaper. "Mr. Chatterbox" is of an inventive turn of mind, and whenever he can think of nobody new to write about he invents people. . . . Mr. Waugh, as I say, has put ideas into my head!³

If Evelyn had put ideas into Patrick Balfour's head, he had done it earlier: correspondences with the fictitious gossip writer which can be found in Balfour's column throughout 1928 are startling. There were frequent references to "my friend, Captain 'Babe' White, the American big-game hunter" and a most odd interest and concern for hats--top-hats, white top-hats, Eton hats, etc. In going on to report the strangeness of finding a "Little Auk" in Hyde Park, "Mr. Gossip" felt constrained to add "this may sound fantastic; but it is not one of Evelyn Waugh's ideas."⁴

"Dragoman" compared Evelyn with Aldous Huxley and with Dickens,

¹Sunday Dispatch, Jan. 12, 1930, p. 4.

²"The Years with Kinross," *Punch*, August 16, 1961, p. 246: "Which caused me to be identified in some eyes with the Earl of Balcairn in Evelyn Waugh's *Vile Bodies*."

³"An Idea: Bottle-Green Bowlers," *Daily Sketch*, Jan. 14, 1930, p. 5.

⁴Ibid.

noticed that Vile Bodies, contained excellent portraits of recognizable people, and drew attention to the fact that Evelyn was "also an accomplished artist," writing:

He is responsible for the wrapper design of Vile Bodies, which emphasises the symbolic significance of the culminating incident in the novel--a peer's drunken daughter dashing to destruction in a borrowed racing car.¹

The only society magazine that risked a gossip column opinion was still assured that Evelyn had not put people in his novels:

Paragraphs, especially incorrect ones, and social journalists bring me to Evelyn Waugh's new book, Vile Bodies, which we were all reading last week. . . . It's a very amusing satire all through, though hardly as subtly brilliant as Decline and Fall, with the not too underlying thought of the futility of most things. The characters are purely imaginary, of course.²

However, any pretense about Evelyn's not putting people in the novel was soon dispensed with by "John Grosvenor," who had succeeded Viola Tree:

You may have read Mr. Evelyn Waugh's book, Vile Bodies. In it there is a character, Miss Agatha Runcible, who is a bright young thing par excellence, and who is very amusing to read about.

She is a composite character of two existing young ladies. Both of whom I mention here.³

His references to Elizabeth Ponsonby Pelly and Babe Plunkett-Greene Bosdari were hardly disguised; society intimates knew⁴ of the symbolical warning given the particular ladies in the novel. One may observe that few could have remembered the probable source of her name "Runcible." Actually it recalled a series of remarkably witty parodies of scholarship written by Richard Pares for The Cherwell during Evelyn's University days:

¹Daily Express, Jan. 14, 1930, p. 15.

²"Letters of Eve," Tatler, Jan. 29, 1930, p. 187.

³"Now Which is it?" Sunday Dispatch, Mar. 16, 1930, p. 4.

⁴Both Lord Molson and Terence Greenidge recall the identity as being a matter of general knowledge. An outsider might well think that Tallulah Bankhead had been Evelyn's prototype.

one proffered essay determined that "runcible" meant "about to crash" or liable to crash."¹

Conjecture about the original impetus for this novel may be profitable. Of course, Evelyn would have chosen the general tone from his own feelings about the excesses of partying, etc; his humorous treatment of the "Bright Young People" would have been a predictable success with gossip-writers in any case. A suggestion could have come from a review article in which his first novel was discussed; Richard King had remarked:

I wish that some author might write such a witty, erudite, and absolutely interesting book on the Bohemian and artistic world of London [as Sisley Huddleston's Bohemian Literary and Social Life in Paris. Harrap]. [There is only] an odd newspaper paragraph to inform us that so-and-so was an interested spectator at a bathing party given by the "Bright Young People."²

The "Bright Young People" were under more and more attack each year.

Edith Sitwell's running criticism of parties in particular, coming just as he returned from the Mediterranean, must have given Evelyn some direction.³ Evelyn followed for the second time The Oxford Broom's behest to take life and make literature.

That the book obtained wide popularity with most gossip writers is accounted for in the probability that it was done with their views in mind. However, Evelyn's criticism was not heartlessly devastating and,

¹A. Snell, "A Disquisition on the word 'Runcible' in Edward Lear," The Cherwell, Feb. 2, 1924, pp. 44, 46.

²Tatler, Nov. 27, 1928, p. 266.

³Referred to in Bystander, March 20, 1929, p. 567. Miss Sitwell's journalism appeared in numerous places, including The Sunday Dispatch and The Daily Mail.

of course, did not eradicate the malignancy. If anything the book gave many ideas for new parties: in March, Miss Ishbel MacDonald held a "Bottle Party" at No. 10 Downing Street, guests bringing tea and lemonade.¹ One columnist wrote of some talk about an "Airship Party":

Yet another woman, celebrated as a giver of novel parties [thus, Elizabeth Ponsonby?], is negotiating for the hire of an airship in which she will give a dance up in the clouds.²

Tallulah Bankhead was the chief attraction at a kind of Airship Party held at Oxford in April, as she went up in a balloon before a large crowd of spectators for Giles Playfair's "Montgolfier Club."³ At Oxford, Evelyn's modernized cartoon for The Cherwell cover first appeared on the issue of February 2, 1929; his novel personalities were now reported regularly in The Cherwell by their fictional names, and there was a current joke about pasting stamps on coal scuttles, which according to Harold Acton, Evelyn had done in his Islington home. "Evelyn's heros and heroines" frightened the neighbors at the "Wild Party" held in late

¹Bystander, March 5, 1930, p. 467.

²Sunday Dispatch, April 27, 1930, p. 4. The novel's party on a captive dirigible recalls several attempts by Members of Commons to board the R-101 in October and November of 1929 ("Bad Luck of the R-101. M. P.'s trip again Held up," Observer, Nov. 24, 1929, p. 17). The actual party was held aboard the Friendship.

³The Cherwell, May 3, 1930, p. 7.

February.¹ The references kept appearing.

The reception of the novel in book reviews was also good, and, of course, bad, the old dividing line between "modern" and the grumpy critics remaining intact. All acknowledged that it was a more, and less, funny book--a few thought it less humorous than *Decline and Fall* or less significant. Some reviewers found more seriousness than others: Rebecca West saw it as "A Study in Disillusionment" at the tail-end of a tradition begun by T. S. Eliot and Aldous Huxley;² Richard Aldington thought it only "A Regionalist Novel" with too much infectious discouragement;³ L. P. Hartley saw Evelyn as a sad humorist;⁴ and A. E. C. Malcolm, Editor of *The Cherwell* called it "A Brilliant Book" in an Editorial that chose to read Mrs. Ape's words as a serious exhortation to "look at yourselves."⁵ Mr. St. John Ervine found it "appalling" in that

¹Tatler, Feb. 26, 1930, p. 372. The party, modelled after a movie, and a book by Peter Rodd (see "What I expect of Life," *Evening News*, Jan. 14, 1930, p. 8), was celebrated in honor of Countess Bosdari [Mrs. David "Babe" Plunkett-Greene] by Elizabeth Pelly [Elizabeth Ponsonby] and Patrick Balfour (*Bystander*, April 16, 1930, p. 102). "Agatha Runcible" had not yet died, nor had she taken warning. Lord Ponsonby wrote: "My sister Elizabeth died of drink in 1940. She divorced Denis Pelly after a couple of years of marriage. He also took to the bottle . . . My first cousin David Plunkett Greene committed suicide during the war owing to drugs. His sister Olivia died of cancer a few years ago. She was a drunkard for many years. . . . Babe who married David for a short time . . . married a Count . . . the most charming but thoroughly dishonest man" (unpublished letter of Lord Ponsonby to Charles Linck, March 1, 1962).

²*Fortnightly Review*, Feb., 1930, pp. 273-74.

³*Sunday Referee* (London), Feb. 9, 1930, p. 6.

⁴*Saturday Review* (London), Jan. 25, 1930, p. 115.

⁵*The Cherwell*, Feb. 1, 1930, pp. 31-32.

Evelyn had, unawares, written "a hateful book."¹ V. S. Pritchett, Gerald Gould, Frank Swinnerton, and Ralph Straus² were very enthusiastically impressed with the book's humorous satire and laughed long and loudly. Arnold Bennett laughed aloud a few times, but received none of the healing effects of silent "solar plexus" humor as he had from *Decline and Fall*; he thought the plot too loose, or even absent.³ "E. S." thought it a mere revue⁴ and old family friend S. P. B. Mais found both good and bad, but thought the fun often got too "sick-making."⁵ Every review was by a major reviewer, usually in his "New Fiction" column, and the book was given a great deal of space. Those who could only mention it as a book which would be enjoyed by its author's friends included Peter Quennell;⁶ there were unsigned reviews in *The Bookman* and in the *Bloomsburian Nation* and *Athenaeum*--neither were amused.⁷ Almost every reviewer treated his book as if he were a mature novelist, however; Gerald Gould acknowledged that "Evelyn Waugh has leapt to artistic

¹"Do Our Publishers Really Know Their Job?" *Daily Express*, Jan. 30, 1930, p. 6.

²*Spectator*, Jan. 18, 1930, p. 99; "Post-War and Pre-Waugh," *Observer*, Feb. 2, 1930, p. 8; "Too Bogus," *Evening News*, Feb. 7, 1930, p. 8; "Mr. Evelyn Waugh Presents," *Bystander*, Jan. 15, 1930, p. 140.

³"Laughter--and a Lobster Supper. The Humorist Benefactor," *Evening Standard*, Jan. 30, 1930, p. 9.

⁴*New Statesman*, Feb. 8, 1930, p. 572.

⁵"Fiction," *Daily Telegraph*, Jan. 17, 1930, p. 15.

⁶*Life and Letters*, IV (Feb., 1930), 246.

⁷*Bookman* (London), LXXVII (Feb., 1930), 309; *Nation and Athenaeum*, Feb. 15, 1930, p. 682.

maturity." Several thought he should now demonstrate a more sustained effort, leaving behind the "silly set" completely; several noted his description of the race track episode as realistic reporting.

Further, many of these reviewers kept returning to Evelyn's books for a standard of comparison whenever the slightest pretext for doing so arose--Ralph Straus, Cyril Connolly, and Peter Quennell, especially. With the book Evelyn had sprung into a catchword prominence. Nancy Mitford took occasion to make some fun of the frequency with which the reviewers compared all humor or satirical stories with Evelyn's in her novel A Christmas Pudding.¹ As might have been expected, a spate of imitative novels very soon arrived and brought a wry comment from Ralph Straus before the year was up:

Now, your Bright Young Things have had a fairly good inning in fiction, and no doubt have justified their existence, but they soon become boring.²

Sales, too, were good: the Chapman and Hall advertisement claimed that the seventh impression was called for in seven weeks.³ Eventually the novel went into twelve impressions.⁴ A hint about the actual profits may be gained by quoting an item authored by Tom Driberg ["William Hickey"] which probably included Vile Bodies: "Waugh now writes one novel every two years. Each sells 15,000-20,000 copies, brings him about £ 1000."⁵

¹Observer, Sept. 25, 1932, p. 10.

²Bystander, Aug. 13, 1930, p. 343.

³Observer, March 2, 1930, p. 9.

⁴Ibid., Sept. 25, 1932, p. 10.

⁵William Hickey [Tom Driberg], "These Names Make News," Daily Express, Sept. 3, 1934, p. 6. See Arthur Christiansen, Headlines All My Life, pp. 116, et passim, for identification of William Hickey as Tom Driberg; earlier he had been part of "Dragoman."

Detached Play and Journalism in Mid-1930

During the time that his novel was keeping his name before his public, Evelyn was busy, both socially and as a working journalist. The gossip columnists saw him frequently enough to mention him as his friends worked to cheer him. An in-town and out-of-town notice from Patrick Balfour gave details about his activities:

Evelyn Waugh, when I saw him supping at the Blue Lantern in the early hours of yesterday morning, told me that his book, Vile Bodies, published this week, is already in a second edition.

He was there with a party which consisted of Harold Acton, Rebecca West, Hamish Erskine and Nancy Mitford.

He was on the point, he said, of leaving for the country to have his portrait painted by Henry Lamb.

Henry Lamb does a good deal of his work in the country--and indeed I don't know why more artists do not do likewise. He and his wife, Lady Pansy, who is Lord Longford's sister, have a small place near Salisbury.¹

Patrick Balfour later reported that Oxford had called upon Evelyn for help in an attempt to rally help in preserving Oxford from modern ugliness; the benefit dinner was an imitation of Mayfair's "Charity" parties:

The printed programme was in itself an interesting production, for it contained contributions by such distinguished Oxford men as Philip Guedalla, Louis Golding, Father Ronald Knox (in a parody of Gertrude Stein), Evelyn Waugh, who, in place of preserving Oxford, suggested a judicial destruction.

"A very small expenditure on dynamite," he suggests, "should be enough to rid us for ever of the Clock Tower at Carfax, the Town Hall, the Indian Institute, the High Street front of Oriel, the Holywell front

¹"Artist Who Lives in the Country," Daily Sketch, Jan. 17, 1930, p. 5. The result was the second portrait of Evelyn done by Henry Lamb (Supra, p. 160), and a much more flattering one (See Frontispiece in Stopp). It was first shown as "No. 34 Evelyn Waugh, Esq." at the Leicester Galleries during November, 1931; others in Lamb's exhibition were "No. 56 Mr. and Mrs. Bryan Guinness and Son" and "No. 23 David Garnett, Esq." (P. G. Konody, "Art and Artists," Observer, Nov. 15, 1931, p. 12).

of New College, and the whole of Hertford" (incidentally his own college), "thus changing Oxford from a comparatively ugly city to a comparatively beautiful one."¹

These remarks identify his "anarchic" and "insolent" attitudes well, and there seem to have been no repercussions: he was soon a visitor in person to that seemingly gay city:

Mr. A. P. Herbert, Mr. Evelyn Waugh, and Mr. Edward Rodoti, three of our leading humourists, were also present last week-end, but, unlike most week-enders, did not do anything funny.²

Evelyn visited again during Eights Week, usually a happy time:

A great many old boys came down too, and we were pleased to see Waugh, mi., who is now a journalist and Acton, ma., who is a poet.³

Older and newer friends were to be found at Oxford--Randolph Churchill, John Betjeman, Frank Pakenham--plus a sufficiently interesting schedule of silly and serious events to entice a visitor; he often visited country friends near the University as well as in Ireland.

His literary work was manifested in many publications for he worked diligently and steadily. The work-in-progress on his travel diary, "Labels," was serialized in the Fortnightly Review during April through July,⁴ while one appropriate section was adapted for Harpers Bazaar.⁵

¹"Preservation of Oxford--Evelyn Waugh Suggests Dynamite," Daily Sketch, Feb. 23, 1930, p. 5.

²"Distinguished Visitors," The Cherwell, May 10, 1930, p. 33.

³Ibid., June 21, 1930, pp. 188-9.

⁴April, 1930, pp. 485-499; May, 1930, pp. 627-639; June, 1930, pp. 797-810; July, 1930, pp. 69-77. See the Bibliography for details.

⁵"In Defense of Pleasure Cruising; An Apologia for a New Kind of Vagabondage," May, 1930, pp. 36-37. With illustrations by Victor Reinganum; it became parts of Labels, pp. 133-34, 41-52.

During the year he was enjoying another kind of prominence, that of being solicited for publishers' "blurbs" for other people's books.¹ To an American magazine he contributed a biographical sketch of his brother Alec.² As an arbiter of taste, he wrote "Let Us Return to the Nineties, but not to Oscar Wilde" for Harpers Bazaar.³ As book maker he published his travel journal as Labels, A Mediterranean Journal on September 25, 1930; this had two of his cartoons--one for Frontispiece and another on the dust jacket.⁴ The latter cartoon offered a version for the interpretation of his title--a "Futurist" pastiche of sticker-and-label-covered trunk; the title and author's name in lower-case type in the manner of e.e.cummings. The book contained a long chapter that had not been published in magazines: the section about Barcelona and Gaudi, which must be recognized as a major part of the whole "apologia" that he made

¹The Heinemann advertisement for J. Keith Winter's Other Man's Saucer carried three dozen words of Evelyn's praise for this novel about Oxford by a recent student (Observer, June 1, 1930, p. 5). The Mundanus (Gollancz) advertisement for "Louis Marlow's" The Lion Took Fright listed Evelyn as one of several eminent novelists and reviewers who praised the novel of Louis Umfreville Wilkinson (Observer, Oct. 26, 1930, p. 9). During the next year another Gollancz advertisement used his phrase for a novel by Lady Longford [Christine Trew], Making Conversation (Observer, Nov. 1, 1931, p. 7).

²"Alec Waugh," Bookman (New York), LXXI (June, 1930), pp. 299-301. This magazine gave Evelyn his earliest publicity in the United States: Rebecca West had earlier published an article which importantly asked the question "Will Young Evelyn Waugh be the Max Beerbohm of his time?" ("A Letter From Abroad," March, 1930, pp. 81-86); she had associated Evelyn and Robert Byron as brilliant leaders of a younger "crowd" twice in her column already (July, 1929, p. 518, and Jan., 1930, p. 552).

³Nov., 1930, pp. 50-51, 98. With illustrations by Tony Wysard.

⁴Duckworth was the publisher though the house did refuse his novels.

upon his conversion to the Roman Church. The section on Gaudi was written at Bognor Regis where it may be significant that Diana Cooper as well as Maurice Baring and Max Beaverbrook had houses.¹ The book was dedicated "With Love to Bryan and Diana Guinness, without whose encouragement and hospitality this book would not have been finished"--he had also been in Ireland during the summer.² Two more ventures in journalism must be treated at greater length: that which accompanied his conversion, and that which resulted from his trip to the Coronation of Haile Selassie.

Conversion to the Roman Catholic Church

Since his divorce unhappiness Evelyn had been taking instructions from Father D'Arcy, one of Farm Street's more eminent Jesuit priests; he had been referred to the Mayfair Jesuits by his friends, the Plunkett-Greenes.³ Labels contained an Author's Note which warned gossip columnists of the possibility that he might be converted; they were prepared for one of the year's more sensational pieces of "news." The Author's Note read:

So far as this book contains any serious opinions, they are those of the dates with which it deals, eighteen months ago. Since then my views on several subjects, and particularly on Roman Catholicism, have developed and changed in many ways.

E.W.

Pre-publication gossip did not mention the note, confining discussion to the "travel" aspects of the book. Patrick Balfour discussed Evelyn's "Varied Literary Output" which he compared to the variety exhibited by

¹Infra, Chapter VII.

²See Remote People, opening pages.

³Unpublished letter of M. C. D'Arcy, S. J., to Charles Linck, Aug. 22, 1961.

Lewis Carroll; he wrote that Labels showed "considerable interest in matters artistic, historical and intellectual, besides contriving to be exceedingly amusing," and that "Mr. Waugh travels not at all after the manner of the average literary pilgrim, but as a tourist on one of those organised cruises, sticking to the beaten path."¹ "Dragoman," however, likened Evelyn to that other traveller, the Prince of Wales:

It is, perhaps, the example of the Prince--most accomplished of of travellers--which has given such an impetus to the vogue for informal and amusing travelbooks.

Two such are published today, both by a coincidence being the work of young men who were a few years ago fellow members of that exuberant undergraduate institution, the Hypocrites' Club at Oxford.²

Interested in Evelyn's art as usual, Tom Driberg included descriptions of both the books and the authors:

The books are The Balkan Road by Archibald Lyall and Labels by Evelyn Waugh; and the wrapper of the latter is gay with such an assortment of tourists' labels as is plastered on every cabin-trunk.

Mr. Lyall, who is tall, plump-faced, and fair, and Mr. Waugh, who is small, slight and darkish, with a partiality for good cigars (he wrote Vile Bodies), travel in different ways.³

Though neither of his friends mentioned the "Author's Note," there was an alert watch out for his conversion when it came. On the morning of September 30, 1930, all could read a Page One article in Lord Beaverbrook's paper and see Evelyn's photograph there; the headline read, "Another Author Turns to Rome, Mr. Evelyn Waugh Leaves Church of England, Young Satirist of Mayfair."⁴ The short article gave biographical details,

¹Daily Sketch, Sept. 25, 1930, p. 5.

²"Good Travellers," Daily Express, Sept. 25, 1930, p. 19.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., Sept. 30, 1930, p. 1.

then offered a comparison:

His action provides yet another instance of a remarkable tendency among British authors in recent years.

It is rather less than a year since Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith and her husband entered the Church of Rome.

Mr. Compton MacKenzie entered during the war, and Mr. Alfred Noyes, the poet, in 1927. The Hon. Evan Morgan, heir to a peerage and a wealthy amateur of letters, was received in 1919.

The Hon. Maurice Baring, Father Ronald Knox, and Mr. G. K. Chesterton are other distinguished literary Roman Catholics.¹

This was accompanied by an Editorial, "A Roman Catholic Convert," for

The Daily Express wanted to make a proselyting point:

Another British author has been received into the Roman Catholic Church. In this case the author is hardly more than a boy, and his writing suggests an almost passionate adherence to the ultra-modern. Yet he turns, as so many novelists have done since the war, to the Church that does not alter with the years.

Is it that the post-war novelists seek refuge from their own writings, that deal so exclusively with their queer little cocktail world? Or is it that the swiftly changing conditions of today create a universal longing for permanency, for a Church that refuses to do honour to compromise? Whatever the answer, these are questions worthy of consideration by every priest who wears God's uniform.²

The Daily Express, the popular Beaverbrook morning paper, appeared to associate, in a sympathetic manner, this "trend" with its exasperated fear of the loss of Empire, etc. In similar ways loss of Empire and tradition concerned Evelyn too. The Beaverbrook Evening Standard was much sterner in its more conservative gossip column, "The Londoner's Diary"; it therefore offered another explanation:

Mr. Evelyn Waugh has been received into the Roman Church by Father D'Arcy. This announcement will not come as a surprise to his admirers. . . . Mr. Waugh will now join that cohort of Roman satirists which has gone over to the Roman Church. There is no reason why the summer lightning of his fantasy should in any way be dimmed.

¹Daily Express, Sept. 30, 1930, p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 8.

Perhaps his conversion may even prevent Mr. Waugh from taking too seriously his own disillusion. Somewhere round the corner of his brilliance has lurked the grim figure of Calvinism. This figure may now be exorcised.¹

These were eve-of-conversion observations; the Beaverbrook press intended the making an issue of the rather isolated event, quite extraordinarily.²

More gossipy comments are equally interesting, as they too recorded the event. "Dragoman" gave a neat picture of Evelyn, the over-looking social satirist, looking down on a cafe crowd in Coventry Street after a nearby performance of Wodehouse's *Leave it to Psmith*:

Here, too, were Lady Ravensdale [the Baroness provided Evelyn's companionship later in Abyssinia], lately back from Russia, but wearing an exquisitely capitalist evening dress; and Miss Tallulah Bankhead, who was with the Hon. David Herbert; and the Marquis de Casa Maury; and, watching critically from the balcony, Mr. Evelyn Waugh, who had earlier in the evening been received into the Roman Catholic Church.³

The Rothermere press did not take the matter up and touched more lightly in its gossip: in a column about "Farm Street Converts," Evelyn was named, but the comment was mainly about fashionable Roman churches and notable Roman priests.⁴ One letter from a reader was published; it praised the Beaverbrook press for its "freedom and liberty" in displaying such

¹"Evelyn Waugh," *Evening Standard*, Sept. 30, 1930, p. 6.

²Earlier *The Daily Express* Editor called for a revival of religion: "[The Christian Churches] cry loudly enough for a revival of the life of the spirit. But they cannot lead the modern world towards it. For their voices are also voices of fear. They do not trust the spirit and they are afraid of man. They have come to look upon themselves as brakes upon human life rather than as its interpreters" (Sept. 10, 1930, p. 8).

³*Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1930, p. 15.

⁴"The Talk of the Day," *Evening News*, Oct. 1, 1930, p. 8.

news and offered a condemnation of the "unchanging Church."¹ In a society magazine there was a photograph by J. Maycock of a less youthful Evelyn with a ragged "crew-cut," a tie and collar awry, a pout on the mouth; its caption lumped all the literary converts together misleadingly:

The brilliant young author, who is the latest man of letters to be received into the Catholic Church. Other well-known literary people who have gone over to Rome include Sheila Kaye-Smith, Compton MacKenzie, Alfred Noyes, Father Ronald Knox, and G. K. Chesterton.²

An item such as this may have made readers think there had been a landslide of conversions; there was not.

The Daily Express did not let the matter drop; letters from readers were suppressed in order to prepare a more lively series. When Evelyn was out of the country on his way to Abyssinia, there was a large first page announcement: "My Conversion to Rome, by Evelyn Waugh, the young novelist, A Striking Article, See Page 10 Today." Covering two-thirds of the Editorial Page, Evelyn's article was prominently headlined: "'Converted to Rome, Why it Happened to me,' by Evelyn Waugh, whose novels have brought him fame at 26."³ A kind Editor's note expressed the opinion that it was "a well-thought-out article" which "explains why he took the momentous step"; it also predicted two answers.

Evelyn's began with the statement that "three popular errors reappear with depressing regularity in any discussion about a convert to the Roman Catholic Church." These errors were "the Jesuits have got hold of him," "he is captivated by the Ritual," and "he wants to have his mind

¹Daily Express, Oct. 4, 1930, p. 8.

²Bystander, Oct. 8, 1930, p. 101.

³Daily Express, Oct. 20, 1930, pp. 1, 10.

made up for him." He denied that these "errors" applied in his instance, and explained or qualified to fit his conversion; it was a revealing article. The Jesuits were not a "spiritual press'gang," the Church of England had actual advantage in church buildings and English prose, and the "Roman system can and does form a basis for the most vigorous intellectual and artistic activity." If the Roman Church was recruiting many "who are not notably gullible, dull'witted, or eccentric," he had an explanation:

It seems to me that in the present phase of European history, the essential issue is no longer between Catholicism, on one side, and Protestantism, on the other, but between Christianity and Chaos.¹

Evelyn's explanation elaborated in the manner that Hilaire Belloc² and T. S. Eliot had done before; but Evelyn's statement about Western civilization's "loss of Faith" was readably direct:

Today we can see it on all sides as the active negation of all that Western culture has stood for. Civilization--and by this I do not mean talking cinemas and tinned food, nor even surgery and hygienic houses, but the whole moral and artistic organization of Europe--has not in itself the power of survival. It came into being through Christianity, and without it has no significance or power to command allegiance.

The loss of faith in Christianity and the consequent lack of confidence in moral and social standards have become embodied in the ideal of a materialistic, mechanized state, already existent in Russia and rapidly spreading south and west.³

¹Daily Express, Oct. 20, 1930, p. 10.

²Much earlier at Oxford Christopher Hollis had been influenced by Belloc's *Europe and the Faith* (Along the Road to Frome, p. 80).

³Daily Express, Oct. 20, 1930, p. 10.

The Prayer Book controversy, the recent Lambeth Conference, and the newspaper articles of Dean Inge¹ and other Modern Churchmen had apparently played a part:

In the Anglican Church today matters of supreme importance in faith and morals are still discussed indecisively, while the holders of high office are able to make public assertions which do violence to the deepest feelings of many of their people.²

The latter statement shows that his attention to the problem was not caused altogether by recent personal disturbances. Then, too, his travels earlier in the Mediterranean had left significant effects for the achievement of his latest convictions:

No one visiting a Roman Catholic country can fail to be struck by the fact that the people do use their churches. It is not a matter of going to a service on Sunday; all classes at all hours of the day can be seen dropping in on their way to and from their work. . . . You never see in Roman Catholics going to Mass, as one sees on the faces of many people going to Chapel, that look of being rather better than their neighbours.

The Protestant attitude seems often to be, "I am good; therefore I go to Church," while the Catholic's is, "I am very far from being good; therefore I go to Church."³

Aside from the last part of his article, which was very provoking to most letter writers, this was a standard statement and seemed quite sincere; Evelyn wrote what others wrote at greater length. Overall, the article seems to bear out Father D'Arcy's repeated statements that Evelyn

¹For example "Amazing Marriage Suggestions by Dean Inge, Plea for 'Limited Contracts,' Wedded--But Not For Life, No Church Blessing, Unions 'that the State Should Recognize,'" Daily Express, Sept. 11, 1930, p. 1 [an article about Inge's Christian Ethics and Modern Problems]. Dean Inge's weekly column in The Evening Standard was controversial in 1930 too.

²Daily Express, Oct. 20, 1930, p. 10.

³Ibid.

had long been searching into the problem of religion (though oftentimes his publicized acts may seem to belie this) and that he demanded the most rigorous intellectual presentation of the defenses for the Roman Church's possession of the Truth.¹ But perhaps it is necessary or even helpful to attempt making a distinction about the quality of that "intellectual" rigor. Evelyn possibly had reviewed several books that dealt with Eric Gill's ideas about Art's relationship with Christian Morality before he went abroad to examine the labelled tourist spots. On that trip he had rejected several Eastern cultures on aesthetic grounds; on Crete aesthetic rejection was mingled with moral disgust. His enthusiasm in Labels for the great unfinished Catholic Church that Gaudi had begun in Barcelona as well as his subdued but evident change of temper about Roman churches during several other stops in Spain make Labels and the trip itself the significant prelude to his conversion. Aesthetic emotion entered in. Other facts that point to something more modified than a logical conviction are that the Plunkett-Greenes were sympathetically related to the Roman Catholic "Modernist" Baron von Hugel; that Maud Plunkett-Greene's Mount Zion (1929)² which Evelyn has referred

¹Unpublished letters of M. C. D'Arcy, S. J., to Charles Linck, June 29, 1960, and August 22, 1961. Of interest is the following: "In the gay company of Oxford, Mayfair, Paris and the South of France, he led a life of intense personal piety and was converted to Roman Catholicism in 1930" (Editorial Note to "Fan-Fare," p. 53).

²Maud Plunkett-Greene, a sister of Elizabeth Ponsonby's mother and mother to David, Richard, and Olivia, whom Evelyn knew well, was received into the Roman Church in 1926 (Catholic Who's Who and Year Book. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1931). She dedicated her book to "My Daughter Olivia," whom Evelyn had liked very much indeed (Supra, p. 56n).

to as an "influence," though providing a few topical contrasts between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church which were of course political firebrands, is essentially a religious-emotion charged manual for contemplative thought; that Father D'Arcy was then engaged with writing his Nature of Belief, (issued Sept., 1931) which synthesized the "Modernist" notions of conversion by "inner light" with intellectual-rational conviction and was therefore a powerful apologist for conversion in which Aesthetic Sense vied with Reason on equal terms. His Nature of Belief, for instance, convinced Evelyn Underhill in her Spectator review that it was dangerous to read his book at all:

In a final chapter . . . Father D'Arcy passes from the levels of belief endorsed by reason, to the supernatural certitudes of faith. Here, as he acknowledges, he seems to take a "flying leap" . . . Those who make this jump under Father D'Arcy's guidance, will hardly feel surprised that it brings them to earth well within the frontiers of the Vatican State.¹

It is genuinely difficult, therefore, to understand the "firm intellectual conviction but with little emotion" with which Evelyn was converted.² There seems, on the contrary, to have been sufficient reason for an emotional--part of which was an aesthetically emotional--impulse toward the "unchanging Church." Further, it has been remarked that Evelyn knew he was being practical: "After he had been converted to Rome, he told me that its attitude to divorce would keep him from the folly of marrying again."³

¹Sept. 12, 1931, p. 391.

²"Come Inside."

³Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961.

His unhappiness about his marriage was a palpable basic cause, no matter how calmly he presented an unemotional explanation in The Daily Express. A conclusion may be drawn that after beginning in emotion he then turned his hand to practical apologetics: with the explanatory article he entered into the lists with other "Roman satirists."

His article was answered by, as headlined, "Rossllyn Mitchell, who defended the Prayer-book in the House of Commons." The weaknesses of Evelyn's article were exposed; Mitchell contended that Evelyn fell by way of the third "error."¹ An accompanying Editorial exulted about the revolutionary nature of the series in which "a convert could air his views in the Press" without there being a war. A third article, "Is Britain Turning to Rome?" followed in which Father Francis J. Woodlock, S. J., a well-known Farm Street priest² denied that there was a landslide to Rome--quite the contrary he thought.³ But there was an avalanche of letters; the Daily Express printed ten because the articles had "been eagerly discussed by readers everywhere." Eight letters condemned Evelyn.⁴

¹Daily Express, Oct. 21, 1930, p. 10.

²Father Woodlock was a publicity priest, often criticizing the "Sins of Society," Dean Inge, and Bishop Barnes, and often inviting reporters to his controversial sermons ("Obituary," The Tablet, April 20, 1940, p. 385).

³Daily Express, Oct. 22, 1930, p. 10.

⁴Ibid., Oct. 25, 1930, p. 10.

Since no other newspaper took up the matter at any length,¹ one may conclude with safety that Evelyn had joined The Daily Express, momentarily in a bit of sensational journalism, as he had done before in other places.

The Abyssinian Coronation, later 1930

Journalism of greater extent occupied the rest of 1930. It was connected with a significant strengthening of mind that continued to have its effect upon Evelyn's political future: by visiting Abyssinia and other parts of Africa he acquired definite convictions about imperialism and Conservative politics which then governed his actions throughout the thirties. The "Dragoman" revealed information about his trip to Abyssinia:

¹Excepting for an exchange between a "Reverend Desmond Morse-Boycott" ("Conversions to Rome; Points Concerning Conversions," The Sunday Referee, Oct. 26, 1930, p. 9) and Father Bernard Grimley ("News and Views," The Catholic Gazette, XXI (November, 1930), 338; XXI (December, 1930), 371; XXII (January, 1931), 31-32). The Editor of the obscure missionary monthly advised that not all the 12,000 yearly converts were being stolen from the Church of England. But earlier Morse-Boycott had aroused Father Woodlock's fury over the conversions of Father Vernon and Sheila Kaye-Smith: Father Vernon's One Lord, One Faith, written after he had left orders of the Anglican Church for the Roman Catholic, was answered by a book from Eric Milner-White and Wilfrid L. Knox [Ronald Knox' brother], One God and Father of All, and excited far more newspaper interest than Evelyn's conversion seems to have later. One wonders whether Morse-Boycott was not a ploy in a chess game: he seems to be Father T. S. Bentley, P.P., in photographs (The Sunday Referee, Oct. 26, 1930, p. 9, and The Catholic Times, Oct. 17, 1930, p. 6).

Mr. Waugh is leaving London shortly for Abyssinia, where he will attend the coronation of Ras Tafari--to quote the official titles-- "Emperor of Ethiopia, King of Kings, and Lion of Judah."¹

In *Remote People*, the subsequent travel book, Evelyn disclosed the detail that he had been visiting in Ireland when the coming coronation was mentioned with such glamorous accounts of that strange country that he gave up all other plans; he obtained a *Times* Special Correspondent's commission with the help of a "friend," probably Douglas Woodruff, and embarked upon a trip which provided much of the odd and eccentric that he enjoyed.² The fairy-tale adventures really started in London, however, as gossip columnists related. "Dragoman" was again at a Mayfair gathering where Sir John Lavery, the popular Society painter, was officiating at the Pollard Galleries' exhibition of Frank Brangwyn's furniture; the item identified Evelyn's associates of the moment:

Lady Lavery, who accompanied her husband, wore a mauve skull-cap, and was presented with a bunch of pink carnations.

She turned with one of her gracious smiles to greet Lord Berners when he arrived with Mr. Evelyn Waugh.

"How nice to see you," she said, "and Mr. Wuff, too."

A few minutes later she turned to Lord Berners again.

"Where is Mr. Wuff," she asked.

"Mr. Wuff," said Lord Berners, "has left for Abyssinia."³

Evelyn later dedicated *Remote People* "To Hazel Lavery," who was a Mayfair hostess, an Irish patriot, and a Roman Catholic⁴--he probably did not

¹Daily Express, Oct. 1, 1930, p. 15.

²*Remote People* (London: Duckworth, 1931), pp. 13-14.

³Daily Express, Oct. 8, 1930, p. 19. Lord Berners, a music composer, is referred to in various books for being a very witty member of Mayfair gatherings.

⁴John Lavery, *The Life of a Painter* (London: Cassel, 1940), pp. 195-220, et passim.

leave so abruptly. Patrick Balfour also had seen Evelyn on the eve of departure; his item concerned the funny ritual involved in making such a trip, quite as Evelyn described it in Scoop:

The idea of a young man trekking across the desert with a top-hat in a leather box is faintly ludicrous. Evelyn Waugh, however, who left yesterday for Ethiopia, assured me that it was absolutely essential.

He consulted an Abyssinian Attache in London as to what clothes he should take out for the coronation of Ras Tafari. "Have you any orders or decorations?" he was asked. "No." "Well, you must dress according to your station"--an ambiguous enough injunction.

Mr. Waugh, as an Old Public School Man and private school-master, rightly interpreted it as necessitating top-hat, morning coat, and all.

"But I lent my wedding waist-coat to Mr. John Betjeman," he said; "so it looks as though I might disgrace my station after all."¹

Evelyn's subsequent travel book related that he arrived at Djibouti, French Somaliland, during hot weather on October 19, 1930, after a trip of ten days from Marseilles. As usual he studied the country before arrival. The Times carried his long and sober review of Ethiopian history as his first offering on October 17: "The Throne of Ethiopia, Tafari as King of Kings, Personal Triumph."² He was still at Djibouti for the arrival of the official British delegation headed by the Duke of Gloucester on October 25. With his report of this occasion, "The Abyssinian Coronation, Duke of Gloucester at Jibuti," in The Times on October 27, began a series of eleven articles by "Our Special Correspondent" which continued until his "End of the Abyssinian Celebrations" appeared in The Times of November 13.³ Then there was a final summary and sober survey

¹Daily Sketch, Oct. 10, 1930, p. 5.

²The Times (London), Oct. 17, 1930, pp. 15-16.

³See the Bibliography for full details.

that appeared on December 22: "Ethiopia Today, Romance and Reality, Behind the Scenes at Addis Ababa."¹ The two summary articles became the major portion of the first chapter of *Waugh in Abyssinia*, which Longmans published for him in 1936 after a second trip; the eleven articles whose contents rose toward outraged hilarity as events touched his sense of humor were repeated in even more humorous fashion in *Remote People*.

Evelyn travelled with the crowds of delegates to the capitol city, higher and cooler Addis Ababa, where his early seriousness was infected by the general good humor of the company and by what he and they saw. As events transpired, Evelyn also observed what to him were contradictions between an outward show of progress-and-culture which quite too thinly veiled the facts of primitiveness and the actual barbarity of a savage people. His articles were increasingly ironical as he described events and distinguished between the disparate details of the show and the facts. Lurking in the background, as *Remote People*, and, even to greater degree, *Black Mischief*, both demonstrate, were other events that governed his good humor: the English contingent was unable to prevent the whole affair's becoming a kind of "Bright Young People's" party. As the result his articles in *The Times*, are memorable for their demonstration of Evelyn's matured skill in that he made "objective reporting" extremely entertaining. As an Englishman with the proper connections, Evelyn had access to the activities of the whole English contingent and colony. He especially enjoyed the company of Lady Ravensdale during most of what he came to see

¹*The Times*, (London), Dec. 22, 1930, pp. 13-14.

as the Lewis Carroll- and A. A. Milne-like events. Her participation was particularly notable for her Mayfair-ish deportment; he reported in his last article about the celebrations proper that she had received a decoration: "The Emperor has presented Lady Ravensdale, as being the chief unofficial visitor, with a magnificent native costume with the accompanying jewelry."¹ They had a wonderful time.

His last Times article stated that he had gone farther afield than the Abyssinian hosts had planned for anyone to go, and that he had seen the essential corruption they had tried to hide from the visitors. When his book came it revealed more of his post-celebration prowlings. He and an American Professor travelled a day's journey across rough country by automobile to Debra Labanos, a Coptic monastic center whose history extended back into antiquity. There Evelyn's aesthetic and religious sensitivities were quite revolted by the squalor and the intellectual poverty he observed in the monkish colony. As a result this part of *Remote People* is a penetrating essay in Roman Catholic apologetical writing. He presented an obvious attack upon the historical argument of the Reformation for a return to the pure Christianity of the first centuries.² One may also discover a link between his views of this first century "darkness" and his rejection of Eastern cultures in *Labels*. Travel indeed tended to reinforce his views about religion.

Although he always used his advantage later as a reviewer and journalist in his acquired expertise in African topics, he never liked

¹The Times (London), Nov. 13, 1930, p. 13.

²*Remote People*, pp. 87-89, especially.

the country from this time onward, nor indeed any primitive piece of Empire that he visited. He gained a considerable experience of Empire on this trip as he decided to continue the journey to Zanzibar on his original steamer ticket. He first stopped at Aden where he enjoyed his semiofficial capacity and enjoyed especially the antics of M. Besse, the wealthy shipowner, who led his men on rock-climbing jaunts. He spent Christmas at Zanzibar where he lay over while studying and visiting, preparatory to going into Kenya. At Nairobi, Kenya, he discovered a gay week not unlike the night life he might have found in London. He spent some time travelling hither and yon, enjoying special privileges as a sort of official visitor. Often he discovered very pleasant company; in fact, at most British outposts--Aden, Zanzibar, Nairobi, and among British planters in Kenya particularly--he was well received. Among the planters he discovered a country-life and society that he soon felt had all the virtues and amenities enjoyed by the British gentry in Ireland; many still had their close connections with London society, of course.

He had planned to fly westward over the Belgian Congo, but later discovered there was no air service as advertised. He attempted several suggested river trips and suffered from many indignities both physical and spiritual, not always gracefully. Finally he escaped south by river and rail, then took second-class accommodations for London from Capetown with extreme relief. Overall he was confirmed in an increasingly hardened view of life in general as the main result of this trip. Suffering, travelling and religion had settled many convictions in the British "Upper-Classes" soul that became him. He brought a new personality into the remainder of the thirties.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1931 to 1935: WORK AND A CATHOLIC REACTION

Preface Remarks for the Thirties

Evelyn Waugh's career through the thirties can be studied as the two periods of bachelordom and marriage. "From 1928 until 1937 I had no fixed home" is his own description of his nomadic existence during his first marriage and after.¹ Upon his second marriage, in 1937, he settled out of London at Piers Court, Stinchcombe, in the "West Country"; he still travelled about and the homelife was interrupted by World War II. Throughout the thirties he travelled far and often, later publishing good travel books² before turning the experiences of his life into better novels. He was an occasional book reviewer, finding easy outlets for whatever work he wished to perform in this manner; there was one six month period of weekly book reviewing. As was his custom, he praised the work of his friends, and, increasingly, condemned that of those who may be called his enemies as his political distance from them became his central concern during the political thirties. He became one of the better known leaders of Conservative reaction to literary Socialism during the years.

¹When the Going Was Good (Boston: Little, Brown, 1947), p. ix.

²A good treatise on the "travel book" is found in Stopp, pp. 22-25. Most of the authoritative comment about the nature of a new attitude in the genre that Evelyn and several of his friends held is well summarized here.

So far as the materials for his public reputation during the thirties is concerned, there is a necessity for following the details of several incidents of his involvement in controversy. First is the evidence for the reluctance to accept his sincerity or his work among a powerful group of his co-religionists. Second is the evidence for his successes and failures among friends and enemies of both factions of Catholic and Protestant. Third is the material that demonstrates his achievement of a position of leadership among the well-known Upper Class, Conservative, and Roman Catholic spokesmen of the thirties--in him was combined the three elements of reaction against the political and literary Left.

Evelyn associated from his Oxford years onward with a circle of friends who introduced him to Upper Class and Cafe Society; there is less urgency, from this point onward, for a close pursuit of Evelyn's affairs through the gossip columns. In actuality, the intimacy of these glimpses into his public "image" diminished as several of his friends ceased to be gossip columnists and as the nature of the gossip column changed. He began to avoid such publicity because there was less need of it to sell books. To follow the main incidents of his well-established career will therefore be sufficient.

Friends and Interests in 1931 and 1932

As the "Third Nightmare" related the event in Remote People, Evelyn returned to London during March, 1931, from Capetown to a nightclub setting; he was equally bored with London's nightlife and with Africa. But his nomadic existence in England was upon more familiar

and favorable soil during his labors of writing. He kept his London and county acquaintance active. The staged version of Vile Bodies was being prepared before its run from October 8 through the twelve private showings at the Arts Theatre Club.¹ (His current interest in another adaptation, A.A. Milne's "Toad of Toad Hall," is seen in the frequent references made to it in his book-in-progress.) He maintained his friendship with Lady Lavery and dedicated his book "To Hazel Lavery" when it was issued in November.² His testimonial for Lady Longford's

¹Vile Bodies, Adapted by H. Dennis Bradley into 12 episodes (London: Chapman and Hall, 1931). The Preface of this edition reveals that the play was first staged by Lionel Barton, produced by Nigel Playfair and Stephan Thomas. Stage sets were by Aubrey Hammond and music by Vivian Ellis. The stage directions are clever. The scenes were named as follows: Part one; On Ship, Customs, Lottie Crump's, Archie Schwert's, Doubting Hall, Hotel at Arundel; Part Two: Lady Metroland's, The Track, Nursing Home, Lottie Crump's, Doubting Hall, Happy Ending. At least two reviewers, R. Jennings of The Spectator and Peter Wilson of The Cherwell, identified Arthur Boscastle as the adapter, however. Jennings contended that "this merciful ending will not please the Cruel Young People (if there are any of them left) who were so fantastically satirized a year ago," and referred to Sir Nigel Playfair's program-notes' statements that their vocabulary and antics were already aged and required the production to be a "period piece." Peter Wilson congratulated the scene-shifters for heroic labors in cramped space and referred to Sir Nigel Playfair's expressed hope that the Lord Chamberlain would remove the ban on performances of Vile Bodies for it was only a "simple fairy tale." "Colonel Blount" was played by Mr. Athole Stewart; "Miles Malpractice" by "naturally languid" Mr. Ernest Theisger; "Nina," who was "effective and decorative," was played by Miss Eileen Peel and "Adam," the "unheroic hero," by Mr. Robert Douglas; Nadine March was an angel with "causticity" in her dialogue. These actors performed scenes "in the best Restoration comedy manner," and Jennings urged Evelyn "to be the Vanbrugh of the age" (R. Jennings, "The Theatre," Spectator, Oct. 17, 1931, p. 488, and Peter Wilson, The Cherwell, Oct. 17, 1931, p. 16).

²Evelyn's association with Lady Lavery could be both in London and in Ireland. She was reported to have left the Viceregal Lodge in Dublin during August (Observer, August 16, 1931, p. 11).

novel shows continued visiting with the Longfords and Pakenhams.¹ Colophon dates in his next novel testify to visits at Stonyhurst, Chagford, and Madresfield between September, 1931, and May, 1932. The places thus mentioned give the clues to his visits with three sets of friends or friendly groups of acquaintances: Christopher Hollis was a school-master at Stonyhurst; Patrick Balfour, now retired from his gossip column, was writing Society Racket at Chagford;² and the brothers and sisters of the Lygon family could be visited at the Earl of Beauchamp's magnificent country house, Madresfield.³ Black Mischief was dedicated "With Love to Mary and Dorothy Lygon" of Mayfair fame;⁴ Lord Elmley, the Beauchamp heir, had been in Evelyn's Oxford film and Hugh Lygon was also a personal friend from Oxford--with whom Evelyn trekked in Spitzbergen in 1934--up to his death in a tram accident in Germany in 1936.⁵ His friendships were important ones to Evelyn and to his work because they supplied a kind of patronage, which he has contended

¹Supra, p. 195n.

²Society Racket was dated "Chagford, 1932." Evelyn is said to have never been happier than when staying at Miss Cobb's American-style hotel (volunteered by Mrs. Agnes Vincent at the Victoria and Albert Museum during the summer, 1961).

³There is a good description of Madresfield in Dean Inge, Diary of a Dean, p. 38. The house could easily be the prototype for "Brideshead."

⁴Evelyn wrote of his being with the Lygon girls in Venice ("Venetian Adventure," Harpers Bazaar, Oct., 1932, pp. 54, 86). See also Sean O'Faolain, The Vanishing Hero, pp. xl-xli. Lygon girls, Nancy Mitford, Lord Berners and Evelyn were associated in various gossip column notices of Mayfair activities.

⁵Infra, Chapter VIII.

that an artist needs,¹ as well as materials for novels.²

Remote People.-- Evelyn's single publication of 1931 gave the account of his tour of Abyssinia as Times Correspondent and of his continued trip to Aden, Zanzibar, Kenya, and across Africa to Capetown. His chapter headings included three "Nightmares" of boredom, which, in addition to revealing a more honest glimpse into his artistic personality than mere truthfulness might have required, drew for his book a wide and mixed reception. One friend from his very earliest days as bohemian who had subsequently had her name associated with his in gossip columns, Rebecca West,³ chided him for infectious boredom.⁴

¹Strix [Peter Fleming], "Patronage at Piers Court," Spectator, August 6, 1954, p. 160.

²Not only did Madresfield offer a prototype for the house "Brideshead," but the inhabitants offered materials for his composites of the characters in Brideshead Revisited. Facets of the very English personality of Lord Elmley coupled with the match-box collecting enthusiasm of Richard Plunkett-Greene [David's brother] provided Evelyn with materials for the character "Lord Brideshead"; facets of the charm and elegance of Hugh Lygon and of another Oxford friend, Alastair Graham, provided materials for the character "Sebastian"; it is with Hugh Lygon that the teddy bear is to be associated (unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961). Further, a teddy bear is very prominent in the career of another friend, John Betjeman (Derek Stanford, John Betjeman, A Study. London: Neville Spearman, 1961). For "Julia" one may possibly associate the various Lygon girls, Eleanor Smith and her sister Pamela, and Olivia Plunkett-Greene, with whom Evelyn did have an emotional attachment (Supra, p.56n). For the sad decline of "Sebastian" one may associate the careers of the "Bright Young People" who did not take the warning of Vile Bodies. (Supra, p. 190n). For the Old Catholic family gone wrong in the twenties, one may associate the Plunkett-Greens with their relations to the Old Catholic Horner family and the Catholic community near Frome (See Along the Road to Frome, Chapter Fourteen).

³Supra, p. 66. Rebecca West had been at "The Party" in Mary Butts' flat; she had praised his work first for the United States (Supra, p. 195n).

⁴"Pictures of Travel Through Many Varied Lands, Pageant of the Near and Middle East," Daily Telegraph, Dec. 4, 1931, p. 18.

Despite her recent praise of him and his work, there seems to have been a cause for pique--in the book Evelyn wrote that the first he had learned of her marriage came from M. Besse [M. "Le Blanc"] at Aden. Since Douglas Woodruff was the best man at her wedding,¹ Evelyn may have felt he should have been notified. More sensational in its way was the choice and considered praise that was lavished upon the new travel-book ideals by Frank Swinnerton, an older representative of the school of Realism.² According to Swinnerton, Evelyn was especially skillful in revealing his remarkable personality as he travelled; his precision in perception brought a scene or personality immediately before a reader and his sincerity and candour were refreshing. But most other reviewers agreed with Rebecca West that Evelyn should not have written about his own boredom because "his primary duty to please" was thereby neglected; they felt that he need not go to nightclubs for his "Nightmares," but Miss West stated her opinions in rather a personal manner. Perhaps the most friendly reviewer was Peter Fleming, the youthful Literary Editor of The Spectator, who found the book to be quite witty and so rewarding for the prose alone that it needed no other virtues though it had many.³ (Evelyn very soon was the reviewer of "travel" books for the magazine.) There were among Evelyn's contemporaries those, such as Lord Birkenhead,⁴ who thought his travel

¹Observer, Nov. 2, 1930, p. 17.

²"Travellers' Tales, Sometimes Without the Travel," Evening News, Oct. 30, 1931, p. 11.

³"Travellers," Spectator, Jan. 23, 1932, p. 118.

⁴"My Contemporaries," Harpers Bazaar, Nov., 1933, pp. 74, 79. This was Freddy Smith, Frank PaKenham's friend, the second Lord Birkenhead.

books rather boring generally; *Remote People* was listed as a "best seller" in the *Observer* for only one week.

Money Journalism.--Early in 1932, during the time that he was writing *Black Mischief*, Evelyn began publishing various pieces of literary journalism; his fourteen items during 1932 may indicate the press of necessity. The first was a short story for *Harpers Bazaar*, named "The Patriotic Honeymoon" but renamed more appropriately "Love in the Slump" later.¹ The story demonstrated Evelyn's awareness of the economic "Crisis" which was in progress and which was widely discussed in the Press. The second was a short story named "Seth," a part of his next novel, *Black Mischief*; as this was published in the literary magazine of *Bloomsbury, Life and Letters*,² during an apparent association with the "Socialists," one notes the publication as another bit of evidence for his moment of kindness toward the political and literary Left. Furthermore, he had written a passably kind remark about Lord Passfield [*Sidney Webb*] in his last travel book which seemed out of character, but was actually at one with Lady Lavery's kindnesses to Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour Prime Minister, and other "Reds" during the short Labour Ministry.³

¹Jan., 1932, pp. 14-15, 86. (Illustrated by Nicolas de Molas.) It was renamed for his collection *Mr. Loveday's Little Outing, and Other Sad Stories* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1936). Cited as Mr. Loveday hereafter.

²March, 1932, pp. 188-227. In the Uniform Edition; London: Chapman and Hall, 1948, it is pp. 17-44. A story which is noted in Mr. Loveday as being a sequel to *Black Mischief*, "Incident in Azania," also has its economic point to make; it appears to be more closely related to Kenya planters than to Abyssinian affairs, however.

³*Remote People*, p. 186. Beverley Nichols writes harshly of Lady Lavery and other "chrome Mayfair Socialists" (*All I Could Never Be*, p. 306.)

Evelyn soon identified himself with the Conservative's Spectator. By so doing, he associated himself under an old neighbor with some of his more serious Oxford friends and acquaintances such as Peter Fleming, the young Literary Editor,¹ Frank Pakenham the newest economics expert, the Earl of Birkenhead, Graham Greene, L. A. G. Strong and others, all of whom conducted a vital and robust criticism of bad workmanship or stodginess wherever they found it. They all indulged in a stern kind of "youth politics." As a reviewer of "travel" books and books about Rossetti, Evelyn had two articles published in April, one in June, one in August, two in October and two more in November. Friends such as Peter Quennell, were rewarded with praise whereas rivals or enemies such as Violet Hunt or Wyndham Lewis were acidly criticized.² Defense of one's generation might, of course, require making heavy demands of the older and justly coincide with the generally stern attitude of the magazine's literary section. But Evelyn began very soon the practice of recognizing his friends only by their political party.³

More "Youth Politics."-- Before proceeding to his articles in Harpers Bazaar, where Evelyn was associated with other friends, it will be convenient to follow two chief events in his career of dabbling in "youth politics." During June and July of 1931, Wyndham Lewis had

¹Wilson Harris, Life So Far, pp. 233-34. Harris became the Editor of the Spectator in 1932; both Evelyn and Arthur Waugh began review work for their old neighbor.

²See the Bibliography for details.

³Frank Pakenham remained a personal friend though he did convert to "Socialism"; Peter Quennell and Brian Howard fared less well, however.

published a series of articles on the subject,¹ which were made into the book Doom of Youth, the title parodying Alec Waugh's Loom of Youth, and published in July, 1932.² "Winn and Waugh" was the title of Chapter Six: Evelyn's earlier essay in "youth politics" to stir "younger-generation consciousness" and thus chaos throughout the land was treated at length, as was Alec's in the next chapter. The book was immediately suppressed;³ aggrieved parties were probably warned by the articles in Time and Tide and by an April publication of the book in the United States.⁴ But the incident added to Evelyn's stature as a defender of his generation. He was soon invited to participate in the BBC talks called "To an Unnamed Listener"; his imminent talk "To an Old Man" received an inordinate amount of advertising in the interested magazines. Though it was not acknowledged who the addressee was to be, suspicion pointed to Evelyn's father, Arthur Waugh. One long "Radio Notes" column contained the following:

The series 'To an Unnamed Listener' is to be continued Monday, Nov. 28, by Evelyn Waugh. Mr. Waugh will talk to an Old Man. This should be entertaining. Mr. Waugh's wit and impudence are well known. His novels . . . quickly established him as our brightest young satirist. The success of the first-named has led to the adoption by the masses of a peculiar form of slang hitherto reserved

¹The series was generally named "Youth Politics," in Time and Tide (London), June 13 to July 25, 1931, pp. 703-704, 738-40, 770-72, 798-800, 826-28, 854-55, 883-84.

²P. Wyndham Lewis, Doom of Youth (London: Chatto and Windus, July, 1932). First issued by Robert M. McBride, N. Y., April, 1932.

³There is a reference to a lawsuit (Robert D. McCay, Idea and Pattern in the Novels of Evelyn Waugh. Unpublished Dissertation, Department of English, State University of Iowa, 1953, p. 2).

⁴For an extended study of Lewis' position see Geoffrey Wagner, Wyndham Lewis: A Portrait of the Artist as the Enemy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), Chapter Two: "The Group Rhythm."

for the classes. If you hear a City typist or an honest plowman referring to life as being "too sick-making," blame Mr. Waugh.¹

Many similar enthusiastic announcements appeared before the broadcast; but, though The Listener contained the texts of other talks in the series, there was nothing published or written about Evelyn's talk afterward. Perhaps the content was "too shy-making." The following week's broadcast in the series, by Arthur Waugh, was called "To a Young Man"; it confirmed the advance suspicions, perhaps, and there was an uncomfortable silence about his talk, too. Evelyn left for British Guiana very soon after--but there was at least one other cause for the trip, which can soonest be explained by observing his further work for Harpers Bazaar.

In the issues of Harpers Bazaar his name appeared in an intimate association with those of many youthful friends as it did in The Spectator; here he was associated with Robert Byron, Brian Guinness, Brian Howard, Patrick Balfour, John Heygate, Sibell Lygon, Evelyn Gardner, Nancy Mitford and Pansy Pakenham especially. These too may be considered his partners in a kind of "youth politics" as were his friends on The Spectator staff; a chief difference between the groups was that here they were more sophisticated, there they were more seriously literary. In addition to the short stories already referred to for what they show about his awareness of the "Crisis," Evelyn published three stories which reflect his interest in other current affairs: his old interest and, perhaps, a new interest in film-making is evident in "This Quota Stuff: Positive Proof that the British Can

¹"Youth Crabs Age?" Radio Times, Nov. 18, 1932, p. 509.

Make Good Films";¹ "Bella Fleace Gave a Party" reflects a situation of fun in Irish society; and "Cruise" reflects experience on one of his ship journeys.²

One article, a companion to Olga Lynn's "Tales from Salzberg," gives a unique picture of Evelyn's social activity during the year. It was in the form of a letter and requires quotation:

My Dear H.

Palazzo X.Y.Z.
Grand Canal, Venice [Sic]

How I wish that you had come to Venice instead of trailing drearily to Cannes. Quite half your friends are here; by far the more amusing half are behaving in ways that would be quite a revelation to you. I shall never smell tuberose again without envisaging queues of repentant young men apologizing after parties.³

He offered a revealing discussion of the advantages of Venice, which also seem disadvantages--mosquitoes, smells, etc.; then he enumerated the local "society":

I don't think you can complain much of the appearance of a society where in one coup of the eye can be seen Diana Cooper, Diana Abdy, Bridget Parsons, Mary Lygon, Mrs. Bryan Guinness, Doris Castlerosse, Ann Armstrong-Jones and Tilly Losch, not to mention (because I do not know their names) the beauties of five other nations.⁴

The article was partially an advertisement and partially an essay on taste. The list of acquaintances, however, is of most interest; he referred to people he also knew in London, one of whom he had begun to

¹Harpers Bazaar, August, 1932, pp. 10-11, 66, 68. (With illustrations by Nicholas Bentley.) It was renamed "Excursion into Reality" for his collection in 1936.

²Harpers Bazaar, Dec., 1932, pp. 12-13, 100-1 (Illustrated by E.B. Smith); Feb. 1933, pp. 12-13, 80 (Illustrated by Nicolas Bentley).

³Ibid., Oct., 1932, pp. 54, 86.

⁴Ibid.

know too intimately for comfort.

An Entanglement in Friendship.--Diana Cooper has written about Evelyn's gay participation in a "treasure-hunt" of 1932; after a performance of the revived play that she starred in, The Miracle, Evelyn joined her:

The Miracle always brought me good things in its train, and one night after the performance it brought me Evelyn Waugh. There was a treasure-hunt in full cry and the kill was to be at the Cafe de Paris at Bray. When we arrived the hunt was up, but the merriment was still there and I knew then that I wanted to bind Evelyn to my heart with hoops of steel, should he let me.¹

"Mrs. Stitch"² wrote that she and Evelyn were together much of the time during the latter part of 1932:

Evelyn had come to Manchester to help me with my rather lonely life. . . . Evelyn was splendid with my mother, who came for the Edinburgh and Glasgow runs. She was very fond of him, and more fond when he had a stiff whiskey-and-soda. She approved only of the sober, yet never differentiated them from the tipsy. Evelyn introduced me to The Wind and the Willows, reading it aloud in the rest hours. Together we would motor over the wild Derbyshire Peak and look at famous houses. In the evening we supped at the Cafe Royal in Edinburgh.³

Since Evelyn was a Roman Catholic and Diana Cooper was the Hon. Mrs. Ruff Cooper, one may suspect that Evelyn fled to the wilds of South America. He explained his flight in other terms a year later; Christ-

¹The Light of Common Day, p. 107.

²Identification offered by the Hon. Mrs. Peter Rodd in an unpublished letter to Charles Linck, July 18, 1960. The detail may have been revealed in an English review of Diana Cooper, Trumpets from the Steep, as it was in the review later of Time, Dec. 19, 1960, p. 87. See Evelyn Waugh, Tourist in Africa.

³The Light of Common Day, pp. 114-15.

mas of 1932 was dreary with the economic Crisis, etc.¹ Whatever the cause, he arrived in Georgetown, British Guiana, on December 22, for an incarceration of ninety-two days. Peter Fleming's return from his "Brazilian Adventure" probably directed his steps to this particularly desolate outpost of Empire.

Black Mischief.--There remains Evelyn's major publication of 1932: *Black Mischief*, was issued in October and was the Book Society's October choice. Of course, it was an anticipated success--Chapman and Hall advertised editions at three prices of 3s. 6d., 7s. 6d., and "a numbered and signed Limited Edition of 250 copies, Illustrated, at 42 shillings."² Evelyn's reputation had, of course, achieved the point wherein reviewers started with "Friends of Mr. Waugh will be glad to see ..." without bothering to defend or analyze. Some reviewers immediately noticed that Evelyn was turning serious, with what they supposed were hesitating and not-quite successful steps toward a more constructive satire; they thought it was a very funny book, though less so than earlier ones. The notable critic James Agate found it an "Extravaganza" which would undoubtedly appeal to the "intelligentsia" but might be "too clever for me."³ A student reviewer at Lancing worried that it was, possibly, Realism; he thought that a piece of doggeral verse about Evelyn's cads by Villiers David in The London.

¹Evelyn Waugh, "Farewell, 1933," *Harpers Bazaar*, Jan., 1934, pp. 52, 94 (Illustrated by "Fish").

²Chapman and Hall advertisement, *Observer*, Sept. 25, 1932, p. 10.

³*Daily Express*, Oct. 6, 1932, p. 6.

Mercury was unkind.¹ But few reviewers missed all the objects of Evelyn's satire and fewer still were quite certain that they like his satire of modern progress. Quotations will illustrate their feeling that Evelyn was making progress himself: Howard Marshall perceived a transitional stage because of "an air of uncertainty about it which we did not find in his previous novels";² Eric Linklater remarked that it could be taken as a good joke, but that it "shows an all around growth of strength";³ Gerald Gould thought the more serious approach "offers a promise for the future greater even than" the comedy of the earlier novels, for "Mr. Waugh is feeling out toward something wider and deeper than before";⁴ an old Oxford acquaintance, L. A. G. Strong, noted mainly that "Mr. Waugh's note deepens in this brilliant book."⁵ Mr. Strong correctly saw that Evelyn was "able to display his moderns against a background even more irresponsible than themselves."

The novel was made partially from impressions gathered on his trip to Abyssinia. He had not liked the manifestations of "liberalism" he saw there; he had observed the English colony and its inhabitants⁶

¹L.C.M., Nov., 1932, p. 146.

²"Evelyn Waugh Writes in a New Vein," Daily Telegraph, Oct. 4, 1932, p. 16. Mr. Marshall was the Tuesday reviewer; Rebecca West, the Friday reviewer, thus passed up this opportunity.

³"New Novels," Listener, Oct. 19, 1932, p. 576.

⁴"White Mischief and Black," Observer, Oct. 9, 1932, p. 6.

⁵"Fiction," Spectator, Oct. 1, p. 420.

⁶"We hope you will say nicer things about us than Evelyn Waugh did," (Geoffrey Harmsworth, Abyssinian Adventure. London: Hutchinson, 1935, p. 268). Harmsworth noted that Miss Esme Barton, daughter of the British Minister in Addis Ababa, was the most attractive, vivacious and notable girl of the colony.

closely. As a "Roman satirist" he put the usual manifestations of "progress" into the hands of two types he had known: the Oxford-educated native and the Mayfair adventurer.¹ He used what he had observed of the British Legation colony at Addis Ababa and the various intrigues among legations for his comic local setting. He certainly had a theme for exploitation in the "liberalism" of the Jeunesse D'Ethiopie; these reformers foisted ill-fitted ideals of "progress" upon a primitive and savage people whom Evelyn could not appreciate even for their art.² He was reaching for a serious statement about his era; it was not essentially different from what a "Roman satirist"

¹Evelyn's comments about the admirable Armenian, Mr. Bergebedgian and his own aspirations to becoming a "hard-boiled 'man of the world'" (Remote People, pp. 110-11) may lead one to suppose that "Basil Seal" was the projection of a part of his own character which he admired and rejected at once. The Hon. Mrs. Peter Rodd (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, July 18, 1960) and John Lehmann (interview granted to Charles Linck, May 24, 1961) both remarked that all those with intimate knowledge interpreted "Basil Seal" as the Hon. Peter Rodd, Evelyn's Oxford and Mayfair acquaintance. Peter Rodd, son of Sir Rennell, a former envoy to Ethiopia, was often in Eleanor Smith's gossip for he was widely experienced and knowledgeable and a brilliant personality and conversationalist. He had much to say about his travels which included a journey through Africa. ("Mr. Rodd Instructs," Weekly Dispatch, April 1, 1928, p. 4). He may have intruded upon Evelyn while campaigning in Cornwall for a seat in Commons (Bystander, Nov. 12, 1930, p. 336). For an interesting comparison of "Basil Seal" with Sir Winston Churchill, see Martin Green, "British Comedy and the British Sense of Humour; Shaw, Waugh, and Amis," The Texas Quarterly, IV. No. 3 (Autumn, 1961), p. 223. See Jessica Mitford, Daughters and Rebels, for more about Peter Rodd. Evelyn's friend Archibald Lyall wrote that the prototype for "Seth" was King Amanullah of Afghanistan (Spectator, May 10, 1935, p. 798). Evelyn's friends Robert Byron and Christopher Sykes had travelled much in Afghanistan (Christopher Sykes, Four Studies in Loyalty).

²Some of Evelyn's cartoons for Black Mischief were parodies of the work of native artists. Geoffrey Harmsworth's Abyssinian Adventure contained black and white copies of native art which are almost indistinguishable from Evelyn's parodies.

might be expected to emphasize. But he had for once miscalculated, by being "popular" while being satirical, the reaction of a part of his audience. So far as one important member of his new religion was concerned, his book was infamously bad.

The Tablet Attacks, 1933-1936

While Evelyn was abroad in British Guiana, an attack by Earnest Oldmeadow, Editor of the Tablet, the leading London Roman Catholic weekly magazine, began; it continued until 1936. The Tablet had received its review copy of Black Mischief in September, 1932,¹ but the official attitude toward the novel was not published until Evelyn was in the jungle. Then, in a column of short comments and notices, "New Books and Music--To Buy or Borrow or Leave Alone," a very short notice of the novel was given:

A year or two ago, paragraphs appeared in various newspapers announcing that Mr. Evelyn Waugh, a novelist, had been received into the Church. Whether Mr. Waugh still considers himself a Catholic, The Tablet does not know; but, in case he is so regarded by booksellers, librarians, and novel-readers in general, we hereby state that his latest novel would be a disgrace to anybody professing the Catholic name. We refuse to mention its title or to mention its publishers.²

Condemning its "coarseness and foulness," the notice recorded the opinion that its author had "enough satirical wit and invention to write an attractive novel" instead of setting "viler fashions."

Two weeks later The Tablet printed a letter it had received earlier from twelve eminent Roman Catholics; it read as follows:

¹Tablet, Sept. 29, 1932, p. 567.

²Ibid., Jan. 7, 1933, p. 10.

Sir,--In a paragraph in your issue of January 7 you say of Mr. Evelyn Waugh that "his latest novel would be a disgrace to anybody professing the Catholic name." You refer to "outrageous lapses in those who are, or are supposed to be, our co-religionists," with evident reference to Mr. Waugh. We think these sentences exceed the bounds of legitimate criticism and are in fact an imputation of bad faith. In writing, we wish only to express our great regret at their being published and our regard for Mr. Waugh.¹

The letter was signed by Fr. D'Arcy, Evelyn's catechist; by Fr. Martindale, who had enjoyed Evelyn's film earlier; and by two other eminent priests, Bede Jarrett and R. H. J. Steuart. Among laymen, it was signed by "CLONMORE," Evelyn's Oxford friend Lord "Billy" Clonmore, who was a recent convert to the Roman Church.² There were the names of rather famous Catholics: Christopher Hollis and Douglas Woodruff, who knew Evelyn personally; Eric Gill and D. B. Wyndham Lewis, who were older and widely known. Other no less active literary Catholics though perhaps not so well known also signed their names: T. F. Burns, Letitia Fairfield, and Algar Thorold. Since the letter was dated January 10, they had leapt to Evelyn's defense in the knowledge that he was away.

However, they must also have foreseen that the Editor would attack; he was known to be a most able, voluminous, strident, and endless controversialist in his magazine. In answer to their short letter

¹Tablet, Jan. 21, 1933, p. 85.

²Clonmore had relinquished his Anglican ordination and rather "High Church" championship as well as his mission work at St. Marys, Somers Town, London, much as Sheila Kaye Smith's husband had, because of restrictions against the "ritualism" of the "High Church" clergy (Lord Clonmore, "The Rebuilding of the House," Dublin Review, CXC /Jan. - June, 1932/, 254-267. Reprinted in Rome is Home, the Experience of Converts, ed. Earl of Wicklow [Clonmore]. Fresno, Calif.: Academy Library Guild, 1959).

the Editor produced three long columns of the most spirited defense:

Foreseeing that its publication must lower more than one of the signatories in public esteem, we have printed the above letter with sorrow; but we cannot refuse a little space to twelve writers, most of whom have long been respected by Catholics. . . . As for the remonstrants' ad hoc status, not one of them has ever sent us a helpful word to fortify us in our defense of clean literature and our campaign against immodesty. . . . Their protest is unaccompanied by even the faintest expression of "regard" for the Catholic standards of decency which have indisputably been outraged.¹

The magazine's campaigns for "decent literature" and its definitions of "A Christian novel" were particularly pointed from this time on. The "Remonstrants" did not reply; the Editor noted that, though two letters had been sent in defense of the twelve (one with reservations), a flood of letters had come to support the Editor "for our discharge of a painful duty." The controversy smoldered along week after week. Replies to the erring twelve would fill five columns, wrote the Editor, but he felt that he was obliged to print one:

Sir,--As my name, much to my disgust, has been dragged by Mr. Evelyn Waugh quite needlessly through his unsavory tale and appears in your pages of Jan. 21 in one of your citations from his book, I hope you will publish this note expressing my concurrence with your condemnation of his book as a whole. I am glad that a Roman Catholic should be dealt with by Roman Catholics in the trenchant fashion you have done. Yours faithfully, Marie C. Stopes.²

The spectacle of a major Catholic magazine giving aid and comfort to the enemy in this fashion must have been amusing to outsiders, if not to the indignant letter writers.

The controversy became a regular feature named "A Recent Novel."

¹Tablet, Jan. 21, 1933, pp. 75-6.

²Ibid., Feb. 4, 1933, p. 149.

The Editor awaited a joint reply from the twelve protestors. At length, disclaiming all responsibility for the results, he announced he would print a letter from a brother of one remonstrant, Dom Benedict Steuart, O.S.B., Prior of Prinknash; which, in the event, charged The Tablet itself with "scandal" and "disgrace," by now the key words in the controversy. In his letter the Prior remarked "the excessive Judicial--even Pontifical--tone in which such censures are frequently made," and also criticized the "manner in which The Tablet has manifested its disapprobation of the Remonstrants."¹ To this rather gentle demurer, the Editor replied "with confidence, though with distaste" in order to explain "where, exactly, lies the 'scandal' and 'disgrace'" that the Prior had questioned. "A Recent Novel" is the title of an article fully three tabloid-sized pages in length, with points numbered from A to R (Q is omitted).² In the article there was an emphasis on "personalities" that might easily have exercised Point H, wherein it was asserted that The Tablet courted libel suits to avert its own scandal and disgrace. Nearly a month later, The Tablet printed an excerpt from another Catholic magazine, Blackfriars, where Father Bede Jarrett's name often appeared; this co-religionist periodical had psychoanalyzed The Tablet's Editor, who replied in his customary Editor's Note that the four priests whom he was "falsely said" to have "made appear as public defenders of obscenity" needed only to see their ways clear to a voluntary public clarification and

¹Tablet, Feb. 18, 1933, p. 212.

²Ibid., pp. 213-15.

justification of their actions.¹ Thus the matter stood for over a year.

Apparently The Tablet received no review copy of Evelyn's Ninety-Two Days, but did receive his novel A Handful of Dust, in 1934. The Editor himself reviewed Handful, in a full page article of condemnation; in "The Pity of It" he stated:

As we counsel our friends to spend no money and no time in acquiring and reading the book before us, we had better explain why it is receiving a lengthy review. Last year, a novel from the same pen evoked a sequel which gave pain to Catholics. A reproof to the author from our unimportant selves was amplified from a quarter so authoritative that his co-religionists reasonably hoped to find Mr. Waugh turning over a completely new leaf. He has not done so.²

Evelyn had written an answer to the first attack upon his novel when he returned from South America, but it was refused publication by The Tablet. Soon it was in pamphlet form, but Evelyn was dissuaded from distributing that in 1933.³ The new attack in 1934 forced Evelyn to seek his means of reply through his friend, Tom Driberg, who now wrote his column of gossip for The Daily Express as "William Hickey." Opening his summary of the old and the new phases of conflict with "any new novel by convert Evelyn Waugh, seems to cause a row among his co-religionists," the columnist reported details of the pamphlet:

Dispute went on. Eventually Waugh wrote pamphlet apologia in form of open letter to the Cardinal himself. Influential priests induced him to withdraw it, on grounds that (a) more

¹Tablet, March 18, 1933, p. 348.

²Ibid., Sept. 8, 1934, p. 300.

³Stopp, pp. 31-34. Some of the Pamphlet's argument is quoted here; but, otherwise, it is unavailable.

authoritative representations re Tablet were being made to the Cardinal, (b) the Cardinal was seriously ill.

Cardinal got well again. Tablet flourishes. But pamphlet wasn't published. Only about half-a-dozen copies of it exist.¹

Evelyn used this opportunity to publish his second defense the next day; Hickey reported:

Mail, from Evelyn Waugh, re Tablet attack (see this column yesterday):

Two aspects of Tablet article:

- (a) an unfavourable criticism,
- (b) a moral lecture.

The first is completely justifiable. A copy of my novel was sent to the Tablet for review, and the editor is therefore entitled to give his opinion of its literary quality in any terms he thinks suitable.

In the second aspect he is in the position of a valet masquerading in his master's clothes. Long employment by a Prince of the Church has tempted him to ape his superiors, and, naturally enough, he gives an uncouth and impudent performance.²

Thus the matter ended in 1934.

In 1935 The Tablet ignored Evelyn's Edmund Campion, surely a piece of Roman Catholic work; in 1935, when Evelyn was in Abyssinia as War Correspondent for The Daily Mail, an attacking item again appeared in The Tablet:

As the writer to whom it alludes is far distant from England at the present moment, and as he is an author whom The Tablet has had to reproach on a previous occasion, we do not pen this note without due reflection. The public interest, we think, calls for a protest against the Daily Mail's choice of a Correspondent to send messages from Addis Ababa. The writer selected some weeks ago is a novelist who wrote a notorious book about a present-day

¹"These Names Make News," Daily Express, Sept. 10, 1934, p. 6. Driberg's remark that the Editor had the "fear of the Cardinal," who was part-proprietor of the Tablet, recalls the Editor's denial that the Cardinal spoke through the Tablet (Feb. 11, 1933, p. 195). Evelyn's opinions may be discovered in Msgr. Ronald Knox, p. 243.

²Ibid., Sept. 11, 1934, p. 6.

Black Emperor in East Africa.¹

As War Correspondent Evelyn was, in fact, helping to start in his own way the main Roman Catholic defense for the era; he was going what a correspondent could to counteract the propaganda that was being sent from Abyssinia by the "Liberal" Press. The Editor of The Tablet, finally showed some confusion:

Meanwhile that Daily Mail correspondent in Addis Ababa to whom we gave some lines a week ago continues to grieve chivalrous Englishmen. Time after time, he has increased prejudice against Abyssinia by padding out his meagre messages with stories which he himself admits to be "unconfirmed" or "of doubtful authenticity." In one case he put it into the reader's mind that the Abyssinians may have killed Italian prisoners; and, in another case, that an Italian airman who fell from a 'plane was perhaps murdered, instead of being rescued and cared for.²

Generally the Editor waged heroic warfare in his magazine for the Church against the Corporation Press; but he could stomach none of Evelyn nor of Evelyn's views of the Ethiopians as savages it appeared. There was a last piece of the vendetta, then it ceased; in an Editor's Note supporting Violet Cobham's appeal for funds to send a veterinarian unit to Abyssinia, he wrote:

We support this appeal of the Viscountess Cobham. In a widely-sold novel which The Tablet sharply condemned, a mean writer went out of his way to satirize work in East Africa on behalf of cruelly treated animals. This is an additional though a minor reason for helping Lady Cobham's mission of mercy. The Editor.³

The Editor's animosity had lasted for more than four years and only ceased because after Cardinal Bourne's death in January, 1935,

¹Tablet, Oct. 12, 1935, p. 451.

²Ibid., Oct. 19, 1935, p. 490.

³Ibid., Feb. 8, 1936, p. 183.

steps had been taken to turn the magazine over to others; in March, 1936, it was finally announced that the management had changed:

The trustees have sold the paper to laymen, Mr. Arthur Hungerford Pollen, Chairman, and Mr. Douglas Woodruff will be executive member of the editorial committee. It will be edited from Messrs. Longman's office.¹

The first issue by the new staff listed the Directors: Mr. Pollen, Mr. Woodruff, F. W. Chambers, Christopher Dawson, and T. F. Burns, the originator of the letter from the twelve "Remonstrants." The Longmans advertisement for Evelyn's Edmund Campion featured his saint's life in the magazine for the first time. Writers who had not been welcomed in the magazine began to be featured: Ronald Knox, Eric Gill, Arnold Lunn, Hilaire Belloc, Fr. Martindale, Graham Greene, Christopher Hollis (who became a Director and co-editor later), and of course, Evelyn Waugh. With this change-over in The Tablet, Evelyn finally became a full-fledged Catholic in the eyes of co-religionists.

Why had Mr. Oldmeadow taken upon himself the task of educating Evelyn Waugh? Was it, perhaps, a calculated campaign to bring out the very best of Evelyn's art as a "Roman satirist"? Though it may seem, in view of changes that occurred, to have worked in the latter manner, the Editor's final remark about "a mean writer" gives him away: he was driven by the widely observed English regard for dogs. Evidence can be found in his magazine of other controversy about cruelty to animals; there is especially his long and sharp reply to another convert, Lady Eleanor Smith, who had the temerity to deny his allegation of cruelty

¹Tablet, March 28, 1936, p. 407.

to circus animals.¹ Perhaps both Evelyn and Eleanor Smith had been too well known as members of "The Cruel Young People" for their own good. Another reader of *Black Mischief*, from among the older generation, family friend and Evelyn's lawyer E. S. P. Haynes, wrote quite differently at the time:

I have just finished my friend Evelyn Waugh's *Black Mischief*, which is quite up to the level of his *Decline and Fall*, and I have read the latter masterpiece four times. . . . In England one often hears the complaint that a certain novel is not amiable, as if no one had ever suggested that *saeva indignatio* started the literary ball rolling.²

Haynes made particular reference to the two ladies from the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals whose concern, in the novel, was more for animals' comfort than for suffering humans. Every reader of Evelyn's travel books about Abyssinia might be expected to know that he did not lack sympathy; e. g., tales of visits to the horrifying prisons of Ethiopia.

¹Tablet, May 6, 1934, pp. 651-52. Lady Eleanor Smith and her sister Pamela were baptised Roman Catholics early in 1931 at Westminster Cathedral, after Lord Birkenhead's death ("Society and Personal," Tablet, Jan. 10, 1931, p. 10). Her gossip column had often discussed the many Roman Catholics among her acquaintance.

²E. S. P. Haynes, *The Lawyer, A Conversation Piece* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1951), pp. 291-93.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1932-1937: PURIFICATION BY TRAVEL; CATHOLIC LITERARY SUCCESS; A PROTESTANT ATTACK

Travel and Productive Work

Though Evelyn had written little by 1932 that was particularly Catholic in bias, little he wrote was actually at variance with a Roman Catholic point of view; he was a critic of the mores of his times, he satirized what "Roman satirists" would have satirized. Even the caricature of a Jesuit in *Vile Bodies* is sufficiently exaggerated to be looked upon as a parody of such caricatures; even his Oxford film, in that it did not deter converts, might obtain the same interpretation of its satire and caricatures. Certainly the Bright Young Person, Basil Seal of Black Mischief, who is aided and abetted by the quite inept and half-understood "modern uplift" of the Emperor, is portrayed as the worst possible proponent of "progress" and "modernity." This needs no belaboring, although those readers who recognized a particular caricature in the novel probably had the advantage.¹

It would appear that Evelyn's trip to British Guiana in December, 1932, was in part an escape from an entanglement dangerous to a Roman Catholic. His very penitential "ninety-two days" in the largely unmapped hinterland of British Guiana was from his account

¹Supra, p. 226n.

regularly punctuated by visits, rests, and travels with lonely Catholic missionaries whom he met and a visit with at least one Catholic family. From the travel book account it might appear that visiting them was one purpose of the trip. While he was writing Ninety-Two Days, he felt the need to apologize for including so much about his religion. He abridged the treatment of his Holy Week sojourn at a Benedictine monastery near Port of Spain, Trinidad, because of his anxiety; his saying so emphasized the visit. His strictures upon the authoritative pronouncements of modern anthropologists of the Fraser school were Roman Catholic in their partisanship; his own discoveries about the facts of primitive habits and beliefs in Africa and South America varied from and discredited what he had read in such as Malinowski's Sexual Life of the Savages.¹ Yet he was a "popular" writer, not a strict partisan such as Christopher Hollis or Christopher Dawson. One of the results of his travels was that wide observation led him to become a partisan.

British Guiana.--He searched for something different from the amenities of England upon his arrival in Georgetown in December, 1932. On January 3, 1933, he left by boat for the interior with the District Commissioner, Mr. Bain, listening to fantastic tales of a "Mr. Melville" and his local progeny. Then with several inept "boys" he started for

¹Ninety-Two Days, pp. 193-208. Evelyn was still on the theme later: "Evelyn Waugh, in the eulogy that bespatters the dust cover, claims that the author "'debunks" a great deal that is shoddy in modern uplift,' and that, 'he sets up a finely argued case for traditional, revealed religion.' . . . One is beginning to think that the sole argument the Roman Catholic Church can bring forward in its favour is the literary charm of its protagonists" (Review of Laurence Oliver, Tadpoles and God, The Cherwell, April 28, 1934, p. 20).

"Bon Success," or Boa Vista, Brazil, on horseback with scant information or maps.¹ He met a religious fanatic, Mr. Christie, who inspired a character in his next novel. When he arrived at the supposed metropolis he discovered it to be a ghost town; his escape was difficult because he had expected to find different return transport and had released his "boys." On his return he stayed with the Harts, a Catholic family; with Father Mather, with whom he re-discovered the joy of reading-- Dickens; and he was guided across country on an alternate route by Father Keary to Mr. Winter's mining camp. The latter part was a journey Evelyn almost failed to complete: that his suffering and sickness were prodigious is evident even in the new type of travel book in which sensationalism of adventure was suppressed. Upon his return to England after six months, he sought a week of rest in a hotel at Bath among the amenities of England. Such were the high-points of the journey which he laboriously recounted because he needed the money after a "crowded and fretful summer." He borrowed a house, began writing by October 12, 1933, and Duckworth published the book as Ninety-Two Days in March, 1934, revealingly dedicated "With Love to Diana."²

The Book's Reception, and Youth Politics Again.--The travel book was "Recommended" by the Book Society and by the Book Guild. No Catholic periodical noticed the work even though it might well have been evidence for Evelyn's partisanship. Many reviewers noticed his

¹An on-the-spot essay "from the River Berbice in New Guinea [British Guiana] to the Rio Branco in Brazil" is an account of travel tedium and native ineptitude ("Rough Life," Virginia Quarterly Review, X [Jan., 1934], 70-77).

²Diana Cooper had not forgotten Evelyn either (The Light of Common Day, pp. 150-51, et passim).

preoccupation with Catholicism, however, and he could hardly have done better for his co-religionists as an apologist. Most of the reviewers found it necessary to repeat an earlier reviewer's desire for a new word, "disgusto," which had been used first in connection with Remote People, to describe his peculiar approach to travel. Generally the reviewers were respectful of his style; the reviews were lengthy in paraphrase and rather perfunctory. Peter Fleming liked Evelyn's "transparent honesty" and his inability to pretend that his adventures were extraordinary,¹ the compliment being returned soon after in Evelyn's review of Fleming's Brazilian Adventure. Fleming anticipated an advantageous use of Mr. Christie in a novel--he thought such a character was material that Evelyn "knows how to use better than anyone else." Only one facet of the book brought his demurrer: the publisher's claims that Evelyn's photography would be of interest to anthropologists erred, for his use of camera (instead of cartoonist's pen) was a feeble art. In what seems an unusual acknowledgement of the value of Evelyn's explorations, a scientific journal published a review which indicated alarm at the nature of his journey in a Crown possession:

This singular account of a journey under the best official auspices paints a disturbing picture of an old British possession incredibly unused. [It is] seriously disquieting if it is to be taken as a fair account of a British colony.²

With his interest in Empire, Evelyn intended that someone should be alarmed. No one mentioned that the Oxford University Exploration Club

¹Spectator, March 23, 1934, pp. 474-76.

²The Geographical Journal, LXXXIV (July-Dec., 1934), 169-70.

had visited the area in the twenties.

Another review was startling in its use of an older facet of Evelyn's public career and fame. A large caricature drawing by "Coia" of "Evelyn Waugh and Godfrey Winn" as participants in "Childish Frolics"--playing children in short pants with sun helmets, bugles, and rooting pennants--accompanied Gilbert Armitage's review of their travel books.¹ This reviewer professed to see that "Youth are sweeping away, with revolutionary fervour, every category and distinction set up by criticism in the past"; he protested that they were "a high-hearted crew of adventurous young pioneers, with the light of a New Dawn in their eyes." However, in his conclusion, Armitage separated the two to Evelyn's advantage:

The ingenious and altogether delightful annalist of the Bright Young People has developed (probably inevitably) into a sane, sensible and engagingly waspish globe-trotter,² in search of mild stimulation from the exotic in space and time.

His additional remark about Evelyn's role in "youth politics" is significant: "Evelyn Waugh we can picture regarding his chums in the Youth Boat with a sour and disillusioned eye."

The harkening back to Evelyn's "younger generation consciousness" at this time appears an odd way to approach the present book; but the four- to five-year-old theme had been used by others recently. Evelyn's youthful appearance kept him perennially in the "Younger Generation" category. An article by Derek Patmore in *Harpers Bazaar*, named "Dust-Raisers or Footprint-Makers?" associated Evelyn with

¹The Bookman (London), LXXXVI (May, 1934), 121.

²Ibid.

Patmore's "brilliant contemporaries"--Robert Byron, Randolph Churchill, Alan Pryce-Jones, Beverley Nichols and Edward Sackville-West--in flattering manner:

We now come to three of my most brilliant contemporaries, Beverley Nichols, Evelyn Waugh and Robert Byron. . . . Evelyn Waugh is the Dean Swift of our day. His novels are as enchanting as Gulliver's Travels and as savage. The enfant terrible of modern letters, he is at heart a disappointed sentimentalist. He sees deeper than most of his generation and his laughter is more bitter.¹

Even later in 1933 Eleanor Smith's brother, the Earl of Birkenhead, wrote "My Contemporaries"² in similar vein; he included Evelyn with Frank Pakenham, the young Earl of Dufferin and Ava, Quintin Hogg, and Randolph Churchill--all of whom were five to ten years younger than Evelyn. He described Evelyn as the most successful member of his generation in letters, giving Evelyn credit for inventing a new form of novel but finding his travel books to be boring.³ Birkenhead's conclusions about Evelyn were much the same as the earlier by Patmore: "He is certainly the funniest influence in present-day literature, and however much he may want to be must at all costs refrain from being serious."⁴ Perhaps the articles that continuously placed Evelyn among

¹Harpers Bazaar, VII (Feb., 1933), 42-43, 75 (with photographs). The mention of Swift here reminds one it was reported in 1931 that Evelyn was engaged upon a Biography of Swift (Living Authors). None was published.

²Ibid., IX (Nov., 1933), 74, 79.

³Evelyn agreed. Tom Driberg reported: "In between he writes a travel-book. Last travel-book was, he admits, unreadable. Says he won't write another, Peter Fleming has spoiled market by debunking ordeals of exploring" (William Hickey, Daily Express, Sept. 3, 1934, p. 6).

⁴Harpers Bazaar, IX (Nov., 1933), 74, 79.

"youth" prompted his more serious work in 1934; serious at least insofar as he has been blamed for demolishing the aristocracy with A Handful of Dust.¹

Some Literary Journalism.--Other work from his very industrious pen appeared during the time he was writing Ninety-Two Days. An essay which was not restrained about the trials of travel appeared in an American magazine as "Rough Life."² His review of Peter Fleming's Brazilian Adventure, appeared in The Spectator;³ it is chiefly important because Fleming's account of a lost city played a part in the second ending of A Handful of Dust. To Harpers Bazaar, he contributed several essays and short stories. An essay, "Cocktail Hour," was a frivolous discourse upon the dangers of being--or not being--invited to cocktail parties, upon the virtues of large or small groups at these parties, and upon the ever-present "crashers."⁴ His "Farewell, 1933"⁵ was a bit more serious; he gave his reasons for fleeing Crisis-dampened London to "Brazil" before Christmas, 1932, and related how upon his return he had found "a gay reshuffle of wives" and other changes in London. The depressed season of 1932 had disappeared with the present "gayer than ever" Christmas of 1933; he religiously wished everyone a "Very Happy

¹"Evelyn Waugh in A Handful of Dust skillfully brushed away the last remaining crumbs of aristocracy, but one wonders whether this achievement was really relevant to the problems which faced society in 1934" (The Cherwell, Fall, 1936, p. 143).

²The Virginia Quarterly Review, X (Jan., 1934), 70-77.

³"Mr. Fleming in Brazil," August 11, 1933, pp. 195-96.

⁴Harpers Bazaar, IX (Nov., 1933), 26, 87.

⁵Ibid., IX (Jan., 1934), 52, 94 (Illustrated by "FISH").

New Year." A short story, "Out of Depth--An Experiment begun in Shaftesbury Avenue and Ended in Time,"¹ was his first completely "Catholic" story: it is governed by its moral "the Church is eternal" and is weakened by the didactic strain. An interest in "black art" and his trips through black race civilizations coincided; the story concerns an escape into the future when a black race is dominant and where the only recognizable remnant of earlier times is the Catholic Church. The ending back in the Present is a Confession: "Father, I have experimented with black art."

A Handful of Dust and Maturity.-- The foregoing were indicative of the slight but definite evidences of darker mood that preceded his most serious novel yet. He fled from Christmas, 1933, too, going to Fez early in 1934,² and began the composition of his next novel, Handful, which appeared serially while he was in Spitzbergen, and which so ingeniously bared an accumulated disgust and unhappiness by describing the average lives of latter-day Bright Young People. What was published as A Handful of Dust was first serialized as "A Flat in London: A Novel by Evelyn Waugh," with five installments from June through

¹Harpers Bazaar, IX (Dec., 1933), 46-48, 106.

²Stopp, p. 22. Evelyn referred to Fez in a review (Spectator, Dec. 7, 1934); there are references in Waugh in Abyssinia (1936). He detests English winters (Tourist in Africa, first pages).

October, 1934, in Harpers Bazaar.¹ The final installment, later placed in his short story collection as "By Special Request," concluded the serialized version with a powerful indictment of the probable outcome of a modern situation: after his wife requested the divorce, which he ultimately refused after going through the evasive actions the law made necessary,² the hero went on a long and lonely cruise; then he returned dully, joined her, and they returned to their old life, which, apparently, he would now accept on her a-moral terms. He rented the flat his wife had used for himself. Evelyn, one might suggest, could have solved his own marital problem in this fashion with his generation; he

¹Harpers Bazaar, X (June, 1934), 22-23, 90, 93-98, 101 (with drawings that are not signed); X (July, 1934), 24-25, 78, 80-83 (with drawings by Floyd Davis, and with an interpretative recapitulation); X (August, 1934) 16-17, 80-86 (with drawings and a recapitulation); X (September, 1934), 68-69, 82-84-88 (drawings); and "Conclusion," XI (October, 1934) 84, 115-123. In the Uniform Edition (London: Chapman and Hall, 1948) these Parts run from p. 1 to p. 42; p. 42 to 64; p. 65 to p. 102; p. 102 to p. 134; p. 134 to p. 164 plus "By Special Request." Thus, none of Chapters V, VI, and VII was serialized; the present chapter titles appeared first in the book.

²Evelyn's divorce in 1930 is not being described. The procedure in A Handful of Dust was standard before A. P. Herbert's Divorce Bill of 1937, however. Of associated interest is the fact that Herbert won his seat by defeating C. R. M. F. Cruttwell in 1935 and that Peter Fleming, Frank Pakenham, Lord Birkenhead, Lord Moyne [Brian Guinness] all helped Herbert (A. P. Herbert, The Ayes Have It, The Story of the Marriage Bill. London: Methuen, 1937, p. 5, et passim). Evelyn's novel seems to coincide as a contribution to the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1937; it appears that Catholic Lords refrained from attacking the Bill too. Evelyn has been quoted as saying "The present Divorce Law is a futile compromise. It is of no use to Christians because they cannot make use of it anyhow; it is a gross spectacle of a powerful section of the community fighting tooth and nail to prevent the other half enjoying something they do not themselves want" (Doris Langley Moore, The Vulgar Heart, An Enquiry into the Sentimental Tendencies of Public Opinion. London: Cassel, 1945, p. 103). This statement may have been made in 1933 when the topic filled Letters to the Editor columns; if it were, then Handful probably served to support Herbert's bill in its attack upon the antiquated and evasive procedures then current.

had not, however, and much of the unhappiness he exposed appears to be one result.¹

Ending with better, if macabre, humor, he published the alternative ending, already formed into a short story, to the book in September, 1934.² Combining the situation of Peter Fleming's search for a "Lost City" and his own experiences with "Mr. Christie" in South America; using his own jungle-awakened interest in reading Dickens³ and his feverish journey with Father Keary to Mr. Winter's mining camp; he provided a different punishment for his hero's transgressions--a hilarious living hell. Such is the inspiration Evelyn could achieve from recollection in the jovial company of his friends when sufficient time lapsed for humor to reassert itself.

Almost as if to placate the critics among his own church, there was included an apt, fine Roman Catholic point in Chapter Five wherein a planter's daughter is attracted to the hero and romance is precipitated in her schoolgirl's bosom. Her convent breeding asserts itself

¹Evelyn Gardner was often featured in Harpers Bazaar as a racing enthusiast, etc.; his relationship with Diana Cooper is to be seen in incidents common to his novel and her book, *The Light of Common Day*, pp. 150-51. Unique among his books, *Handful* has no dedicatory note.

²London: Chapman and Hall. In "Fan-Fare" Evelyn stated his story about jungle travel and reading Dickens as a captive was published before he began the novel. "The Man Who Liked Dickens, An African Story" does not contain flashbacks to London or the search for a "City" (Reprinted by *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, [Hearst], August, 1957, pp. 96-101).

³Jungle weariness awakened two old pleasures: bathing and reading. In South America Evelyn shared one Dickens novel with Father Mather by dividing it. Contributing to the joke was the subscriptions war in London, especially between the Herald and the Express who offered sets of Dickens (*Janus*, "A Spectator's Notebook," *Spectator*, July 7, 1933, p. 6). Arthur Waugh was working upon the *Nonesuch* Edition too.

strongly when she learns that he is already married: she acts with commendable decision, politely and completely avoiding him. Her reaction is the recommended action for a Catholic; the incident artistically offered a moralizing contrast to the hero's easier ways. However, the Tablet's Editor did not choose to read the book favorably. No other Catholic periodical noticed this, his most profound novel and a very "moral" one. Not until after Edmund Campion (1935) had assured all Catholics of his orthodoxy was it possible, perhaps. Indeed, it was only after Edmund Campion appeared that the Jesuit magazine at Farm Street, The Month, vouchsafed to notice Evelyn's work in a favorable comment; in its review of his saint's life The Month stated that he did the work with the characteristics most noticeable in his novel:

His wonted clarity of English, insight into character, irony, and vividness, and with all his usual sympathy for the personages he describes. This sympathy, discernible in his book, A Handful of Dust, was sometimes veiled in his previous ones; nor has his irony, as bitter as Mr. Aldous Huxley's, been always understood.¹

These were the first good words Evelyn received, aside from the "Remonstrants'" letter, from his co-religionists in their Press; it came when he was safe, after it was certain he was seriously Catholic. But if this was a commendation for the sympathy shown to the hero, who obviously finished his career in a most painful torment,² some misunderstanding still was evident; his "usual sympathy" for the other

¹The Month, Oct., 1935, pp. 377-78.

²Arthur Waugh had thought Evelyn heartless for hardheaded exploitation of the slow gangrening of "Lord Tangent's" foot in Decline and Fall (Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Feb. 14, 1962). "Tony Last's" torment, autobiographical in nature, may elicit pity; the sympathy arising from self-pity is a sentimental pity, or a "false pity" in Graham Greene's terms.

characters must surely be irony on The Month's part.

Most reviewers, even the "Socialists" among them, remarked the "sympathy" for the hero. In their various opinions the hero, Tony, was a "normal, likeable," an "honest, dull," or a "decent fellow." Perhaps Tony was their ideal of the good, average English country gentleman, much as Prime Minister Baldwin was usually represented to be--a common fellow who kept pigs.¹ Most reviewers found "a new note" of humanity; few qualified so much as to admit that "one does not quite know whether to be glad or sorry to see a certain humanity creeping in, with a balancing loss in the old savagery of the satire."² The reviewers recognized Tony as being essentially different from all the other characters, who were the usual Mayfair vile bodies; they noted the "laconic" wit that made it unnecessary for the author to add explanations about who and what was being held contemptuous. They wrote that Evelyn's art was "mature" and "deeper"; it was "moral." He was the only successful imitator of himself, too. But they missed much of the point.

James Agate called it "Evelyn Waugh at His Best" and wrote that

¹The humor in the novel about pigs is related: a current import problem ("Danish Bacon," *Spectator*, Nov. 3, 1933, p. 608) led to Graham Greene's jibes in "Pigs, Be British": "The pig in our literature has always been credited with qualities peculiarly British. Honest, a little stupid, commercially-minded perhaps, but with traces of idealism in his love affairs, the pig's best nature is shown in domestic surroundings at a period of peace and material comfort" (Review of *The Three Little Pigs*, Walt Disney Studios, *Spectator*, March 23, 1934, p. 455).

²Francis Iles, *Daily Telegraph*, Sept. 7, 1934, p. 7. Iles alternated the reviews with Harold Nicolson; it is a loss that Nicolson, who had reviewed *Labels* for the *Daily Express*, did not write his opinions of this novel.

"some people today are such as Mr. Waugh has drawn, and he is wise enough to be content with the facts and let the reader draw such inferences as please."¹ Peter Quennell, who wrote that he had worried about Evelyn's art because "solemnity showed signs of creeping in" and because Waugh was "at bottom a profoundly pensive--indeed, an extremely serious and, at moments, a melancholy and disenchanted--character," expressed his relief and was enthusiastic.² Quennell thought the interdependent tragedy and comedy made this Evelyn's "most mature and best written novel." His remarks were directed at The Tablet's attack insofar as The Tablet review had included the charge that Evelyn's "cruel" and ill-done "satirical entertainment" teetered awkwardly between tragi-comedy and farce; Quennell also found it to be one of the most moral books he had read. Tom Driberg was another friend who defended Evelyn from The Tablet's attack by providing him with space for his own rebuttal.

But, despite the peculiar venom of The Tablet review, the Editor was a more perceptive reviewer than many others in that he pointed out an essential tendency of Evelyn's attitudes. He erred only in attributing Evelyn's admiration for the paternalistic role of the country gentry to bad art. None offered a counter-defense for the Editor's charge that "any contempt he may have ... is obscured by the snobbery ... with which he fondly contemplates" Upper Class English society.³ We

¹Daily Express, Sept. 6, 1934, p. 6. A large photograph of an adult Evelyn accompanied this article.

²New Statesman and Nation, Sept. 15, 1934, p. 329.

³"The Pity of It," Tablet, Sept. 8, 1934, p. 300.

read as harsh satire Evelyn's treatment of lapses from the highest and best practices of that traditional and paternal society. Perhaps it is more obvious now than it was to the reviewers that the book was satirical at the expense of a society which was not always guided in its actions by traditional religion. It may be a weakness that in this "humanist" novel, Evelyn had attempted too oversubtly merely to insinuate such criticism into his readers' minds. Agate was almost alone in finding Evelyn's realistic description of society to be a criticism; the point was missed in the pleasure provided.¹

The book was a monetary success. In fact, the circumstance most disliked by The Tablet's Editor was the recommendation of the Book Society--he felt that such a notice should be taken as the Agriculture Secretary's "Notification of an Infected Area." The Chapman and Hall advertisement in The Times Literary Supplement for September 6 proclaimed that the first three impressions were sold since first issue on September 3 and that a fourth impression was ready. Tom Driberg noted in his column that Evelyn wrote a novel every two years, each selling from 15- to 20,000 copies and netting about one thousand pounds.²

In the same column Driberg disclosed that Evelyn's next work would be a "biography of Edmund Campion, Jesuit martyr." Upon reading

¹At Oxford it was concluded later that the book had destroyed the aristocracy (Cherwell, Fall Term, 1936, p. 143). Oxford had taken him more seriously since Vile Bodies than London had, for "Moral Re-Armament" in the form of the "Oxford Group Movement" was affective there.

²Daily Express, Sept. 3, 1934, p. 6.

this James Agate implored Evelyn to change his mind: "Must Mr. Waugh give us that biography of Edmund Campion or any other Jesuit martyr?"¹ This well publicized intention would seemingly have changed the nature of some reviews: Peter Quennell might, for instance, again have decided "the Catholic moralist" had actually "detracted from the charm of otherwise extravagant and light-hearted stories."

1934: A Third Person Account of Evelyn in Spitzbergen

As it was noticed in James Agate's short biographical item, Evelyn had just returned in early September, 1934, from another journey. From the penitential heat of British Guiana to the equally penitential cold of Spitzbergen, whether by accident or by design Evelyn had undergone purification in alternating extremes like those of one medieval Irish notion of Purgatory before beginning his saint's life. Little in his subsequent writing gives evidence of the trip made during the summer of 1934: there is one simile in *Brideshead Revisited* (1945)--and one review article. In his review of Alexander Richard Glen's Under the Polar Star, Evelyn merely wrote, "on one of which [expeditions of the Oxford University Exploration Club] I had the privilege of being his companion."² The memory gave no joy, for the friend of many years, Hugh Lygon, the third member of their unofficial expedition, had been killed in a tram accident in Germany, two years after their boyish

¹"Evelyn Waugh at his Best," Daily Express, Sept. 6, 1934, p. 6.

²"The Oxford Arctic Expedition," Tablet, Jan. 15, 1938, pp. 80-81.

adventure, in 1936.¹

Alexander Richard Glen, however, had written a full account of the peculiar outing in his Young Men in the Arctic, the Oxford University Arctic Expedition;² the account is somewhat hidden away in Chapter Twelve, "Spitzbergen Again." Perhaps because, as he had told Tom Driberg, Peter Fleming's book had ruined the sales of travel books, Evelyn wrote no book about the adventure; however, for once the account of an observer who described Evelyn's trials in detail gives a peculiar satisfaction to the lapse. Quotation must supplement paraphrase of a long and intimate account which helps characterize Evelyn in 1934.

Glen had led "The Oxford University Expedition to Spitzbergen, 1933," the title of a paper he read to the Royal Geographical Society on February 19, 1934. During May while he was playing polo and attending "dull" dances, he decided to return to finish or complete various observations with less formal preparation. He met Hugh Lygon in June and asked him to go on a two-man foray; his friend obtained permission for Evelyn:

We were due to leave Newcastle on 7th July, and on the evening of the 5th I received a message from Lygon to say that Evelyn Waugh was very keen on joining us. Supplies had been ordered for two, but I had left a small safety margin which was nearly sufficient for a third person. It was also probable that as in the previous September we had left the Ebba Valley and Prince City huts well stocked, we should find food at both. A third person undoubtedly would be useful and, although I scarcely knew Waugh, I agreed to

¹Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961.

²London: Faber and Faber, March, 1935. Cited as Young Men hereafter.

his coming.¹

Such was the ease with which a nomad might begin a perilous journey "when the going was good." Hugh Lygon's leaving was a matter for the "Court Circular" column of the Times: "The Hon. Hugh Lygon is leaving today for Spitzbergen, and will be away for six weeks. No letters will be forwarded."² Evelyn and Glen slipped away without notice.

The party of three arrived with their supplies at Advent Bay on July 17, where a decomposing whale offended their nostrils and where they found Longyear City a dull and uncomfortable place. From the discomfort there they embarked for Bruce City, where they slept for fourteen hours in a hut before beginning such chores as waxing skis and oiling sledges; difficulties met them from the start:

We moved sledging stores and equipment of the Ebba Valley hut on the 19th July and started to relay these on to the glacier itself on the following day. The bulk was carried up by that evening, which was fortunate, as a heavy rainstorm turned the whole valley into a bog the next morning. . . . Every step one took, one either sank deeply or slipped on the mud: heavy ration cases swinging on the back did not make it any easier to pick a way from boulder to boulder.³

Such unpleasant beginnings must have appeared discouraging to Mayfair personages; here there were no "characters" to put into novels nor "boys" to do the work: "Lygon and Waugh had never seen a glacier before, let alone take part in a sledge journey, and they had pictured our travelling twenty miles or so per day over a crisp smooth surface." Their first day's hike was a mere hundred yards before a fog forced a

¹Young Men, pp. 227-28.

²Times, July 7, 1934, p. 15.

³Young Men, pp. 231-32.

halt and encampment. On their second day they discovered "the second known nesting place of the Ivory gull in West Spitzbergen." Glen wrote that "the next three days are best forgotten"--the going was not good: "Even working eight to ten hours on end with as light loads as possible, we considered ourselves lucky if we made two or three miles." The work was indescribably difficult; there were ever-present dangers from crevasses and potholes. Lygon pulled Glen from an icy pyjama-clad bath one morning. Once an avalanche opened a terrifying abyss three feet before them during a heavy mist and forced a long detour. They changed route plans often so as to arrive at various points in time to catch their return boat in mid-August.

They developed a meticulous camping routine for tent living: opening sleeping bags and distributing food in close ritual movement. Their rations of food had been selected in the light of previous experience: "Each man had per day 8 oz. Bovril pemmican; 4 oz. sugar; 4 oz. Bemax chocolate; 4 oz. Quaker Oats; 4 oz. Blueband margarine; with the addition of 4 oz. Huntley and Palmer's biscuits.¹ Field rations were dull but Glen had thoughtfully provided luxuries--jam, tomatoes, and fruit--since they carried little scientific equipment and because food relieved the monotony of sledging:

Lygon and I lived extremely well, but Waugh could only look upon pemmican as medicine, and porridge in rather the same light as his skis. Notwithstanding the amount he ate, he got through an amazing amount of work, and although we all lost several inches, his loss must have been by far the greatest.²

¹Young Men, p. 233. The brand names were mentioned because the supplies had been donated.

²Ibid., p. 236.

They avoided grimness with two books: The Old Wives Tale and Saki's Short Stories. A frugal meal in Bennett's book seemed opulence to them; they talked about food and people. The two Mayfair boys planned a luxurious walking trip on the continent, with a valet preceding them to find the comforts of food, wine, and rest. "Books, people and travel were the main subjects when we tired of food itself."¹ There was "one glorious night of frost" during which they tried to enjoy themselves; skiing was not pure pleasure for Evelyn:

Lygon and Waugh had only two days on skis in their lives, and Waugh was definitely unhappy. There was, with our equipment, an excellent book on the subject which emphasized the necessity of not regarding skis as two boards glued to one's feet: 'Above all,' it said, 'be happy, whistle.' Waugh had the utmost contempt for this; his skis were a painful necessity fixed rather inevitably to his feet, and he would not look upon them as anything but despicable athletic implements. The skis were utterly beyond his toleration. Lygon on the other hand was amazingly good.²

Since Glen's account of companionship led to a conclusion about the subject in his next book, it is fortunate that Evelyn was depicted here as an eccentric but tolerable companion; in the face of everything he proved a philosopher:

Waugh had proved himself an irrefutable prophet by consistently forecasting the worst. He had never expected we should find a way off the glacier, and the idea that a hut lay in any part of the Wijde Bay was quite absurd. . . . He freely confessed that his prophecies were founded purely on the method of complete pessimism.³

Once off the glacier, they found a hut and they expected to find a boat. Returning afoot for packs, Lygon was swept into an earlier in-

¹Young Men, p. 237.

²Ibid., pp. 235-36.

³Ibid., p. 241.

nocent but now raging icy stream. He escaped out the other side but he could not abide being wet: "Then I had the unforgettable opportunity of seeing an entirely naked man running along the side of a glacier six hundred miles from the North Pole."¹ Attempting to help with tarred twine, Glen and Evelyn crossed one stream, but another had sprung into being; they flung the line to Lygon with a ski stick, then tried to draw him across. Evelyn's pessimism was warranted:

All went well until only one stream lay between us and the homeward side of the river. This we had crossed quite easily before, but this time Waugh, who was on the middle of the twine, was knocked over by an ice boulder and the sudden jerk pulled Lygon over also.²

Ashore, Glen had to watch two helpless men until the twine between them broke and allowed Evelyn the freedom of the shore; but Lygon was swept toward the main river before he lodged where he could creep painfully to safety. In the near disaster they had lost their hats: now the terns attacked their heads. Since Lygon's knee had been injured they planned desperate measures for obtaining aid. Overall Glen's laconic account is of such events that neither Evelyn nor Peter Fleming himself could have hidden the terrors. They proved impossible to describe adequately and to pretend an uneventfulness was useless.

It would be repetitious to chronicle the remaining hardships of the journey. Finding no boat the three left the hut on August 5th; back on another glacier they climbed, slid, starved, and detoured until

¹Young Men, p. 243.

²Ibid., pp. 243-44.

they reached a second hut where there was a boat. On August 10th they started a rowing journey and were discovered by fishing coalminers who took them to Longyear City. They spent some comparatively pleasant time in Advent Bay which now proved a "sudden return to civilized life."¹ But with haste the two Mayfair youths took the first collier homewards.

Glen's description of the whole tortuous journey makes it appear the equal of any experience in boredom and physical suffering that Evelyn had endured in Africa or British Guiana. Luckily Evelyn would appear to have acquitted himself well on this trying expedition as one judges from Glen's account. Glen wrote a second book which may include the evaluations of second thoughts; in it he noted:

With experience of three expeditions, I had very definite ideas as to the type I required. This was not the bogusly clever young man, eager to establish notoriety, whether by writing an alcoholic novel, by wearing a self-conscious monocle, or by going on an expedition.²

Certainly the elements of this remark seem to describe a more youthful Evelyn. Perhaps Evelyn was more mature in 1934 and fitted the required personality profile:

The persons for whom I was looking represents an unassuming but self-possessed type, sometimes produced by the larger grammar schools, rarely by the mediocre public schools, quite often by Eton, and as frequently by Winchester. His interests usually lie in country pursuits; not illogically, his type is also often met in the Foreign Office. Content with his own company, he is difficult to know more than superficially; rarely assertive, he may be found, however, to be surprisingly entertaining in a sympathetic coterie. . . . Life lived in such an interested yet detached manner might

¹Young Men, pp. 256-57.

²Alexander Richard Glen and Noel Andrew Cotton Croft, Under the Polar Star (London: Methuen, 1937), pp. 11-12.

be described as Etonian.¹

Lygon's school was Eton; Evelyn's friends were frequently from Eton. Several of Evelyn's contemporaries at Lancing had made names as Oxford University Club explorers.² The letter remarks about being entertaining in a coterie seems to describe Evelyn's successful personality too. Perhaps the two Mayfair young men helped to form Glen's opinions; Evelyn's particular oddities marked him as a distinctly entertaining person rather than as a querulous companion.

1934: Edmund Campion, A Catholic Book

Evelyn returned to London by the first of September, 1934, engaged in the controversial events connected with his last novel, and began to work on his next book. The colophon dates in Edmund Campion attest to its composition between October, 1934, and May, 1935. He used the notes and materials that had been gathered by a scholarly priest at the Farm Street Jesuit Church, reworking and reinterpreting the matter to suit himself.³ Colophon information further relates that he worked in other places: Mells, Belton, and Newton Ferrars. Mells, near Frome, was the widely-known habitation of several outstanding

¹Under the Polar Star, pp. 11-12.

²The Lancing College Magazine often referred to its Arctic explorers. H. G. ("Gino") Watkins was the most famous. He had been in Head's House with Evelyn from 1921 to 1925, dying on an expedition in 1932. Two others were Noel A. C. Croft, who was at Lancing from 1920 to 1923, and Q. T. P. M. Riley, who was at Head's House with Evelyn from 1919 to 1924.

³Edmund Campion, Jesuit and Martyr (Boston: Little, Brown, June, 1946), Preface.

Catholic converts who lived in a kind of Roman Catholic Community: Lady Horner, Mrs. Raymond Asquith, her son Lord Oxford and Asquith, and later--Christopher Hollis. Belton was the country seat of the Brownlows, Perry and Kitty, to whom Evelyn also dedicated Wauagh in Abyssinia (1936); he had known them as "Bright Young People" once. The last-named place was a seaside town in Cornwall--near his future wife's home. Thus Evelyn visited friends as usual while he wrote; one is continually surprised at the rather eminent patronage he enjoyed, however.

Whether or not his saint's life was a "reparation" as whispered rumour has it is not ascertainable.¹ The dedication to Father D'Arcy, "to whom, under God, I owe my faith," and a later explanation that the book was a "testimony to my delight"² upon the rebuilding of Campion Hall at Oxford in 1934-1936 are both sufficient cause for doing the task. He did it for influential friends as much as for himself. It is not surprising to find Evelyn among the distinguished persons in a group photograph taken during the dedication of Campion Hall in July, 1936.³ As an important contributor to the event, he was photographed with Mrs. Aubrey Herbert, a convert and the mother of his future wife; Lady Horner; the Hon. Mrs. Raymond Asquith; Miss Robinson; Sir Edward Lutyens; the Duke of Alba, a Stuart; Father Ronald Knox; Father D'Arcy,

¹(Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961).

²Preface to the American edition of Edmund Campion (1946).

³"Group at Opening of Campion Hall, Oxford," Catholic Herald, July 3, 1936, p. 3.

the Master; and A. D. Lindsay, Vice-Chancellor of the University. Others were also enlisted. Father Martindale contributed "Catholics and Oxford," an essay; Eric Gill his sculptures. There was a chapel in memory of F. F. ("Sligger") Urquhart, the well-known Catholic don of Belloc whose friendships among students from Hilaire Belloc through to Ronald Knox, to Christopher Hollis¹ of Evelyn's University days and even after was thereby commemorated. Evelyn's film had earlier immortalized him, of course; and someone, perhaps Evelyn, later contributed Abyssinian art objects.² Others who were present included some familiar names: Frank Pakenham, Lord Oxford and Asquith, Lord Clonmore, and Douglas Woodruff. The important Jesuit occasion at Oxford had mustered the aid of many English Catholics and it cannot be surprising that Evelyn, a famous author, should have been enlisted too. Several others, such as Christopher Hollis, could have been selected to do their usual stint of Bellocian historiography³ for the occasion; Hollis'

¹Along the Road to Frome, pp. 80, 122. F. F. Urquhart died in 1935: see R. A. Knox, "Francis Urquhart," Dublin Review, CXCVI (Jan.--June, 1935), 148-153.

²Tablet, Feb., 1937, p. 205.

³Christopher Hollis, "Mr. Belloc's Interpretation of English History," Dublin Review, CXCVII (July-Dec., 1935), 269-281. Evelyn may have had the aid of both Hollis and Woodruff: "It was serious English history, checked by Douglas Woodruff of The Times, Father L. Hicks, S. J. of Mount Street, W., Historiographer of the English Jesuits, and Father D'Arcy, S. J., Principal of Campion Hall, Oxford" (The Campion-Parsons Invasion Plot, p. 5. *Infra* for the lengthy title of this pamphlet). Christopher Hollis' more scholarly Sir Thomas More was less popular (Sheed and Ward, 1934); incidentally, Sheed and Ward was an important group for the mid-thirties Catholic revival.

rather scholarly Sir Thomas More did appear in 1934. But Evelyn was chosen; the proceeds of Edmund Campion were donated to the building fund.

Further, in view of the doubts cast upon Evelyn's good faith by *The Tablet*, such a "Work of Piety" could not but enhance his public reputation among his co-religionists. It seems quite unlikely that he could disregard the Editor's attack completely; that magazine's animosity was so great that even when his new book was issued by Longmans in September, 1935,¹ *The Tablet* ignored it and continued to do so until control of the magazine was assumed by Longmans and Douglas Woodruff in 1936.

The Farm Street Jesuit's publication, *The Month*, reviewed Edmund Campion warmly; his friends at Farm Street thus having their first chance to commend his earlier novel, *A Handful of Dust*, too.² Reviewers generally treated the book favorably and carefully, though their English bias required that they qualify on various points of religious fact. *The Month's* reviewer observed that the book might be a corrective to the "myth that has so shamefully possessed our textbooks and distorted the average perspective of the British schoolboy."³

¹Edmund Campion, *Jesuit and Martyr* (London: Longmans, 1935). Longmans also published Waugh in Abyssinia, for he had left Duckworth. A Longmans' advertisement in 1937 reported that 10,000 copies of Campion had been sold; it was issued in the cheaper "Second Spring Series" (*Tablet*, December, 1937, pp. 807,880).

²*Month*, Oct., 1935, pp. 377-78.

³Ibid.

"M. A.," a typical schoolboy at Lancing, was critical of the book's "one-sidedness of the historical background" and concluded the book was "an unfortunate compromise between history, romance, and satire."¹ Two of Evelyn's friends were in position to help him with unstinted praise: Peter Quennell and Graham Greene. Greene, who had once defended *Vile Bodies* in an obscure journal,² noted Evelyn's peculiar fitness for writing about converts and wrote that "Mr. Waugh's study is a model of what a short biography should be. Sensitive and vivid, it catches the curious note of gaiety and gallantry of an adventure which, in spite of the inevitable end at Tyburn, was never sombre."³ Quennell wrote that the book "far outshines its neighbours" as he recalled Evelyn's earlier biography of Rossetti and his proven versatility. Though Quennell had previously fretted about Evelyn's Catholic bias, he enjoyed this book despite it:

In Edmund Campion he turns Catholic apologist. But it is not necessary to be a Catholic to enjoy the qualities of his intelligence as they appear in his dry, witty, well-modulated yet exceedingly effective--and at times, exceedingly destructive--prose style.⁴

Quennell liked the several excursions through earlier and later history and the minor portraiture, which others had decried; he found the saluta-

¹L. C. M., Dec., 1935, p. 136.

²Graham Greene, "Plenty of Good Novels," *Everyman*, Oct. 30, 1930, pp. 419-20. The article was companion to one by J. B. ("Beachcomber") Morton, "A Plague of Bad Novels." Greene might have reviewed *Handful* had he not been alternating the weeks with William Plomer in the *Spectator*.

³*Spectator*, Nov. 1, 1935, pp. 734-35.

⁴New Statesman and Nation, Sept. 28, 1935, p. 422.

ry influence of Lytton Strachey in these effects. Certainly the praise of these two friends contributed to the book's ultimate success: they had examined the book for literary merit and readableness and found it good. Harold Nicolson was quoted in the advertisements for his book jacket remarks, and Sylvia Lynd recommended it through the Book Society.

Protestant Attack on Edmund Campion.

Two reviewers, however, found his modesty about historical scholarship to be the appropriate point for stress. They admitted his gifts for writing and his general information, but they found several errors and a major deficiency. In The Times Literary Supplement, a reviewer found a series of errors in "fact" and pointed them out in climactic alarm.¹ In the BBC Listener, a reviewer contended that "no biography of an Elizabethan can at this late day be of much value as a work of scholarship unless it rests upon a thorough investigation of original sources in the Public Record Office and elsewhere."² A letter-writer called this "praising with faint damns";³ but it was an oral review over the air that touched off a letter-writing series of explosions. Mr. Desmond MacCarthy, a family friend of the Waughs and an associate member of the Bloomsbury Group, had reviewed the book favorably over the air waves and was called upon to defend himself in a manner that recalls The Tablet's attack upon Evelyn. Distinctively indicative of Evelyn's evolution during the thirties, this second

¹Oct., 3, 1935, p. 606.

²Nov. 13, 1935, p. 887.

³Listener, Nov. 27, 1935, p. 980.

controversy was in essence an attack upon Evelyn's Catholicism as the earlier had been an attack upon his lack of it.

In answer to a printed letter¹ MacCarthy wrote, "I praised Mr. Waugh for using well the evidence confirming that view of his character. There is plenty of it"--for the skillful depiction of "Campion as a brave, saintly young man who suffered death and torture in the cause of his religion." MacCarthy was not only defending his broadcast review; he objected to the tactics of an organization which had written directly to the BBC Director General "suggesting that I was an unfit person to review historical or biographical books for the BBC," and he soon ceased to do so. He had been drawn into a defense of Evelyn's right to think like a Roman Catholic: "My chief objection to the Catholic Church has always been that in the past she has done her best to muzzle those who disagreed with her," but he now decided the other side was very possibly "worse." The letter exchange deserves a short history.

The first published letter, dated January 1, 1936, appeared in The Listener of January 30 to protest MacCarthy's statement that Edmund Campion was accurate history; it was signed by J. A. Kensit, Acting Hon. Secty., United Protestant Council, London, E.C.4.² In two weeks another letter from Kensit was published; it was two columns long and expressed satisfaction with MacCarthy's reply, adding the "facts" of history because MacCarthy's scholarship was 12 to 84 years behind the times. Apparently recent discoveries in the Public Record

¹Listener, Jan. 30, 1936, pp. 221-22.

²Pp. 221-22.

Office needed consideration; Evelyn's book had not considered them either.¹

Though this controversy had begun while Evelyn was abroad in Abyssinia as War Correspondent, he returned in time to send his contribution to The Listener. A note in the issue of February 19 said that a letter from Mr. Waugh had been received too late for publication; it was published the next week. In his letter, Evelyn, taking a cue from the Oldmeadow controversy perhaps, enumerated seven points in his column-long statement. He began with a general statement:

I have never (except with singular lack of success in the Final Schools at Oxford) sought reputation as a historical scholar; if I did so, I do not think the fact of Mr. Kensit's opposition would seriously imperil it; I do not care a hoot that Mr. Kensit thinks my life of Edmund Campion 'a second-hand hearsay romance of the novelist.' But it is important that readers of the Listener . . . should be left with the impression that new, damning evidence against Campion has lately come to light, reversing the judgment of previous history, and fouling a name.²

He wrote that he knew all the "facts" and the scholarly opinion about those materials; he claimed to have considered and rejected irrelevancies. He contended that because allegations had been made or perjuries had been recorded was no reason for accepting them as truth. In a figure reminiscent of his debating days he wrote: "Mr. Kensit slaps them down on the table as though the very fact of their having been made proved their truth." His old strength in debate and an echo of the Oxford days glows through his concluding remarks:

I am forced to the conclusion that Mr. Kensit has not read it and that his rage is aroused, not that an inaccurate work should be

¹Listener, Feb. 12, 1936, pp. 318-19.

²"Campion," Letter to the Editor, Listener, Feb. 26, 1936, pp. 410-11.

unjustly commended, but that any book by a Catholic about a Catholic should be mentioned at all by anyone anywhere.

What a funny man he must be!¹

This letter was Evelyn's only public contribution to the series.

The next was a letter from L. Hicks, Historiographer of the English Province at Farm Street, published on March 4; Hicks proposed to correct Kensit's facts. Kensit replied in two weeks with a contention that Hicks had not paid a visit to the Public Record Office because his name was not in the Visitor's Book recently. The Editor of The Listener then closed the correspondence with Hicks' reply in the issue of April 1. The general result of this stage of affairs seems to have been a stand-off; a particular result was Desmond MacCarthy's cessation as a radio book reviewer.

Then Evelyn's book, supported by his many friends, won for him the Hawthornden Prize in June, 1936. The Tablet under its new management reported the event:

One of the most coveted prizes of literature was awarded on Wednesday last to Mr. Evelyn Waugh for his study of Edmund Campion. Several hundred people gathered at the AEolian Hall to hear Mr. Charles Morgan make the announcement.²

Morgan located the value of the book in its revelation of Campion's "secret life," because to know what he would die for, what he prayed for, etc., "was to know as much as we might guess on earth." Desmond MacCarthy's general statement had been the same. The Tablet further noted that the prize was awarded two days before the opening of Campion

¹Listener, Feb. 26, 1936, pp. 410-411.

²"The Hawthornden Prize," Tablet, June 27, 1936, p. 828.

Hall and that the book had been selected by the First Editions Club for the merits of its production. Evelyn should have been particularly pleased during the occasion of the group photography at Oxford.

However, the Hawthornden award for "imaginative literature by an author under 41" now gave his Listener foes new ammunition. The Protestant Truth Society took up the task anew, producing a pamphlet of 56 pages called The Campion-Parsons Invasion Plot, 1580; The Jesuit Edmund Campion Martyr or Traitor? Queen Elizabeth's Secret Service vindicated after 350 years by the recently discovered Vatican Archives Documents.¹ Beginning with "A Foreword on the Controversy," the pamphlet recorded the London Star's notice of Evelyn's prize winning:

It will be a shock to those who remember Mr. Evelyn Waugh to find that he has been awarded the Hawthorn Prize [sic] for a biography of the Elizabethan Jesuit, Edmund Campion.

Mr. Waugh has done many things since he became famous in Wales for his bright blue flannels and his silver cane.

He has gone over to Rome, which partly explains this Biography; he has been lost in the jungles of British Guiana, and cut off on a glacier from his fellow-explorers in the Arctic; he has been a War Correspondent in Abyssinia; he has designed the covers for his own books; now he has tired, it seems, alike of travel and art, and the spiritual and mental atrophy of all the rest of the brilliant gallery of nonentities he created. Thus this second Aldous Huxley has retired from the Brave New World of his own creating to the contemplation of the Brave Old World of Elizabeth.²

Having thus begun the argumentum ad hominem, the pamphlet authors then reprinted all the correspondence, both published and unpublished, that

¹Protestant Truth Society, Inc., "Cranley House," 31, Cannon Street, London, E.C.4. Cited as The Campion-Parsons Invasion Plot hereafter. This was probably a rival to the Catholic Truth Society. An approximate date for the pamphlet derives from Douglas Woodruff's review ("Protestant History; 16 Good Reviews; Truants from the Record Office," Tablet, Nov. 27, 1937, pp. 720-21).

²Star, June 25, 1936 (quoted from The Campion-Parsons Invasion Plot, pp. 5-6).

was connected with the BBC and Listener quarrel. To the letters are appended "Notes" that explain any and every remaining point, with comments about the affair that can be described as "asides" to the text. These latter-day "Notes" provide the most audacious attack of all and much material for the entertainment of readers such as Woodruff. One note related that Desmond MacCarthy had announced his departure from BBC book reviewing within a fortnight of the first "Protest." Another note erroneously accused Evelyn's Jesuit friends of writing the letter with his signature because Evelyn was in Abyssinia as War Correspondent; Evelyn had left Abyssinia in time to spend Christmas in the Holy Land and then returned to London. The pamphlet's general condescending opinion was that Evelyn was the ignorant and misguided follower of certain axe-grinding friends who were practicing all the old well-known Catholic and Jesuitical tricks. The complete text is a chaos of published and unpublished letters, with "Notes" that were not exactly defined as the footnotes they were, plus a vast number of facts and quoted documents. The pamphlet concluded with the seeming irrelevancy of a defense of the Secret Service in 1937: "We must trust the British Secret Service. . . . 350 years' history has proved they cannot always disclose all they know."¹ There was an overall ineptness about the pamphlet's production; it probably offered Evelyn no genuine concern. It did provide Douglas Woodruff with a Christmas present recommendation: in his "Talking at Random" column, he discussed it, under the title "Truants from the Record Office," as the fun-

¹The Campion-Parsons Invasion Plot.

niest book of the year even to the misspelling of Hawthornden.¹

¹Tablet, Nov. 27, 1937, pp. 720-21.

CHAPTER NINE

1934 to 1937: FINDING AND DEFENDING A POLITICAL POSITION

Career Journalism--Before Abyssinia

Slashing Reviews, 1934-35.--Having followed this part of the history of controversy beyond the chronological progress of Evelyn's public career, we must now return to record other activities concurrent with his return from Spitzbergen and his beginning the work on *Campion*. Humor was ever-present in Evelyn's career in one form or another during the mid-thirties. He had not yet become the often-times humorless controversialist he seemed to become later. No doubt The *Spectator* staff of the mid-thirties felt that its slashing reviews were a form of humor as the younger generation panned the older to size. Evelyn was quite capable in the art; but he used the review article with increasing seriousness during the time he was writing his book about *Campion* and after. As a reviewer he produced articles for *The Spectator* during the last four months of 1934 and in January and July of 1935 before he left for Abyssinia.

His September article was named "Travellers"¹ for he reviewed the books of three journeys in a neatly packaged essay that explained the nature of the travel book as Aldous Huxley and Peter Fleming produced it, then compared the three at hand. "Writers who feel compelled to

¹*Spectator*, Sept. 28, 1934, pp. 448, 450.

travel" were different from travellers who felt compelled to write. Engineer L. M. Nesbitt learned to write a bit better toward the end of his book about Abyssinia, a subject Evelyn was expert in. John Dos Passos' *In all Countries* was more a study of the progress of world Communism; it gave particular information about "a lot that has been obscure in Spanish Republican politics." But the third book on his list required a "strong stomach for verbal commonness." His October article, "A Contrast in Lives,"¹ compared the exciting memoir of a missionary in China with the dullness of a life in Rhodesia; the latter was worsened by silliness of style. For the "Christmas Book Supplement" he looked over Geoffrey Moss' *A Box of Dates for Children* in an article named "History in Rhymes."² This textbook for a son reminded Evelyn of "Doggerel Dates" which he had grown up with during his old-fashioned education; he quoted one rhyme with a salacious "esoteric meaning" and hoped it would be "piously" repeated. The December offering was more promising. "East and South"³ was an article that reviewed books by two friends, Sacheverell Sitwell and Patrick Balfour, along with books by H. M. Tomlinson and one other. He wrote that the Sitwell brothers were among the very few who knew how to describe architecture; but Sacheverell Sitwell's *Touching the Orient* compelled a protest too: Fez was not, in his experience, at all like Dante's Hell. Evelyn had firsthand experience with the Fasis and felt that their way of life would be a pleasant escape from the "inferno of Western life." He wrote that Patrick Balfour's

¹*Spectator*, Oct. 12, 1934, p. 538.

²*Ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1934, p. 24 (Book Supplement).

³*Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1934, pp. 890, 892.

Grand Tour was "refreshingly free from conceit or conceits" and it told of a "highly amusing journey." The former gossip-columnist's book was gemlike in all ways. But, the turgid writing, filled with inept and not apt "conceits," plus a subject matter "alien" to its author brought nothing but scorn and quotation of ridiculous sentences for H. M. Tomlinson's South to Cadiz:

It is very difficult to believe that this book is the work of a mature and respected writer. The phrases are involved and slovenly, the metaphors mixed, the sentences in gross defiance of analysis.¹

General C. G. Bruce's Himalayan Wanderer was better, but "somewhat drily impersonal." He still advertised his friends, and one wonders whether a personal grudge existed to invoke an attack upon the reputable and older Tomlinson;² this kind of review did arouse writers of Letters to the Editor, but The Spectator took them in stride.

During 1935 the post-bag brought him other types of subject matter. Generally he was shocked at whatever he observed Americans to be doing; thus his review of Francis Winwar's The Rossettis and their Circle was called "An American Shocker."³ Evelyn doubted that the authoress had profited from her bibliography and he found that she had used no new materials. Her scholarship consisted in "reboiling the matter and dishing it up in a saleable form." In separate summaries of "general culture," "style," and "honesty," he found that she was deficient throughout the

¹Spectator, Dec. 7, 1934, pp. 890, 892.

²One cause may be that Tomlinson's All Our Yesterdays was the Book Society's choice over Vile Bodies in 1930; the elder generation always had to be dealt with.

³Spectator, Jan. 11, 1935, p. 58.

first eight-and-a-half pages: "None but the grossly uncharitable would wish to carry their examination further." Having remarked "the general looseness of American literary propriety," he concluded by noting that the book wrapper reported a startling fact: Miss Winwar's book had won a prize of £1000. He wrote:

This shocking work was selected from over 800 manuscripts. It is not revealed by whom the prize was offered or who made the selection. Perhaps the name was drawn out of a hat. But if, as it is reasonable to assume, this book was chosen for its superior merit, the mind reels at the thought of the unsuccessful 800.¹

The lady had, of course, strayed into Evelyn's special province; and it must be added that his reviews were no more caustic than those by Peter Fleming or Graham Greene, both no-nonsense critics too.

If his reviews were the result of bad temper, it was more in evidence during July when he wrote two articles about books purporting to reveal conditions in Abyssinia. The peace and progress of Haile Selassie's regime that L. M. Nesbitt had described last year was under threat from Italian invasion; Nesbitt's new book, *Desolate Marches*, a continuation in different style of subsequent journeys for the current demand, now recalled Evelyn's memories of "Treachery, avarice, and ingratitude" in that country of "decaying habitations and receding prosperity."² His second review in July was named "White Trash;"³ he reviewed a "bad book" in order "to give hitherto reputable publishers a reminder that they must not be insolent in what they try to put over on a public already stupefied

¹Spectator, Jan. 11, 1935, p. 58.

²Engineer-Author, Spectator, July 19, 1935, p. 106.

³Ibid., July 26, 1935, pp. 164, 166.

by literary over-production." The book jacket for Marcelle Prat's White, Brown and Black contained the statement, "Learn from this book something about Abyssinia, her people, their customs and life there today." Evelyn had discovered that the authoress had crossed the border on page 228 and was back in the Sudan on page 240, with five of the enclosed pages applicable mainly to the Sudan: he thought seven pages for seven-shillings-and-six-pence too dear. He reviewed her facts closely, concluding that in her ignorance she had misinterpreted and used too much imagination. Mr. E. V. Rieu of Methuen and Co. wrote to protest; another letter praised The Spectator for "authoritative and honest reviewing"; the Editor wrote that several letters offered similar praise. At the same time a Duckworth advertisement stated that readers should obtain Evelyn's four year old Remote People: "Do you want to know all about Abyssinia?"¹ But even better advice might have been to refer knowledge seekers to Evelyn's essay, "Abyssinia," which summed up Evelyn's knowledge and included his already formulated opinions about the political situation in Ethiopia. This essay was published in a Roman magazine which had a London office at the time--it was aimed to help both English and Italian audiences.²

Nostalgia in Literary Journalism.--Evelyn's better humor was represented in Harpers Bazaar. After his serialized novel, the next item he contributed was a short story, "On Guard,"³ about a Pekingese

¹Spectator, July 26, 1935, p. 161.

²The Beda Review, June, 1935; reprinted in The Catholic World, September, 1935, pp. 740-41.

³Harpers Bazaar, XI (Dec., 1934), 32-33, 84, 86. (The illustrator was unnamed.)

that bit off its mistress' nose. An essay on taste, which was announced earlier as "a sparkling commentary on the years 1910 to 1935,"¹ appeared as "In Quest of the pre-War Georgian."² It was a report of his efforts to ascertain the activities of a pre-War Georgian and of what he learned. Generally a nostalgic recall of the interests of Society during the first war and during his own University days, it had little to say about more recent times and habits except by contrast and silence. But it fitted in with Evelyn's current tendency to harken back to better days.

These pieces might be argument for saying Evelyn was dwelling in an emotional hinterland between his nostalgia for an older world and his growing awareness of troublous times ahead. Another bit of evidence that he was dwelling upon the past is found in Cecil Hunt's Author-Biography; the Daily Mail editor had earlier collected a number of articles for a series about authors' choices of books. Evelyn's short answer startled him:

A surprise came from Evelyn Waugh, who admitted that his favourite book was not published and that it might be years before it was completed. "It is the memorial biography of C. R. M. F. Cruttwell, some time Dean of Hertford College, Oxford, and my old history tutor. It is a labour of love to one to whom, under God, I owe everything."³

¹Harpers Bazaar, April, 1935, p. 11

²Ibid., XIII (May, 1935), 50-51, 130, 132. (Illustrated by Gerald Backhouse.)

³London: Hutchinson, 1935, p. 216. Cruttwell had done a series of BBC lectures from his study which was published in December, 1934: The Great War, 1914-18. Evelyn had possibly named the original hero of "Mr. Loveday's Little Outing" after his unloved tutor (C. M. Bowra, Spectator, July 10, 1936, p. 70); there was "Gladys Cruttwell" in his story "Winner Takes All," too.

As late as April, 1935, with Campion finished, Evelyn, living in his hinterland possibly, was undetermined where to go next. The latest of his gossip-columnist friends, Sibell Lygon who wrote "Vanity Fair" for Harpers Bazaar, overheard his talk at a party about going to Mexico. He had recently compared Campion to Father Pro of Mexico. At this Society gathering he was with his old company of friends:

Mrs. Peter Rodd was talking away in a corner. Mr. Evelyn Waugh was smoking a large cigar and concocting plans for a trip to Mexico in quest of adventure. Miss Baby Jungmann looked rather frail in pale blue. . . . Lord Berners stayed later than he usually does. Altogether a very gay evening [among the guests were Lady Castlerosse, Lady Alington, Lord Sudeley, Lady Weymouth, Miss Betty Baldwin, and Mr. William Astor].¹

A very good friend, Lady Lavery, had died in January. That he still saw Diana Cooper is probable because "Mrs. Stitch" was the one who fictionally got the hero his job as War Correspondent in Scoop; she was in Rome with Lord Berners a short while later as British emissary to Il Duce.²

Assuming a Political Position for the Abyssinian War

The Daily Mail's Opinions.--The state of imminent war in Abyssinia finally drew Evelyn's attention from Society and Mexico. Perhaps he had recently talked with Geoffrey Harmsworth, who was "Mr. Daily

¹ Harpers Bazaar, XII, (April, 1935), 68-69.

² The Light of Common Day, pp. 153-54.

Mail" in Abyssinia during the early part of 1935.¹ Or perhaps his friendship with Randolph Churchill, who wrote Editorials for the Rothermere Sunday Dispatch on the subject quite similar to those that appeared in The Daily Mail, was his contact for his next working journey. In his later book about going to Abyssinia, Waugh in Abyssinia (1936), he wrote that it was the political good sense of The Daily Mail that appealed to him during the summer of 1935 and attracted him to seek employment as the Rothermere Press' War Correspondent.²

What the editorial opinions of The Daily Mail were will, then, help to elucidate Evelyn's opinions at the time. Several Editorial headlines can be quoted to indicate the tenor of the paper's thinking: inveighing against Anthony Eden's stands at Geneva in July and August, 1935, editorial articles such as "The League of Mischief" declared that the Italo-Abyssinian dispute had nothing to do with Great Britain. "The Socialist Bedlam," "Frittering away the Empire," "Get out of Geneva," and "Keep Out--Britain First," are certainly indicative titles.³ The latter article pointed out that the Abyssinian matter was positively

¹Alfred Geoffrey A. Harmsworth, Abyssinian Adventure (London: Hutchinson, Nov., 1935). Evelyn knew one member of the Rothermere family of press Lords in that Desmond Harmsworth was an associate on The Oxford Broom and had accompanied Harold Acton to the Facade party the Sitwells gave (Memoirs, p. 130).

²Waugh in Abyssinia (London: Longmans, Green, 1936), p. 48.

³Daily Mail, July 31, 1935, p. 8; Aug. 1, p. 10; Aug. 2, p. 8; Aug. 5, p. 8; Aug. 15, p. 10. "Britain First" was the name painted on an airplane which the Daily Mail gave to the Government (Daily Mail, Aug. 14, 1935, p. 1). Arthur Christiansen, Editor of the rival Daily Express recalled the loss of circulation which the Daily Mail suffered in its various campaigns and its pro-Fascism (Headlines All My Life, p. 142).

of no concern to England, that no resources were available during the economic depression for knight errantry, and that Britain had only £50,000 worth of exports involved at the very most. There were feature articles from observers, with editorial comments about the otherwise erroneous and inaccurate reporting, the slave trade, and the general primitivism of Abyssinia. These opinions were expressed by Randolph Churchill; they were identical with those Evelyn had written for *The Times* in December, 1930. Thus, his old convictions directed him to the newspaper that most closely reflected them now. And his tour as a "War Correspondent" is the important herald for the greatest turning point of his public career. To a large segment of his audience, he became a villain; to a portion of the public he was known as a leader of the anti-Socialist reactionaries. Until this occurred he had been, generally, rather well-liked by all.

Reporting the Abyssinian War.--After he had obtained his assignment, Evelyn spent ten days in the usual feverish preparation, then ten days enroute by ship; he arrived at Djibouti on August 19, 1935, and on August 20, he crossed the border into Ethiopia in company with six others.¹ His first article, "War Certain in Few Weeks," appeared in *The Daily Mail* of August 24;² the Editor's note was an eye-catching announcement:

Evelyn Waugh's Vivid Addis Ababa Cable.

We print this morning a vivid and informative dispatch from Mr. Evelyn Waugh, the much-travelled author, who has arrived at Addis Ababa, the capitol of Abyssinia, as Special Correspondent of the *Daily Mail*.

¹Waugh in *Abyssinia*, pp. 49-51.

²*Daily Mail*, August 24, 1935, p. 9. (Two full columns.)

He knows the country and the people, and his acuteness of observation and lively pen will enable him to supply readers of the Daily Mail with the best and latest dispatches.¹

Though the newspaper was offended by the attention paid to Abyssinia in Geneva, it was clearly expected that Evelyn would make the news area an important one. It was probably hoped that Evelyn would write as he had for The Times in 1930; his satirical and humorous pen would not hurt the convictions of The Daily Mail.

His first report stated that there would be three weeks more of rain, then the talks in Europe would cease and the shooting in Abyssinia would begin. He noted that Dr. Torrence, an American, hoped to form a Red Cross unit, but the natives seemed apathetic: the natives had customarily treated friend and foe alike when wounded. Evelyn's reports were outstanding in that he was one of the few Special Correspondents on the scene; The Daily Express, for instance, depended upon the usual news services.² His treatment of reports from the provinces, "unconfirmed" events, was usually sceptical. The Daily Mail supported his

¹This and a similar note appeared in several issues.

²Daily Express Editor Arthur Christiansen made the following interesting observations, though they do not seem just to Evelyn's actual work: "As I flicked through the 1935 newspaper files, I wondered what would have happened if I had sent Cedric Belfrage to cover the Abyssinian war which came at this time. As a sensitive Left Wing political animal, he should have been a first-rate choice; but like Evelyn Waugh, the novelist chosen by the Daily Mail for this assignment, I suspect he would have been weak on news coverage. . . . When it came to the business of gathering real facts and grinding them out against real edition times, he was beaten by the old contemptibles of our craft, the general reporters" (Headlines All My Life, p. 154). Evelyn's Scoop did not distinguish between either of the morning dailies, it would appear.

articles with the regular "Reuters" dispatches and printed the reports of other Special Correspondents in Rome and Geneva. By contrast with The Daily Express, The Daily Mail was interested and created an interest in the Abyssinian Crisis; the rival morning paper was more involved in local politics.

With three weeks of waiting ahead of him, Evelyn's reports were mainly of local preparations, which can be seen in the various headlines given to his stories; "Evelyn Waugh watches Abyssinians Training," on August 26: "Drilling the Emperor's Volunteers, French Digging in Abyssinia," on August 27, both from Addis Ababa. He was a mobile reporter too: from Jijiga his article was "French Count's arrest in Abyssinia, Charged with wife as a spy, Twelve suspected Natives captured in the bush," on September 2; from Harrar he reported his chief "scoop" though it took exactly a month before its importance was noticed: "Evelyn Waugh on Abyssinian troop movements, Abyssinians Entrenching, Italian Invasion Rumour Denied," of September 3. It was while he was away from Addis Ababa that the really sensational "scoop" of the war was missed. He and Patrick Balfour (correspondent for The Evening Standard) had been the intimate of Mr. F. W. Rickett from the time he joined Evelyn's party at Port Said until he stayed with Evelyn at Mrs. Heft's pension

in the capitol city.¹ Rickett obtained some mineral rights concessions from the Emperor which alarmed Italy, France and Britain and which might have precipitated the united States into the war.² The genial "mystery man" had advised them he would provide sensational news, but both Evelyn and Patrick Balfour missed it when it came. Evelyn was ordered to return to the scene of the real "action," for his newspaper proved to be unenthusiastic about the things he had learned elsewhere.³

¹Evelyn wrote that Mr. F. W. Rickett, a Midlands Englishman, joined their party of six at Port Said; he was invested with mystery from the start, speaking darkly of a "mission" and hinting that he was bringing Coptic funds to the Abuna. He ordered the best but settled for ordinary coach and went to Mrs. Heft's pension with Evelyn. After some time he managed to obtain a mineral rights concession from the Emperor for his "Anglo-American" company: "Apprehensions were immediately aroused in Italy, and to a less degree in France, that England, who was at the moment adopting an increasingly censorious attitude towards Italian ambitions, was herself bent on economic annexations in Ethiopia" (Waugh in *Abyssinia*, pp. 56ff, 111ff). See Patrick Balfour's account (Lord Kinross, "The Years With Kinross," *Punch*, August 23, 1961, p. 283).

²The *Daily Mail* reported the event: "Regret at Oil Concessions, Whitehall Unaware of Negotiations" was its headline (Sept. 3, 1935, p. 11) to a story disclosing that the British Government wondered whether British capital was involved in F. W. Rickett's deal; it was stated by Sir Sidney Barton, the British Minister at Addis Ababa, that only an American Corporation was involved. The next day the news was that the United States State Department cancelled the oil concession of the African Exploration and Development Corporation (Sept. 4, 1935, p. 11). It was generally supposed that the Emperor was anxious to accept an arrangement whereby an Italian invasion would draw the United States into the conflict. Evelyn certainly considered the action an act of duplicity on the Emperor's part. The *Daily Mail* followed Mr. Rickett for some time: he arrived at Budapest as "Mr. Goldstein" (Sept. 13, 1935, p. 11); he was met at Croydon Airport, photographed, and persuaded to talk about "My Oil Concessions" (Sept. 14, 1935, p. 10), and there was an article about the "U. S. Financier," F. W. Rickett, soon after (Sept. 18, 1935, p. 13).

³Interpretations were taken from Waugh in *Abyssinia*. See the Bibliography for a complete list of his reports.

From Addis Ababa came local color articles once more:

"Abyssinians Move to the 'Front,' Crowded Trains leave daily, Imprisoned Ex-Emperor's Bid for Freedom," on September 6; and "British Guard at Addis Ababa, Secrecy Drama, Italian Consuls and Spy Mania," on September 7. The latter article began with the statement "An atmosphere of burlesque melodrama invests the arrival of the Indian reinforcements of the guard for the British Legation at Addis Ababa." His sense of humor was now bidding for supremacy over objective reporting. Two more articles dealt with "unconfirmed reports": "Italian Consuls Withdrawn, Insecurity of the Provinces," on September 9; and "More Abyssinian Troops Moving, Civilians Reported Leaving Two Towns," on September 10. In these, the doubts and qualifications which The Tablet's Editor could not comprehend (though, as stated earlier, Evelyn was merely conducting what became the Catholic's best defense--the fight for press honesty) became more noticeable: Evelyn wrote that "an unconfirmed report from Harar states that the evacuation of the civil population there and at Jijiga is proceeding. . . . All these reports are unofficial, but credible." The difficulty of being at the capitol city was that rumors preceded the slow and difficult communications from the provinces of the primitive land. He began to interpolate his own opinions. In his article of September 14, "Abyssinian Call to 750,000, Troops Robbing Farms, Disorderly Rabble," he wrote:

An unconfirmed but credible report from Direedawa states that in the province of Galla the antagonism of the populace has been provoked by the behaviour of the Abyssinian soldiers An undisciplined rabble, they are stated to be looting.

Evelyn's previous experience and his study of the country provided

him with opinions about the various segments of the country's tribes; the "Abyssinians" were the least likeable.

The war was slow to start. An Editor's note stated that his Special Correspondent had telegraphed¹ the local expectations that the Emperor would issue a mobilization order very soon. Rome had denied the invasion of 2,000 Italian troops near Assab, Eritrea, which Evelyn had reported on September 3. In any case, the capitol city could hardly be bothered by invasions in the desert so far away. Nor did Haile Selassie give up hopes for a delaying outcome from the Geneva talks until even later. Perhaps the Emperor should not have been scorned for his hesitations: Evelyn's next article was "Abyssinian Troops Rebuked, Reluctant to go to the 'Front,' British Minister Sees Emperor," on September 17; he wrote that the natives of Harar feared to leave their women to the more primitive troops of Abyssinia. In reports of September 18, 19 and 20, he discussed the local wait-and-see attitude.

He reported what seemed to be no more than local bids for outside support. He suspected a "curious proclamation" in three languages against cruelty to animals; he concluded that since the English and French seldom were cruel to animals, the proclamation was merely aimed toward winning better foreign public opinion. He was certain of the propagandistic intent when he described the "Abyssinians' Luxury Goal, Emperor opens Model Prison"; the building had been started two

¹Perhaps this was the report Evelyn sent in Latin so as to foil other reporters; it succeeded in confusing his Editor, too, according to Patrick Balfour (Punch, Aug. 23, 1961, 283). Something went wrong in this Daily Mail report--mobilization was ordered and reported later.

years previously, then neglected, and only recently continued to completion. The facilities of the gaol were superior to those of local hotels; later he noted that it had not been used. He had noted cruelty to both animals and prisoners in 1930, too.

On September 24 the long-awaited mobilization order seemed to come as Evelyn had first predicted, at the end of the rain season. He wrote about "Abyssinia Pomp, Emperor's Review at Today's Feast," on September 27; and, in comic vein, "Emperor's Review in Storm, Abyssinian Chiefs' war dance, Deluge at 'End-of-Rains' Ceremony," on September 28. Yet by October 1, his article indicated there had been no mobilization order: "Abyssinia Waits, Mobilization Decree at any Moment." He attempted to describe the local feelings during these delays:

The temper of the inhabitants here closely follows the weather. The momentary reappearance of the rain caused a wave of optimism; now the return of winter conditions brings despondency. My landlady announced to me this morning . . .

There were rumors that Italy planned to bomb the capitol; he stated that if League observers did come, they would be detained for months before they would be permitted to see anything--such would be typical local politics.

Then official notice was taken of alleged violations of the frontier at Assab, Eritrea: in "Emperor's Protest," of Oct. 3, Evelyn wrote that it was "a movement I reported a month ago." At last had come some war excitement: "Throbbing Drums Call Abyssinians to War, Warriors' Wild Rejoicings at Emperor's Summons," on October 4; "Addis Ababa Curfew, Italian Legation Isolated," on October 5; "Emperor's Guards Yell for Blood," on October 6 (in The Sunday Dispatch); "Emperor's Guard, Ordered to Leave for Ogaden," on October 7; "Adowa's

Value, Abyssinia says not a Strategic Point," on October 8; and "Women's Wish to Fight, 300 Parade in Men's Uniform," on October 10, were his reports. Evelyn then became interested in the Italian consul: "Count Vinci's 'Holidays,' Italy Breaks off Relations," on October 11; "Count Vinci Leaving Today, Picking up Consul on Way, Request of Emperor Refused," on October 12; "Count Vinci Kept Under Guard, Refusal to Leave Consul Behind," on October 14; and "Count Vinci Stays on," on October 20 (in The Sunday Dispatch) were his amused articles that told of the Count's defiance and refusal to leave until one of his subordinates was allowed to leave the provinces.

Local affairs occupied other reports: "Soldier-Rioters March to Emperor's Palace," on October 14; "Unruly Troops Denied Rifles, Forbidden to Enter Addis Ababa, on October 15; "'Holy War' on Italians, Emperor Appeals to Priests, Traitor Son-in-Law Reported Shot," on October 16; "Abyssinia and Settlement Talks, Even if Emperor agreed tribes would resist," and "Hunt for Ras Kassa, Reported Lost in Forest," on October 17; "War Cry to Emperor, 'Kept Back too long,' Tribes' Sword Pledge," on October 18; "Orators in Relays, Spate of Patriotism in Abyssinia," on October 21; "Exiled Minister's Return, 14,000 Italian Levees said to have deserted," on October 22; and "Egyptian Prince in Addis Ababa, To Take Red Cross Corps to Front," on October 23. These were the "war reports" from the Special Correspondent at Addis Ababa where there was no war, little excitement, and some pomp. The Italians had invaded the North; the Italian Consul, Count Vinci, had defied the Emperor; the Red Cross unit was a rabble and had never started for the front.

In London the interest turned to the Election campaigns; Geoffrey Harmsworth's Abyssinian Adventure was reviewed in The Daily Mail of November 7 and November 10; Randolph Churchill was mobbed at Oxford (Nov. 13); economic sanctions against Italy started November 18; there was war in China (Nov. 19). Evelyn went once more to Harrar, to report local events on October 28, 29, 31, and November 1; he reported what he could of the Italian push from the South which was of especial interest to him as it had been his "scoop." His interest in local propaganda and his comments about local politics were what he sent to his readers; his partisanship in articles could be clearly distinguished from his reporting. On October 31 the irony was obvious:

Meanwhile the ancient antagonism of the Moslems to the symbol of the cross has been entirely reconciled. Red Crosses are prominently displayed on every building of importance, the official explanation being that these buildings are designated for hospital purposes. Some even contain few medical stores already.

Dr. Hockman, the American whose departure from Addis Ababa with a native staff to form a hospital unit here was reported three weeks ago, has now returned to Addis Ababa despairing of the inefficiency and cowardice of native helpers and is attempting to recruit Europeans.

Such reports aroused a long-lasting controversy for the "liberal" Press; friends at home were involved from this time on through the Spanish Civil War in a controversy about the Red Cross units, etc.

He returned to the capitol and reported events for The Daily Mail issues of Nov. 4, 5, 7, 13, 14, 19: that there was a joyless anniversary of the Emperor's coronation, that war funds were less than previously announced, that government officials were to make "gifts" to the war fund, that a Red Cross unit had almost been formed, that officials were anxious, that resort to a week of prayer was taken, that the Emperor

pledged his own blood, and that the tribes were looting and fighting among themselves. On the 19th of November he reported that correspondents had been authorized to travel to Dessye ten days earlier and that he had received his pass and left, but after having evaded one chief five hours from the capitol, he was stopped 100 miles away and forced to return. By November 25, however, he was in Dessye, where the Emperor had finally taken the field and where influenza was decimating the troops. This was his last report; he was recalled on November 31. Both he and The Daily Mail were equally disgusted. Later he quoted the Editor's note of dismissal: "From the beginning it has proved a thoroughly disappointing war to us."¹

The war as seen through his articles was rather a full one so far as writing went; all the events that his articles reflected were more fully described in his book wherein he was able to reveal that it was all a pleasant and fun-filled outing. Some reporters, it was discovered, had reported the whole war from Djibouti with lively imaginations, etc. In his book he was also able to take direct issue with the many "liberals" and "socialists" who had connived with the Abyssinian government in its general propagandistic adventures; particularly he combatted erroneous reports about a hospital's being "bombed" in Harrar and about the "active" part played by the native Red Cross unit--there was no hospital and the unit left the capitol city with the Emperor but not sooner. For all this he won few friends

¹"The Disappointing War. I," English Review, LXIII (August, 1936), 114.

when the book was published; the whole problem of the Press' distortions had become the quarrel of the Catholic Church versus the Press and Socialists in the Spanish Civil War. His book was vigorous defense for his side.

1936 - 1937: The Works of a Catholic
Conservative

Speaking Out Early in 1936.--Upon his dismissal he returned to Addis Ababa; for the third time he travelled down the railway from the capitol to Djibouti, then left for the Holy Land to spend Christmas. It was his second visit for he had touched Palestine first in 1929. By February, 1936, he had returned to London to participate in The Listener quarrel about his Edmund Campion; by mid-year he received the Hawthornden Prize and attended the opening of Campion Hall at Oxford. He worked to clear his desk of short stories which were published in July as Mr. Love-day's Little Outing, and Other Sad Stories;¹ a few reviewers found them to be quite as charming as anything he had ever done--not many had seen the seven (of eleven) that had been in Harpers Bazaar between 1932 and 1934. Most of England had grown tired of the war which Italy was pursuing quietly and effectively to its completion, and his reports were forgotten. Perhaps only a few in England had perceived Evelyn's growth from a humorist to a fighter; that he was becoming ardent in the cause of reactionary attitudes that grew during this time.

However he was asked to speak to the Oxford Newman Society; The Tablet reported the occasion:

¹London: Chapman and Hall, July, 1936.

On Sunday, June 7, Mr. Evelyn Waugh, who has recently returned from service as a special correspondent in Addis Ababa, addressed the Newman Society at Oxford on the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. . . . One must consider the history of the relations between the European Powers and Africa.¹

A part of Oxford took note too; The Cherwell's attack shows Evelyn's variance from the general temper of his time:

Mr. Evelyn Waugh spoke to the Newman Society last week on the subject of the Abyssinian War. Reaction against the system of collective security is prevalent in many quarters lately and is like to become dangerous if supported by such misconceptions as those propagated by Mr. Waugh.²

So erroneous was Evelyn's deviation that The Cherwell "was pleased to publish a short reply" by Roger Horne (Keble); his "FACTS, MR. WAUGH" was a lengthy consideration of several statements and a general condemnation of Evelyn's attitudes.³ Evelyn, in Horne's words, had "stated that he wished to bring forward a number of aspects of the situation which had previously been ignored by the largely anti-Italian Press." Thus, he had discussed the "Walwal Incident," Italian supplies of poison gas on the quays of Massowa, Italian attacks upon Red Cross units, and a "certain British medical officer." Of each, wrote Horne, the War Correspondent had been disrespectful of the reports. "It would be interesting to hear upon what grounds Mr. Waugh makes this extremely serious allegation" was Horne's comment upon Evelyn's frivolous suggestion that the "certain British medical officer" had probably been strangled. The chief fault of Evelyn's style as a speaker upon serious subjects was that he treated them with a "humour of the Decline and Fall variety."

¹"Italy in Abyssinia," Tablet, June 13, 1936, pp. 750-51.

²Cherwell, June 13, 1936, p. 164.

³Ibid. Once Evelyn had been the Cherwell's darling; now, when noticed, he was criticized.

Obviously he was in opposition to the general opinion of the era:

The whole paper was an attempt to justify Italian action by an attack upon the morals and customs of the Abyssinians, and no answer was made to the real problem that the whole fabric of League security has been destroyed by Italy's unprovoked aggression.¹

His talk was an added manifestation of Evelyn's taking the side of "Fascists" in opposition to "liberals" everywhere. He was not alone; his were in accord with the opinions of correspondent Patrick Balfour, who also thought it acceptable for the civilized Italians to govern primitive Abyssinians.² The fact that the "liberals" were an extremely vocal majority intensified the focussing of some of their wrath upon Evelyn's head. Among the other activities of the crowded year, 1936, that define Evelyn's partisanship and require extended mention are his return to Abyssinia, his rather formal enrollment as a "Tory" in the ranks of the new English Review, and his becoming generally acceptable as a major writer for the new Tablet.

Return to Abyssinia: Partisan Journalism and Other Results.--The Cherwell's attack ended with the observation that Evelyn's presence in Abyssinia had apparently added little to his information. In June he himself may have felt that his opinions should be investigated further; he applied for re-entry permission to the Italian authorities. Later he wrote that the Press had been concerned with other matters (such as the Spanish Civil War); he wished to know why the Emperor fled in May and

¹The Cherwell, June 13, 1936, p. 164.

²Punch, Aug. 23, 1961, p. 284.

how the occupation had actually fared.¹ Permission to return was granted in July and he arrived once more at the detested port of Djibouti as the first outsider to be allowed entry into the conquered country. He was generally pleased with the new and orderly political situation and felt that nearly everyone he talked to was also; his account of this satisfaction became the last chapter of his book. First published in *The Tablet*, it was a piece of ardent partisanship.

The first two chapters of his book have another history. During July, 1936, *The English Review*, a literary magazine edited for the last seven years by a prominent Roman Catholic, Douglas Jerrold, was undergoing change. Its reorganization was intended to achieve for it a position as a leading organ of the "Free" press—that is, committed and partisan but not controlled by a large corporation such as the Beaverbrook or Rothermere Press. The new magazine was to be a "mirror of informed and independent Conservative opinion," displaying the "true views of Toryism";² the operators were Peter Brassey, Collin Brooks, Douglas Jerrold, and Malcolm Vaughan, with Derek Walker-Smith as Editor. Its contributors were to include a number of prominent persons:

The English Review will command writers of the first magnitude on a wide variety of subjects. Amongst others who will contribute will be: Hilaire Belloc, Arthur Bryant, Wyndham Lewis, Sir Charles Petrie, Evelyn Waugh, Douglas Jerrold, Anthony Luđovici, A. G. Street, Douglas Goldring, Theodora Benson, Princess Marthe Bibesco, Dr. Keith Feiling, Douglas Woodruff, C. H. Middleton, Sir George McMunn and Francis Yeats-Brown. In addition

¹Waugh in *Abyssinia*, pp. 48-49.

²"Expansion of the English Review, *English Review*," LXIII (Oct., 1936), 298-300. (About the change of four months earlier.)

distinguished statesmen of the calibre of Lord Lloyd, the Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, Sir Edward Grigg and Lord Londonderry will discuss the problems of the day.¹

This formidable group enlisted Evelyn's services for but one three-section article; but his inclusion in a group who represented "true Toryism" and who held Fascism was only a national phenomenon and not exportable as was Communism is the important detail.

Evelyn's three part article was named "The Disappointing War,"² the title taken as he explained from his Daily Mail Editor's letter of dismissal. The accompanying Editor's Note called it an "informed and lucid presentation of the origins and background of the conflict." Actually, however, the article was a republication of his two survey articles which first appeared in The Times of 1930,³ with a

¹English Review, LXIII (Oct., 1936), 298-300. Most of the persons listed might be the dissatisfied and unrepresented Old Liberals who turned a favorable eye upon Fascism because they objected to the growth of what might be called "democratic dictatorships": "I should say that it is a dispute between the politically-organized classes, who find no difficulty under a democratic system in achieving a dictatorship, and the un-organized majority, whose reaction against this dictatorship is called Fascism" (Douglas Jerrold, Georgian Adventure, the Autobiography of Douglas Jerrold. London: The "Right" Book Club, 1938, p. 323; and Chapter Eleven). Though he had friends who were Liberals at Oxford such as Douglas Woodruff, Evelyn was not one. Though Douglas Goldring was Alec Waugh's good friend and knew Evelyn any closeness with Evelyn disappeared rapidly in Goldring's later anti-Catholicism. Some of these English Review associates might well have made Evelyn uncomfortable.

²English Review, LXIII (August, 1936), pp. 114-123; Sept., pp. 208-221; Oct., pp. 313-326.

³"The Throne of Ethiopia, Tafari as King of Kings, Personal Triumph," The Times (London), Oct. 17, 1930, pp. 15-16, and "Ethiopia Today, Romance and Reality, Behind the Scenes at Addis Ababa," Ibid., Dec. 22, 1930, pp. 13-14. Supra, p. 208.

conclusion that brought the history of events to date. His concluding words upon the present condition of Abyssinia in April, 1936, were these:

Three men have taken a determining part in the events-- Signor Mussolini, the Emperor, Haile Selassie, and Mr. Eden, and none is guiltless.¹

Then the article became the first chapter of his book, rather imitatively called "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to the Ethiopian Question." Pre-publication in the new English Review was a public indication of a tie with English Upper Class "Fascism."

The last part of his book, about his re-entry of the conquered country, was published in The Tablet during October. First it is worthwhile to recount some details of Evelyn's ultimate approval by that magazine. As already noticed, the enmity of Oldmeadow had endured through two long notes of criticism about The Daily Mail's choice of War Correspondent, which appeared during the autumn of 1935, and a final note about "a mean writer," which appeared in the issue of February 8, 1936. In April the magazine changed hands, with Douglas Woodruff becoming the Editor and Longmans the Publisher; at once Evelyn's Edmund Campion was advertised in The Tablet, though it had not been reviewed there, and it was frequently mentioned with praise and courtesy. The Tablet then noticed his appearance at Oxford and his winning the Hawthornden Prize. Evelyn himself became a reviewer in July with an article about Aldous Huxley's Eyeless in Gaza.² In the issue of October 3, there was a very respectful announcement of his article, "Abyssinia Revisited," which

¹English Review, LXIII (Oct., 1936), p. 326.

²Tablet, July 18, 1936, p. 84.

then appeared in the two issues before the book's publication.¹ This reversal of positions was almost the strangest of all.

In October, 1936, the publication of Waugh in Abyssinia² fully notified any who read it that he was a partisan. The first chapter was an old summary history which several reviewers found to be (in the words of the TLS reviewer) "lucid compressing," or (in the words of his Old School's reviewer) "a lesson in conciseness and broad-mindedness." Four middle chapters retold the events covered by his Daily Mail reports in a personal narrative of travel, observation, friendships, and amusements, plus a considered effort of correction for the controversial aspects of Press reporting. Two last chapters repeat his two Tablet article views of the Italian occupation and conclude with his eulogy upon "The Road" which symbolized the return of ancient Roman orderliness and industry. With this book, which was generally considered to be an exposure of Press tactics, Evelyn publicly became an ally of the vociferous group of Roman Catholics who waged a strong campaign against all critics of

¹Tablet, Oct. 17, 1936, pp. 513-16; Oct. 24, pp. 551-54.

²London: Longmans, October, 1936. The title was not chosen by himself (Preface to Evelyn Waugh, When the Going Was Good. Boston: Little, Brown, 1947). But the pun was noticed by all reviewers. The Dublin Review's review by D. Attwater recalled a much earlier use of the pun in connection with Alec Waugh's and a group of other "public school" books: Bede Jarrett, O. P., "Waugh's and Rumours of Waugh's," Blackfriars, March, 1922; pp. 716-23. Gerald Gould's review of Vile Bodies may have been the first occasion of the pun's application to Evelyn ("Post-War and Pre-Waugh," Observer, Feb. 2, 1930, p. 8). Of course, for those who find Evelyn a chief influence in modern literature there is "Pre-Waugh" and "Post-Waugh." Pronunciation also allowed "Mr. Wu" (Lady Eleanor Smith and Lady Diana Cooper) and "Mr. Wuff" (Lady Lavery).

"Catholic Fascists" for the next few years, especially in the "Letters to the Editor" columns.¹

Most of the book's reviewers wrote that the book was more the tale of a journalist than a history of the war and they found it well-written. Most fervently hoped that he was right in his enthusiasm for "The Road" much as many had found the first chapter to be a piece of

¹All Catholic publications carried articles of defense against attacks from the secular and corporation Press during the Spanish Civil War, certainly. Douglas Woodruff and Christopher Hollis led the defense in the *Tablet*; E. I. Watkins, Christopher Dawson, and Lord Clonmore defended in the *Dublin Review*. Of course priests such as Father D'Arcy and Father Martindale wrote constantly; Father Alfonso de Zulueta, who had been President of the Newman Society during Evelyn's late University days and whose family were Spanish aristocrats, was a very strong corrective voice. When Arnold Lunn sounded a call, "We Need More Controversy; Clearing the Way Through the Jungle of Modern Nonsense" (*Catholic Herald*, Nov. 6, 1936, p. 8), he was encouraging greater efforts rather than asking for some effort. Lunn was a recent convert to Rome and an already prominent controversialist when he returned from Notre Dame, U.S.A., to join the fray about the Spanish Civil War. The friend who gave Evelyn the most credit for his exposures of faked photography and wiley journalism was Billy Clonmore, who wielded a heavy-handed pen in *Letters to the Editor* of the *Spectator*, signing "CLONMORE." During the latter part of 1936 and the early part of 1937, his letters played a vigorous part in the several series of letters that appeared weekly under several topical titles in that magazine; he was a fearless and quite unorthodox quarrel-baiter, such as these columns seldom see and his Oxfordian friendships undoubtedly assured the publication of his particular letters (See especially "The Church and the Spanish People," Oct. 9, 1936, p. 585; "Christianity and Communism," Oct. 23, 1936, p. 682; Nov. 13, p. 855; Dec. 4, p. 992; "Anglo-Catholics and Reunion," Jan. 1, 1937, p. 19; "Changes in Religion," May 14, 1937, p. 907). Douglas Jerrold, who had personally helped General Franco enter Spain, was very active; Earnest Oldmeadow was a persistent writer on such as "Atrocities in Spain" and "Spanish Cruelties"; and even Graham Greene could contribute in his film reviews for the *Spectator* as he also did at the Times Book Fair in November, 1936. There was a sufficient authority on Evelyn's side to prevent their being ignored by the "liberals."

brilliant survey writing. His co-religionists in The Tablet¹ and The Catholic Herald² approved generally, their particular pleasure being derived from his partisanship for Truth as opposed by the Press. But Donald Attwater of The Dublin Review³ wrote in the vein of Oldmeadow of the old Tablet when he found Evelyn to be cynical and lacking in pity and understanding. The reviewers in The Spectator⁴ and in The Times Literary Supplement⁵ found him ignorant of facts and often in error, for they disallowed his arguments about the Red Cross unit and Red Cross incidents while ignoring his corrections of Press reports. David Garnett of The New Statesman and Nation⁶ followed a stricter Socialist line of general condemnation. The Spanish Civil War was drawing rigid political divisions; some friendships began to crack apart.

¹"Light in a Dark Place," Oct. 31, 1936, p. 672.

²Count Michael de la Bedoyere, Oct., 1936, p. 3.

³CC (Jan.-June, 1937), 174-75. This may be a source for the name "Atwater" in his World War II novels. Other names of the Catholic Old Guard that appear in the Dublin Review and in his novels are E. C. Messenger and A. F. Loveday.

⁴Lawrence I. Athill, "The Ethiop Painted Black," Nov. 13, 1936, pp. 864-65. As the current expert on Ethiopia he opposed Evelyn often though Evelyn had friends on the staff: Arthur Waugh reviewed biographies until Anthony Powell began the task; "Janus" (the Editor, Wilson Harris) took Evelyn's part against Oldmeadow once. Though the magazine once apologized for one of Graham Greene's reviews, its literary section was still quite bumptuous and uncompromising. The Spectator's advertisements of Evelyn's Tablet articles on "Abyssinia Revisited" were surprisingly prominent.

⁵Nov. 7, 1936, p. 900.

⁶Nov. 7, 1936, p. 735.

Evelyn's own reviewing for The Tablet, during 1936 soon involved him in direct controversial statement too. Though his reviews of Huxley's Eyeless in Gaza¹ and P. G. Wodehouse's Laughing Gas² were choices among old favored authors, he was soon called upon to use his Abyssinian speciality. His remarks in The Tablet, about Mortimer Durand's Crazy Campaign³ and G. L. Steer's Caesar in Abyssinia⁴ were very authoritative and opinionated. For The Spectator he produced two politically biased reviews: Peter Fleming's News From Tartary⁵ was an exciting account of a dangerous 3,000 mile journey but Evelyn sounded the political note:

To me at least it was quite new and quite thrilling to learn that imperialistic expansion and the gas-bombing of savage peoples can be carried on by a Marxian as well as by a Fascist or Democratic State. I hope some of the English Socialists who can read, will read Mr. Fleming's chapters about Soviet penetration in Sinkiang.⁶

His next Spectator review was of a collection of articles by Abyssinian war reporters, Abyssinian Stop Press edited by L. Farago;⁷ this allowed Evelyn a second reference to himself as the recipient of a letter about "a very disappointing war" and several remarks about the journalists he had met there. He praised his friend, Patrick Balfour, for an "Extremely funny" account and corrected another, Mr. Emeny, on two

¹July 18, 1936, p. 84. ²Oct. 17, 1936, pp. 532-33.

³"Abyssinian Aftermath," Nov. 28, 1936, p. 784.

⁴"A Times Correspondent," Jan. 23, 1937, pp. 128-29. This reporter continued the anti-Italy press campaign a long while after.

⁵"Undiscovered Asia," Aug. 7, 1936, p. 244.

⁶Ibid. ⁷"The Disappointing War," Oct. 2, 1936, p. 554.

points of fact; he doubted that the hero of the war was "the Unknown Reporter," as the book jacket called them.

With much lighter humor was his article, "Books for Christmas,"¹ in which he surveyed the odd practice of gift exchanging and argued that the "logical absurdity" could be eliminated by sending books chosen especially to correct the faults of one's friends; "we can wipe out many an old score." Then his last year's visit to Bethlehem was put into what was announced as a main feature of The Tablet's Christmas Number, appearing as "Christmas at Bethlehem"² in the red-covered issue. This article incited two letters which proved that his name could not yet appear in The Tablet without challenge: Mr. Donald Attwater, who had reviewed his Waugh in Abyssinia adversely, wished to correct Evelyn's theological and architectural knowledge,³ and A. J. L. Proctor as an old Tablet reader and a visitor to Bethlehem admonished him about the "tone" of his article.⁴ From St. James Club, Evelyn replied to Attwater point for point: he was writing as a pilgrim, not as an archaeologist; Mr. Attwater confused "Church" with "Rite" as "there was only one Church at the time of Justinian"; "the begging ecclesiastic I mentioned was an Armenian. If the inhabitants call him a Roman they are dotty"; St. Catherine's was certainly "Gothic" last year, not Baroque; and the Russians protected the Greeks to bully the Turks, "hence the Charge of the

¹Spectator, Dec. 18, 1936, p. 1077.

²Dec. 19, 1936, p. 861.

³"Latin-or Roman," Tablet, Dec. 26, 1936, p. 923.

⁴"Christmas at Bethlehem," Ibid., Jan. 2, 1937, p. 26.

Light Brigade and all that."¹ This attitude of "Hubris" characterized his reply to Mr. Proctor too: tormented by the indigestion of Christmas dinner, Mr. Proctor "is one of those people so obsessed by race feeling that he assumes the word 'Jew' to carry with it, automatically, a stigma of reproach."² In the second letter, however, Evelyn had a more serious purpose: he wished to point out that church architecture was not above critical reproach even though Tablet readers' letters generally indicated "the silly superstition that, because a church is a place of devotion, its architecture is not a proper subject for criticism." Such an attitude was in serious error:

That way lie the disastrous decorations of Westminster Cathedral. In this connection may I point out to Mr. Harris that many of us refrain from becoming "Friends of the Cathedral" for fear that our subscriptions should be spent in further defiling it?³

Mr. Proctor mildly replied that his dinner was quite fastidious and that he was a weak "vaulting horse" for an attack upon the Cathedral's decorations: he pointed slyly to Cardinal Bourne's statement that some did, and some did not like it.⁴ Perhaps Douglas Woodruff regretted Evelyn's high spirits. There was no subsequent attack.

¹"Latin-or Roman," Tablet, Dec. 26, 1936, p. 923.

²"Christmas at Bethlehem," Ibid., Jan. 9, 1937, p. 62.

³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., Jan. 16, 1937, p. 95.

CHAPTER TEN

MARRIAGE AND SETTLED POLITICAL LIFE

Marriage and Family

Evelyn's high spirits were not without cause; his letter to Mr. Proctor was addressed from Pixton Park, Dulverton, the home of his prospective bride. We become aware that by the spring of 1937 Evelyn had obtained the necessary annulment of his first marriage¹ and had left behind other possible romantic attachments.² He had improved his acquaintance with the daughter of the Hon. Mrs. Aubrey Herbert, a Roman Catholic convert, who had been with Evelyn in the photograph taken at the opening of Campion Hall; Evelyn was preparing to marry into one of the most famous and aristocratic families of England. In The Tablet report of their marriage an attempt was made to show his new relationship with the Catholic Dukes of Norfolk; the article began with a description of the marriage site:

Warwick Street.

The Church of the Assumption, or Bavarian Chapel as it was formerly called, where Father M. C. D'Arcy officiated at the wedding of Mr. Evelyn Waugh and Miss Laura Herbert on Saturday, is the oldest building in London to have a continuous history as a Catholic Church. . . . The marriage . . . on April 17th, was the third big Catholic wedding in the last two days.³

¹America, April 27, 1946, pp. 75-76.

²Diana Cooper, Trumpets From the Steep (Rupert Hart-Davis, 1960), p. 203; The Light of Common Day, pp. 151-52.

³Tablet, April 24, 1937, p. 608; The Times, April 19, 1937, p. 17.

This much was made clear enough, but the relationships between the three "big" marriages were all very complicated. One ceremony at the Brompton Oratory and a third at St. James", Spanish Place, had united members of various aristocratic lines: one of the brides became a cousin to Miss Herbert because her groom, Mr. Hope, was a grandson of one of the Fourteenth Duke of Norfolk's daughters and because Miss Herbert's grandmother was both a Howard of Glossop and a grand-niece of the Twelfth Duke of Norfolk. Indeed, one strain in the three ceremonies extended back to Saint Thomas More.¹ By July Evelyn and his bride were settled at Piers Court, Stinchcombe,² in the "West Country" of his fathers. He had become a country gentleman, however.

Adventure in Journalism--Night and Day: The
Weekly "Books" Articles with his
Anti-Socialism

He had made preparations for the settled life. In addition to other favorable mention in The Tablet, a new and gossipy column, "Town

¹Burke's volumes detail the step-cousin relationship between the first and second wives of Evelyn Waugh: Evelyn Florence Margaret Winifred Gardner (born 1903) was the fourth daughter of the first daughter from his first wife of the Fourth Earl of Carnarvon; Laura Laetitia Gwendolen Evelyn Molyneux Herbert (born 1916) was the third daughter of of the first son from the second wife of the Fourth Earl of Carnarvon.

²"Stinchcombe lies among woods under the Cotswold edge; some of the houses are made of an attractive tawny stone. Mr. Evelyn Waugh has a good eighteenth century house. Stinchcombe Hill is a stiff climb, but worth it" (Anthony West, Gloucestershire, A Shell Guide. London: Faber and Faber, 1952, p. 51). Stinchcombe Hill was a Roman fortification against Caradoc (Kenneth Hare, Gloucestershire, County Book Series). Near the Severn, Stinchcombe lies between Bristol and Gloucester. There are some good photographs (Evelyn Waugh, "The American Epoch in the Catholic Church," Life, Sept. 19, 1949, pp. 134, 155) of what John Betjeman has called "that graceful Palladian house of his among the knobbly hills of North-West Gloucestershire" (Living Writers, ed. Gilbert Phelps. London: Sylvan Press, 1947, p. 146). In 1960 Evelyn moved to Combe Florey House, near Taunton, however.

and Country and Abroad," noted that in March, 1937, Evelyn had become a Director of Chapman and Hall,¹ his father's company. Casting about apparently for an outlet, he published an article, "Through European Eyes," in a magazine which was the temporary combination of the shifting and waning fortunes of two old magazines, The London Mercury and Bockman.² Then for the July 2 issue of The Spectator he wrote an article that discussed the new books of two old friends, Christopher Sykes' Strange Wonders and Robert Byron's The Road to Oxiana.³ He remarked, with the slightest bit of approval that might later have embarrassed him,⁴ that these two had travelled together and had once even collaborated on a bad, unreadable novel.⁵

More important, in the same number of The Spectator is the full page announcement of a much larger publishing venture:

Night and Day is a new Illustrated Paper--humorous yet intelligent and critical. Week by week, it will inform its readers where to go, what to see, what to read. On its staff are some of the most accomplished and versatile draughtsmen, some of the best and most amusing writers of the present day. No. 1 Just Out! Regular contributors include Evelyn Waugh (Books), Elizabeth Bowen (Theatre), Graham Greene (Cinema), Jack Donaldson (Music), David Garnett (Flying), Osbert Lancaster (Art). Other contributors include John Betjeman, Aldous Huxley, Anthony Powell, Christopher Isherwood, John Collier, Peter Fleming, William Plomer, Dennis Kincaid. Artists include John Nash, William Goetz, Victor Reinganum, Edward Ardizzone,

¹March 6, 1937, p. 360. ²XXXVI (June, 1937), 147-50.

³"Civilization and Culture," July 2, 1937, pp. 27-28.

⁴That is, in connection with his attacks upon paired "Socialists," such as Auden-Isherwood.

⁵Innocence and Design, 1935, by "Richard Waughburton," a pseudonym which may have been a compliment to Evelyn. See Sykes' Four Studies in Loyalty, p. 124.

Frank Ford, Felicks Topolski, Nicolas Bentley, Teixeira Barbosa.
London's Witiest Weekly.¹

This might appear to be another English magazine with all the same parts. Two large cartoons, however, actually revealed the nature, the "tone," that the magazine presented, especially in Evelyn's columns: one of a Japanese committing hari-kari ("A Contemporary Sense of Humor"), the other of an ancient orator ("A Contemporary Set of Values").² The new venture was much more formidable than the new English Review or the new London Mercury and Bookman. The next issue of The Spectator noted that the new magazine copied The New Yorker very closely, which is true even to the point of having James Thurber's cartoons. One notices in the list of regular contributors that many of these were already Evelyn's associates in other places; only Garnett and Isherwood seem especially incongruous companions in 1937. Later Christopher Hollis and Douglas Woodruff were also associates here. The guiding lights of the magazine apparently were Malcolm Muggeridge (of Punch later) and Peter Fleming (as "Shigsby," then as "Slingsby"); the publishers were Chatto and Windus. Its life continued from July 1, 1937, through one volume of 26 numbers until December 23, 1937; then a lawsuit ruined the venture--Graham Greene had libelled Shirley Temple in a movie review.³

¹The Spectator, July 2, 1937, p. 25. ²Ibid.

³Night and Day, Oct. 28, 1937, p. 31. Reviewing Wee Willie Winkie with a survey of Miss Temple's other movies and of her developing "sex appeal" in the caustic manner that made his reviews notable, Greene had finally gone too far; a corporation sued. It was not the first time that he had pointed out her box-office attraction to a perverse audience--"admirers--middle-aged men and clergymen" (See Spectator, August 7, 1936, p. 235). Evelyn referred to the ruin, "nearly twenty years ago" of "a bright, young magazine," in an article about a rich corporation losing a suit ("Randolph's Finest Hour," Spectator, March 22, 1957, p. 369).

The magazine's "Contemporary Sense of Humor" was quite in the same vein as the critical and contemptuous humor of Peter Fleming's Spectator literary section. Certainly it is evident in Evelyn's weekly article on a set of books; in a page-plus he waged war nearly every week with the "Socialists" who had come to literary prominence during the Spanish Civil War. His first article¹ centered on a comparison between a book about World War One and T. S. Eliot's manner, with only one barrage about "sham modernity." But his second article, "For Schoolboys Only," found the proper range:

It is not surprising to find that of the twelve socialists who have compiled The Mind in Chains (Edited by C. Day-Lewis) the leading four are schoolmasters and ex-schoolmasters, and two others lecturers. There is a natural connection between the teaching profession and a taste for totalitarian government; prolonged association with the immature--fanatical urchins competing for caps and blazers of distinguishing colours--the dangerous pleasure of oversimple exposition, the scars of endless losing battle for order and uniformity which rages in every classroom dispose even the most independent minds to shirt-dipping and saluting.²

C. Day-Lewis was the best of the lot; Calder-Marshall and Upward were in second place. But the metaphysics of the latter were callow and his "class-struggle" yardstick was used by Evelyn to measure other books on his desk--all failed except one about savage art, at which even a monk might laugh in his recreation period.

The third week's article was called "Uplift in Arabia." "Uplift" was the sin committed by the liberals during this time. The book reviewed recalls to us the theme he used in his own Black Mischief:

So far as the book has any significance it is in the spectacle it provides of the half-baked modern mind seeking its own reflection

¹See the Bibliography for a complete list.

²Night and Day, July 8, 1937, pp. 24-25.

in every mirror and kitching the James-Douglas-Toc-H-Gerald-Heard-Buchman school of uplift to the fiery creed and fantastic mythology of an alien people.¹

Evelyn was now satirizing in the weekly essay, of course. His continuous tirade of abuse heaped upon shallow socialists, shabby "uplift," American scholarship, and even upon Fascism was made possible by the "humor" magazine with its lowered tone. Certainly he and his friends had found a valuable medium for the expression of their opinion.

In his seventh article, "Bloomsbury's Farthest North," he began his long-lasting harangue about the collaborative works of various pairings of socialists, which ultimately resulted in caricatures in Put Out More Flags (1942). He found W. H. Auden and Louis MacNeice deficient in two necessary qualities of the travel book--"an aptitude for writing and an aptitude for travel," both of which Robert Byron, Peter Fleming, or Patrick Balfour had in abundance--when he read their Letters from Iceland.² They were deficient in other ways, too. Then he condemned Arthur Calder-Marshall's The Changing Scene in an article named "Peter Pan in Politics" which reminds one of his old essay about middle-aged Bloomsbury critics who were Peter Pans too and would not allow youth its head; this youthful Peter Pan lacked information about the Press, Education, Church, and Literature, and he failed to exploit the topic of faked photography used in propaganda--Evelyn could have given him dozens of examples from the Abyssinian war.³ He was currently interested in the Press; at this moment it was his opinion that most of the propaganda of the Press was concocted by persons who were

¹Night and Day, July 15, 1937, pp. 25-26.

²Ibid., August 12, 1937, pp. 25-26.

³Ibid., Sept. 9, 1937, pp. 25-26.

scrambling to make a living:

The editors and subordinates are far too harried and far too simple-minded to have any ideological preconceptions. All they want is speed and noise, so that the reading public and the audience [of movies] are supplied with a dizzy succession of distortions.¹

Evelyn utilized this opinion of the Press situation well in Scoop in a short time. In similar charitable vein he observed that Mr. Calder-Marshall and his young friends, "hysterically disposed to one political extreme or the other," must not, therefore, "despair of growing up." It was a natural process.

He was himself forced to change his opinion of that very Peter Pan the next week when he reviewed Calder-Marshall's A Date with a Duchess: if this book, he wrote, "is Marxist fiction, I have no quarrel with it."² Observing that the young author was more nearly an anarchist, he found a hopeful possible development:

The disillusioned Marxist becomes a Fascist; the disillusioned anarchist, a Christian. A robust discontent, whether it be with joint stock banking or the World, Flesh and Devil, is good for a writer, and if that is all that Mr. Calder-Marshall meant by his "Left" politics, I am sorry I grumbled about them.³

This apology explains, perhaps, how it was that Evelyn could maintain friendship with some of his friends who became Socialists, such as Frank Pakenham. He had been an "anarchist"⁴ once himself and, though some professed to see him as a Fascist, he preferred to be known as a Christian. It is an apt distinction for Evelyn's career. Some forms of "uplift" were potentially all right.

¹Night and Day, Sept. 9, 1937, pp. 25-26.

²Ibid., Sept. 16, 1937, pp. 24-25. ³Ibid.

⁴"Max Beerbohm, A Lesson in Manners," The Atlantic, CXCVIII (Sept., 1956), 75-76.

Evelyn's ebullient force glowed through his articles to the end; from the issue of September 23 to the last his essays were honored with a different format which featured his name more prominently. As usual, he was kind to his friends. Apparently he was kind to himself, too, in an announcement of an issue of cheaper reprints of his novels by Chapman and Hall:

We have collected editions of most of the contemporary bores from Lawrence downwards: here--in a thin, well-printed, thank-God-not-pocket edition--is an author we can read for amusement and not for exercise, somebody who isn't standard and isn't an ornament to any home.¹

This may have been a London editor's note but it expressed the opinions Evelyn has held about Lawrence.² It was actually an acceptable compliment; perhaps such can also stand as the compliment paid to the magazine itself. Certainly there was no sign of faltering: the twenty-sixth number carried a note that "this number is the last of Volume One" and gave no warning that there would be no more.³ Publication stopped. Evelyn was probably relieved, for this was the first time that he had ever engaged in such steady hackwork; the passage of a dozen books over his desk each week, requiring a neatly composed essay on at least half, was undoubtedly arduous and confining work. The venture had not, probably, been a glowing circulation and financial success; if it were not, even the propaganda value was a diminishing return.

¹Night and Day, Dec. 16, 1937, p. 26.

²"Lady Chatterley" (Letter to the Editor), Spectator, Nov. 18, 1960, p. 771.

³The British Museum has two bundles unbound which contain partially mutilated copies of the twenty six numbers. There seem to be no other remains available to the public of London.

Other Anti-Socialism in 1937: "Authors
Take Sides"

Various matters had occupied any spare time he had. The Tablet announced that Evelyn would speak on "Ideological Writing" at The Sunday Times' annual "Book Fair" on November 12, adding:

Mr. Waugh's own writing is so distinguished in quality that this exposition of any aspect of the art should claim wide attention. Perhaps the most outstanding example of it is his Edmund Campion.¹

Such a note should have mentioned his Waugh in Abyssinia too. Both books vitiate his contentions at the Book Fair excepting that he was on the side of the angels. With him were Robert Byron, who won the Gold Medal for The Road to Oxiana; Winston Churchill, who opened the Fair by denouncing propaganda in book form; and Harold Nicolson, who followed Evelyn as speaker. Evelyn's talk, as paraphrased, was the echo of his second review article for Night and Day; it coupled his views about pairings of socialist writers:

Today there is an alarming prevalence of ideology. There are groups of writers who work together, think together, and aim at a kind of corporate success.

All those have been or are schoolmasters. Their constant association with the immature, their too facile habit of slaying, "This is a good king," or "This is a bad king" may have turned their minds into a totalitarian state. They are completely explicit in their view and have infectious optimism, but I warn them that if their new state came they will lose their object in writing.²

From this paraphrase it is evident that to Evelyn "totalitarian" meant "communistic" and that, to Evelyn, communism was the basic error of the paired socialists.

Although Evelyn may have felt himself to be alone--as far as

¹Tablet, Nov. 6, 1937, p. 632.

²"Ideological Writing," The Sunday Times, Nov. 14, 1937, p. 31.

it might be necessary for the defense of individual creativity in rhetorical combat, that is, for he obviously had friends who felt as he did--there may be evidence for a slight shifting back toward the Right among some literary men. Considering the political divisions of the times, an unexpected ally was won for Evelyn's side (and broad hints for Evelyn's Put Out More Flags and Brideshead Revisited) when Cyril Connolly published his anti-socialist essay, "Where Engels Fears to Tread,"¹ in Press Gang, a collection of parodies of the Press which Evelyn reviewed for Night and Day. In his parody review Connolly chose to satirize the career of Brian Howard, once the Eton and Oxford friend of Evelyn's Oxford friends and the foremost leader of the "Bright Young People." Howard had become a socialist and thus had made himself vulnerable as never before to the wit of Connolly, and of Evelyn now and later. In his "review" the identity is clearly enough made, but Evelyn also identified:

It is left for Mr. Connolly again to lift the book from the level of paper games to art. Unfortunately for most readers he has chosen to devote his prodigious talent to a private joke. The object of his satire has for some years been a figure of fun to a tiny circle, but he is totally unknown to those whose adolescence does not happen to have coincided with his. A dozen readers in London, one in China, one in Gloucestershire, and possibly a handful in Spain, will revel in Mr. Connolly's laying of this pathetic ghost.²

Brian Howard's most recent failing was to have allowed his signature to be among those of eleven other literary socialists, including W. H. Auden,

¹The essay was reprinted in The Condemned Playground, Essays: 1927-1944 (London: Routledge, 1945), pp. 136-53.

²Night and Day, Nov. 11, 1937, p. 23. Though it is apparent who is referred to as being the leader of Oxford Aestheticism while at the same time being a Hunting Man in Connolly's essay and in Evelyn's review remarks, confirmation in the unpublished letter of Harold Acton to Charles Linck, June 24, 1961, was welcome.

Nancy Cunard, and Stephen Spender of England, who addressed the famous Question to fellow authors: "Are you for, or against, the legal government and the people of Republican Spain? Are you for, or against, Franco and Fascism? For it is impossible any longer to take no side." The Question was preceded by a statement about world conditions, the Fascism of Italy and Germany, Abyssinia's fall, and the Spanish Civil War in progress; it was designed to elicit the majority of anti-Fascist statements which made up the Left Review pamphlet, Authors Take Sides.¹ 127 of the 145 printed replies were against Franco and Fascism; 17 were neutrals and 5 were "for" Franco. Eleanor Smith wrote "naturally I am a warm adherent of General Franco's, being, like all of us, a humanitarian." Evelyn took his stand with Franco, and further, if a choice had to be made, with Fascism.² The necessary corrective was given by his Oxford friend, Anthony Powell, as a "Marginal Comment" in The Spectator:

There is, of course, as we are told early on, an overwhelming majority for the Left, though a sturdy little battalion consisting of Mr. Evelyn Waugh, Mr. Edmund Blunden, and Mr. Arthur Machen, commanded by Major Geoffrey Moss and with Lady Eleanor Smith as a vivandiere, declare themselves unequivocally for the Generalissimo. . . . Where is Mr. Maugham, for example, or the Sitwell family, Mr. Roy Campbell, Mr. Wyndham Lewis, Mr. Peter Fleming, Mr. Graham Greene, Mr. Michael Arlen, Mr. Gilbert Frankau? . . . No Mention whatsoever of what Mr. Beverley Nichols [chooses].³

¹Information taken from the advertisement of Authors Take Sides in The Left Review, III (Dec., 1937), 646, et passim, for the pamphlet is unavailable.

²Douglas Goldring, The Nineteen Twenties, pp. 111, 172. See also W. Y. Tindall, Forces in Modern British Literature, p. 90n.

³Dec. 3, 1937, p. 991.

Powell did not mention what he chose, but he was friendly to the 5.¹

Brian Howard, Evelyn's former associate in the "Bruno Hatte" hoax, now participated in a deed that definitely labelled Evelyn as a Roman Catholic Fascist in the most notorious manner.² But Evelyn' only

¹Most of those whom Powell mentioned had made it obvious by this time that they would also have answered as Evelyn did had they been questioned, or, perhaps, had they bothered to answer a questionnaire. Everley Nichols' career had been a vacillating one politically, but he had made public peace with Major Francis Yeats-Brown by this time--he was a "Fascist." Graham Greene's opinions appear more obscurely: he wrote "I am not a supporter of General Franco" later (*Spectator*, Nov. 29, 1940, p. 582); but George Orwell thought Greene would be the first British Catholic "fellow-traveller" and he wrote that "according to Rayner Heppenstall, Greene somewhat reluctantly supported Franco during the Spanish Civil War" ("Some Letters of George Orwell," *Encounter*, Jan., 1962, Ltr. 15.4.49). The others were either pro-Catholic or Upper Class. Terence Greenidge, whose Left sympathies were never disguised, wrote that he had always liked Evelyn but that Evelyn was by temperament doomed to be disliked by the British (unpublished letter to Charles Linck, Nov. 19, 1961). Other Catholics had sympathetic feelings about Mussolini when he came to the agreement of the Lateran in 1929: Lord Fitzalan, Duke of Norfolk; Josephine Hope Ward (Masie Ward's mother); Belloc and Chesterton. Evelyn's feelings that the Italians might improve Abyssinia were not unconnected with his bad opinion of the "debased kind of Nestorianism" there ("Abyssinia," *The Beda Review*, June, 1935). But he has also often written to the effect that they were "Southern degenerates" who went to Germany and influenced the Nazis, and he has nothing to say favorable to Tito of Jugoslavia because he was pattered after the Nazis.

²The Left Review advertised the pamphlet at length, quoting the damning review remarks of the Conservative Press as inducement; the advertisement of January, 1938, noted that there were 150 column inches of comment, half in the daily press and a third in Catholic papers. Anthony Powell and The Catholic Herald were among those quoted for unfavorable opinion (III:751). The Socialists were as canny in their methods for retailing their writing as any as "janus" of The Spectator twice observed of Gollancz's Left Book Club (Feb. 12 and 19, 1937, pp. 258 and 302). The impact was damaging: see the historical comments by Douglas Goldring and George Orwell for their strong memory of Evelyn's and other Catholic "Fascists'" black reputations among authors who were especially anti-Catholic (George Orwell, Inside the Whale and Other Essays. London: Gollancz, 1940, p. 167; The Road to Wigan Pier. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1958 [1937], p. 213; Douglas Goldring, Marching With the Times, 1931-1946. London: Nicolson and Watson, 1947, pp. 59-60; Privileged Persons. London: Richards Press, 1955, pp. 77, 86).

direct protest was in a letter to The New Statesman and Nation wherein he stated that the word "Fascist" was already too much an omnium gatherum word, with too many potent facets for actual meaningfulness.¹

Scoop, to Clear the Air

His best defense, however, was the novel he was engaged with; Scoop, A Novel About Journalists was issued by Chapman and Hall in May, 1938. It generally helped to clarify his position in the overall campaign of eminent Catholics against the large corporation Press; and it came as a kind of climax in the rather severe warfare to help laugh away the worst of the Press bogey. In it Evelyn used his experiences from three trips to Abyssinia for a humorous depiction of the operations of liberals and journalists which won him the ungrudging acclaim of all reviewers (excepting Douglas West of The Daily Mail and James Agate of The Daily Express, whose papers permitted no mention of the book).

The Tablet's reviewer made favorable and unblushing comparisons of Scoop and Black Mischief;² the magazine even allowed the advertisements of the Book Society which had chosen Scoop for the month. It was a large success, not a little of which can be attributed to the autobiographical pose of "innocence" in the retired country-house hero untimely dragged into the confusing world from "Boot Magna." This novel hero's country-life existence was certainly a part of the truth of Evelyn's easy life since his settling at Piers Court, Stinchcombe.³ Scoop was dedicated

¹"Fascist," March 5, 1938, pp. 365-66.

²Rupert Croft-Cooke, "Some New Novels," May 7, 1938, p. 606.

³"Boot Magna" was inspired by Pixton Park, the Herbert's home, and by another estate (The Light of Common Day, pp. 152, et passim). The joke about "Boot" and "Pride of Boot" in Diana Cooper's set is obvious.

"To Laura" and its composition whiled the time during the coming of his first child.¹ Late in 1937 he had sent an ambiguous letter about the testimony offered in the case for beautification of Teresa Higginson,² but he was not permitted to become embroiled in controversy.

Work-a-Day Journalism in 1938

He had sent his weekly article for Night and Day by post. He continued to review a few books for The Tablet and many for The Spectator in 1938, as usual praising friends and scarifying socialists. Tablet articles appeared in January about Alexander Glen's newest Arctic trials, in July about Nancy Mitford's study of Upper Class ladies, and in December one in which he called Cyril Connolly's Enemies of Promise "a Buchmanite exercise." Spectator essays were more numerous this year than during any year before his marriage: one in March derided Christopher Isherwood's hasty rush into autobiography; five lengthy articles in April were reviews and feature articles at once; three in May included praise for Sacheverell Sitwell and Malcolm Muggeridge; two in June were made from five autobiographies and from novels for a "Fiction" feature column; two in July were upon six travel books and about a magazine in which he exposed fully his views about the role of a traditionally useful country aristocracy; a last in December was about Belloc's late trip to Scandinavia.³

¹The birth of his daughter was announced in The Times, Mar. 10, 1938, p. 17.

²Tablet, Dec. 11, 1937, p. 803.

³See the Bibliography for details.

Religion in 1938: A Pilgrimage and a
Study of Old Catholics

Becoming a country man was accompanied by some apparent change in his social life: his friends might be described as less Mayfair and more Old Catholic. The report of a London baptismal ceremony for his first child shows something of the nature of his friendships upon a visit to London: in The Tablet it was reported that:

A number of friends and relations were present at the Church of Our Lady in Warwick Street, on Wednesday, when Father Vincent McNabb, O.P., baptised the infant daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Evelyn Waugh, by the name of Maria Theresa. The godparents were Miss Jungmann, the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, and the Hon. Francis Howard.

Probably it is usual to seek the eminent as godparents, but certainly it is surprising to discover the eminence to which his career had carried Evelyn Waugh. Miss Jungmann was a friend from his "Bright Young Person" days; the others came with his rise in the Catholic lay hierarchy.

This particular coming to town immediately involved him in a religious pilgrimage, which was fully advertised in the "new" Catholic Herald: Evelyn and Father Martindale were to be the paper's official correspondents at the 34th Eucharistic Congress in Budapest.² As a famous writer and eminent Catholic Evelyn was enthusiastically advertised in connection with a hope-filled religious event:

Readers of the Catholic Herald will do a genuine apostolic work in interesting their non-Catholic friends in the Congress and explaining its significance, especially in the world conditions of today.³

¹"Town and Country," Tablet, March 19, 1938, p. 379.

²Catholic Herald, April 8, 1938, p. 1; May 20, 1938, p. 1.

³Ibid.

The Congress was advertised as a "Force for Peace," something that Evelyn undoubtedly wished for after many years of apprehension about the probable outcome of his generation. His first article, "From London to Budapest, British and Irish Pilgrims Welcomed in European Countries,"¹ was a first page story about travels abroad for the English group of 400 pilgrims; the French had been least enthusiastic. His second, "Impressions of Splendour and Grace,"² was voluminous with the enthusiasm and excitement that surrounded the six day event. But the article ended on a cautionary note about currently disintegrating peace; it was ominous that no Austrians or Germans came because their borders were recently closed:

It would be dishonest to speak of the Congress without mentioning the shadow which lay over it; the empty places among the bishops thrones, the empty benches in the Square of the Heroes; the near neighbours abruptly and cruelly deprived of their primary human right of association in worship. . . . It was a sobering thought, never wholly forgotten either by guests or hosts. All over the world, men and women of every race and colour are looking to the Congress as a tangible sign of the Union of Christendom. . . . Who could say how long the good hours would last?³

Back home Evelyn pursued the role of defender of the Faith in the county, too. There is no doubting that the religious burdens of traditional and paternalistic feudal society were ever before his mind during this time; an article in The Tablet, once more revealed such apostolic labor as he performed:

Mr. Evelyn Waugh, whose latest novel, Scoop, has recently had a most favourable reception, gave an address at Woodchester on

¹Catholic Herald, May 27, 1938, p. 1.

²Ibid., June 3, 1938, pp. 1, 9.

³Ibid. Father Martindale became ill and advised his readers to depend upon Evelyn's reports of activities he could not attend.

Whit Monday, when the grounds were thrown open in aid of the building fund for the new church at Dursley. His subject was "The History and Associations of Woodchester Park," and he drew attention to the curious circumstances that, since the Catholic Thomas Arundell was dispossessed in the sixteenth century, no family had ever held it for more than three generations. The property returned to Catholic hands in 1846, when Mr. William Leigh, whose reception into the Church two years earlier had caused a considerable stir, bought it from Lord Ducie. Mr. Leigh was a close friend of Cardinal Newman's, and was one of the many notable people whose conversion went towards enriching Catholic life in England, at that time.¹

Obviously he was laying the groundwork, too, for his most formidable novel, *Brideshead Revisited*, in this research; in that wartime novel he would set down his complete treatment of the proper role of a traditional Catholic aristocracy by contrasts with the degradations of his own lifetime.

Harmony; Work While Waiting: 1939

In a final pre-war gesture to his role as both defender of the Faith and anti-socialist, he took interest (perhaps inspired by the recent Encyclical of Pope Pius to the Mexican Episcopate and by Graham Greene's recent articles in *The Tablet*) in travel to Mexico.² His own four articles about "Religion in Mexico, Impressions on a Recent Visit" were published in *The Tablet* early in 1939.³ Otherwise 1938 ended, politically, in uncertain stalemate and probably in the waiting for war to begin.

¹"Town and Country," *Tablet*, June 18, 1938, p. 815.

²By looking through the bibliography of his review work one may suppose Evelyn was in Mexico from August to December; but in view of his usual practice he probably went between December, 1938, and February, 1939. With his wife, he made a short pleasure trip unlike Graham Greene's agonizing jungle crawl from January to June, 1938.

³April 29, 1939, pp. 543-45 ("The Straight Fight"); May 6, 1939, pp. 575-76; May 13, 1939, pp. 606-607; May 20, 1939, pp. 638-39.

In 1939 Evelyn worked as usual; he was widely recognized as a party partisan with worthy force. The role he played is most vividly seen from the account given of his work in an Oxford magazine; in a remark embedded in an article about M. Jacques Maritain who had lately lectured there, the writer summed up wider opinion:

There has been recently so ostentatious a movement among enthusiasts to defend the Church from herself, to detach the spirit from the letter and carry it away for independent examinations, and in answer such an accretion of intelligence to Rome, that this third position may prove the most valuable orientation of all.

Mr. Christopher Dawson, Mr. Christopher Hollis, and Mr. Evelyn Waugh, are not negligible, as writers or as advocates. All three are contributors to the *Tablet*, a journal whose single-mindedness must be a pleasure.¹

The article continued in castigation of *The Tablet's* praise for Roy Campbell's *Flowering Rifle*--he too was a recent convert to Rome and much vilified. Explicit meaning of the "third force" was buried in Maritain's talks perhaps; it certainly was notable that many Catholic periodicals had been reorganized into "new" publications which thus eliminated the old guard of retiring Catholics and welcomed youthful and forceful contemporary attitudes--there was no loss of Faith or Doctrine in this.

Evelyn was a party force, but he was also a humorist whose worsened reputation in Oxford of many years' standing was changing for the better. He was invited to speak at the traditional humor debates at the Oxford Union Society during Eights Week in 1939. Eyes and ears were focused upon him as he proposed an attack upon the Press for Father Ronald Knox to rebut; the most favorable comments were reported:

¹John Russell, Editorial, *The Cherwell*, May 6, 1939, p. 24.

Mr. Evelyn Waugh, looking particularly distinguished owing to an appearance of suffering from gout, then limped forward. His speech was delightful and it is a pity that some of the best points were obscured owing to a habit of looking down and poking about thoughtfully with his stick. Sometimes he seemed slow and over-elaborate, as when explaining the nature of the uneasy axis between a newspaper business manager who demanded good news to please the advertisers, and the sales manager who demanded bad news to please the readers. At other moments he flashed like lightning; his voice and gesture so combined to describe the sudden impulse to strangle a child and throw the body over a hedge, as to make it, strangely, one of the best jokes of the evening.

His conclusion at this moment was that the Press gave work to many otherwise dangerous peeves and that the privacy which a copy of newspaper afforded a traveller on a train was its chief merit. Father Knox won the victory merely by demonstrating this "English folk art." But, on another Oxford occasion, his humor was more lugubrious--in June as he supported Douglas Woodruff's toast to Father Knox at the farewell dinner when Father Alfonzo de Zulueta was about to replace the beloved Chaplain. Evelyn's words were also reported in The Tablet:

He said it was thirteen years since Mgr. Knox accepted the office held by loved and learned men, and by doing so added to the Catholics of Oxford lustre and prestige such as they had not known since the days of the Reformation.

"Thirteen years, from the days of the General Strike to the days of general panic." . . . Having successfully dealt with Oxford Optimism he will now have to deal with Cambridge pessimism in the countryside of the Shropshire Lad, where Terence lies drunk in a ditch and Ted has strangled his sweetheart in a barn, and Dick is hanged by a rope nearby.

It was, undoubtedly, the lowest-spirited humor he ever emitted.

Evelyn's only book of 1939 was honestly propagandistic about

¹'The Union," The Cherwell, May 27, 1939, p. 99.

²"Oxford's Farewell to Msgr. Knox," June 17, 1939, p. 790.

what he had observed and thought during his trip in Mexico; Robbery Under Law, The Mexican Object-Lesson was published in June, 1939.¹

It was less a travel book and more a political tract than Waugh in Abyssinia had been. Its pro-British bias was more obvious because it discussed the British oil-fields and works that had been confiscated by the Mexican socialists; nor did it neglect the country's history that led to the present condition of religion, though some of his best materials had already been used by Graham Greene in his recent book. The "object lesson" was, of course, that England herself might easily go the same way that Mexico had. It was not the first time he had disburdened himself from the stigma of Continental Fascism when he pointed out the pattern wherein the Socialists sold their oil to the Fascists of Europe, but perhaps it reached a wider audience. Pointing out the Spanish background of Mexico's civilization and her hundred years of precedence before the United States became powerful, he was a severe critic of the diplomatic policies and economic interference of the United States and of socialistic leaders such as John L. Lewis. Reviewers found it an easy task to follow party lines in their agreement (Spectator) and disagreement (TLS).² There was some trouble. One ambiguous review in The Daily Mail (perhaps still smarting from Scoop) caused a Tablet reader to ask for a reconsideration of its favorable review of July 1; The Tablet Editor answered that, despite The Daily Mail review, Evelyn's book was a "full defense of the Mexican Church

¹London: Chapman and Hall, June, 1939. Publication here must reflect his own directorship with his father's company. One notices many other books that, perhaps, the company favored because of his influence--even Catholic books.

²William Gower, Spectator, July 21, 1939, p. 103; TLS, July 1, 1939, p. 382. Most American reviews were scathing.

against various calumnies," such as his earlier articles in The Tablet had been.¹ The author himself would tolerate no such misreading--it was "dangerous," as a Cherwell reporter remarked,² to misrepresent his work. After he had approached The Daily Mail, Evelyn wrote to The Tablet with feigned humility:

Sir,--Since one of your correspondents was kind enough to call attention in this column to an unhappy ambiguity in a review of my Robbery Under Law in the Daily Mail, could you, perhaps, find room for the enclosed paragraph which appeared in the Daily Mail on the 11th inst.³

The excerpt referred to was The Daily Mail's retraction; it read as follows:

Mr. Philip Page, in his review of Mr. Evelyn Waugh's Robbery Under Law on June 30th stated--'There is much information about the fantastic riches of the Church, and also some repulsive stories of the immorality of monks and nuns and of tortures inflicted which rival those of the Spanish Inquisition.'

The chapter in question is, in fact, a vigorous defense of the Catholic Church in Mexico against various current calumnies. . . . Mr. Page had no intention of implying that Mr. Waugh believed these calumnies or told them in any unnecessary or undesirable detail. Mr. Waugh, as is well known, is himself a Roman Catholic to whom any such implication would be exceedingly offensive.⁴

But even before his book had come out, Evelyn had engaged in a sharp exchange with an article in The Spectator; in the sort of interest-creating article that often preceded, as advertisement, some special series or book, Alexander Martin's "In Defense of Mexico" had referred to D. H. Lawrence's trip, Aldous Huxley's trip, and to Evelyn's review⁵

¹"Robbery Under Law," Tablet, July 15, 1939, p. 86.

²The reviewer of Henry Green's Party Going noted: "We mention Evelyn Waugh because it is so dangerous" (Cherwell, Oct. 28, 1939, p. 29).

³"Mr. Evelyn Waugh and The Daily Mail," Tablet, Aug. 19, 1939, p. 250.

⁴Ibid. ⁵"The Wasteland," Spectator, Mar. 10, 1939, pp. 414.

of Graham Greene's book about Mexico--he denied that Mexico was ever Roman Catholic except in formal apparatus.¹ Evelyn's letter "In Defense of Mexico" was a refutation of the charge of writing "pure bunkum" for The Tablet and in his réview of Greene's book; he referred to his corrective book which was soon to come.² The issue was one the socialists attempted to make much of; Greene and Evelyn were correcting the public version about Mexico and Evelyn had to defend the corrections too:

I wonder by the way, how he thinks Mexico is populated if the the Indians were "nearly wiped out" and the Spaniards are "a handful"; entirely by co-ed radicals on vacation from U. S. Colleges, perhaps. Your obedient servant.³

As a reviewer in 1939, Evelyn contributed "An Angelic Doctor, the Work of Mr. P. G. Wodehouse" to The Tablet;⁴ at least one letter writer, thinking Evelyn a bit snobbish, disagreed with his discussion of "proletarian" and "literal" characters.⁵ For The Spectator he wrote more, carrying forward the good anti-socialist fight that could not prevent the war. He disliked H. G. Wells and J. B. Priestley; he liked W. S. Maugham and Graham Greene as he had Wodehouse and Belloc.⁶ His

¹Spectator, June 16, 1939, p. 1034.

²Ibid., June 23, 1939, p. 1095. ³Ibid.

⁴June 17, 1939, pp. 786-87. Week End Wodehouse had the Introduction of Hilaire Belloc; this and last year's review of Belloc reflects intimacy with Belloc at Pixton Park (Letters from Hilaire Belloc, ed. Robert Speaight. London: Hollis and Carter, 1958, p. 289).

⁵"P. G. Wodehouse," Tablet, July 1, 1939, p. 22.

⁶Spectator reviews included two in February, Wells and Maugham; two in March, Graham Greene and Auden-Isherwood; one in August, travelers; one in September, autobiographies--J. B. Priestley; and a last in October, Lewis Carroll. See the Bibliography.

review of W. H. Auden's and Christopher Isherwood's Journey to a War, "Mr. Isherwood and Friend,"¹ most fully showed his temperament at the time: despite any evidence of possible mellowing, Evelyn held the opinion that Auden's friends had made him a "public bore" in the role of "official youth rebel." Stephen Spender wrote a letter to object² and Evelyn answered acidly that to call his criticism "malice" was "intolerable."³ He argued that Auden's reputation was "up" and therefore open to irony, that since Spender was a personal friend of the two socialists it was worth pointing out to him that Auden's friends seem to have united "to make a booby of him." The exchange with Spender was only the latest in his feud with paired writers, a feud which may have started in the mid-twenties when the "political poets" rather forced Harold Acton from the Oxford Poetry spotlight.⁴ But it was also a contest with Isherwood personally which seems to be based on rivalry in letters, too, a note he sounded in his review of J. B. Priestley's autobiographical volume. In Put Out More Flags (1942) the feuding was generally brought to a happier end: he portrayed a pair of socialists who fled before the warfare to safer lands⁵ while a Churchillian re-

¹Spectator, March 24, 1939, pp. 496, 498.

²"Journey to a War," Ibid., March 31, 1939, p. 536.

³Ibid., April 21, 1939, pp. 674-75. ⁴Memoirs, p. 163.

⁵In his "People and Things" feature column Harold Nicolson devoted a page to the presence in the United States of Auden and Isherwood, Aldous Huxley and Gerald Heard (Spectator, April 19, 1940, p. 555). Stephen Spender again answered in the defense of these "Absent Intellectuals" (Ibid., April 26, 1940, p. 596). Later Derek Verschoyle reviewed Louis MacNeice's poems under the title "Another Lost Leader," because MacNeice had left Ireland for the United States (Ibid., June 7, 1940, 786). For the defense Geoffrey Grigson's letter appeared; then letters and verses continued for some time under the topic heading.

vival came into being.¹ Evelyn's mood had become rather a vile one which did not improve even after he was in uniform. Frank Pakenham described an encounter between Evelyn and Beveridge at a lunch where Lord Birkenhead was affably and charmingly present:

For a long time Beveridge, accustomed to so much friendliness and hero-worship, tried to detect in Evelyn an underlying, if paradoxical esteem, but at last that became impossible.

"Tell me, Sir William," said Evelyn, "How do you get your main pleasure in life?"

I get it," said Beveridge, answering the question literally and, as I still think, truly, "I get it by trying to leave the world a little better place than I found it."

"And I get mine," said Evelyn (this was in 1942), "in trying to spread alarm and despondency, and I expect I get a great deal more than you do."²

Before this there might have been some hopefulness--Evelyn's last review article before the war had started in early September, 1939, was about Lewis Carroll,³ a reading attempt to find the lighter side

¹Evelyn's opinions about Churchill's being the only possible leader were similar to those of Liberal-Catholic-Fascist Douglas Jerrold's in England, Past, Present and Future (New York: Norton, 1951): only Churchill had the experience and sense of urgency to have prepared England but he was out of power (p. 259). Evelyn's dedication in Put Out More Flags to Randolph Churchill reflects friendship and sympathy extending from the time when Randolph stormed the famous Oxford Union debate about not fighting for King or country in 1933 and from their similar opinions in The Daily Mail in 1935.

²Frank Pakenham [also Lord Pakenham and Earl of Longford], Born to Believe, p. 134.

³"Carroll and Dodgson," Spectator, Oct. 13, 1939, p. 511. Evelyn published reviews occasionally in the Spectator and the Tablet during the war; for the Tablet and other periodicals after the war; for Time and Tide upon art books in the nineteen-fifties; and for the Spectator from 1953 when "Strix" [Peter Fleming] became a staffman. Evelyn's Spectator reviews during the war usually reflected his casual differentiations between the Upper Classes and the proletarian, distinctions which frequently drew him into Letters to the Editor controversies on the class-status subject. Labour was gaining powers during the war which Evelyn objected to still.

to life through literature, perhaps, which became a criticism of the scholarship and ended on a religious note about the innocence of childhood.

When war began Evelyn immediately sought and obtained a service role as his friend Billy Clonmore had also done.¹ His first son was born in November; he wrote to Frank Pakenham, asking him to be godfather. Upon learning that Pakenham was not yet a Catholic he wrote the following encouragement:

If you have studied so deeply, there is nothing to stop you asking for immediate reception. Discussion can become a pure luxury. Go to your regimental Chaplain or the nearest priest. This is no time (November, 1939) for a soldier to delay.²

Evelyn's role as a Catholic was most fully realized in this advice; his whole development from the time of his own conversion led to this chivalrous advice. Soon, uniformed in the glamorous rig of the Horse Guards, he was the medieval knight³ engaged in a holy war for the preservation and salvation of his generation.⁴

¹Earl of Wicklow [Lord Clonmore], *Fireside Fusilier*, with Introduction by Evelyn Waugh (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1958). Evelyn wrote here that by chance Robert Byron, not yet settled in uniform, met him in a cafe and told him about Clonmore's being a soldier too. Evelyn desired a service role very much: "At the beginning of World War II a friend of mine in Devon found Evelyn staying at Chagford and heart-broken because so much time must elapse before he could get into the Army and to the Front" (unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Feb. 17, 1962).

²Born to Believe, pp. 115-16. Later, Pakenham reveals, Evelyn encouraged Lady Pakenham, Penelope Chetwode (Mrs. John Betjeman), and others as well. Though Pakenham could not be godfather, it can be noted that the first son, Auberon, was named after Mrs. Waugh's brother and that the baptismal event was of sufficient social importance to have been recorded in the Times Index, an index of Captain Waugh's social eminence in itself (The Times, Dec. 1, 1939, p. 11).

³Unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Oct. 25, 1961. Such a comment is not intended to be derogatory here, though it is

in some contexts. A similar explanation for Evelyn's enthusiasm offered in similar vein is that he learned it from the "team spirit" of his father's company cricket team, rejoiced in it because of his short stature, and had longed for it since Alec's heroism in 1917 (Tangye Lean, "Waugh and Hemingway," Spectator, Sept. 12, 1952, p. 342).

⁴Evelyn's novels were not entirely accidental to this more substantial business of life: Put Out More Flags (1942) was a summary of the failings among a small set during the past two decades with a vision of sturdier effort in the future; Brideshead Revisited (1945) was a greater effort at summary with didactic intent and hope for a different future. As usual these novels were filled with the autobiographical life that he always put in his literature; his intimate circle of knowledgeable readers knew what he purposed.

Because this survey does not extend beyond the war it may be useful to set down some of the sources for information about Evelyn's affairs during the war that were useful to him in his two wartime novels. His recent Tourist in Africa (1960) relates the locations of his recent Februaries: 1940 on the English Channel, 1941 in a Troopship, 1942 on a Scottish moor. An article for Life Magazine presented details of his "Commando Raid on Bardia," and thus something about the dangers of his own career as a Commando for which service he volunteered (Life, Nov. 17, 1941, pp. 63-66, et passim). Hilary St. G. Saunders' Green Beret, The Story of the Commandos, 1940-45 (London: M. Joseph, 1949) has several personal references to Evelyn's service career but does not relate if Evelyn was in the attempted kidnapping of Rommel; apparently Evelyn was a rather heroic participator in the rescue raid on Crete in 1941: the "general opinion of this dive-bombing was expressed by Captain Evelyn Waugh, who, after experiencing it for some time, said that like all things German it was very efficient and went on much too long" (Green Beret, pp. 67-68). In his Old School's Magazine was this note: "Wounded-- Waugh, Captain E. A. St. J. Waugh, Royal Horse Guards (Heads, 1917-21)" (L.C.M., Christmas Term, 1944, p. 133). Diana Cooper gave some data about his return from the mission into Yugoslavia with Randolph Churchill, hurt from an aircraft wreck, etc. (Trumpets from the Steep, pp. 203ff). He had read the proofs of Brideshead Revisited there in a cave it is generally stated.

A fuller account of his wartime experiences is given by Eric Linklater's The Art of Adventure (London: Macmillan, 1948, pp. 44-58); Linklater knew him in Edinburgh during 1942 and in Rome during 1944 and his relation of several incidents adds lustre to the cantankerous soldier. Evelyn's Wine in Peace and War (1947) sets down the description of an evening at the Royal Marine Barracks in Chatham during 1939 when he and another subaltern indulged in a wine-tasting contest quite like the one he put in Brideshead Revisited. In "Fan-Fare" he related how it occurred that he made the "discovery" about "Mrs. Lyne's" secret indulgence in spirits (Life, April 8, 1946, pp. 53-54, et passim); it is worth noting that Diana Cooper spent some time during the London bombing in a room on the tenth floor of the Dorchester Hotel, Park Lane. Such notes make speculative matter for study of Evelyn's creative methods.

Evelyn's Work Suspended (London: Chapman and Hall, 1942), dated "1941" in Tactical Exercise, is discussed by F. J. Stopp as a transition marker in Evelyn's style, lodging between his early, pre-war novels and

his later World War II novels; since a major incident in the unfinished work is the birth of a baby, perhaps it relates to an even earlier time, before Auberon's birth, but since its setting included the hero's being in Fez before he returned upon the death of his father one cannot attribute all of this to autobiographical incident. For general historical information Stopp's book is a sufficient survey of broad outlines for Evelyn's career from the war onward and Paul A. Doyle's bibliography is also a guide though it omits as much as it includes (Bulletin of Bibliography, XXII [May-August], 1957, pp. 57-62). Finally, in his Old School's Magazine the reviewer, "Corpse," of Put Out More Flags stated something about what seems to have been Evelyn's role in the war-time government: "College rumour that delights to honour as well as dishonour, claims that he was of the party that essayed to kidnap Rommel, and he is certainly a Captain in the Marines, occasionally seconded for service with the Brains Trust, where he cuts Professor Joad's cackle with a few trenchant words" (L.C.M., Summer Term, 1942, pp. 103-104). Lord Molson doubted that Evelyn had the "Philosophy" for such combat with "Professor" Joad (interview granted to Charles Linck, July 26, 1961); perhaps Evelyn appeared with the entertainment called the "Brains Trust," instead.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to set down in one place the uncollected record of Evelyn Waugh's career from his youth to 1940. The account given in this manner shows how his early precocious genius became noticed: he produced various literary and graphic works of art while at home and at Public School which brought him a wider notice and which encouraged the development of an extraordinary personality. Before leaving Lancing College in 1922 he had acquired the two aspects of his character --an "artistic" "personality"--that made him a leading representative of his post-war generation. His age group had not fought in World War I; they were not of the "Lost Generation." His generation had, instead, the problem of asserting its right to be noticed, perhaps typical of younger brothers; thus it was a bumptious generation in many respects. He attempted to explain differences between veterans and his own age group in his Editorial of December, 1921; in this he had a leader's foresight. The account of his early career displays his participation in high spirited activities which became characteristic of what is known in history as the "Roaring Twenties." Of course, he was not sole leader or originator; but at Lancing College he was a central figure among similar spirits as the first chapter of this study shows.

In 1922 Evelyn proceeded to Oxford University with a scholarship. But his chief activity from 1922 to 1924 was not that of a serious student so much as that of a participant in the fun-seeking, practical-joking and

perhaps silly activities of "The Bright Young People." He and his bright young friends helped to change the "Georgian" era into the sophisticated modern era (reflected in popular drama by Noël Coward) by 1927. Of course, it is not correct to suppose that in three years everyone and everything became "modern." But insofar as an historian can distinguish that a segment of society had changed in 1930 from what it had been in 1927, he can also perceive that Evelyn participated in aiding and abetting the change. In addition, Evelyn became the era's historian, for in his novels he had developed his aptitude for presenting and for criticizing what he had enjoyed and observed.

At Oxford, Evelyn anticipated the development of his future career with his satirical cartoons and short stories; with irreverent journalism and high-spirited club associations; in unconventional aestheticism, in rowdiness and in party politics; finally, in significant friendships. That seriousness characterized all his apparently contradictory actions must not be overlooked. In 1923, when he and the Etonian friends of Harold Acton attempted to bring about appreciation for avant-garde art and literature, it was their serious and conscious intention to change the intellectual life and attitudes of their generation. When Evelyn joined Woodruff and Hollis in the humor-centered approach at the Oxford Union Society, the intention was to alleviate what they considered the dullness of party political thinking: Evelyn's "Isis Idol" essay upon the role of Harold Acton in Oxford affairs explained their intentions.

Evelyn's associates did not originate the critical hoaxes and practical jokes of the Bright Young People so much as they carried the activities of this group to their apotheosis. Gossip columnists had been trained and tutored by association at Oxford before they generally began

to lead style and taste in London's social life. The matter of the fourth and fifth chapters of this study might not have been a part of history had Evelyn, Harold Acton, Brian Howard, John Sutro, David Plunkett-Greene, and others not been Oxford originators as it is recorded in the second and third chapters. The times were ripe for change, of course. Despite the periodic social and economic disturbances such as the General Strike of 1926, conditions during the later twenties were right for highly publicized gaiety both at Oxford and in London for many reasons. The later twenties were years when economic circumstances in Europe made vast and easy wealth possible for many who could profit from speculative adventures in stock market transactions and individual enterprise. The rich people of London's Mayfair society entertained vastly during the "Jazz Age" of night-clubs and fun-seeking. Evelyn was not wealthy, but his friendships made it possible for him to enjoy the gaiety.

Particularly fortunate for his career, his middle-class origins and his poverty made it necessary that he work as a literary journalist. Because his capacity for pleasure alternated with his endurance for serious work, he was able not only to produce a scholarly and intelligent book about an artist, Rossetti, but also a very attractive, humorous novel about the gay society he knew. His popular success was achieved before the advent of the economic collapse known in England as the "Crisis," that is, before the economic panic of Wall Street on October 24, 1929, when there had been no cause for the gaiety to cease and when his kind of realistic depiction of society could be enjoyed. Different economic conditions changed society's appetite for humor; MacDonald's second Labour ministry took office in June, 1929, as the culmination of various economic pressures and the gaiety diminished in mid-1929. An even more

youthful generation, who had in their turn reacted to earlier frivolity and had, perhaps, been reared amidst more sobering economic conditions, now had its opportunity; the "political" poets of Harold Acton's latter days at Oxford began their literary ascendancy in the greater world as the "Crisis" appeared and worsened.

One can follow the various threads of England's plight through the thirties--of economic crises, of growing unemployment, of the "distressed areas," and of industrial stagnation--in the files of a magazine such as The Spectator, or in a social history such as Mowat's Britain Between the Wars. In a literary history one can follow the evolution of a literary Left Wing from the time that New Signatures, of 1932 brought a potent group to public attention: W. H. Auden, C. Day Lewis, John Lehmann, Stephen Spender, Christopher Isherwood, Louis MacNeice, Edward Upward, and their associates were not negligible as poets and literary persons, and they gained wide attention. These youthful men of letters took their current of seriousness from what literary history knows as the "Bloomsbury Group," which was the most prominent and influential group in the English literary world during the time that Evelyn's friends seemed to disassociate themselves from economic and political seriousness.

Evelyn's gay generation was actually a short-lived phenomenon in society and letters. During that short period he had made his reputation as a humorist in fiction; and luckily for him in the pervading atmosphere of soberness his comic genius was still appreciated and therefore profitable. Vile Bodies was a more-or-less bitter depiction of futile lives and it reflected his personal unhappiness in 1930. However, it was not about economic crises: its ironies about his own generation

of Bright Young People were acceptably entertaining, and it was funny. Then, because of the collapse of his personal world, Evelyn became a Roman Catholic. This rather unpatriotic religious allegiance increased his fame, for his conversion was, in one sense, a public protest; since many persons felt as he did in 1930, his conversion was not disastrous for his public popularity. These matters are the subjects of the fifth chapter. The reversal in his religious life had complex causes, of course, the literary and political results of which the last four chapters of this study treat in detail.

A very important preliminary to his career during the thirties was that Evelyn's precocious artistry and personality had enabled him to establish his literary popularity and to improve his social position by 1930. He gained many friends among the wealthy and the Upper Classes; he kept many of them after he became a Roman Catholic. Politically, he inclined toward their traditional Conservatism and grew intensely more a "Tory." He continued, then, as a humorist and satirist of fame and popularity, with new objects of satire provided by his opposition to political and literary socialism. In 1932 he did not turn to the literary Left as many of his associates had; he published *Black Mischief* instead, a stern attack upon the various proponents of what was generally called "uplift" and the liberals who were gaining ascendancy in the literary world. His bumptuousness as a satirist was little less in A Handful of Dust in 1934; his popularity no less when he attacked, with his own means of reproach, social ills, the decaying and useless country gentry, and the sociologically unconcerned, latter-day Bright Young People. His literary-social criticism was different; it was religious-centered and, of course, he had discovered that opposition could be profitable in other ways too.

The depressed thirties did not leave Evelyn untouched. Handful, and various short stories reflect his concern or his disgust with the ineffective, useless, and unprincipled Upper (and still, generally, the ruling) Classes in almost the same way that the Left Wing reflected its disgust with the coalition "National" governments of MacDonald and Baldwin during the mid-thirties. Obviously the Left Wing were "socialists" because of their despair of what they considered to be the "old men's" ineffective government which seemed content to parlay the time and to ignore national decay. Evelyn knew about depression; he did not, however, join the literary majority--his serious and intellectual as well as religious sentiments lay manifestly in his practical role of providing his kind of opposition. Thus he did not relinquish his role of opposer when the "New Signatures" group found their market in popular socialism and in publications such as New Country in 1933, the Left Review in 1934, the Penguin Books series in 1935, New Writing in 1936, or the Left Book Club's Left News in 1936. Evelyn was well aware that "writers in arms" were the dominant and popular force but he continued to furnish opposition as a notable literary journalist, as a Catholic apologist with Edmund Campion, and even as a "Fascist" sympathizer with Waugh in Abyssinia during these years. He continued to amuse his audience with Scoop, his satirical novel about the Public Opinion creator, the Corporation Press, at the very height of popular sympathy for literary socialism. Likewise in the magazines--the Conservative Spectator, the Tory English Review, the humorous Night and Day, and the Roman Catholic Tablet--he attacked the collaborative communism of socialist authors. He opposed for practical reasons; he was in opposition because of serious personal convictions.

There is no evidence that Evelyn supported Oswald Mosley's British

Union of Fascists in 1932 or after even though he knew Diana Mitford (Hitler's "perfect Nordic type") as the wife of his friend Brian Guinness before she married Mosley. There is little evidence that his support of the Italian invasion of Abyssinia reflected more than his dislike of backward society and his partisanship for Roman Catholicism. But almost every public action he undertook during the thirties seems to have been chosen so as to place himself in a public position of opposition to movements he could not approve: he went to Abyssinia in 1935 and 1936 to use his literary popularity in the cause of unpopular Fascist Italy; he joined the Tory English Review when it was supporting "Fascism" and he published his book about Abyssinian war in the face of strong opposition during the Spanish Civil War; he was a literary journalist in several magazines primarily to scarify the Left Wing literary personages. In Authors Take Sides he chose to make his opposition infamous by announcing his sympathy for Franco and Fascism. His Scoop depicted the Press and pressmen as fiction-mongers instead of as retailers of facts. His Robbery Under Law of 1939 defended the unpopular side of Mexico's "proletarian" revolution to warn England that Capital Enterprise could be lost in the same way at home. Thus, throughout the depressed thirties, he used his comic genius and his bumptuous and artfully antagonistic personality with skillful success against the currents of his times. When World War II came, though in his later thirties, he became a soldier almost as if to emphasize the flight of some eminent members of the era's leading literary figures.

Perhaps war had occurred as he had always foreseen: by 1939 the various developments of the thirties in Europe had again to be resolved in conflict. Proletarian revolution in Germany and Italy had given way to dictatorships which some English opinion admired until too late;

similar revolution in Russia had given rise to another kind of efficiency which had seemed to many Englishmen to be the answer for British economic problems. It is true that by contrast the leadership of England was little constructive during the thirties, being weak and indecisive generally. When danger was obvious during 1938 and 1939, an important segment of political opinion, the "Cliveden Set," hoped that Hitler might be dealt with reasonably; Evelyn supported an aristocratic "war party" that looked to Winston Churchill for strong leadership instead. In September, 1939, the years of indecisive government ended; Churchill entered the Cabinet and to Evelyn it appeared that an Upper Classes, "Churchillian Renaissance" was about to begin. He wrote *Put Out More Flags* (1942) in illustration of salutary changes that might now take place as men found a cause and fought for ideals, sluffing their futile lives and the degradation of the past decade.

Aside from the actual literary aspect of his work then, Evelyn was a more-or-less potent political enemy of leading movements during his lifetime. In this role he must be considered. Because the slow but publicly popular tendency of the era toward proletarian-centered economy was challenged by Evelyn Waugh and because it may be considered a good rather than otherwise that social justice be served by a controlled economic and social structure, it is appropriate to question whether Evelyn offered an alternative order. He did. He did not actually defend the older Chester-Belloc desire for a return to medieval society, craft-shops, or peasant-filled pubs, perhaps because of his Oxford-days' jibes at "Back-to-the-Landers," folk song and dance, and "Merrie England." Evelyn proposed instead a return to traditional Upper Class virtues which he identified with traditional Roman Catholic religion; his was the ideal of a useful and responsible Aristocracy and, it is easily

concluded, an allegiance to the old ideal of the "gentleman." Generally speaking, he did not demonstrate sympathy in a public way for the "lower classes" and he did not mention "distressed areas"; instead, he discussed the kind of useful gentry who might make an evolved British way of life work:

We have a system that has grown up systematically through an enormous variety of public and private enterprises. It is a system which suits us, and if properly worked, can provide most of the things that are needed. But it can only work if people of leisure and energy, mental powers and very considerable good-will take it in hand.¹

His many thoughts about the ideal Upper Class were preliminary to a novel that presented a full picture of what a useful, paternalistic, Upper Class society might be.

Delayed until after the war, his most complete study of gentle life was published as an autobiographical and historical novel, *Brideshead Revisited*, (1945). This artistic summary of an era, composed during war-time, is likely to prove the masterwork of his creative career. It synthesized the personal, religious, social, and political facets of his life which have been recorded in this study. By contrasts and indirections as well as by more direct presentation, his *Brideshead* reflects the interaction between a highly intelligent and serious personality and a sombre period of human history. It presents his alternative social order, one which might have been the better answer for that period of time.

¹"The New Countryman," *Spectator*, July 8, 1938, pp. 54-55.

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The Oxford Broom. Editor's support and contributor to the four numbers of Feb., April, and June, 1923, and the fourth delayed number published with The Cherwell, Feb. 9, 1924, p. 63.

Short Stories:

"Portrait of Young Man With Career," The Isis, May 30, 1923, p. xxii.

"Antony, Who Sought Things That Were Lost," The Oxford Broom, June, 1923, pp. 14-20.

"Edward of Unique Achievement," The Cherwell, August 1, 1923, pp. 14-18.

"Fragments: They Dine with the Past," The Cherwell, August 15, 1923, p. 42.

"Conspiracy to Murder," The Cherwell, Sept. 5, 1923, pp. 116, 118.

"The National Game," The Cherwell, Sept. 26, 1923, pp. 174, 176.

1924

Cartoons:

"Angostura and Soda," The Isis, Jan. 30, 1924, p. 5.

"Cornish Landscape with White Cow in Thought," The Cherwell, Feb. 2, 1924, p. 40.

Cover Cartoon of Merry-go-Round of Unicorns and Sweepers, The Oxford Broom. Published in The Cherwell, Feb. 9, 1924, p. 63.

"Brandy," The Isis, March 12, 1924, p. 10.

"Beer," The Isis, May 7, 1924, p. 4.

"On with the Dance . . .," The Isis, June 18, 1924, p. 3.

"The Tragical Death of Mr. Will. Huskisson. Sept. MDCCCXXX," The Cherwell, May 24, 1924, pp. 86-87. Exhibited at the Oxford Arts Club Exhibition, June, 1924. Reported in The Isis, June 18, 1924, pp. 18-19; The Oxford Chronicle, June 20, 1924, p. 16.

1924 (cont.)

Debate Speeches:

Private Business Motion about Raising Dues. Reported in The Isis, Jan. 30, 1924, p. 15; The Cherwell, Feb. 2, 1924, p. 58.

"That this House Approves the Support Given by France to the Separatists in the Ruhr," as corrector of facts. Reported in The Isis, Feb. 6, 1924, p. 13; The Oxford Magazine, Feb. 7, 1924, pp. 252-54; The Cherwell, Feb. 9, 1924, p. 54.

"That Shakespeare did not intend Hamlet to be Mad," on Pro side. Reported in The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, p. 19; The Oxford Magazine, Feb. 21, 1924, p. 302; The Cherwell, Feb. 23, 1924, pp. 115-16.

"That Immediate and Drastic Reform is needed in our so-called Public Schools," on Pro side. Reported in The Cherwell, May 17, 1924, p. 69; The Isis, May 22, 1924, p. 34; The Oxford Magazine, May 22, 1924, pp. 474-75.

Editorials, Essays and other items:

"Wittenberg and Oxford," The Isis, Feb. 14, 1924, pp. 1-2.

"Oxford and the Next War," The Isis, March 12, 1924, p. 10.

_____ with Alec Waugh, "Youth's Protest, The Right to Satisfy oneself, A Letter to a Father," The Sunday Times (London), Oct. 26, 1924, p. 11.

"Lost, lost, O Lost" in "The Passing Hour," The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, p. 4.

"We Can't Help Wondering" (about his revolver), The Isis, March 12, 1924, p. 4.

Magazine, Sub-Editor:

The Isis (Oxford), Spring Term, 1924; eight numbers from January 23 to March 12, 1924.

Reporter, Union Debates:

"The Union" ("That this House approves of the support given by France to the Separatists in the Rineland"), The Isis, Feb. 6, 1924, p. 13.

1924 (cont.)

- "The Union" ("Shakespeare did not Intend Hamlet to be Mad"), The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, p. 19.
- "The Union" ("That this House would welcome the Disappearance of the Liberal Party"), The Isis, Feb. 27, 1924, p. 10.
- "The Union" ("That Civilization has advanced since this Society first met"), The Isis, March 5, 1924, p. 9.
- "The Union" ("That the Foreign Policy of Great Britain Should aim at constructing a European Balance of Power"), The Isis, March 12, 1924, p. 15.
- "The Union" ("That France and Russia were as responsible as Germany for World War I"), The Isis, May 7, 1924, p. 12.
- "The Union" ("That Immediate and Drastic Reform is needed in our so-called Public Schools"), The Isis, May 22, 1924, p. 34.
- "The Union" ("That Prohibition of Manufacture and Sale of Intoxicating Liquors is in the best Interests of the Country"), The Isis, May 28, 1924, p. 21.
- "The Union" ("That this House deserves its doubtful Reputation"), The Isis, June 4, 1924, p. 16.

Reviews: Cinema and Book:

- "Seen in the Dark" (Review of The Merry-go-Round), The Isis, Jan. 23, 1924, p. 5.
- "Seen in the Dark" (Review of If Winter Comes), The Isis, Feb. 20, 1924, p. 28.
- "At the Super Cinema" (Review of Woman to Woman), The Isis, Feb. 27, 1924, p. 6.
- "The Super Cinema" (Review of The Four Horsemen), The Isis, March 5, 1924, p. 24.
- "A Bald Story" (Review of Alec Waugh, Card Castle), The Isis, June 18, 1924, pp. 16-17.

1925

Cartoon:

- "Music" column-head of Woman Singing, The Cherwell, Nov. 7, 1925, p. 91, and after for several issues.

1925 (cont.)

Movie:

"The Scarlet Woman--An Ecclesiastical Melodrama" (earlier called "The Last of the Borgias"), shown at the O. U. D. S., November 22, 1925, and later at Campion Hall, Oxford. Reviewed by John Fernald, "Mr. Greenidge's Films," The Isis, Dec. 2, 1925, p. 10. Discussed in Terence Greenidge, "The Cinematograph in Oxford," The Isis, June 17, 1925, p. 10; and "The Story of Oxford Films," The Isis, Nov. 24, 1926, p. 10.

Short Story, republished:

"Edward of Unique Achievement--A Tale of Blood and Alcohol in an Oxford College," The Cherwell, June 13, 1925, pp. 166-69.

1926

Short Story:

"The Balance; A Yarn of the Good Old Days of Broad Trousers and High Necked Jumpers," in Georgian Stories, 1926. London: Chapman and Hall, 1926, pp. 253-291.

Study:

P. R. B. An Essay on the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, 1847-54. Privately Printed, 1926.

Unfinished Novel:

The Temple at Thatch. Burned in Wales according to the unpublished letter of Terence Greenidge to Charles Linck, Feb. 17, 1962.

1928

Cartoons:

Dust Wrapper cartoon for Decline and Fall of the Hero in Four Attitudes. Described by Dragoman, "The Talk of London," The Daily Express (London), Sept. 18, 1928, p. 19.

"The Wedding was an Unparalleled Success Among the Lower Orders," as the Frontispiece for Decline and Fall.

"You See, I'm a Public School man," in Decline and Fall.

"The Llanabba Sports," in Decline and Fall.

1928 (cont.)

"I do not Think it Possible for Domestic Architecture to be Beautiful, but I am doing my Best," in Decline and Fall.

"All the Street Seemed to be Laughing at Him," in Decline and Fall.

"Grimes was of the Immortals," in Decline and Fall.

Novel:

Decline and Fall, an Illustrated Novelette. London: Chapman and Hall, Sept. 18, 1928.

Letter to the Editor:

"D. G. Rossetti," Times Literary Supplement, (London), May 17, 1928, p. 379.

Review:

"Peter Wilkins" (Review of Robert Paltock, The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins. Illustrated by Edward Bawden), The Observer (London), Dec. 9, 1928, p. 8, in all four issues.

Studies:

Rossetti, His Life and Works. London: Duckworth, April 18, 1928.

"Dante Gabriel Rossetti: A Centenary Criticism," The Fortnightly Review (London), CXXII n.s. (May, 1928, 595-604).

1929

Brochure:

"Bruno Hatte," a hoaxing pamphlet done with Brian Howard. Reported in Eleanor Smith, The Sunday Dispatch (London), July 14, 1929, p. 4; quoted by Patrick Balfour, Society Racket, pp. 168-69.

Cartoons:

Cover-and-Editorial-Page Cartoon of The Oxford Stage, modernized. First in The Cherwell, Feb. 2, 1929, and weekly after to 1940.

Dust Wrapper Cartoon of Edwardian Street Scene in London for Alec Waugh, Three Score and Ten. Photograph in The Observer, Sept. 8, 1929 (in Chapman and Hall advertisement).

1929 (cont.)

Essays:

"The Claim of Youth" or "Too Young at Forty; Youth Calls to Peter Pans of Middle-Age Who Block the Way," The Evening Standard (London), Jan. 22, 1929, p. 7.

"Ronald Firbank," Life and Letters, II (March, 1929), 191-96.

"Matter-of-Fact Mothers of the New Age," The Evening Standard, April 8, 1929, p. 7.

"The War and the Younger Generation," The Spectator, April 13, 1929, pp. 570-71.

Reviews:

"Illustrated Books" (Review of W. R. Fuerst and S. J. Hume, Twentieth Century Stage Decoration; D. Morand, Monumental and Commercial Architecture of Great Britain; E. B. Hovell, Indian Sculpture and Painting; P. Koechlin and G. Migeon, Oriental Art; M. Salamon, Fine Print of the Year, 1928; G. Smith and F. Bengar, The Oldest London Bookshop, 1728-1928), The Observer, Feb. 17, 1929, p. 9, in all four issues.

"Cities of the Future" (Review of Le Corbusier, The City of Tomorrow; Dorothy Todd and Ray Mortimer, The New Interior Decoration), The Observer, Aug. 11, 1929, p. 6, in all four issues.

Short Stories:

"The Hire-Purchase Marriage, An Inconsequent Version of the Love-in-a-Cottage Myth," Harpers Bazaar (London), I, No. 3 (Dec., 1929), 22-23, 98, 101 (with four illustrations by Eric Fraser). Then adapted for Chapter Five of Vile Bodies.

Episode of Vile Bodies. Published in The New Decameron, Sixth Day, 1929 (Oxford: Blackwell), ed. Vivienne Dayrell [Mrs. Graham Greene]. See Author's Note in American Edition of Vile Bodies (Boston: Little, Brown, 1945).

1930

Brochure:

"Preservation of Oxford." Remarks on Benefit Programme at Oxford. Reported by Mr. Gossip, "Preservation of Oxford--Evelyn Waugh Suggests Dynamite," The Daily Sketch, Feb. 23, 1930, p. 5.

1930 (cont.)

Correspondent, The Times:

"The Throne of Ethiopia, Tafari as King of Kings, Personal Triumph," The Times (London), Oct. 17, 1930, pp. 15-16. Republished in The English Review (1936) and in Waugh in Abyssinia.

"The Abyssinian Coronation, Duke of Gloucester at Jibuti," The Times, Oct. 27, 1930, p. 12.

"The Abyssinian Coronation, Duke of Gloucester's Arrival," The Times, Oct. 29, 1930, p. 13.

"Duke of Gloucester in Abyssinia, Presents to the Emperor," The Times, Oct. 31, 1930, p. 14.

"The Statue to Menelik," The Times, Nov. 3, 1930, p. 12.

"Emperor of Ethiopia, The Coronation Ceremony," The Times, Nov. 4, 1930, p. 13.

"Coronation Banquet in Abyssinia, 30,000 Guests," The Times, Nov. 5, 1930, p. 13.

"Emperor's Procession in Addis Ababa," The Times, Nov. 6, 1930, p. 13.

"The Abyssinian Festivities, Emperor's Picnic Party," The Times, Nov. 7, 1930, p. 13.

"Review at Addis Ababa, Capering Military Bards," The Times, Nov. 8, 1930, p. 11.

"The Abyssinian Celebrations," The Times, Nov. 10, 1930, p. 11.

"End of Abyssinian Celebrations," The Times, Nov. 13, 1930.

"Ethiopia Today, Romance and Reality, Behind the Scenes at Addis Ababa," The Times, Dec. 22, 1930, pp. 13-14. Republished in The English Review (1936) and in Waugh in Abyssinia.

Cartoons:

Dust Wrapper and Frontispiece cartoon of Peer's Daughter in Crash for Vile Bodies, Jan. 17, 1930.

Dust Wrapper of Label-and-Sticker Covered Trunk for Labels, A Mediterranean Journal, Oct. 19, 1930. Photograph in The Bystander (London), Oct. 1, 1930, p. 48.

Frontispiece cartoon for Labels: "M/Y Stella Polaris, 1929."

1930 (cont.)

"Route Map" for Labels, showing points of visits.

"Sketch Map of Port Said" for Labels.

Essays:

"A Searchlight on a Classic. No. 2: Tess, As a 'Modern' sees it,"
The Evening Standard, Jan. 17, 1930, p. 7.

"Labels: An Essay on Travel," The Fortnightly Review, CXXVII n.s.
(April, 1930), 485-99. First Chapter of Labels.

"In Defense of Pleasure Cruising; An Apologia for the new kind of
Vagabondage," Harpers Bazaar, II (May, 1930), 36-37, 99-100,
with illustrations by Victor Reinganum. Labels, pp. 41-52, 133-34.

"Labels: Port Said," The Fortnightly Review, May, 1930, pp. 627-39.

"Labels: Malta," The Fortnightly Review, June, 1930, pp. 797-810. Labels,
Chapter Five, pp. 116-134.

"Alec Waugh," The Bookman (New York), LXXI (June, 1930), 299-301.

"Labels, Seville, Lisbon and Home," The Fortnightly Review, July, 1930,
pp. 69-77. Labels, pp. 196-206.

"Converted to Rome: Why it Happened to Me," The Daily Express, Oct. 20,
1930, p. 10.

"Let Us Return to the Nineties, but not to Oscar Wilde," Harpers
Bazaar, III (Nov., 1930), 50-51, 98, with illustrations by
Tony Wysard.

Novel:

Vile Bodies. London: Chapman and Hall, Jan. 17, 1930.

Poem:

"Juvenalia," Farrago (Oxford), No. 2 (June, 1930), p. 88.

Reader's Remarks:

About J. Keith Winter, Other Man's Saucer. Quoted in Heinemann
Advertisement, The Observer, June 1, 1930, p. 5.

1930 (cont.)

About Louis Marlow [Louis Umfreville Wilkinson], The Lion Took Fright.
Quoted in The Observer, Oct. 26, 1930, p. 9, in Mundanus
(Gollancz) advertisement.

Reviews:

"A Miscellany of Art Books" (Review of Arthur Symons, From Toulouse-
Lautrec to Rodin; Ana M. Berry, Art for Children; Ana M. Berry,
Animals in Art; W. G. Raffe, Poster Design; Sir John Soane,
Lectures on Architecture; Francis Carruthers Gould, Nature
Caricatures), The Observer, Jan 12, 1930, p. 6, in all issues.

Review of Terence Greenidge, Degenerate Oxford?, The Fortnightly Review,
CXXVII n.s. (March, 1930), 423-24.

Travel Book:

Labels, A Mediterranean Journal. London: Chapman and Hall, Sept. 25,
1930.

1931

Novel, Adapted to Stage:

Vile Bodies, a Play in Twelve Episodes. Adapted by H. Dennis Bradley
(London: Chapman and Hall, 1931). Twelve performances at the
Arts Theatre Club, Oct., 1931.

Reader's Remarks:

About Lady Longford [Christine Trew], Making Conversation. Quoted in
advertisement of Leonard Stein (Gollancz), The Observer, Nov. 1,
1931, p. 7.

Travel Book:

Remote People. London: Duckworth, Nov. 3, 1931.

1932

Cartoons:

Several Parodies of Abyssinian Native Art, in the Limited Edition of
Black Mischief. Frontispiece (Uniform Edition; London: Chapman
and Hall, 1948); "General Connolly at Ukaka," Stopp, p. 33; and
map of "Azanian Empire," in regular Chapman and Hall first edition,
Oct., 1932.

1932 (cont.)

Essays:

"Venetian Adventures," Harpers Bazaar, VII (Oct., 1932), 54, 86.
Illustrated by C. A. Neven du Mont.

Novels:

The Curse of the Race, in Little Innocents: Childhood Reminiscences by Dame Ethyl Smith and others. ed. with Preface by Alan Pryce-Jones. London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1932. Reviewed by R. R., The Cherwell, Dec. 3, 1942, p. 108. See 1910 Supra.

Black Mischief. London: Chapman and Hall, Oct. 1, 1932. With cartoons.

Reviews:

"The Travellers" (Review of Max Gruhl, The Citadels of Ethiopia; James S. Childers, From Siam to Suez), The Spectator, April 9, 1932, p. 518.

"An Indian Comedy" (Review of J. R. Ackerley, Hindoo Holiday), The Spectator, April 16, 1932, p. 562.

"The Cold North" (Review of H. H. Houben, The Call of the North; Jan Welzl, Thirty Years in the Golden North), The Spectator, June 18, 1932, p. 869.

"Travellers' History" (Review of Peter Quennell, A Superficial Journey; Wyndham Lewis, Filibusters in Barbary; Alan Pryce-Jones, People in the South; Jan and Cora Gordon, Three Lands on Three Wheels), The Spectator, Aug. 6, 1932, p. 186.

"Travellers" (Review of A. S. Wadia, The Call of the Southern Cross; Kasimir Edschmid, South America; Georg Borchner, A Wayfarer in Denmark; Leonard Matters, Through the Kara Sea; Waldo Frank, Dawn in Russia), The Spectator, Oct. 1, 1932, pp. 412, 414.

"Rossetti's Wife" (Review of Violet Hunt, The Wife of Rossetti), The Spectator, Oct. 8, 1932, p. 449.

"Travellers' Tales" (Review of Penryn Goldman, To Hell and Gone; Julian Duguid, Tiger-Man; Amelie Posse-Brazdova, Sardinian Sideshow; Lowell Thomas, Kabluk of the Eskimo; Robert Gibbings, Iorana!; Walter Bayes, A Painter's Baggage), The Spectator, Nov. 18, 1932, pp. 703, 705.

1932 (cont.)

Short Stories:

"The Patriotic Honeymoon," Harpers Bazaar, V (Jan., 1932), 14-15, 86 (illustrated by Nicolas de Molas). Renamed "Love in the Slump" for Mr. Loveday (1936).

"Seth," Life and Letters, VIII (March, 1932), 188-227. Black Mischief (Uniform Edition), pp. 17-44.

"Incident in Azania" in Mr. Loveday wherein the note states this story was a sequel to Black Mischief.

"This Quota Stuff: Positive Proof that the British can make Good Films," Harpers Bazaar, VI (August, 1932), 10-11, 66, 68 (Illustrated by Nicolas Bentley). Renamed "Excursion into Reality" for Mr. Loveday.

"Bella Fleace Gave a Party," Harpers Bazaar, VII (Dec., 1932), 12-13, 100-101 (illustrated by E. Betlingham Smith).

Talk, BBC:

"To an Unnamed Listener. No. VII. To an Old Man," Nov. 28, 1932, Daventry National, Monday, 9:20 p. m.

1933

Brochure:

"An Open Letter to H. E. the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster," a suppressed pamphlet dated May, 1933. Quoted partly in Stopp, pp. 32, 34; described by William Hickey, The Daily Express, Sept. 10, 1934, p. 6.

Essay:

"Cocktail Hour," Harpers Bazaar, IX (Nov., 1933), 26, 87 (illustrated by Nicolas de Molas).

Review:

"Mr. Fleming in Brazil" (Review of Peter Fleming, Brazilian Adventure), The Spectator, August 11, 1933, pp. 195-96.

1933 (cont.)

Short Stories:

"Cruise," Harpers Bazaar, VII (Feb., 1933), 12-13, 80 (illustrated by Nicolas Bentley).

"Out of Depth--An Experiment begun in Shaftesbury Avenue and Ended in Time," Harpers Bazaar, IX (Dec., 1933), 46-48, 106 (Illustrated by A. E. Teixeira Barbosa).

1934

Essays:

"Farewell, 1933," Harpers Bazaar, IX (Jan., 1934), 52, 94 (illustrated by FISH).

"Rough Life," Virginia Quarterly Review, X (Jan., 1934), 70-77.

Letter:

To William Hickey /Tom Driberg/ about The Tablet's attack on A Handful of Dust, The Daily Express, Sept. 11, 1934, p. 6.

To William Hickey about Peter Fleming's ruining the sales of travel books, The Daily Express, Sept. 3, 1934, p. 6.

Novel:

A Handful of Dust. London: Chapman and Hall, Sept. 3, 1934.

Reader's Remarks:

Laurence Oliver, Tadpoles and God. Quoted in The Cherwell, April 28, 1934, p. 20.

Reviews:

"Travellers" (Review of L. M. Nesbitt, Desert and Forest; John Dos Passos, In All Countries; Gordon Sinclair, Cannibal Quest), The Spectator, Sept. 28, 1934, pp. 448, 450.

"A Contrast in Lives" (Review of Albert Gervais, A Surgeon's China; Rawdon Hoare, Rodesian Mosaic), The Spectator, Oct. 12, 1934, p. 538.

"History in Rhymes" (Review of Geoffrey Moss, A Box of Dates for Children), The Spectator, Nov. 23, 1934, p. 24 of The Book Supplement.

1934 (cont.)

"East and South" (Review of Sacheverell Sitwell, Touching the Orient; H. M. Tomlinson, South to Cadiz; Patrick Balfour, Grand Tour; C. G. Bruce, Himalayan Wanderer), The Spectator, Dec. 7, 1934, pp. 890-892.

Serial, Novel:

"A Flat in London," Harpers Bazaar, X (June, 1934), 22-24, 90, 93-98, 101 (Illustrated). A Handful of Dust (Uniform Edition), pp. 1-42.

"A Flat in London, A Fourth Decade Novel," Harpers Bazaar, X (July, 1934), 24-25, 78, 80-83 (Illustrated by Floyd Davis). A Handful of Dust (Uniform Edition), pp. 42-64.

"A Flat in London. III," Harpers Bazaar, X (Aug., 1934), 16-17, 80-86 (Illustrated). A Handful of Dust (Uniform Edition), pp. 65-102.

"A Flat in London. IV," Harpers Bazaar, X (Sept., 1934), 68-69, 82, 84-88 (Illustrated). A Handful of Dust (Uniform Edition), pp. 102-134.

"A Flat in London: Conclusion," Harpers Bazaar, XI (Oct., 1934), 84, 115-123. A Handful of Dust (Uniform Edition), pp. 134-164, plus "By Special Request" later put in Mr. Loveday.

Short Stories:

"Period Piece" in Mr. Loveday is dated "1934" in Tactical Exercise.

"On Guard," Harpers Bazaar, XI (Dec., 1934), 32-33, 84, 86 (Illustrated).

"The Man Who Liked Dickens, An African Story," reprinted by Cosmopolitan Magazine (Hearst), August, 1957, pp. 96-101. Referred to in "Fan-Fare."

Travel Book:

Ninety-Two Days, The Account of a Tropical Journey Through British Guiana and Part of Brazil. London: Duckworth, March 15, 1934.

1935

Correspondent, The Daily Mail:

"War Certain in Few Weeks," Daily Mail, Aug. 24, 1935, p. 9.

"Evelyn Waugh Watches Abyssinians Training," Daily Mail, Aug. 26, 1935, p. 11.

1935 (cont.)

- "Drilling the Emperor's Volunteers, French Digging in Abyssinia," Daily Mail, Aug. 27, 1935, p. 10.
- "French Count's Arrest in Abyssinia, Charged with wife as a spy, 12 Suspected Natives Captured in the Bush," Daily Mail, Sept. 2, 1935, p. 7.
- "Evelyn Waugh on Abyssinian Troop Movements, Abyssinians Entrenching, Italian Invasion Rumour Denied," Daily Mail, Sept. 3, 1935, p. 11.
- "Abyssinians Move to the 'Front,' Crowded Trains Leave Daily, Imprisoned Ex-Emperor's Bid for Freedom," Daily Mail, Sept. 6, 1935, p. 7.
- "British Guard at Addis Ababa, Secrecy Drama, Italian Consuls and Spy Mania," Daily Mail, Sept. 7, 1935, p. 11.
- "Italian Consuls Withdrawn, Insecurity of the Provinces," Daily Mail, Sept. 9, 1935, p. 18.
- "More Abyssinian Troops Moving, Civilians Reported Leaving two Towns," Daily Mail, Sept. 10, 1935, p. 12.
- "Abyssinia Call to 750,000, Troops Robbing Farms, Disorderly Rabble," Daily Mail, Sept. 14, 1935, p. 5.
- "Abyssinian Troops Rebuked, Reluctant to Go to the 'Front,' British Minister Sees Emperor," Daily Mail, Sept. 17, 1935, p. 7.
- "Belgian Recruits in Abyssinia, Received by Emperor," Daily Mail, Sept. 18, 1935, p. 13.
- "Consuls Held Up, Safe Conduct Refused to Abyssinians," Daily Mail, Sept. 19, 1935, pp. 11-12.
- "Abyssinian View, Emperor Advised to Accept Terms," Daily Mail, Sept. 20, 1935, p. 14.
- "Emperor and Rome Envoy, Meet at the 'End-of-Rain' Ceremony, Only Act of Courtesy, 200 Priests in Abyssinia Thanksgiving," Daily Mail, Sept. 23, 1935, p. 9.
- "Abyssinian Mobilization Order, Signed by Emperor at Palace Council, Freedom for Prisoners if they join Army," Daily Mail, Sept. 24, 1935, p. 14.
- "Abyssinians' Luxury Gaol, Emperor opens Model Prison," Daily Mail, Sept. 25, 1935, p. 18.

1935 (cont.)

- "Abyssinia Pomp, Emperor' Review at Today's Feast," Daily Mail, Sept. 27, 1935, p. 14.
- "Emperor's Review in Storm, Abyssinian Chiefs' War Dance, Deluge at 'End of Rain' Ceremony," Daily Mail, Sept. 28, 1935, p. 13.
- "Abyssinia Waits, Mobilization Decree at Any Moment," Daily Mail, Oct. 1, 1935, p. 13.
- "Emperor's Protest," Daily Mail, Oct. 3, 1935, p. 13.
- "Throbbing Drums Call Abyssinians to War, Warriors' Wild Rejoicing at Emperor's Summons," Daily Mail, Oct. 4, 1935, p. 13.
- "Addis Ababa Curfew, Italian Legation Isolated," Daily Mail, Oct. 5, 1935, p. 11.
- "Emperor's Guards Yell for Blood," Sunday Dispatch, Oct. 6, 1935, p. 17.
- "Emperor's Guard, Ordered to Leave for Ogaden," Daily Mail, Oct. 7, 1935, p. 14.
- "Adowa's Value, Abyssinia says Not a Strategic Point," Daily Mail, Oct. 8, 1935, p. 14.
- "Women's Wish to Fight, 300 Parade in Men's Uniforms," Daily Mail, Oct. 10, 1935, p. 15.
- "Count Vinci's 'Holidays,' Italy Breaks off Relations," Daily Mail, Oct. 11, 1935, p. 15.
- "Count Vinci Leaving Today, Picking Up Consul on Way, Request to See Emperor Refused," Daily Mail, Oct. 12, 1935, p. 7.
- "Count Vinci Kept Under Guard, Refusal to Leave Consul Behind, Soldier-Rioters March to Emperor's Palace," Daily Mail, Oct. 14, 1935, p. 9.
- "Unruly Troops Denied Rifles, Forbidden to Enter Addis Ababa," Daily Mail, Oct. 15, 1935, p. 9.
- "'Holy War' on Italians, Emperor Appeals to Priests, Traitor son-in-law Reported shot," Daily Mail, Oct. 16, 1935, p. 7.
- "Abyssinia and Settlement Talks, Cession of Provinces 'Impossible,' 'Even if Emperor agreed tribes would resist,'" Daily Mail, Oct. 17, 1935, p. 13.
- "Hunt for Ras Kassa, Reported Lost in Forest," Daily Mail, Oct. 17, 1935, p. 13.

1935 (cont.)

- "War Cry to Emperor, 'Kept Back too long,' Tribes' Sword Pledge,"
Daily Mail, Oct. 18, 1935, p. 11.
- "Count Vinci Stays On," Sunday Dispatch, Oct. 20, 1935, p. 15.
- "Orators in Relays, Spate of Patriotism in Abyssinia," Daily Mail,
Oct. 21, 1935, p. 9.
- "Exiled Minister's Return, Warriors' Welcome in Addis Ababa, 14,000
Italian Levies said to Have Deserted," Daily Mail, Oct. 22,
1935, p. 9.
- "Egyptian Prince in Addis Ababa, To Take Red Cross Corps to Front,"
Daily Mail, Oct. 23, 1935, p. 9.
- "Abyssinian Offensive Expected Today, Italians Twenty Miles Nearer
Makale, Emperor's Council of War," Daily Mail, Oct. 28, 1935,
p. 13.
- "General Nasibu's March, Ready for Test, Italian Advance a 'Route
March,' Little Enemy Resistance," Daily Mail, Oct. 29, 1935,
pp. 13-14.
- "Breaches Made in Walls of Harar, Italian Attack Expected," Daily
Mail, Oct. 31, 1935, p. 14.
- "Abyssinians Fight Each Other, 70 Dead in Night Mistake," Daily Mail,
Nov. 1, 1935, p. 14.
- "Gloomy 'Joy Day' in Addis Ababa, Emperor Celebrates Anniversary of
his Coronation," Daily Mail, Nov. 4, 1935, p. 4.
- "Briton's Radio Post, Chief of Abyssinian Station," Daily Mail,
Nov. 5, 1935, p. 18.
- "Salary Cuts in Addis Ababa, Officials 'Gifts' to Treasury," Daily
Mail, Nov. 7, 1935, p. 15.
- "Emperor Calls a War Council, General to Come by Air," Daily Mail,
Nov. 13, 1935, p. 12.
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