

Graham Greene's Narrative in Spain

Graham Greene's Narrative in Spain:

*Criticism, Translations
and Censorship (1939-1975)*

By

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ABBREVIATIONS

To economize on space, the following abbreviations are sometimes used to name books, publishing houses, newspapers, journals, magazines and other relevant information referred to:

BOOKS:

- *A Burnt-Out Case*: BOC
- *Brighton Rock*: BR
- *Ens podeu deixar el marit? i altres comedies de la vida sexual: Ens podeu deixar el marit?*
- *In Search of a Character: Two African Journals: In Search of a Character*
- *It's a Battlefield*: BF
- *Lord Rochester's Monkey: Being the Life of John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester: Lord Rochester's Monkey*
- *Maestros ingleses VI: Herbert George Wells, James Joyce, David Herbert Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, Graham Greene: Maestros ingleses VI*
- *May We Borrow Your Husband? And Other Comedies of the Sexual Life*: MBYH
- *Obras completas. Graham Greene: Obras completas*
- *Our Man in Havana*: OMH
- *The Comedians*: CM
- *The Confidential Agent*: CA
- *The End of the Affair*: EA
- *The Heart of the Matter*: HM
- *The Honorary Consul*: HC
- *The Lawless Roads: A Mexican Journey: The Lawless Roads*
- *The Man Within*: MW
- *The Ministry of Fear*: MF
- *The Power and the Glory*: PG
- *The Quiet American*: QA
- *Travels With My Aunt*: TA
- *Why Do I Write? An Exchange of Views between Elizabeth Bowen, Graham Greene and V. S. Pritchett: Why Do I Write?*

PUBLISHING HOUSES:

- Alianza Editorial: A. Editorial
- Distribuidora Española del Libro Iberoamericano: DELIA
- Editora y Distribuidora Hispanoamericana: EDHASA
- Sociedad General Española de Librerías: SGEL

NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES AND JOURNALS:

- *Arbor: Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura: Arbor*
- *Arriba: Órgano de Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S. de Madrid: Arriba*
- *Atlántida: Revista del Pensamiento Actual: Atlántida*
- *El Ciervo: Revista Mensual de Pensamiento y Cultura: El Ciervo*
- *Grial: Revista Galega de Cultura: Grial*
- *Ínsula: Revista de Letras y Ciencias Humanas: Ínsula*
- *Teatro: Revista Internacional de la Escena: Teatro*

OTHERS:

- Anonymous: Anon.
- *Archivo General de la Administración: AGA*
- *Biblioteca Nacional de España: BNE*
- *Ministerio de Información y Turismo: MIT*
- No page, No publisher: *n.p.*
- *Red de Bibliotecas Universitarias: REBIUN*
- South America: S. America
- Translator: Trans.
- Volume: Vol.

INTRODUCTION

The British writer Graham Greene articulates a profound critique of the emotional wounds caused by modern society on souls throughout the twentieth century. It is therefore understandable that he became a famous novelist in Great Britain in the 1930s, and that his literary genius was soon known throughout Europe after the Second World War. The publication of *La Puissance et la Gloire* (1948) rapidly aroused interest among French readers, but also had counterproductive effects as the Catholic clergy pointed to Greene's deviation from Catholicism: "the success of the novel in French Catholic circles caused what we now call a backlash, so that it was twice delated to Rome by French bishops" (Greene 1980, 86). What happened in France was the beginning of a polemic concerning the writer and his novel, as explained by the historian Peter Godman, which was to spread throughout Europe in the following years:

. . . in 1949, the Catholic publisher Benziger was planning to bring out a German translation of the novel. Alarmed by the "polemic" that he claimed Greene's book was raising in France, a Swiss priest asked the Holy Office for its opinion. Pressure slowly mounted over the years from other parts of Europe, and finally, in April of 1953, Rome looked into the matter closely. (2001, 85)

As I reflected on the religious controversy Greene provoked abroad at that time, I began to grow curious about the first literary contacts between the writer and the Spanish public. The answer to this question had special connotations throughout the years 1939-1975, bearing in mind that the country was faced with particular political circumstances that determined the publication of literature: it was not only that a book had to show high artistic properties, but it also had to comply with other ideological criteria established by the Franco regime. For this reason, this book aims, within the framework of the important tradition of reception studies existent in Europe, to study the dissemination of Greene's narrative in the Franco era.

The analysis of the Franco regime's attitude towards the religious dimension in Greene's narrative is likewise one of the main objectives of this study. I aim to show to what extent the author's Catholic sensibility entered into conflict with Franco's Spain. I believe that the censors could

have accused Greene of blending the Catholic faith with offensive situations in his works, like the wife who is unfaithful to her husband, or the Catholic priest who has fathered a girl. I also assume that the censors could have interfered in the entry of those books that combine Catholic themes with severe criticism of the regimes of Fulgencio Batista, Tomás Garrido Canabal and François Duvalier, given the fact that these leaders also established totalitarian systems. Equally, I presume that the author's favourable writings on Communism – the enemy ideology of the Spanish government at that moment – could also have had a negative effect on the diffusion of his literature. Thus, a detailed description of the literary contact between Greene and Francoism is provided in the next chapters. The results allow the reconstruction of the image the Franco government had of Greene, both as a Catholic and as a political writer. The study also makes it possible to establish the influence censorship wielded over the reception of his literature in Spain.

The different chapters of this book cover the reception of Greene's entire narrative production in Spain. This is a remarkably complicated investigation due to his extensive narrative output – novels, autobiographical and biographical books, travel literature, short stories and children's literature. Nevertheless, the fact that literary critics have examined his works independently makes it necessary to undertake this ambitious initiative. As a matter of fact, it is possible to carry out more comprehensive research areas on the reception of English literature in Spain, as demonstrated by Pajares Infante (1989), Lázaro (2004), Fernández Fernández (2004), Constán Valverde (2009) and Recondo Muñoz (2007).

This book also aims at disclosing whether his narrative was manipulated in twentieth-century Spain. In the event of Greene not fitting in with the Francoist system, the state censorship apparatus could have suggested "polishing" his texts until they were in harmony with the state ideology. Therefore, on the assumption that censors could have implemented changes in his literary works, I will establish whether they were made on political, religious or moral grounds. Furthermore, the book draws attention to the modifications that could have given a misleading representation of what Greene wanted to express with a particular dialogue, scene or character. With this aim in mind, the book examines the translations of his works into the official languages published in the country in the last century. If cases of manipulated texts come to light, the exact moment when Spanish publishing houses edited the unexpurgated versions will be indicated. Interestingly, it could also be the case that the national publishing sector could have issued censored translations even after the end of the Franco period. In this case, the censored editions will

be described in detail to enable publishers to amend previous manipulations. Thus, it would finally be possible to publish Greene's entire narrative output without any traces of censorship in twenty-first century Spain.

It is equally worthwhile to throw light on the names of publishers who had a notably favourable influence on introducing Greene to Spanish readers. In this regard, the aim of the book is to place on record their inestimable efforts in divulging Greene in Spain. Reporting on the reception of the writer by the Spanish publishing industry allows me to attain two more objectives: in the first place, to find out if publishers' interest in his narrative was continuous and intense throughout the Franco era or if it was intermittent and indifferent instead; secondly, to determine the precise moment they took the decision to introduce each narrative form. In particular, special attention shall be drawn to the distribution of Greene's lesser known writings, such as his children's literature and biography. Lastly, with the aim of giving a complete overview of the publishers' role in the reception of Greene in Spain, I have also strived to ascertain whether publishers themselves censored the books before sending them to the censorship office. Once these goals are reached, the reader will gain a thorough understanding of their important part in the dissemination of Greene's literature in the twentieth century.

The examination of Spanish literary critics' interpretations of Greene's thoughts is another objective of my research. I aim to retrieve the opinions of the intellectuals who showed interest in the study and interpretation of his narrative. For this reason, I have looked into the principal newspapers, magazines and literary journals of the country. The collection and analysis of their articles and reviews have allowed me to form a well-defined image of the object of study.

The present research on the reception of Greene in Spain follows the standards set by the sociology of literature. Due to the particular features of the investigation, the study is based on this methodology, which understands and interprets literary works as products to be analysed within the social contexts where they have been generated. On account of this, the sociology of literature upholds that literary texts are closely related to history and ideology. Furthermore, it asserts that what is being said is as relevant as what is not being said (Ayuso, García and Solano 1997, 360-61). It is also important to specify that empirical sociology is the approach which best meets the needs of this investigation, since it analyses the processes of mediation between the writer and the reader (Pozuelo 1994, 89-90). In particular, literary institutions together with production and distribution channels are objects of study specific to this method of

knowledge. For this reason, in this research it has been mandatory to take into consideration the decisions taken by the intermediaries between Greene and the Spanish public. Accordingly, the names of publishing houses with an interest in disseminating his works in Franco's Spain have been disclosed and collected in this study. In addition to this, the number of copies published in every edition has also been considered. These research tools can provide significant data to measure publishers' interest in Greene. Lastly, this investigation also takes literary criticism into account, as it plays an essential role in the social communication process between the author and the reader. Therefore, the most significant opinions of the intellectuals who wrote about Greene in the Franco years have also been taken into consideration here. The use of this methodology will allow me to accomplish my aim of defining and delimiting the reception of Greene in Spain.

It is convenient to explain here that censorship files have been critical to this study. This documentation is kept at the AGA, *Archivo General de la Administración* (General Administration Archive), located in the city of Alcalá de Henares. The inventory and analysis of these documents have allowed me to explore in depth the decisions of the cultural intermediaries intervening in the introduction of Greene to Spanish readers. In the first place, the official documentation includes the applications sent by publishing houses, with important data related to the importation and publication of Greene's literature. It also contains the censors' reports, crucial to the literary reception of Greene in Spain. The examination of the censors' judgements on his books will make it possible to portray the image the regime had of Greene as a political and Catholic writer. The censorship files also contain the texts actually read by censors – original versions as well as galley proofs submitted by publishers. These documents are extremely useful to the study, as they can bring to light traces of manipulation on his narrative. Censorship files can thus reveal whether the censors toned down Greene's thought before his literature reached Spanish bookshops. Uncovering evidence of censored passages will provide the opportunity to establish the extent to which his literary reflections were smoothed out and adapted to the regime's ideology.

My frequent visits to the AGA were indispensable to this research, but so too were those to the BNE, *Biblioteca Nacional de España* (Spanish National Library). Articles in the press, literary magazines and journals – carefully catalogued in data bases at the BNE – are research tools essential to the study. Similarly, REBIUN, *Red de Bibliotecas Universitarias* (Spanish Academic Libraries Network) has made the study easier, since it

has facilitated my access to the different translations published in twentieth-century Spain.

It is important to mention that serious difficulties arose in the course of my research. Some censorship files on Greene do not contain the censor's report – one of the most frequent obstacles to this kind of investigation. This lack of documentation meant that I had no access to their arguments that might have explained, for example, why a book had been prohibited. On the other hand, it was also the case that at times circumstances were somewhat more favourable, and reports were available. However, the copies read by the censors were not included in those files. As a consequence, on some occasions it was impossible to know what passages leading to a book's banning had been considered censurable.

The chronological parameters of this study of how the Franco regime influenced the reception of Greene in Spain coincide, naturally enough, with the period of Francoism. Accordingly, it begins in 1939, when Franco came to power and the Spanish book industry began to publish Greene's first works; it comes to an end in 1975, the year of Franco's death. This means that the files opened between 1976 and 1983 have not been examined or included in this book. The end of the Franco dictatorship has also been taken as the *terminus ad quem* of my study of Spanish literary criticism on Greene. This decision will shed light on the opinions intellectuals expressed about him in the national press, journals and magazines before 1975, opinions that are little known to the research community. In addition to this, the same parameters have been applied to the translations of Greene's books into the official languages of the country. This decision will provide the reader with a complete vision of the literary genres that aroused most interest among publishers in Franco's times. Nevertheless, the period of study might conceivably be extended into the twenty-first century in the event of textual manipulation under Franco's rule. Therefore, this study will disclose if his works with censored passages were also published after the Franco era.

The book opens with an overview of the most significant political factors determining the reception of Greene's literary work in the period 1939-1975. Hence, the first chapter describes the methods of control created to exercise authoritative influence over the cultural scene. A special emphasis is placed on the censorship mechanisms established by Francoism during the three periods outlined for the study. In the first period, between 1939 and 1951, I look at the introduction of Greene's literature from the arrival of Franco to power up to the moment when Gabriel Arias Salgado chaired the MIT, *Ministerio de Información y Turismo* (Ministry of Information and Tourism). In the following period, I

examine the publication of his books between 1951 and 1962, when Arias Salgado controlled the cultural sphere. The third period comprises the last years of the Franco regime, from 1962 to 1975, when Manuel Fraga Iribarne, followed by Alfredo Sánchez Bella, Fernando de Liñán y Zofío, Pio Cabanillas Gallas and León Herrera Esteban, took over the reins of the MIT.

I then bring to light the efforts of those literary critics and book industry agents who contributed to spread Greene's literary world among Spanish readers in the larger period 1939-1975. Part I describes the most significant political events that affected the Spanish book industry under the government of Franco. Thus, the first chapter gives an account of the methods of control created to exercise authoritative influence over the cultural scene. Part II explores the critical study of Greene's artistic output in Franco's Spain. Thus, in the second chapter I look at literary critics' evaluations of the writer as published in the national press, magazines and journals, as well as in the prologues, introductions and prefaces to Greene's books. At the same time, I consider the contributions of the first Spanish scholars to examine his texts. Parts III and IV study the role the book industry played in this process, as well as the obstacles it faced at the censorship office. Accordingly, chapters three to six give the names of the publishers and booksellers who attempted to disseminate his work throughout the country. With the help of the censorship files, which indicate the amount of copies that were to be published or imported, it is possible to measure with great precision publishers' interest in Greene's works. Lastly, the book closes with the most significant conclusions reached after conducting the study. Overall, it is hoped that the reader will gain a complete overview of the roles played by national literary criticism and the book industry in the reception of Greene's writings in Franco's Spain, as well as of the influence exerted by the regime throughout the whole publishing process.

PART I:
OVERVIEW

CHAPTER ONE

BOOKS, CENSORSHIP AND GREENE

This first chapter offers a panorama of the Spanish book industry in the period under study, 1939-1975, when literature was subjected to Francoist government legislation. It sets out the control methods created to exercise authoritative influence over the cultural scene, with special emphasis on the censorship mechanisms established by Francoism. This comprehensive presentation allows readers to gain a better understanding of the diversity of factors determining the reception of Greene's literary production in Spain. Additionally, the chapter describes the scientific publications examining the censorship exerted on the writer abroad. This overview will explain the introduction of his books in other countries with censorship mechanisms in place throughout the twentieth century.

The Spanish Book Industry

When the Spanish Civil War came to an end in April 1939, the victorious faction established a dictatorial state based on National Catholicism. It is important to stress that the government of Franco did not set up the regime with new principles, but clung to the existing tenets of right-wing ideology, mainly inspired in the doctrine of the Spanish Catholic Church. The state protected National Catholicism with the system of literary censorship that had been established beforehand during the Spanish Civil War.¹ The process started when publishing houses sent applications to the censorship office, providing complete details of the literary work to be published or imported. The author's name, book title and publisher's name were reported, as well as the page numbers and the amount of copies to be sold. Furthermore, publishers registered the book size and type selected for publication, in addition to the retail price and series in which it would be included. When the book proposal had been formally recorded, the corresponding file was opened. The documentation included a copy for inspection, the publisher's petition and the censor's report (also named "*lector*" or "*asesor*"). In the applications forms drawn up in the 1940s, the censors' first responsibility was to fill in the file with the book data submitted by publishers. Additionally, they declared

whether the text represented an attack on the regime's values. Besides that, they considered whether it was of sufficient literary or documentary value to be authorised. In order to do this, they answered a three-item questionnaire:

- ¿Ataca al Dogma o a la Moral?
- ¿A las instituciones del Régimen?
- ¿Tiene valor literario o documental?²

Censors rounded off their reports with arguments supporting their verdicts. In addition to that, they often underlined words, lines or paragraphs in the issue sent for revision. The aim was to make clear the censurable content justifying their decisions. When reports were concluded, censors imposed the final verdict on the book, recommending either its prohibition or authorisation. When censors regarded that a text was fit for the Spanish public, two resolutions were taken into consideration. On the one hand, the book could be *autorizado* (authorised), so that the complete version was imported or published. On the other hand, it could be *autorizado con tachaduras* (authorised with cuts). If this verdict was given, the textual modifications indicated by censors had to be implemented prior to its introduction into the book market. It is important to mention at this point that censors did not have the last word on the book's authorisation or prohibition. In the event of the main authority at the censorship office – *Jefe del Servicio* or *Jefe del Lectorado* (Director of the Agency or Director of the Censorship Board) – harbouring doubts about the adequacy of the report, a second censor's assessment was required. This procedure was thought to guarantee that the correct decision was made.

The questionnaire structure and layout were subject to change, and evolved throughout the period. In the 1950s the section *antecedentes* (literally "antecedents") was added to the questionnaire. Censors wrote down the verdicts given to the books under examination in any previous files. In addition to this new section, more changes were introduced in the questionnaire. Accordingly, censors answered six questions:

- ¿Ataca al dogma?
- ¿A la moral?
- ¿A la Iglesia o a sus miembros?
- ¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones?
- ¿A personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen?
- Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?³

Despite the fact that the structure and layout of censorship files underwent some changes throughout the Franco era, the regime's values to be protected remained unalterable: State, Church and Morals. Therefore, if publishing houses wished to enjoy the censors' consents, they had to publish and import books in line with Catholic morality. This implies that they had to refrain from submitting texts with references to divorce, homosexuality and adultery. In addition to this, publishers had little chance of having books authorised if the censors deemed them to be disrespectful towards the regime's political ideology, institutions and collaborators. Neither was the book sector allowed to publish and import texts with favourable references to left-wing political doctrines. Apart from this, censors had the responsibility to prevent the reading public from coming into contact with books written in indecorous, provocative and improper language. Finally, it was impossible for publishers to import or publish literary works that attacked Catholicism, as an institution or hierarchy (Abellán 1980, 88-89). It can thus be surmised that publishers could have had problems with the introduction of Greene's literature into Spain, should it prove to be linguistically or morally irreverent or show no respect to the government in office.

Researchers have posed questions about the uniformity of censors in their application of the previously mentioned criteria. In particular, it has been questioned whether the censorship machinery worked to strict standards. There seems to be no agreement on this matter: some researchers argue that Spanish censorship worked with rigour, while others claim the contrary. On the one hand, it is argued that Franco's system of censorship worked properly, "con rigor, firmeza y eficiencia, cruzándose datos y estableciéndose diferentes filtros" (Lázaro 2004, 29-30). On the other hand, other researchers believe that the state machinery lacked rigour, as it never attained the perfectionist and meticulous character of the German system of censorship (Neuschäfer 1994, 48).

Editorial censorship was a direct consequence of governmental control on literature. In order to avoid economic losses, publishers engaged in the practice of altering texts before submitting them to the censorship office. With the modifications, books had a greater chance of being authorised. That said, publishers also made use of diverse strategies not to resort to this mutilating procedure. For example, when applying for permission to publish books with previous negative verdicts, it was common practice to alter the year of publication (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla 2002, 112-13). If dates prior to the outbreak of the Civil War were given, the books were more likely to be authorised.

A further point should be mentioned in connection with the criteria followed by censors in their evaluations: how strict they were depended on the policy of the official appointed to head the *Ministerio del Interior*. Therefore, censors were more or less severe according to the politician who presided over the Ministry. Given that their ministerial decisions had an influence on the reception of Greene's narrative in Franco's Spain, it is necessary to present at this point the policies of the different ministers responsible for the censorship office. This general survey will help readers to have a better understanding of the censors' decisions themselves.

The Spanish Censorship Office

When the Spanish Civil War came to an end, the first stage of Francoism started between 1939-1951. The regime's determination to subdue literature which was out of tune with National Catholicism was put into effect by the *Servicio de Inspección de Libros* (Book Inspection Service).⁴ The governmental policy of defending the country's unity resulted in the repression of national languages other than Castilian. For this reason, literature in Galician, Basque and, above all, Catalan suffered heavy censorship (LaPrade 1991, 13). This plan of action on books was also intended to make the population forget that the country had been once Republican. Hence, the avalanche of applications submitted to re-edit texts were sifted through, so that references to the national political situation before the *Alzamiento Nacional* (National Uprising) could be avoided (Abellán 1982, 172).

Against this background, the Spanish publishing sector complained about governmental interventionism. In 1944 the publisher Gustavo Gili-Roig issued *Bosquejo de una política del libro* to manifest the book community's discontent with official censorship, which was detrimental to their economies.⁵ Among his principal complaints, Gili-Roig showed his dissatisfaction with the regime's policy on foreign literature, which was subject to complex laws and bureaucracies he considered unnecessary. For this reason, he urged the authorities to accelerate application procedures. Gili-Roig also despaired at the censors' arbitrariness when applying assessment criteria. Because of this, he advocated more rigour on the censors' part, and asked for well-defined rules publishing houses could adhere to (2011, *n.p.*). As Gili-Roig further explained, the situation of foreign literature was also affected detrimentally by the opinions expressed in a specific sector of the Spanish press. He demonstrated how some journalists aimed at protecting the national literary production by setting a fixed number of translations of foreign texts. Gili-Roig argued,

however, that their restrictive proposal was not favourable to national literature, but quite the contrary. He stressed that the good sales of famous international authors provided publishers with the economic support necessary to venture to publish unknown Spanish writers. All things considered, it may be suggested that publishing conditions for Greene were not favourable in the period 1939-1951.

Throughout the second period of the Franco era, 1951-1962, the *Ministerio del Interior* was replaced by the MIT, *Ministerio de Información y Turismo*, with Arias Salgado being appointed Minister on 19 July 1951.⁶ Among his principal political actions was his attempt to improve the image of official censorship, which he considered the best means of preserving the regime's ideology survival, and therefore indispensable. The state machinery of censorship could not only reinforce the traditional values of National Catholicism, but also fight against moral laxity up and down the country. As a consequence of Arias Salgado's protective policy, Catholicism took on major importance at the censorship office. This resulted in more restrictions of the media's and the citizens' freedom of speech. As a matter of fact, this period has been referred to as a moment of total strictness in terms of censorship. There were even reactions against authors who clearly sympathised with the regime (Abellán 1980, 151). The situation of foreign literature was the same as in the previous period with the "expurgo y contención de la literatura extranjera publicada en traducciones" (Abellán 1987, 24). Therefore, it can be hypothesised that there was little difference in the reception of Greene between this period and the previous one.

The third period of the Franco regime, 1962-1975, started on 10 July 1962 when Manuel Fraga Iribarne replaced Arias Salgado at the MIT. Fraga Iribarne was the first Minister to regulate censors' actions in the *Sección de Censura Cinematográfica* (Film Censorship Board), passing the ministerial order of 9 February 1963 which established the *Normas de Censura Cinematográfica*. Accordingly, censors could authorise films submitted for judgement provided that they did not deal with topics against the State and its ideology. Having said that, it is important to highlight that these rules were drafted – deliberately or not – rather imprecisely, with the result that censors' practical application of the law was somewhat arbitrary (Gubern 1981, 125-26).

Signs of moderation were the keynote in the second half of the 1960s. Spanish society called for greater freedom and Fraga Iribarne worked to respond to social demands. Accordingly, he and his ministerial team moved away from Arias Salgado's cultural control, but without bringing about the regime's destabilization. In this context of rupture with the past,

Fraga Iribarne passed laws with important political repercussions, regarding, for example, the election of Franco's successor and the new organization of the political class in the government (Tusell 1999, 246). There were also visible signs of moderation in the publishing sector. In 1966 the enactment of the *Ley de Prensa e Imprenta* (Press and Printing Law) had far-reaching effects on the system of literary censorship. Article 3 of the 1966 Law suppressed the *censura previa* (prepublication censorship) and Article 4 introduced the *consulta voluntaria* (voluntary consultation) instead. It is also important to mention that Article 12 of the new Law set out the requirement to submit to *depósito* (deposit) six copies of the book. As they were finished literary products whose contents could not be altered, censors could give three verdicts: *denuncia*, *silencio administrativo* and *secuestro*. If the *Servicio de Orientación Editorial* considered a book offensive to the regime, a *denuncia* (accusation) could be made. In addition to this, once the book came out, anyone was allowed to make a complaint. In other cases, censors opted out for the *silencio administrativo* (administrative silence), regulated by Article 4 of the Law. Accordingly, the book was put into circulation immediately after the period of *depósito* had concluded. It was the *secuestro* – the removal of works from circulation – as defined in the Article 64 of the Law, which was the most damaging verdict for publishers as it put their business at risk. However, if no writ was actually issued against the publisher, the *secuestro* turned favourable: the book achieved notoriety and the number of copies sold increased considerably (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla 2002, 60). Regarding the effects of the new law on the publication of English literature, some researchers have suggested that there was little change with respect to earlier periods (e.g. Lázaro 2004, 29).

In the final years of the Franco era, the book industry was subject to strictness in morality and religion imposed by the different ministers who took charge at the MIT. On 30 October 1969 Fraga Iribarne was substituted by Alfredo Sánchez Bella, who presided the ministry until June 1973. More conservative than his predecessor, Sánchez Bella stated that no society could live without intangible dogmas (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla 2002, 33). This might explain why Spain underwent a period of renewed cultural control, which could be observed in the increase of amendments, conflicts between authors and publishers and the perceptible increase in the number of *silencios administrativos* (Abellán 1980, 232). When Sánchez Bella left office, Fernando de Liñán y Zofio assumed control between June 1973 and January 1974. With no interest in controlling the book industry, Liñán y Zofio abandoned the marked traditionalism of his predecessor; in fact almost no publisher remembered

any situation the minister had intervened in (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla 2002, 38). His successor, Pío Cabanillas Gallas, who had previously chaired the subsecretariat of the MIT, became the minister in charge between January and October 1974, giving signs of a political "opening up" as he implemented a policy of moderation which was apparent in the press sector which was allowed for the first time to report on Spanish workers' strikes. However, his liberal spirit was not well received by the more conservative sectors, which eventually forced him out of the Ministry. León Herrera Esteban, one of their more traditional sympathisers, took his place between October 1974 and December 1975. While he was in office, the *Ley del libro* (The Law of the Book) was passed on 11 March 1975. This legislation regulated activities in all sectors involved in the publishing world, and provided a coherent legal framework for writers and publishers alike. Nevertheless, despite these changes, governmental control of the Spanish book industry barely changed (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla 2002, 146).

Greene and Literary Censorship

Special attention should be paid to research into systems of censoring Greene's artistic creativity. For instance, the writer himself revealed that he exerted self-censorship on his own literary creation. The author forbade the re-edition of two of his first novels since they lacked, as Greene noted, artistic values: "Nearly half a century has passed since I wrote *The Man Within* . . . I would have liked to suppress it as I have suppressed its two successors, *The Name of Action* and *Rumour at Nightfall*" (1974, v).

Furthermore, experts have discovered the extent to which official censorship was intimately linked to his professional life. It has come to light that in Great Britain, for example, the Lord Chamberlain found his theatre offensive. That is the case of the noise of the toilet flush in *The Living Room* (1953), considered disrespectful by the censoring authorities (Phillips 2002, n.p.). In addition to this, Greene himself revealed that the British system of censorship also impacted on *The Complaisant Lover* (1959). In a note published at the end of the printed version, the writer tells his readers that some lines in his manuscripts had been suppressed by censoring authorities: "In the meanwhile readers of this play may have a little fun determining which solitary adjective and which passage of three lines the Lord Chamberlain and his officers have found too indecent for the theatre" (Greene 1985, 207). Apart from this, Greene also suffered editorial censorship in his country. Between 1930 and 1934 he had written the biography of John Wilmot, a poet considered obscene at that time;

however, Heinemann rejected his manuscript to avoid having problems with the Lord Chamberlain.⁷

Furthermore, the literature of Greene was censored in twentieth-century Ireland. Michael Adams, one of the first researchers to study the reception of the writer in this country, found evidence that *Brighton Rock*, *It's a Battlefield* and *Stamboul Train* were banned by the censorship committee in the 1930s; the three prohibitions were lifted shortly afterwards (1968, 241).⁸ In the subsequent two decades Irish literary censorship reacted against his fiction once more: *The Heart of the Matter*, *The End of the Affair*, *England Made Me* and *The Quiet American* were banned. Later, the prohibition orders were lifted, except for *The End of the Affair* (Adams 1968, 250).⁹

As mentioned in the Introduction, *The Power and the Glory* (1940) represents one of the most widely-known episodes of censorship in Greene's professional life. In his autobiography *Ways of Escape* (1980), Greene relates the controversy surrounding the novel in Catholic France in the period 1948-1954. He highlights the strong opposition of French bishops to the singular and distressful religious adventure of the *pater-whisky*, when Robert Laffont published *La Puissance et la Gloire* in 1948. In his personal account of this episode, Greene does not disclose the details behind the disapproval from the French ecclesiastical hierarchy. Nevertheless, he did provide the arguments put forward by the Vatican to make him implement some changes in the novel. In this respect, in April 1954 Greene had an interview with Cardinal Bernard Griffin, Archbishop of Westminster, who read him "a letter from the Holy Office condemning my novel because it was 'paradoxical' and 'dealt with extraordinary circumstances'" (1980, 86). He recommended that the novelist should make "suitable corrections" in forthcoming re-editions. However, the writer was reluctant to satisfy the exigencies of Rome. He admits to having used a subtle quibble so as not to modify the book: he could not make changes as he did not hold the publication rights, which were in the hands of his publishers. The author recalls that his argument was accepted and the conflict ended. Despite the fact that Greene apparently does not show too much concern about the Catholic Church's negative reaction to the novel, he "was deeply troubled by the incident" (Bald 1998, 121). Similarly, for the Vatican the incident was more controversial than expected. The historian Godman has demonstrated – after having access to the Vatican dossiers – that the Holy Office did not dare to condemn him publicly. Greene was a famous Catholic author and it was feared, as Godman explains, that a ban would bring about negative consequences for the Catholic institution. For this reason, it was concluded that a warning to

the writer was the best option to tone down the controversy raised by the novel in Europe. Accordingly, Cardinal Griffin held the previously mentioned interview with Greene in 1954. Godman brings to light one unknown aspect of this episode: Greene wrote a letter to Cardinal Pizzardo less than one month after the meeting. This document, which Godman describes as "a skillful political document, written in a tone of submission . . . and taking pains to refer to communism in a way that would be certain to register positively with both Pizzardo and his superior, Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviano", is a clue to why the controversy was brought to an end (2001, 87-88). A note on the letter indicates that Greene was finally excused.

After the incident with the Vatican was concluded, it is curious that *The Power and the Glory* still caused controversy in Europe. For example, it was prohibited in Poland between 1958 and 1967 (Bates 2011). As far as the reception of the novel in Franco's Spain is concerned, although the book was published in the 1940s, it was prohibited in 1953 (Olivares Leyva 2014). Given the fact that nothing has been said about the reception of the book in the following years, it will be interesting to find out what the censorship files reveal about this.

Defamation in the Life of Greene

Defamation also has an important place in Greene's professional career as a writer. The first known case is related to *Stamboul Train* and its publication by Heinemann in the 1930s. The writer J. B. Priestley objected to Q. C. Savory, as he judged that this character mocked him. As a consequence, sixteen "innocuous" modifications were implemented so as to blur the supposed relationship between the character and the writer (Miller 1977). There were economic reasons behind Greene's decision to yield to Priestley's capricious desire: both authors worked for Heinemann and – as Greene was less remunerative than Priestley – he eventually had to give in to the pressure. A similar incident with *Journey Without Maps* took place in 1937. On this occasion doctor P. D. Oakley launched a libel action against Greene. The allegedly defamed person considered that the character of doctor Pa Oakley resembled himself. The writer narrates this episode in a letter written to his brother:¹⁰

The other fly in the ointment is a libel action. I don't know whether you remember the drunk party at Freetown in *Journey Without Maps*. I called the drunk, whose real name was quite different, Pa Oakley. It now turns out that there is a Dr. P. D. Oakley, head of the Sierra Leone Medical Service. The book's been withdrawn (luckily all but 200 copies have been

sold), writs have been served, and he's out for damages! Anxious days.
(quot. by Miller 1990, 15)

Journey Without Maps was not reissued by Heinemann again. Only when Greene obtained the publication rights in 1946, could the book be reprinted two years later.¹¹

Slander was also part of his editorial work in the magazine *Night and Day*. In the 1930s Greene was denounced by 20th Century Fox for publishing a review of *Wee Willie Winkie* in which he commented on the transformation of the young actress Shirley Temple into a "sex object" (Miller 1990, 15). Greene lost the legal battle with the film studio, and the controversial text was banned until it was eventually published in 1985 when it was clearly stated that there had been no intention to defame the honour of the actress. Curiously enough, the defamatory episode has been given different interpretation by Spanish critics. On the one hand, some critics have emphasised the damage it caused the writer. That is the case of Carolina Bañares who stressed that it disturbed him deeply (2002, 42). In contrast, Juan Tébar regarded it as a simple anecdote (2003, 89). As I see it, it should be considered more than an insignificant incident in his life, as the suit had, as Miller indicates, "devastating financial consequences for Greene and for his magazine *Night and Day*" (1990, 15).

There is a last case of defamation influencing Greene's literary life. It took place when *J'Accuse. The Dark Side of Nice* was published in 1982. In this book Greene details a complicated divorce while he denounces the world of crime and corruption in Nice. Given that Daniel Guy – one of the parties in the marital separation – felt defamed, he sued the writer for libel. At the end of the legal battle, the book's sale and importation in France were banned (Miller 1990, 16). Curiously enough, Greene also felt defamed in his life and threatened to take legal actions too. This is the case of the journalist Anthony Mockler and his biography *Graham Greene: Three Lives* (1994). The biographer had to make changes, so that there were "certain episodes of Graham Greene's early life that have to be skipped entirely" (quot. by Beer 1995, 21). It seems to me that the writer learned to be as demanding with others, as they had been with him.

The diverse reactions described in this chapter have shown that Greene was a singular writer in his lifetime, able to provoke controversy not only in his country but also abroad. As I see it, *The Power and the Glory* best summarises this point, since the book caused unrest in a Communist nation like Poland, as well as inside the Catholic Church and the Vatican.

PART II:

**GRAHAM GREENE IN THE SPANISH
NATIONAL PRESS, MAGAZINES
AND JOURNALS**

