

Censorship across Borders:
The Reception of English Literature
in Twentieth-Century Europe

Edited by

Catherine O'Leary and Alberto Lázaro

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P U B L I S H I N G

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INTRODUCTION**CATHERINE O'LEARY**

Wander in dreams no more;
What if the Church and the State
Are the mob that howls at the door!

—W. B. Yeats, *Church and State*, 1934

Working under censorship is like being intimate
with someone who does not love you, with whom
you want no intimacy, but who presses himself in
upon you. The censor is an intrusive reader, a
reader who forces his way into the intimacy of the
writing transaction, forces out the figure of the
loved or courted reader, reads your words in a
disapproving and censorious fashion.

—J. M. Coetzee, *Giving Offence*, 1996

Censorship across Borders

Canonical writers, such as H. G. Wells, Virginia Woolf, James Joyce, T. S. Eliot, D. H. Lawrence, George Orwell, Doris Lessing and Salman Rushdie, have suffered censorship throughout the twentieth century, with lasting effects on the publication and reception of their work in many countries. Readers have been introduced to English literature in a bowdlerised form, unless they were members of an elite group with access to black market books, sealed departments in libraries, or foreign travel. The censorship of English literature in twentieth-century Europe was, in effect, censorship across borders: an attempt to control the information flow both in and out of a country in order to protect the status quo internally and with an eye to the state's reputation abroad. This volume brings together a collection of essays that explore the official reception and censorship of English literature in twentieth-century Europe, taking into account the various social, political and historical contexts, and analysing the extent to which censorship was determined by national and

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE RECEPTION OF ROSAMOND LEHMANN IN FRANCO'S SPAIN¹

MARTA ORTEGA SÁEZ

Introduction

It is perhaps this literary penchant [modernism], amongst readers and critics, for challenge and innovation that best accounts for Lehmann's ambivalent reception as a novelist, evident in Leonard Woolf's remark of the late 1920s,² and still persisting today. (Lewis 1997, 49)

As Andrea Lewis stated in her article "Revisiting the Novels of Rosamond Lehmann", the reception of Lehmann's work has been, and remains today, remarkably ambiguous (1997, 49). Drastically opposing critical reviews of her texts, ranging from furious attacks by Q. D. Leavis, calling Lehmann "the pseudo-sophisticated would-be cynical actually sentimental emotionally vulgarising middlebrow novelist who goes down so well nowadays with the educated public" (qtd. in Stewart 2004, 72) to complimentary comments, such as Alfred Noyes',³ make Rosamond

¹ This paper is included in the framework of the research project 2007 EBRE 9, granted by the AGAUR (Agència de Gestió d'Ajuts Universitaris i de Recerca) of the Generalitat de Catalunya, entitled Transformacions: Traductors i Il·lustradors a la Primera Postguerra a Catalunya (1940-1950).

² "Miss Lehmann shows the clumsiness and lack of economy which so often accompanies freshness and exuberance in the work of inexperienced novelists. But she is a born writer, a natural creator of the curious world of fiction" (Leonard Woolf 1927, 154).

³ The poet and critic Alfred Noyes wrote a review of *Dusty Answer* in the *Sunday Times*, in which he compared Lehmann to Keats: "It is not often that one can say with confidence of a first novel by a young writer that it reveals new possibilities for literature [...]. But there are qualities in this book that mark it out as quite the

Lehmann a writer of the generation of “*entre deux guerres*” (Siegel 1989, 3) worth studying. Andrea Lewis acknowledged that “today, [Lehmann] is not mentioned in inclusive anthologies, such as *The Norton Anthology of Women Writers* (1985), and *The Gender of Modernism* (1990), and is barely noted in Mary Loeffelholz’s *Experimental Lives* (1992)” (1997, 49). But, at the same time, Lewis comments on the fact that:

Several critics have expressed puzzlement at such omissions, and have made attempts to restore Lehmann’s literary merit. James Gindin, in a 1974 article in *Contemporary Literature*, attempts to understand critical neglect of Lehmann, and argues that her fiction contains a ‘density of experience’ (201) comparable to other major works written by her contemporaries. And Valentine Cunningham, in *British Writers of the Thirties* (1988), declares Lehmann the ‘most important fiction-writing sister’ of her time after Virginia Woolf, ‘inexplicably ignored in all standard accounts of ‘30s writing’ (26). More recently, in the 1996 reissue of Lehmann’s first novel, *Dusty Answer* (1927), editor Jonathan Coe notes the novel’s ‘extraordinary emotional reality’, brought about by some of Lehmann’s ‘finest descriptive passages’ and ‘brilliant use of the shifting viewpoint’. [...] Judy Simons’s *Rosamond Lehmann* (1992) is the only recent book-length study to celebrate Lehmann’s cultural contribution. (1997, 49)

The publishing house, Virago Press, defines itself as:

One of the most vigorous, stylish and successful British publishing imprints, [...] the outstanding international publisher of women’s literature. It is the largest women’s imprint in the world and has made commercial success of publishing books of quality and originality.⁴

Virago relaunched some titles by Lehmann in the 1980s: *A Note in Music*, *Invitation to the Waltz*, *The Ballad and the Source*, *The Weather in the Streets*, and the autobiography *The Swan in the Evening*. There have been many recent reprints of these titles.⁵ Moreover, Virago Press has also

most striking first novel of this generation [...] It is the kind of novel that might have been written by Keats if Keats had been a young novelist of to-day” (qtd. in Hastings 2002, 98).

⁴ See <http://www.virago.co.uk>.

⁵ *Dusty Answer* was first published by Virago Press in 2000 and reprinted in 2004 and 2006; *Invitation to the Waltz* was first published by Virago Press 1981 and reprinted in 1982 (twice), 1985, 1988, 1993 (twice), 1995, 1996, 1999 (three times), 2001, 2003, 2004 and 2006; *The Ballad and the Source* was first published by Virago Press in 1982 and reprinted in 1984, 1986, 1989, 1993 and 2006; *The*

rescued other works by Lehmann in the last few years, such as *A Sea-Grape Tree*, *Dusty Answer* and *The Echoing Grove* within the series “Virago Modern Classics.” However, in spite of the efforts of this publishing house to rescue the figure of Rosamond Lehmann from oblivion, the writer has not yet recovered the popularity she enjoyed in the period between the 1930s and the late 1950s.

On the other hand, Wendy Pollard asserts in *Rosamond Lehmann and her Critics: The Vagaries of Literary Reception* that

[d]uring her most active period of literary creation [late 1920s - early 1950s], Lehmann would [...] unquestionably have been classed as a mountain rather than a foothill in England, the USA, and throughout Europe; her novels were reviewed with respect in prestigious literary periodicals, and translated into many languages. (2004, 8)

Among the many languages into which Lehmann’s texts were translated, Spanish was a significant example. Therefore, my intention in this essay is to provide a detailed account of the reception of Lehmann’s texts in Spain during the Franco dictatorship with a double purpose: on the one hand, to contribute to recent attempts to rescue Lehmann from oblivion,⁶ and, on the other, to complete the map of translations of Lehmann begun by Margaret T. Gustafson as early as 1959 in her “Bibliography” of Rosamond Lehmann. Gustafson provides a list of the various reprints in English and some translations of Rosamond Lehmann’s literary production in her article, although there is no reference to the Spanish reception of Lehmann. As the period of my study – the first decade of the Franco dictatorship (the 1940s and early 1950s) – covers some of Gustafson’s territory (the late 1920s to 1959), my essay will add to the creation of a more comprehensive view of the reception of Lehmann in Europe. After 1959, the year of publication of Gustafson’s findings, not much can be said about Lehmann in Spain because there have not been many reprints of her translations or new translations of her texts.

Echoing Grove was first published by Virago Press in 2000, reprinted in 2003, 2004 and 2006; *The Weather in the Streets* was first published by Virago Press in 1981, reprinted in 1982, 1983, 1984, 1987, 1989, 1991 and 2006.

⁶ To cite but a few: Sophie (2008), Zaragoza Ninet (2008), Bort (2003), Bort and Cachin (2003), Ferrand (2007), Hastings (2002), Lewis (2002), Miller (2000), and Pollard (2004).

Apart from publications, there have been some meetings in the last few years to discuss the works of Lehmann: The Rosamond Lehmann Colloquium, Paris VII/Marne la Vallée, September 2001; Rosamond Lehmann: A Colloquium, Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge, April 2009.

Rosamond Lehmann: Brushstrokes of her Life⁷

The author was, as Gustafson asserts:

both more active in a literary sense and probably more popularly known a decade or so ago [in the 1940s] when she was associated, primarily through her brother John, with the younger avant garde literature and writers of that era. (1959, 143)

John Lehmann had worked at the Hogarth Press as managing director with the Woolfs until 1932 when he abandoned his job to start his own publishing company. Rosamond Lehmann was friends with the Bloomsbury group, although not an official member. Hastings evokes Rosamond's memories about the parties of the "Bloomsberries":

There were so many parties, dressing-up parties, bottle parties, dinner parties, musical parties, parties where everybody sat about on the floor till the small hours drinking and talking. Fuelled by quantities of alcohol, behaviour was unconstrained and no topic of conversation taboo. During one frank discussion about sexual matters, Virginia tapped Rosamond on the shoulder and said, "Remember, we won this for you" – meaning the freedom to discuss sex without inhibition in masculine society. (2002, 149)

Although Lehmann had mentioned that she was not like most of the partakers of the parties (Hastings 2002, 149), she ended up "in a situation convoluted even by Bloomsbury standards, while Rosamond was pursuing the homosexual Paul [Cross], Wogan [her husband] had started an affair with Julia Strachey" (Hastings 2002, 152).

As a matter of fact, Lehmann's sentimental life was quite intense and potentially problematic for her reception in Spain. Before marrying Wogan Phillips, she had been married to Leslie Runciman (later second Viscount Runciman of Doxford) for a period of four years. They divorced in 1927. She then married Communist Wogan Phillips in 1928. Phillips was an artist but he abandoned his artistic aspirations to join Medical Aid to Spain, serving as an ambulance driver on the Republican side during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Lehmann and Phillips divorced in 1944. While she was married to Phillips, Lehmann had several affairs, one of them with a married inventor and land-owner, Matthew Ridley. Another

⁷ My intention here is not to provide a detailed account of Lehmann's life, as there exist exhaustive biographies such as Selina Hastings's *Rosamond Lehmann: A Life*. However, in this section I am going to mention some episodes of her personal life which could have influenced the reception of her work in Spain.

was with Goronwy Rees, a Welsh Marxist journalist, academic and writer; and she had a "tremendous [public] affair" (Hastings 2002, 219) for nine years (1941-1950) with the married poet Cecil Day-Lewis, who eventually left her for the woman who would become his second wife.⁸

Despite the fact that she had frequently stated that she was "not a political person",

[s]he herself saw what the Spanish Civil War presaged, and she took part during the mid- and late-thirties in anti-fascist organizations, meetings, and rallies: she attended a July 1938 "Paris weekend rally organised for the Popular Front by the International Association of Writers for the Defence of Culture, 'For Peace and Against the Bombardment of Open Cities'" [...] and she helped organise, too, meetings of the British branch. She wrote passionately supporting the Republican cause and was one of the few "English intellectuals [who] maintained their agitation for arms to be sent to the Republican Government" in Spain even into January 1939, protesting still against Britain's non-intervention policy. (Siegel 1989, 119)

In 1937 Nancy Cunard undertook a survey of attitudes of British writers about the Spanish conflict.⁹ The question posed was addressed "[t]o the Writers and Poets of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales" and it was preceded by the following lines:

It is clear to many of us throughout the whole world that now, as certainly never before, we are determined or compelled, to take sides. The equivocal attitude, the Ivory Tower, the paradoxical, the ironic detachment, will no longer do.

We have seen murder and destruction by Fascism in Italy, in Germany—the organisation there of social injustice and cultural death—and how revived [...].

To-day, the struggle is in Spain. To-morrow it may be in other countries – our own. But there are some who [...] are still in doubt, or who aver that it is possible that Fascism may be what it proclaims it its: "the saviour of civilisation."

This is the question we are asking you:

Are you for, or against, the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain? Are you for, or against, France and Fascism?

For it is impossible any longer to take no side.

⁸ See Hastings (2002), Pollard (2004), Buchanan (1997), and Siegel (1989).

⁹ Valentine Cunningham tackled the issue in *British Writers of the Thirties* (1988).

Writers and Poets, we wish to print your answers. We wish the world to know what you, writers and poets, who are amongst the most sensitive instruments of a nation, feel. (Cunard 1937, n. pag.)¹⁰

Rosamond Lehmann's answer was:

WITH ALL MY MIND AND HEART I am against Franco and Fascism, and for the legal Government and the people of Republican Spain. As a mother, I am convinced that upon the outcome of the struggle in Spain depends the future, the very life of my children. Up till now a pacifist in the fullest sense, I have come to feel that non-resistance can be – in this case, is – a negative, a sterile, even a destructive thing. Fascism, whose main principle is the sacrifice of the People to the State, must in the last analysis attack what are called the humanities. Culture, which has been violently destroyed in Italy and Germany, is in mortal danger even here, even in England. Not only as an internationalist, but as an English writer, I must choose to bear my part in the defence of culture against Fascism. (qtd. in Cunard 1937, n. pag.)

Finally, I would like to make a reference to Lehmann's involvement in International PEN (Poets, Essayists, Novelists), originally founded in 1921 by Amy Dawson Scott (known as Safo) to promote literature and "to provide a nice reception to foreign writers who visited icy London (that is the reason why Virginia Woolf rejected the invitation to become a member – because she thought it was a lunch club)."¹¹ According to Aridjis, the organisation became, "the most important non-governmental organization devoted to defend the human rights of those who exercise the word trade as a way of life, and a bastion of freedom of speech."¹² International PEN tried to intercede with the Francoist authorities on behalf of Lorca, but was unsuccessful. But the following year, in 1937, the intervention of the PEN Club stopped the execution of the writer of Hungarian descent Arthur Koestler. In 1960, still within the context of the International PEN organisation, the Writers in Prison Committee (WiPC) was founded, and Lehmann together with Arthur Miller, Meter Elstob and some others took charge of it.

¹⁰ For further information, see Hurtley and Russell (1996).

¹¹ "Proporcionar una buena acogida a los escritores extranjeros que visitaban la gélida Londres (precisamente por eso, Virginia Woolf rechazó la invitación de hacerse miembro porque le pareció un club para almorzar)" (Aridjis 2002, 23). My translation; henceforth all translations from Spanish into English are my own.

¹² "la más importante organización no gubernamental dedicada a defender los derechos humanos de aquellos que ejercen el comercio de la palabra como forma de vida, y en un baluarte de la libertad de expresión" (Aridjis 2002, 23).

Although Lehmann disapproved of the way of life of the members of the Bloomsbury group, she herself came to have a turbulent sentimental life. Similarly, her lack of political interest became an impassioned engagement against fascism and the denial of freedom of speech. The few biographical aspects of Lehmann's life mentioned in this section – reflected in her writings – could have been enough to have a negative effect on the reception of her work in Spain. However, as we will see, she did not become a banned author – in fact, very few authors did (Gallofré 1991, 488-494) – and almost all of her novels were allowed for publication in the Spanish State under Franco.

Contextualising the Target Culture: Censorship during the Franco Dictatorship

The impact of the process of censorship on the fate of Rosamond Lehmann, or indeed any other author, in the Spanish market should be considered. Three years before the establishment of the dictatorship in Spain (1936), Gabriel Arias Salgado, the Vice Secretary for Popular Education, stated that: "in the interests of the common good, maintaining prior consultation [censorship by another name] with regard to all media that spread ideas is, in principle, perfectly in keeping with Catholic doctrine."¹³ To sustain this ideology officially, a "Ley de Prensa" (Press Law) was passed in 1938 and, on 20 May 1941, a new bureaucratic apparatus was created: the Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular (Vicesecretariat of Popular Education), which prohibited or purged those texts which opposed the regime's ideology. From then on, until the late 1970s, the process of publication of texts underwent a long process until it received its final verdict. Publishing houses had to fill in an application form,¹⁴ in which they provided details of the text they aimed to publish. The publishing house had to make the following data available: its name and address, the name of the author of the text they wanted to publish, the title, the number of pages, the size of the volume, the price, the number of copies they wished to publish, the series, and later, in the forties, whether

¹³ "Mantener la consulta previa [la censura nominada con eufemismo] sobre todos los medios de difusión del pensamiento por razones del bien común y en su ámbito es perfectamente aceptable, en principio, dentro de la doctrina católica" (qtd. in Abellán 1980, 15).

¹⁴ The application form was addressed to the Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular (Vicesecretariat of Popular Education), Delegación Nacional de Propaganda (National Delegation of Propaganda), Sección de Censura de Publicaciones (Censorship of Publications Section).

the text was aimed at children or women. From the moment the publisher filled in this document and submitted it for censorship, the process of examination of the text began; a process which could last a few days, or some months, even years, depending on the decision of the censor.¹⁵

Furthermore, a report was to be completed by the censors/readers as a guideline for books, newspapers, and other media. Abellán lists the questions asked in the report:

- Is the text offensive to religious beliefs?
- To Morals?
- The Church or any of its members?
- The Regime and its institutions?
- The people who collaborate or have collaborated with the Regime?
- Do the censored passages comprise the whole of the work?
- Report and other observations.¹⁶

Censorship of Lehmann's Works

As Gustafson stated in 1959, Lehmann's "major works of fiction – six novels, a play, and a book of short stories – have been often reprinted and translated" (143). In her bibliography Gustafson provides an exhaustive listing of the various editions of her texts and some translations. Bearing in mind that such a list was compiled in 1959, one cannot deny the relevance of the author at that time. Gustafson lists eleven reprints of *Dusty Answer* from 1927 to 1952, including in England and the United States; eight reprints of *A Note in Music* in England, the United States and Canada; six reprints of *Invitation to the Waltz*; six of *The Weather in the Streets*, to mention just a few examples. Regarding translations into other languages, Gustafson compiled lists of texts by Lehmann which had been rendered into a variety of languages such as German, French, Rumanian, Danish,

¹⁵ Whether the text was allowed for publication or not, the publishing house received a letter from the Director General de Propaganda (General Director of Propaganda), in which the final verdict was stated. If it was positive, the publishing house had to send the provisional cover of the book, subject to permission for publication being granted, and five copies of the book. If it was negative, in many cases the publishing houses began a process of correspondence with the Director General de Propaganda appealing the verdict. For more detailed information, see Abellán (1987), Santamaría López (2000).

¹⁶ "¿Ataca al dogma? ¿A la moral? ¿A la Iglesia o a sus ministros? ¿Al régimen y a sus instituciones? ¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el régimen? Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra? Informe y otras observaciones" (1980, 19).

Norwegian, Italian, Swedish, Finnish, Polish, and Dutch. My contribution here is to continue the listing of Gustafson, cataloguing the translations of Lehmann's work into Spanish as well as the attempts to import her work from France and South America.

During the first two decades of the Franco Regime (1939-1975) several publishers attempted to introduce the works of Lehmann into Spain. Some of her novels had already encountered difficulties when she tried to publish them in England as they dealt with controversial issues such as sexuality, abortion, politics or extramarital relationships.¹⁷ Consultation of the censorship files in the Archivo General de la Administración (AGA), Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, is fundamental for establishing which publishing houses attempted to publish Lehmann's texts, which texts were authorised (with or without cuts), which were prohibited, and the comments made by the censors in order to justify their decisions.

Classification of Lehmann's Translations into Spanish and Catalan (by decade)

The 1940s

- 1) *Invitación al vals (Invitation to the Waltz)*, Publishing house: Ediciones Lauro. José Janés. 1942. Authorised.
- 2) *Una nota en la música (A Note in Music)*, Publishing house: José Janés. 1943. Authorised.
- 3) *Intemperie (The Weather in the Streets)*, Publishing house: Ediciones Lauro. José Janés. 1945. Authorised.
- 4) *La balada y la fuente (The Ballad and the Source)*, Publishing house: Ediciones Lauro. José Janés. 1946. Authorised.
- 5) *La casa de al lado (Dusty Answer)*, Publishing house: Losada. Importation from Argentina. 1945. Authorised.

In the 1940s there were five attempts to introduce five different texts by Lehmann in Spain: *Invitation to the Waltz*, *A Note in Music*, *The Weather in the Streets*, *The Ballad and the Source* and *Dusty Answer*. All of them were authorised by the Dirección General de Propaganda. It is noteworthy that four of the five were published by José Janés, considered "the most prolific Spanish publisher of English literature in the era" (Craig 1998, 163). As for the files on these novels, the complete file on

¹⁷ The particular case I am referring to here is *The Weather in the Streets*, the 1945 translation of which is referred to in an earlier publication (Ortega 2006).

*Intemperie*¹⁸ is missing and the file on the importation from Argentina of *La casa de al lado*¹⁹ does not contain the censor's report. It is noteworthy that these two novels, which dealt with sensitive issues for the Franco regime, such as religion, sexuality, morality, or homosexuality, circulated in Spain in the early 1940s, and, furthermore, that there is no record of the opinions of the censors. Both cases are remarkable in so far as only a hundred copies of *La casa de al lado* were imported from Argentina and *The Weather in the Streets* had already been censored by the British publishers. The 1936 British version omits the passage after the abortion, which portrays "Olivia's ordeal on the cold linoleum of the bathroom floor", yet "the full original version of the later stages of the abortion was printed in the American edition, but almost certainly accidentally" (Pollard 2004, 91). This passage also survived in the translation into French by Jean Talva, *Intempéries* (1936, 376-377), but not in the Spanish rendering of the text.

The three censors' reports on the other novels published in Spain in the 1940s contain a brief description of the plot and some positive comments that led to their authorisation. In the case of *Invitación al vals*, the censor, Leopoldo Panero – a poet –, authorised the publication of 3,500 copies and considered that the novel had "high literary value," describing it as a:

Poetic novel of high literary quality in which the dreams and hopes of a 17-year-old girl are brilliantly portrayed on the occasion of her attendance at a ball. The sadness left in her soul after this first experience is subsequently examined. With such a brief plot, as outlined, the author succeeds in writing this long novel without losing the reader's attention. From a moral point of view the novel is irreproachable. It can be authorised.²⁰

The same censor wrote the report on *Una nota de música* and authorised the publication of 3,000 copies. This time he considered the novel had "considerable literary or artistic value" ("considerable valor literario o artístico") and wrote in his report:

¹⁸ See AGA(03)050, File 7/222. As the file is missing there is no SIG reference.

¹⁹ AGA (03)050SIG21/07687, File 4235.

²⁰ "[N]ovela poética de alta calidad literaria en que se pintan magistralmente los sueños e ilusiones de una muchacha de 17 años con ocasión de su asistencia a un baile de sociedad y se examina después la tristeza que esa primera experiencia deja en su alma. Con tan breve argumento logra el autor escribir esta larga novela sin que por un momento desfallezca la atención del lector. Desde el punto de vista moral es irreproachable. Puede autorizarse." See AGA (03)050SIG21/06959, File 5-24.

A novel of a great psychological refinement and sustained feminine delicacy in which the atmosphere of a family, more particularly of a married couple, who are English, is interpreted both poetically and in a lyrical, though somewhat arbitrary style. The sentimental episodes which liven up the novel are discreet. Therefore, there is no objection to its publication.²¹

The third novel was reviewed by another censor, in this case, Dionisio Lorenzo Palagi, who authorised the publication of 3,500 copies of *La balada y la fuente*. His comments on the novel were succinct: "Well-written novel with literary aims. It is the story of a middle class English family, end of the last century. It does not have much plot, but observations and descriptions which are well-wrought."²²

The 1950s

- 1) *L'invitation a la valse (Invitation to the Waltz)*, Publishing House: Plon. Fasquelle. Importation from France. 1953. Authorised.
- 2) *El bosque resonante (The Echoing Grove)*, Publishing House: Janés. 1954. Prohibited.
- 3) *El hijo del gitano (The Gipsy's Baby)*, Publishing House: Janés. 1954. Authorised.
- 4) *La ballade et la source (The Ballad and the Source)*, Publishing House: Plon. Importation from France. 1955. Authorised.
- 5) *Poussière (Dusty Answer)*, Publishing House: Plon. Importation from France. 1956. Authorised.
- 6) *Intempéries (The Weather in the Streets)*, Publishing House: Plon. Importation from France. 1956. Authorised.
- 7) *Cautivas del deseo (The Echoing Grove)*, Publishing House: Troquel. Importation from Argentina. 1956. Prohibited.
- 8) *Invitación al vals (Invitation to the Waltz)*, Publishing House: José Janés. 1956. Authorised.

²¹ "Novela de gran finura psicológica y continua delicadeza femenina en que se interpreta poéticamente y a través de un estilo lírico y un poco arbitrario el ambiente de la familia, de un matrimonio concretamente inglés. Las incidencias sentimentales que sazonan a la novela son discretas, y en consecuencia pensamos puede autorizarse su publicación." See AGA (03)050SIG21/07046, File 7-223.

²² "Novela bien escrita y con pretensiones literarias. Es la historia de una familia inglesa de clase media, fines del siglo pasado. Tiene poca trama, pero observaciones y descripciones muy finas." See AGA (03)050SIG21/07579, File 624.

- 9) *Le jour enseveli* (*The Echoing Grove*), Publishing House: Plon. Importation from France 1958. Prohibited.
- 10) *Una nota de música* (*A Note in Music*), Publishing House: Plaza. 1959. Authorised.
- 11) *Invitación al vals* (*Invitation to the Waltz*), Publishing House: Plaza. 1959. Authorised.
- 12) *La balada y la fuente* (*The Ballad and the Source*), Publishing House: Plaza. 1959. Authorised.

In the 1950s there are eleven files which refer to Lehmann's texts. Different publishing houses tried to introduce new titles by Lehmann and some reissues of translations which had been already authorised in the previous decade in Spain. In this period, one of the most remarkable cases is the unflagging attempt to introduce *The Echoing Grove* into the Spanish market. The three attempts were fruitless and the novel was never authorised, not even in French, which only a small percentage of the population could read.²³ Although the publishers Janés and Luis de Caralt, who attempted to import 300 copies of the novel from Argentina, had different translations of the novel, their efforts were futile, and neither of them obtained authorisation. Janés' translation of the title was *El bosque resonante*,²⁴ and the publisher Caralt, perhaps quite naively, intended to import the novel from Argentina with the title *Cautivas del deseo*²⁵ ("Prisoners of desire").

The reports by the censors on this title vary not only in length but also with regard to the reasons they presented for the prohibition of the novel. Unfortunately, the censor's report on *El bosque resonante* is missing from the file. The only data available is that it was prohibited on 28 May, 1954. The file on *Cautivas del deseo* contains two long reports, which detail the censored pages and the reasons given for its prohibition. The first report, written by censor number 26 – no name is provided –, asserts that the novel is offensive on the grounds of dogma, on pages "254, 284, etc."; morality, on pages "73, 76, 81, 96, 108, 158, 178, 193, 214, 215, 227, 230, 234, 244-254, 275, 310... etc."; as regards the Regime and its institutions, on page 158; people who collaborate or have collaborated with the Regime, on page 258, and the report notes that the passages to be censored comprise the entire text. The censor's report reads:

²³ The title in French was *Le jour enseveli*. AGA (03)050SIG21/11942, File 1161.

²⁴ AGA (03)050SIG21/10741, File 3170.

²⁵ AGA (03)050SIG21/11591, File 5986.

The author provides another representation in the "deep psychology" vein. A man – the protagonist – is an unbridled mixture of passions, weaknesses and cynicism yet with a certain elegance of manners – who [sic] falls in love with his sister-in-law and lives with her. This would only be literary theatricality if there was no intention of justifying it (I do not mean excusing it). Under the label of "ancestral manners", the most human matters are ridden roughshod over, essentially: honour, integrity, marriage, paternity, filiation, sane sexuality, sense of friendship... The novel justifies dishonour, anti-natural and illicit relationships, homosexuality, drug addiction, alcoholism, homelessness as a way of life, pseudo-personality... etc. SARCASM. IT MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED.²⁶

The second censor, Moreno de Munguía, states: "Romantic account with too many life experiences. See pages 59, 61, 183. Importation cannot be authorised."²⁷ The importation from France of *Le jour enseveli* suffered a similar fate. Censor 'F.' based his recommendation of prohibition on political reasons:

Nothing would be objected to in this novel and its plot if it were not for the passages that attack 'the Caudillo' and "his abominable" fascist "conspiracy," as can be seen on page 211. It should not be published because the text cannot be rectified.²⁸

As far as other titles are concerned, there were three authorisations of *Invitation to the Waltz* – whose translation into Spanish had been circulating in the Spanish book market since 1942 – one in French (1953) and the other two in Spanish (1942 and 1959). The Sociedad General Española de Librería applied for the importation of 300 copies of the

²⁶ La autora nos ofrece un cuadro más en la tan manida novela de "psicología profunda." Un hombre – el protagonista, mezcla incontrolada de pasiones, debilidad, cinismo y una hasta cierta elegancia de formas – que se enamora de su cuñada y vive con ella. Esto no pasaría de ser efectismo literario un tanto tremendista si no se pretendiese justificarlo (no digo excusarlo). Se pisotean bajo el calificativo de "formas ancestrales" las cosas más humanas esencialmente: honor, honestidad, matrimonio, paternidad, filiación, sexualidad sana, sentido de la amistad... Se justifica: deshonor, relaciones las más ilícitas o antinaturales, homosexualidad, toxicomanía, alcoholismo, vagabundismo como forma de existencia, pseudopersonalidad... etc. SARCASMO. NO DEBE PUBLICARSE."

²⁷ "Relato romántico [sic] con excesivas vivencias. Vease [sic] pags [sic] 59, 61, 183. [N]o puede autorizarse la importación."

²⁸ "Nada fundamentalmente habría que objetar contra esta novela y su argumento si no fuese porque en algunos pasajes se ataca al Caudillo y "su abominable conspiración" fascista, como puede verse en la pág. [sic] 211. [N]o debe autorizarse, puesto que no se puede rectificar el texto."

French translation, *L'invitation a la valse*. The censor, A. Soberano, did not object:

An English novel so well translated that one could believe the original to be French. Rather than a novel about local customs (it has no plot), it is a gallery of portraits, on the one hand, of the members of a distinguished and modest English family who live in the countryside and, on the other hand, of the youngsters of the surrounding area whom the author presents at a ball, devoting to all of them (of such different types in terms of class and temperament) and in particular to Olivia, the protagonist, masterly psychological portraits. It should be published.²⁹

José Janés applied for the authorisation of the reissue of *Invitación al vals* in 1956. The censor consulted the earlier files and, making reference to the most recent authorisation of the novel, *L'invitation a la valse* (File 4400-53), argued that there was no reason to prohibit it:

It is the first part of a novel with a typically English atmosphere. It begins with the presentation of the Curtis family on the occasion of a ball, a happy backdrop against which the charms of Olivia, the daughter of the Curtises, are highlighted, and where other characters, who promise to have an important role in the plot and development of this novel, appear. Good moral content, without religious or political difficulties. IT CAN BE AUTHORISED.³⁰

Some years later, in 1959, Germán Plaza³¹ applied for the reissue of *Invitación al vals*, which was authorised without much ado. Romero, the censor, enquired about previous applications and discovered that there had

²⁹ "Novela inglesa tan perfectamente traducida que se creería francés el original. Más bien que novela de costumbres (pues carece de argumento) se trata de una galería de retratos, ora de los miembros de una distinguida y modesta familia inglesa, que habita en el campo, ora de la gente joven de los alrededores que el autor hace desfilar en un baile, dedicando a todos ellos (de tan diferentes categorías sociales y temperamentales) y en especial a Olivia, la protagonista, magistrales estudios psicológicos. Debe publicarse." See AGA (03)050SIG21/10395, File 4400.

³⁰ "Es la primera parte de una novela de ambiente típicamente inglés. Se inicia con la presentación de la familia Curtis con ocasión de un baile de sociedad, fondo alegre en que cobran realce los encantos de Olivia, la hija de los Curtis, y por donde desfilan otros personajes que prometen jugar importante papel en la trama y desarrollo de esta novela. Buen fondo moral, sin roces de tipo religioso ni político. PUEDE SER AUTORIZADO." See AGA (03)050SIG21/11562, File 5057.

³¹ In 1959 José Janés died and Germán Plaza bought his publishing house and created a new publishing company, Plaza & Janés Editores, S.A.

been one (from 1942, published by Janés) and, as a result, a positive resolution was signed only three days after the application had been registered (11 April 1959). It is evident that Plaza did not intend to make changes in his new edition of *Invitación al vals* because the 1959 file contains the 1942 translation.³²

El hijo del gitano was one of the new titles that Janés attempted to publish in 1954. The 2,350 copies of the translation of this selection of short stories, some of which had been published by John Lehmann (the author's brother) in *New Writing*, were authorised. Reader number 7 (no name appears) declared that the short stories were "[f]antastical short stories about real life, intended for children. Not censurable."³³

As in the case of *Invitación al vals*, which had been authorised in the 1940s, the applications for the importation of the French version *La ballade et la source* and the reissue of *La balada y la fuente*, were swiftly resolved. A print run of 500 copies of *La ballade et la source* was authorised in 1955 and a run of 5,000 of *La balada y la fuente* in 1959. In both cases, the censors claimed that the texts had been previously authorised and that there was no objection to the earlier verdict.³⁴

In 1956, two still potentially controversial novels, which had been authorised in the 1940s, received favourable reports: *Poussière* and *Intempéries*, the French translations of *Dusty Answer* and *The Weather in the Streets*, respectively. 300 copies of *Intempéries* were allowed for importation. The censor argued: "Novel authorised in 1943. Having reviewed this importation of 300 copies in French, the same criterion is to be followed."³⁵ The report on *Poussière*, however, is missing from the archive.³⁶ In the case of *Intempéries*, the authorisation was based on the grounds of the existence of a previous publication (File 7-222), which had a positive resolution.

Finally, 10,000 copies of *Una nota de música* were authorised in 1958. The publisher, Germán Plaza, received a response within three days from the Delegación Nacional de Propaganda.³⁷

³² AGA (03)050SIG21/12369, File 1749.

³³ "Historietas de fantasía sobre vida real, de intención infantil. No censurable." See AGA (03)050SIG21/10747, File 3431.

³⁴ See AGA (03)050SIG21/12419, File 2467 and AGA (03)050SIG21/11086, File 2535.

³⁵ "Novela ya autorizada por Exp. 7-222 de 1943. [R]evisada esta importación de 300 ejemplares en francés, procede mantener dicho criterio." See AGA (03)050SIG21/11580, File 5558.

³⁶ See AGA (03)050, File 1390.

³⁷ See AGA (03)050SIG21/11950, File 1441.

The 1960s

- 1) *Invitació al vals (Invitation to the Waltz)*, Publishing House: Vergara. 1963. Authorised.
- 2) *Invitació al vals (Invitation to the Waltz)*, Publishing House: Vergara. 1966. Authorised.

The 1963 application from Vergara to publish 3,000 copies of the Catalan translation of *Invitation to the Waltz (Invitació al vals)* was successful. The translator was Maria Teresa Vernet, who had previously worked with Vergara, translating into Catalan texts by Graham Greene, Aldous Huxley, Goethe and James Joyce. The censor's report found no objection to the publication of a text which had been authorised previously in the 1950s (Files 5075/56 and 1749/59). Similarly, there was no problem authorising the reedition of *Invitació al vals* in 1966.

Classification of Lehmann's Translations into Spanish and Catalan (by title)

The following chart illustrates which texts written by Rosamond Lehmann were introduced into the Spanish market during the period of the Franco dictatorship. In the second column of the chart, one can see the texts written by Lehmann. The third column presents the translations into Spanish and Catalan, as well as importations from other countries and the year they reached the Spanish market.

1	<i>Dusty Answer</i>	- <i>La casa de al lado</i> (1945). Importation from Argentina - <i>Poussiere</i> (1956). Importation from France
2	<i>A Note in Music</i>	- <i>Una nota de música</i> (1942) - <i>Una nota en la música</i> (1958)
3	<i>Invitation to the Waltz</i>	- <i>Invitación al vals</i> (1942) - <i>L'invitación a la valse</i> (1953). Importation from France - <i>Invitación al vals</i> (1956) - <i>Invitación al vals</i> (1959) - <i>Invitació al vals</i> (1963) - <i>Invitació al vals</i> (1966)

4	<i>The Weather in the Streets</i>	- <i>Intemperie</i> (1945) - <i>Intempèries</i> (1956). Importation from France
5	<i>No More Music</i>	-----
6	<i>The Ballad and the Source</i>	- <i>La balada y la fuente</i> (1945) - <i>La balada y la fuente</i> (1959) - <i>La ballade et la source</i> (1955). Importation from France
7	<i>The Gypsy's Baby</i>	- <i>El hijo del gitano</i> (1954)
8	<i>The Echoing Grove</i>	- <i>El bosque resonante</i> (1954). - <i>Cautivas del deseo</i> (1956). Importation from Argentina. - <i>Le jour enseveli</i> (1958). Importation from France.
9	<i>The Swan in the Evening</i>	-----
10	<i>A Sea-Grape Tree</i>	-----

Conclusion

A considerable number of works by Rosamond Lehmann reached Spain during the Franco dictatorship. The exceptions were the play *No More Music*, the novel *A Sea-Grape Tree* and her autobiography, *The Swan in the Evening* – which no publishing house attempted to translate into Spanish or Catalan. Of her major works, only *The Echoing Grove* was not authorised during the period in question. To put it in numbers, seven out of ten texts by Lehmann reached the Spanish reader, including *Dusty Answer* and *The Weather in the Streets*, which, in spite of their potentially problematic topics, were published in the first five years of the Franco dictatorship.

From a quantitative perspective, there were nineteen publications of texts by Lehmann in Spain in a period of twenty years, including translations into Spanish, reprints, and importations from Argentina and France. This proves that Spanish publishers, and above all José Janés, were interested in introducing to the Spanish market a contemporary writer who was very successful not only in her native country, but also in the US, Canada and other European countries. The most popular work was *Invitation to the Waltz*, with six versions published, followed by *The Ballad and the Source*, with three. The most productive years for Lehmann's works in Spain were the 1950s, when there were twelve applications made to publish her work. In the 1960s, Lehmann's *Invitation*

to the *Waltz* was translated into Catalan, a minority language in Spain, a fact that again highlights Lehmann's popularity.

Unfortunately, the fame acquired by Lehmann in Spain faded after the second edition of *Invitació al vals* in 1966. In the 1970s Lehmann disappeared from the Spanish literary panorama, just as she did in the United Kingdom³⁸ – with the exception of the translation of *El bosque resonante* (*The Echoing Grove*) in 1989,³⁹ some years after the end of the Spanish dictatorship. It is hoped that these pages devoted to Lehmann contribute to the revival of a “dominant female voice [whose questions] were the questions of all women of her generation” (Siegel 1989, 1).

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³⁸ The publication of Lehmann's works in the United Kingdom was also interrupted during the 1960s and the 1970s. Afterwards, in the 1980s, Virago Press relaunched a list of texts by Lehmann. See footnote 5 for details.

³⁹ *The Echoing Grove* was translated into Spanish in 1989 by Manuel Míguez Ben with the title *El bosque resonante* and published in Barcelona by Ediciones Versal, S. A.

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