

# Donat Gallagher

James Cook University

## Evelyn Waugh and His Circle: Reading and Editing the Complete Works

College Court, University of Leicester  
24-26 April 2015

#Waugh2015  
@CWEvelynWaugh



### Schedule

Please see conference booklet for details of keynotes and plenary sessions, all of which will be in **Oak** with the exception of *The High Green Wall* which will be screened in **Chestnut**.

### Parallel Sessions

#### Workshops

Workshops will be run on an informal drop-in basis, and you can circulate freely between different workshop sessions.

#### Papers

The full parallel papers session is overleaf.

### Workshop Schedule

Workshop	Times	Room
Introduction to the Evelyn Waugh bibliography and <i>Evelyn Waugh Studies</i> online	Friday 12.00-13.00 Friday 16.00-18.30	Chestnut
Introduction to the Waugh Forum	Friday 12.00-13.00 Friday 16.00-18.30	Maple
Using the OUP file repository (editors only)	Friday 11.00-12.00 Friday 16.00-18.30 Saturday 11.30-13.30 Saturday 14.00-15.00 Sunday 09.00-11.00	Birch
MDATV Surgeries (editors only)	Friday 11.00-12.00 Friday 18.30-19.30 Saturday 18.30-19.30	Douglas Fir

**Please turn over for Parallel Paper Sessions**

## Parallel Paper Sessions

<b>Friday 24 April</b>	<b>Room</b>
<b>16.00-17.00</b>	Oak
<p><b>Textual Editing, chaired by Richard Oram</b></p> <p>'Guy's Deleted Nippers: War Trilogy Variant Endings Persist and Proliferate.'</p> <p>— Jeff Manley, Evelyn Waugh Society</p> <p>'Editing <i>Vile Bodies</i>: Biography, Typists, and Textual Criticism.'</p> <p>— Martin Stannard, University of Leicester</p> <p>'Square Pegs in Waugh Circles: C.R.M.F. Cruttwell and His Profile.'</p> <p>— Donat Gallagher, James Cook University</p>	
<b>17.30-18.30</b>	Oak
<p><b>Focus on Digital Humanities, chaired by Michael Shallcross</b></p> <p>'Evelyn Waugh in the Oxford English Dictionary.'</p> <p>— Antony F.P. Vickery, Evelyn Waugh Society</p> <p>'Between a Rock and a Soft Place.'</p> <p>— Duncan McLaren, Freelance Writer</p>	
<b>Saturday 25 April</b>	<b>Room</b>
<b>Session 1: 12.00-13.30</b>	Chestnut
<p><b>Aspects of Waugh, chaired by Jeff Manley</b></p> <p>'A Tourist in Africa and Waugh as Writer-for-Hire.'</p> <p>— Patrick Query, United States Military Academy</p> <p>'"A very funny penguin": Waugh and the Paperback.'</p> <p>— Naomi Milthorpe, University of Tasmania</p> <p>'A Soldier's Life in and out of Waugh's fiction.'</p> <p>— Nigel Wood, Loughborough University</p>	
<b>Uncertain Times, chaired by Victoria Stewart</b>	Maple
<p>'"So much for infidelity": Evelyn Waugh, AP Herbert and Hotel Bill Divorce'.</p> <p>— Joanna Bratten, Harrow School</p> <p>'Chuckling in Waugh.'</p> <p>— Beci Carver, University College London</p> <p>'"The frontier has never been demarcated": Unmarked Borders in <i>A Handful of Dust</i>'.</p> <p>— Henry Woudhuysen, University of Oxford</p>	
<b>Waugh and Film: Adaptation, chaired by Mary Frances Coady</b>	Oak
<p>The correspondence between Evelyn Waugh and Luis Bunuel, screen writer for <i>The Loved One</i></p> <p>— Richard Oram, University of Texas at Austin</p> <p>'"The (tasteful) pleasures of money on the screen": The Critical Reception of Evelyn Waugh on Screen.'</p> <p>— Mark Fryers, University of East Anglia</p> <p>'"Basil Seal Rides Again": A Proposed Film Adaptation of Basil Seal.'</p> <p>— Yuexi Liu, Durham University</p>	

<b>Saturday 25 April continued</b>	<b>Room</b>
<b>Session 2: 15.00-16.30</b>	Chestnut
<p><b>(Post)colonial Values: Waugh Abroad, chaired by Nigel Wood</b></p> <p>'"Vagabond-language scrawled on gate-posts": Constructions of Home in Evelyn Waugh's Travelogues.'</p> <p>— Annabel Williams, University of Oxford</p> <p>'Evelyn Waugh and British right-wing attitudes to the Italo-Abyssinian War (1935-36).'</p> <p>— Roger Irwin, University of Oxford</p> <p>'Maturity and Paternity: A Psychoanalytical and Postcolonial Study of Evelyn Waugh.'</p> <p>— Yoshiharu Usui, Seikei University</p>	Oak
<p><b>The Image of the Thirties, chaired by Lewis MacLeod</b></p> <p>'"Litera Scripta Manet": Film and Novelists of the Thirties.'</p> <p>— Robert Murray Davis, University of Oklahoma</p> <p>'Darling Dandies.'</p> <p>— Rebecca Moore, University of Leicester</p>	Maple
<p><b>Cultural Influence, chaired by Adrian Poole</b></p> <p>'"The most daemonic of the masters": Dickens and Waugh.'</p> <p>— John Bowen, University of York</p> <p>'Decadence Revisited: Evelyn Waugh and the Afterlife of the 1890s.'</p> <p>— Alex Murray, Queen's University Belfast</p>	
<b>Sunday 26 April</b>	<b>Room</b>
<b>Session 3: 09.00-10.30</b>	Chestnut
<p><b>Grace and Guilt, chaired by Naomi Milthorpe</b></p> <p>'Evelyn Waugh and the Pursuit of Permanence.'</p> <p>— Mandy Chan, Chinese University of Hong Kong</p> <p>'"Merely Hints and Symbols"? Kierkegaard and the Progressive Oracles of Brideshead Revisited.'</p> <p>— Marcel DeCoste, University of Regina</p> <p>'Going to the Devil: Evelyn Waugh, Kingsley Amis, and the Self-Implicating Decline Narrative.'</p> <p>— Michael Shallcross, Durham University</p>	Oak
<p><b>Transitional and Later Fiction, chaired by Donat Gallagher</b></p> <p>'Return to the Lush Place: Waugh's Happy Retreat in Scoop.'</p> <p>— Kazuhiko Saigusa, Yamagata University</p> <p>'Rum, History, and the Epic: <i>The Sword of Honour</i>'.</p> <p>— Andrew Moran, University of Dallas</p> <p>'Displacement and Exile in Evelyn Waugh's Later Fiction.'</p> <p>— Carlos Villar Flor, University of La Rioja</p>	Maple
<p><b>Works of Faith, chaired by Patrick Query</b></p> <p>'Evelyn Waugh and the Second World War: Foreign Affairs, Religion and Nation.'</p> <p>— Milena Borden, The British Library</p> <p>'Enthralling Task: Evelyn Waugh Edits Thomas Merton.'</p> <p>— Mary Frances Coady, freelance writer</p>	

## SQUARE PEGS IN WAUGH CIRCLES

### C.R.M.F. CRUTTWELL AND HIS PROFILE

It is the common fate of educators to be mocked by the young. And if one were to believe the swarm of Google entries – each more categorical than the last – then the ultimate victim of this mockery would be Charles Robert Mowbray Fraser Cruttwell, Tutor, Lecturer, Dean, and Principal of Hertford College, Oxford. The story is that Evelyn Waugh, a former pupil, drove Cruttwell insane (literally) by giving his name to ludicrous characters in novels and that now – what is true – Cruttwell is more famous for being mocked by Waugh than for his monumental history of the Great War. But perspective is needed. As everyone knows, that supremely great Englishman and critic, Samuel Johnson, was very big, very strong, preternaturally clumsy, *and* afflicted by startling nervous twitching. Aged 25, Samuel married a plain and little (but not poor) widow, Tetty Porter, aged 45. Luckily, it was a love match, blessed by what Johnson called ‘amorous heat’.<sup>1</sup> Unluckily, the couple ran a school, and even more unluckily one of their pupils was David Garrick, the greatest actor, and the most inspired mimic, of the century. Having peeped through keyholes at the Johnsons’ love making, Garrick kept literary London in stitches for decades caricaturing their antics.<sup>2</sup> Move over Cruttwell, you are NOT the saddest victim of pupil-persecution.

I re-tell this trite story in preparation for going out on a limb and arguing that Evelyn Waugh did not drive his former tutor mad by naming fictional characters after him. Even

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<sup>1</sup> James L. Clifford, *Young Samuel Johnson* (London: Mercury, 1962), pp. 145-8.

<sup>2</sup> Clifford, pp. 155-6.

more than the poet Shelley – more than almost anyone else on the planet – Cruttwell was ‘armed with scorn’ and was most unlikely to be fazed by a former pupil whom he despised as ‘a silly little suburban sod with an inferiority complex.’<sup>3</sup> Although *The History of the University of Oxford: Twentieth Century*,<sup>4</sup> no less, affirms that Cruttwell ‘awaited each new Waugh novel with apprehension’, I must say – apprehensively – that in the mid-thirties Cruttwell was so heavily engaged in publishing and University business that serious overwork on top of illness, not mockery, almost certainly led to his breakdown and early death in 1941. When Cruttwell’s close friend, A.L. Rowse, raised the ‘names-in-novels’ matter, ‘all [Cruttwell] said’, ‘without malice’, was, “I suppose I should have sent him down.””<sup>5</sup> *Oxford DNB* wisely states that, from Cruttwell’s point of view at least, the matter has been ‘exaggerated’.<sup>6</sup>

I’ve distributed copies of the ‘Isis Idol’, or profile, of Cruttwell.<sup>7</sup> [Handout A] Like all Isis Idols, it is unsigned, and I shall give sufficient reasons, I hope, for including it in the first volume of ‘Essays, Articles and Reviews’ in the forthcoming Complete Works of Evelyn Waugh. Two historians of Oxford regard it as Waugh’s;<sup>8</sup> Charles Linck, the unquestioned authority on Waugh’s Oxford journalism, treats it as young Evelyn’s best Oxford writing, while asserting that its ‘hubris’ prevented his being appointed next editor

<sup>3</sup> Eric Whelpton, ‘Lord Hugh Cecil and Principal Cruttwell’, in Andre Goudie, ed., *Seven Hundred Years of an Oxford College: Hertford, 1284-1984* (Oxford: Hertford College, 1984), p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Brian Harrison, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford: Twentieth Century* (1994), p. 446

<sup>5</sup> A.L. Rowse, *A Cornishman Abroad* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976), p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey Ellis, ‘Cruttwell, Charles Robert Mowbray Fraser (1887-1941)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.

<sup>7</sup> Anon., ‘Isis Idol No. 596: C.R.M.F. Cruttwell, M.A.; Dean, Tutor, and Lecturer in Modern History, Hertford College’, *The Isis*, 5 March 1924, p.7.

<sup>8</sup> Dr Brian Harrison and Dr Angus Macintyre qtd in Hew Strachan, “‘The Real War’: Liddell Hart, Cruttwell, and Falls’, in Brian Bond ed., *The First World War and British Military History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p.54. (Subsequently referred to as Strachan.)

of *The Isis*;<sup>9</sup> and major biographers, e.g. Martin Stannard,<sup>10</sup> Selina Hastings,<sup>11</sup> and Humphrey Carpenter<sup>12</sup> concur. So the Cruttwell Idol must be in the book, if only for reference. **But did Waugh write it?**

Decisions as to whether or not Waugh wrote particular pieces of anonymous Oxford journalism are inherently difficult, because his style, and the care he took in writing, varied from item to item. But the Cruttwell ‘Idol’ is unique, standing outside the range of variance between other pieces. It is a carefully contrived piece of mock-praise for a senior teacher, administrator, and sportsman, who is the ‘perfect work’ of three Oxford colleges, whose worst and best features arise from the abundant malt and hops ‘working’ within him, while the three college Founders look on. One thing is certain, this lengthy Idol (it is 500 words longer than the Harold Acton Idol), packed with hints and allusions – as you will gather from the embarrassingly large number of annotations – and ornamented with the recurring motifs of Founders and beer, must have been challenging to compose. I am confident that the young sub-editor of *The Isis* had the creative energy and imagination (if not all the information) needed to complete the project. But the prose gives me serious pause. Nothing shouts, EVELYN WAUGH! although phrases like ‘the desecrated ruins of the Octagon Bookshop’ set up a whisper. On the other hand, sentence length and sentence construction raise real doubts – if you will excuse some stupefying pedantry. [Please look at **Handout B. Three Extracts from Journalism 1923 – 1924**] First, the average sentence in the ‘Cruttwell Idol’, published in 1924, is 42 words; that is much longer than the average in the 1923 review of Alec Waugh’s *Myself When Young*, which

<sup>9</sup> Charles Edward Linck, Jr, ‘The Development of Evelyn Waugh’s Career: 1903–1939’, University of Kansas Ph.D., 1962, p.77.

<sup>10</sup> Martin Stannard, *Evelyn Waugh: The Early Years 1903–1939* (London: Dent, 1986), p.78.

<sup>11</sup> Selina Hastings, *Evelyn Waugh: A Biography* (London: Sinclair Stevenson, 1994), p.101.

<sup>12</sup> Humphrey Carpenter, *The Brideshead Generation: Evelyn Waugh and His Friends* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. 124.

is 25 words; in the 1924 Harold Acton 'Idol', which is 26 words, and in the 1924 editorial, 'Wittenberg and Oxford', which is 28 words. A difference between sentences in the 20 words and sentences in the 40 wordss is significant. Waugh was also addicted to the semi-colon, even in the short pieces of student journalism distributed; but there is not one semi-colon in the Cruttwell 'Idol'. I know numbers and details annoy, so I will come to my point, which is that, typically in Waugh, the semi-colon tends to develop sentences in a progression of subject-verb-object clauses while, by contrast, in the Cruttwell 'Idol', sentences grow by added phrases. [Demonstrate from 'Idol' and contemporary quotes.]

What can we conclude? Selina Hastings reveals that some of Cruttwell's colleagues found him 'tiresome',<sup>13</sup> as well they might, for he openly disdained and disparaged fellow scholars in the most wounding way. One of the victims could well have written the 'Idol'; certainly one or more of them must have provided the description of scenes, such as Cruttwell upholding his Tory point of view in the All Souls common room, which Waugh could not possibly have witnessed. Nothing in the 'Idol' definitively rules out Waugh's authorship; but I am inclined to think that, as the dominant force on *The Isis* at the time, he engineered a group effort.

Who was this man Cruttwell, the mock Idol, and how did he so mortally offend, and possibly de-rail,<sup>14</sup> the promising young scholar from Lancing? I assume everyone knows the portrait of Cruttwell in *A Little Learning* (pp. 173–5) every sentence of which, I must say, has been contradicted,<sup>15</sup> sharply but not necessarily conclusively: for

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<sup>13</sup> Hastings, p. 85.

<sup>14</sup> Writing of Douglas Woodruff, Waugh speculated: 'I Cruttwell had been cast in [Woodruff's] image I might have made a scholar.'

<sup>15</sup> A. Campbell, 'Bitter Taste', *S. Times*, 26 July, 1964, p.15; M.V.C. Jeffreys, 'A Sobering Lash', *S. Times*, 2 August 1964, p.25; Hubert Fisher, 'Nursed', *S. Times*, 9 August, 1964, p. 12; Eric Whelpton, 'The Qualities of Mr Cruttwell', *S. Times*, 8 Oct. 1964, p.13.

example, friends like Professor Mason mention misogyny as a given;<sup>16</sup> Geoffrey Ellis, who wrote the Cruttwell entry in Oxford *DNB* flatly denies it.<sup>17</sup>

Waugh describes Cruttwell as a ‘misogynist to such an extreme degree that he ‘refused to have women at his lectures. The college porter had instructions to repel them. If one slipped in, he drove her out [...] by his obscenities.’<sup>18</sup> Despite searching, the only evidence I could find to support this contention comes, at second hand, from Christopher Hollis who says that ‘Absurder Dons, like [...] Cruttwell attempted to keep their lectures pure [i.e. free of women] by peppering the women with obscenities.’<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, Vera Brittain, a formidable feminist, recalls looking forward to having Cruttwell as a tutor because, although she did not understand his lectures, their ‘dynamic picturesqueness’ had sparked her interest.<sup>20</sup> So at one stage, at least, Cruttwell must have admitted women to his lectures.

The superficial features of Cruttwell are generally agreed, but differently interpreted. Even a close friend says he looked ‘awesomely comic’, and allows the ‘externals’ in Waugh’s ‘caricature’ (as he calls it) of Cruttwell in *A Little Learning* to be ‘just’.<sup>21</sup> As Martin Stannard points out, the witty Richard Pares called the Cruttwell ‘the Dong with the luminous nose.’<sup>22</sup> Cruttwell’s table manners were poor, his voice a bark, his shout fearsomely loud, his hair-trigger temper volcanic, and his driving ‘appallingly bad’: but,

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<sup>16</sup> Mason, 12: “Crutters” was a misogynist and did not hide it.’

<sup>17</sup> Ellis, ‘Cruttwell, *Oxford DNB*

<sup>18</sup> *A Little Learning*, p. 174.

<sup>19</sup> Hollis, *Oxford in the Twenties*, 115. The Hertford archivist reveals that there is a letter from a male undergraduate in the College files complaining about obscenities in Cruttwell’s lectures, but because of current reorganization it cannot be accessed. I understand that there is some doubt about the authenticity of the letter.

<sup>20</sup> Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth*, 1933 (London, 1978), 486.

<sup>21</sup> A.L. Rowse, *A Cornishman Abroad* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976), p. 205.

<sup>22</sup> Edward Lear, ‘The Dong with the Luminous Nose’, first poem in *Laughable Lyrics: Fourth book of Nonsense* . . . (1871)

as the first Professor of Geography at Oxford testifies, hCrutwell's reactions were so 'incredibly swift' that he never had an accident, although his passengers – and no doubt clergymen pedalling up the wrong side of the road – came close to heart-attack).<sup>23</sup> On the positive side, Crutwell achieved three Firsts,<sup>24</sup> a fellowship at All Souls in 1911 and another at Hertford in 1919, as well as playing rugby, with ferocious intensity, for College and University. (He was lost without his glasses and once ferociously scored a try against his own side.) He held important government and University positions. There is abundant testimony to the effect that his broad vision of history inspired pupils to do better than they imagined possible; and despite his wild and violent talk, once business had to be done, he showed sound judgement and acted fairly.

In 1915, aged 28, Lt Crutwell went into the trenches in France, where he was wounded, suffered shell shock, and developed rheumatic fever that left him permanently lame; he was invalided out into Army Intelligence. Waugh paints a very unpleasant picture of Crutwell as 'a wreck of the war' and surmises that 'he must have been a young man of more polished manners' (*LL*, p.174). But *before* seeing action, Crutwell displayed many of the characteristics to which Waugh objected.<sup>25</sup> Crutwell's more soldierly brother George pointedly notes that Charles's 'apparent cynicism, his extravagant talk, and his blasphemous epithets [...] gained the affection of *nearly* all' the mess – which means, of course, that some were offended. A former pupil, Eric Whelpton, commanding a company in training, saw a tall figure approaching, 'puttees falling off his legs and trailing behind him, tunic only half buttoned'. It was his new subaltern,

<sup>23</sup> Lt Col. Kenneth Mason, MC [first Professor of Geography at Oxford], 'Professor Mason's Memoirs', *Hertford College Magazine*, 78 (1992), pp.10-13.

<sup>24</sup> Classical Moderations (1908), *Literae Humaniores* (1910), Modern History (1911);

<sup>25</sup> Strachan, p.54: 'Not all the characteristics which Waugh attributes to Crutwell found their origin in the war.'

‘Crutters’, who saluted with the wrong hand and blurted out: ‘Good God, it’s you’. In the post-war years, Dean Cruttwell of Hertford still ‘looked as if [his shabby loose tweeds] were falling off him’,<sup>26</sup> as friends put it. The androgynous, faun-like young Evelyn, by contrast, was fastidiously dapper and fashion conscious. ‘Smart’ can arouse detestation in the neurotic non-smart, witness Ernest Thesiger in Addis Ababa loathing Evelyn Waugh for his over-broad trousers and floppy bow tie.

When A.L. Rowse came up for his final viva in 1925, he faced a ‘distinguished lot of examiners [...] the formidable C.R. Cruttwell, with a tongue like a whiplash, in the chair.’<sup>27</sup> And, having won a Fellowship at All Souls, Rowse, like some very eminent personages,<sup>28</sup> found himself afraid of Cruttwell. But coming from a poor working-class family and badly in need of money, he was fortunate that Cruttwell gained him some teaching, ‘failing’, as Rowse puts it, ‘to conceal warmth of heart under a lacerating tongue.’ And here is the major point of difference in estimations of the man. To most, the barrack room manner and lurid vocabulary were mock ferocity, part of a many-faceted eccentric ‘front’ – disguising a genuinely kind nature, which he frequently exercised, helping poor students with money and offering hospitality to those with nowhere to go at his country house at Highclere. The very same rough manner struck others as unalloyed brutal rudeness, which it was probably meant to do in their cases, while the cutting personal remarks (for which he was feared and famous) could be permanently wounding. Waugh was clearly in this second camp and, though friends like Christopher Hollis and

<sup>26</sup> E. Whelpton, ‘Lord Hugh Cecil and Principal Cruttwell’, Goudie, p. 66.

<sup>27</sup> A.L. Rowse, *A Cornishman at Oxford: The education of a Cornishman*, 1965 (London, 1983), p. 231.

<sup>28</sup> General Swinton, Professor of Military History at Oxford. See A.L. Rowse, *A Man of the Thirties* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), p. 160.

Douglas Woodruff could not understand the intensity of his hatred for Cruttwell,<sup>29</sup> the fact is that he took mortal and lasting offence.

What did Cruttwell say to Waugh that alienated him so completely and permanently? We know from *A Little Learning* that there was an altercation about the direction of the Rhine and about Waugh's drunkenness after a College 'blind' which led to their 'mutual dislike' becoming 'incurable' (*LL*, p.175). Humphrey Carpenter adds another possibility, that when Waugh 'translated the Latin verb "eramus" ["we were"] as "Erasmus" [the name of the Renaissance scholar], Cruttwell reputedly exploded: 'Damn you, you're a scholar. If you can't show industry, I at least have some right to expect intelligence!' (p.65). I believe that Cruttwell might have insulted Waugh in other ways so personal that he never repeated them. And of course, when Waugh was courting Evelyn Gardner, Cruttwell gave Lady Burghclere, her mother, an absolutely poisonous character of her prospective son in law.

Cruttwell's intimate friend and fellow invalid, A.L. Rowse, adds another layer to his portrait. Rowse was homosexual and writes frequently about the love of his life, a German Rhodes Scholar, Adam von Trott. But he did not consummate his love and believed that the repression caused physical illness. Rowse reveals that Cruttwell '**once described to me**' his nature as 'homo-erotic'; and he adds: 'grievously he suffered psychologically' from the stern repression he imposed on himself. A former chaplain of Hertford, Alan Thornhill, had been appointed to the post by Cruttwell ('Why me?' asked

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<sup>29</sup> Christopher Hollis, *Oxford in the Twenties* (London, 1976), p. 86: 'it was not at all easy to see what grave harm [Cruttwell] could ever have done to Evelyn that could have justified this so great hate.' Douglas Woodruff, 'Mr Waugh's minority', rev. of *A Little Learning*, by Evelyn Waugh, *The Tablet*, 12 Sept. 1964, p.1029: 'He won [the scholarship to Hertford] but regretted it, and it seems likely that the peculiar animosity with which he pursues the memory of the Principal, C.R.M.F Cruttwell, whom others remember as a kindly figure, is that he is fastened on as a scapegoat for an ill-chosen college.'

Thornhill. 'You were the least poisonous of the bunch' - extremely high praise coming from Cruttwell.) Later, Cruttwell's friendship, quite inexplicably, turned to 'hatred', and Thornhill's contract was not renewed. Nevertheless when Cruttwell became a patient in the Burden Neurological Institute,<sup>30</sup> Thornhill visited him, and they reconciled. A few days later Cruttwell was routinely attended by a local clergyman, to whom Cruttwell said: 'My whole life has been a sham and a fraud.' Though a lifelong member of the Church of England, and an absolutely regular churchgoer, he now sought to experience Christian faith in the most direct and simple way. You will remember Waugh's saying of Cruttwell in *A Little Learning*, 'It was as though he had never cleaned himself of the muck of the trenches' (p.174). Can it be pure coincidence that Hertford visitors to Cruttwell after this conversion event said they had 'never seen anyone so transformed'? The man hidden behind a harsh and violent front, driven by hatred of the world, of other people, and principally of himself, now seemed, as they put it, 'washed clean.' Whether he had been washed clean of 'the muck of the trenches' as Waugh put it, or of more profound traumas of longer standing, he was now 'as simple and open as a child. He was at peace.'<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Created in 1939 and 'co-located' with Stoke Park Hospital/Colony, for mental handicap patients. It was the most up-to-date neurological clinic in Britain, pioneering then highly lauded operations such as frontal lobotomy. In later years Stoke Park became notorious for overcrowding and abuse of patients.

<sup>31</sup> Thornhill, p. 86.

## ISIS IDOL

No. 596

C. R. M. F. CRUTTWELL, M.A.

*Dean, Tutor, and Lecturer in Modern History, Hertford College*

Elias de Hertford, who in 1282 founded his eponymous college, must often haunt in spirit the triangle between Queen's Lane, Catte Street<sup>1</sup> and the High, in company with Queen Philippa of Hainault and Archbishop Chichele, the parents of Queen's and All Souls. As they pass the back gate of All Souls, they must by now be well used to hearing a scrabbling at the keyhole and then to seeing that stately portal opening slowly on its hinges to emit a badger-like figure, clad in ancient tail coat and lop-sided white tie, which pads pensitively northward across New College Lane, to go to earth near the desecrated ruins of the Octagon Bookshop.<sup>2</sup> Let us hope they realise how fair a pledge is here given that their three foundations are still able, even in these degenerate days, to combine together in a perfect work.<sup>3</sup>

It cannot be a mere coincidence that the Queen and the Archbishop own the only two Colleges in Oxford which still brew their own beer.<sup>4</sup> To ripen like old ale is not given to many men in a conscience-stricken and philanthropic age, or in a co-educational University, reduced to mendicancy by its own laboratories.<sup>5</sup> How few of us can see our image in a silver tumbler? Yet should we not all be the better for more malt and more hops within us, for more straining and fermenting, for more hours of slow 'working' and maturing in a cool cellar and an old barrel of English oak? Sweet wines and soft drinks have their place and time, but when have they made history or men? Beer, you may say, is an acquired and insular taste, blunting to the aesthetic sensibilities, not as good as cocoa for yearning souls, nor as Cadena coffee for the amorous,<sup>6</sup> nor as sanatogen<sup>7</sup> for the jaded careerist. Soft hearts, weak heads, queasy stomachs and feeble knees will do well to look elsewhere for balm. Yet there are worse ways of spending one's youth than in learning to know and love old ale.

So at least one might praise the Good Tutor and Dean, as Thomas Fuller once praised the 'Good Master of a College'.<sup>8</sup> If he had not a strong dose of pungent hops in him, how could he quell the rioter in the quad, without getting out of bed<sup>9</sup> and with a vocabulary<sup>10</sup> nourished and kept supple by much practice on dilatory Asiatics at Frilford?<sup>11</sup> What else gives him so sure a nose for the difference between an N.S. and a V.S. +<sup>12</sup> in History Previous,<sup>13</sup> or for the hidden

vice which earns the brilliant scholar a Third in Finals?<sup>14</sup> What else distinguishes his talk from the mere academic gossip which just hints a fault and hesitates dislike,<sup>15</sup> and makes it so well worth while convincing those who do not know him well that he is not an opponent of missionary endeavour, nor of educational uplift among the denizens of convents?<sup>16</sup> Without the tang of hops in his talk and in himself, who would know him from the typical Rugbeian, one of Dr Arnold's spiritual sons, with the care of all the churches on his shoulders since his 'teens, preaching and living the gospel of *mens sana in corpore sano*?<sup>17</sup>

Those who want Oxford to teem with introverted zealots for research or with meticulous bureaucrats, with pallid students or with mealy-mouthed intriguers, will no doubt complain that there is too much malt in the contents of this particular silver tumbler. Of another member of his College, Thomas Hobbes (whom Charles II could call 'the beare'), it is related by his friend Aubrey that he was not only 'marvellous happy and ready in his replies' and that 'if provoked he was sharp and bitter' and 'thought himself a good disputant', but that 'for all his morosity and peevishness with which some asperse him, all that know him familiarly know the contrary.'<sup>18</sup> And not for nothing is this latter-day philosopher linked with the memory of the Queen who saved the burghers of Calais<sup>19</sup> and with the good Archbishop who founded his college to commemorate the faithful who died in the French Wars.<sup>20</sup> One glance at him is enough to convince you that there is no trace of the egoist, as there is none of the ascetic and little of the Adonis, in that, shall we say? homely countenance.<sup>21</sup> No one was ever a good teacher who was not always ready to 'lend his mind out' free of interest to anyone who looked like using it. And not his mind only, but all his gifts, holding his own hard-won property of learning and experience by Aristotle's tenure of 'private ownership for common use'.<sup>22</sup> So it is the malt in him which makes him *servus servorum Dei*,<sup>23</sup> suffering plodders gladly and making free with the contents of his window-seat<sup>24</sup> to the children of this world, which took him straight out to the trenches of Plug Street in 1915<sup>25</sup> and *via* rheumatic fever to long months of devoted service in the War Office, which makes him an employment agent as well as a taskmaster for his pupils, a Pharaoh only in manner and appearance, in reality a true steward of Oxford, that 'most kindly nurse'.<sup>26</sup> And this is why, most intransigent of Tories<sup>27</sup> and most censorious of critics, he has now blossomed out as a Statutory Commissioner,<sup>28</sup> the sweetly reasonable spokesman of youth and small colleges, an olive branch which looks and talks like a bludgeon.

Let the curious consult the records and find out all about his three Firsts and two Fellowships,<sup>29</sup> his pre-war exploits in the scrum for Queen's and the Varsity 'A',<sup>30</sup> his one shot at cricket and how he did the ninth at Frilford in three, how at Queen's he was an Eaglet<sup>31</sup> and at All Souls an amateur detective,<sup>32</sup> how he hates bicycles and relishes gondolas (of haddock), how he once lay a prisoner within the walls of Somerville<sup>33</sup> but only because it was then a hospital, and why after the first of his lectures which attracted a mixed audience he gave up smoking Three Nuns.<sup>34</sup> But if they wish to know him well, let them dine often at the second of his three colleges,<sup>35</sup> and thereafter in the smoking room ensnare him in argument. Then as the malt and hops glow together in the tumbler and the bludgeon rises and falls, and the good disputant rallies his prodigious memory and doggedly changes his ground in defence of superstition and prejudice and in confutation of all knaves, fools, cowards, cranks and prigs, of the effeminate and the dusky (both often called by harsher names), the hack and the slobberer,<sup>36</sup> let them thank God for the liberality of Queen Philippa, Archbishop Chichele, and Elias de Hertford, and for their true and dutiful servant, Charles Robert Mowbray Fraser Cruttwell.

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*The Isis*, 5 March 1924, pp. 7-8.

**Genesis.** Unsigned, but Linck unhesitatingly treats the piece as W's: it 'shows Evelyn's mature [Oxford] talent at its very best' and its 'hubris' might have prevented his 'succeeding to the editorship [of *The Isis*]' (p.77). Hew Strachan, "'The Real War': Liddell Hart, Cruttwell, and Falls', in Brian Bond ed., *The First World War and British Military History* (1991), pp. 41-67: 'For a less vitriolic . . . portrayal of Cruttwell by Waugh . . . see *Isis* (5 Mar. 1924, pp. 7-8)'; Strachan thanks Dr Brian Harrison and Dr Angus Macintyre, noted historians of the University, for the reference. Major biographers, e.g. Stannard I (pp. 78-9), Hastings (p. 101), and Carpenter (p.124), attribute the piece to W.

<sup>1</sup> Original printed version: 'Cat'.

<sup>2</sup> An admired fourteenth-century building recently used as bookshop, incorporated into Hertford College in 1923.

<sup>3</sup> (a) Cruttwell graduated from The Queen's College (1908), became a Fellow of All Souls (1911), and tutor and Dean of Hertford (1919); (b) the rear entrance of All Souls is on Catte Street; Hertford is on the corner of New College Lane and Catte Street; (c) Elias de Hertford established Hart Hall in 1282; Philippa, Queen of King Edward III, gave her name to Queen's in 1341; and Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, founded All Souls in 1438. Watched by these founders, Cruttwell emerges from All Souls after dinner and finds his way to Hertford.

<sup>4</sup> Neither college now brews its own beer.

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<sup>5</sup> H.A.L. Fisher, then Minister for Education (1916–8), sought to fund research in universities. Scientific departments then applied for large amounts for laboratories, allegedly ‘sacrificing independence’. The Asquith Royal Commission (1919–22) continued the funding and recommended many changes to Oxford and Cambridge. See B. Harrison, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. VIII (1994), pp. 29–43.

<sup>6</sup> Men and women undergraduates often met at the Cadena café on the Cornmarket. Sebastian foresees ‘drinking coffee in the mornings at the Cadena café’ as part of ‘mending his ways’ (*BR*, p. 91).

<sup>7</sup> In 1924 Sanatogen was a ‘tonic food to energize your nerves’.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Fuller (1608–61), ‘The Good Master of a College’, in *The Holy State and the Profane State*, 1642 (Columbia University Press, 1938), 102–4.

<sup>9</sup> ‘I had heard him . . . quell a drunken undergraduate party, without bothering to get up from his bed’ (Alan Thornhill, *Best of Friends: A Life of Enriching Friendships* (1986), 77).

<sup>10</sup> Cruttwell had a ‘command of picturesque invective’ (*DNB* 1941–1950), and of ‘blasphemous epithets’ that were controversial even in the army (George Cruttwell [brother], qtd in Strachan, 55).

<sup>11</sup> Frilford Heath Golf Club, close to Oxford.

<sup>12</sup> *Non Satis* (Not Satisfactory, a Fail); *Vix Satis* + (slightly higher than Scarcely Satisfactory, a low Pass)

<sup>13</sup> Examination taken at the end of second term to determine fitness to proceed to Finals; cfr ‘History Previous’, poems by W with ‘history’ themes (*The Isis*, 17 May 1922, p.13).

<sup>14</sup> Read with the passage giving rise to Note 12, presumably an insinuation that Cruttwell favoured plodders and showed prejudice against the brilliant.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike, / Just hint a fault and hesitate dislike’ (Alexander Pope, ‘Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot’, 1735, ll.203–4).

<sup>16</sup> Read with the reference to Three Nuns tobacco in Note 34 below, the suggestion seems to be that in an open lecture Cruttwell and certain nuns clashed over the value of missionary work. All Souls was closely connected with Empire; three Viceroy of India were among its Fellows, as were key figures in South African imperial enterprises, to which missionaries often objected.

<sup>17</sup> Cruttwell went to Rugby. Dr Thomas Arnold (1795–1842), a reforming headmaster and Broad Churchman, is credited with making Rugby School the model for the nineteenth-century English Public School. Part of his ethos was ‘A healthy mind in a healthy body’, with (perhaps unintended) over-emphasis on the ‘healthy body’.

<sup>18</sup> John Aubrey, ‘A Brief Life of Thomas Hobbes, 1588–1679’, MS 1693, in Rev. Andrew Clark, ed. *Brief Lives, Chiefly of Contemporaries, Set Down by John Aubrey, Between the Years 1669 and 1696*, Vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), 321–403.

<sup>19</sup> Calais surrendered to the English in 1347 after a long siege and six burghers offered themselves for punishment in place of the population. Philippa of Hainault (1313–69), Queen of Edward III, successfully pleaded for their lives. Auguste Rodin modelled the scene (1889).

<sup>20</sup> ‘The first [function of All Souls was] to pray[...] for the souls of the founders, of those who had fallen in the long wars with France [...] and of “all the faithful departed”’

([http://www.all.souls.ox.ac.uk/content/History\\_of\\_the\\_College](http://www.all.souls.ox.ac.uk/content/History_of_the_College), accessed 5 July 2014).

<sup>21</sup> Friends described him as ‘ugly and uncouth’ (Eric Whelpton, in Andrew Goudie, ed., *Seven Hundred Years of an Oxford College; Hertford College, 1284-1984* [1984]; p. 68), ‘awesomely comic appearance’ (A.L. Rowse, *A Cornishman Abroad* [1976], p. 205); and ‘the Dong with the Luminous Nose’ (Richard Pares, qtd in Rowse, 1976, p. 205).

<sup>22</sup> Robert Browning, ‘Fra Lippo Lippi’ (1885), ll. 304-06: ‘Art was given for that; / God uses us to help each other so, / Lending our minds out.’ Aristotle, *Politics*, Bk. 2, Pt 5: ‘Property should be . . . in a certain sense common.’

<sup>23</sup> ‘Servant of the servants of God’, i.e. a man willing to serve the lowly: ‘My academic record was moderate. [Cruttwell] made the study of modern history a challenge and delight’ (Thornhill, 77).

<sup>24</sup> Possibly where Cruttwell stored refreshments for pupils and guests.

<sup>25</sup> 2nd Lt. Cruttwell, Royal Berkshire Rgt, went into the line in 1915 at Ploegsteert Wood, south of Ypres.

<sup>26</sup> ‘To Oxford [...] my most kindly nurse’ (Dedication, *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, ed. Arthur Quiller Couch [1900]).

<sup>27</sup> Cruttwell was in the ‘second circle’ of the influential “Milner Group” (‘Round Table’, or ‘The Circle’), successors to the Cecil Rhodes secret society. See Carroll Quigley, *The Anglo-American Establishment: From Rhodes to Cliveden* (New York, 1981).

<sup>28</sup> The *Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act 1923* appointed Cruttwell a Commissioner charged with creating greater equality among Colleges and facilitating ‘the admission of poorer students’.

<sup>29</sup> Classical Moderations (1908), *Literae Humaniores* (1910), Modern History (1911); All Souls (1911), Hertford (1919).

<sup>30</sup> Shortsighted and ‘ferociously intense’, Cruttwell once ‘scored a try against his own side’ (Whelpton, p. 68).

<sup>31</sup> Exclusive Queens’s College dining club.

<sup>32</sup> Nothing could be discovered about Cruttwell’s alleged amateur detective work in All Souls.

<sup>33</sup> Until 1994 a women-only College; an ironical residence for a (supposed) misogynist.

<sup>34</sup> See Note 16 above. A pipe tobacco much favoured by writers, e.g. C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien; named for three refugee nuns who founded the Maryland tobacco industry. The suggestion appears to be that Cruttwell’s encounter with nuns in a lecture radically soured his view of their profession.

<sup>35</sup> All Souls; its Common Room included many influential Fellows and visitors; Cruttwell forcefully argued his Tory case against all, including very eminent, opposition.

<sup>36</sup> A derogatory term for unintelligent and over-effusive colleagues.

## EXTRACTS FROM JOURNALISM 1923–1924

From a review of *Myself when Young: Confessions*, by Alec Waugh, *The Cherwell*, 10 November 1923, p.68

‘[Alec Waugh] is already the author of six books; the first of these, *The Loom of Youth*, was an enormous and immediate success and because this success was obviously due more to its interest as propaganda than its virtue as a work of art, the fact has largely been overlooked that it was a remarkably good novel.’

From ‘Isis Idol No. 594. Mr. Harold Acton (Christ Church), Editor of *The Oxford Broom*; Author of *Aquarium*, &c’, *The Isis*, 20 February 1924, p.7

‘Like most of his countrymen, [Mr. Harold Acton] wears what a recent Sunday paper was pleased to describe as ‘sideboards,’ but, as he said himself, the victorious army at Waterloo wore them on the playing fields of Eton; he also has a very beautiful Benedictine coloured waistcoat, but he seldom wears that in public.’

From ‘Wittenberg and Oxford’ (editorial), *The Isis*, 14 February 1924, pp.1-2

‘The O.U.D.S. are probably the only group of people who could hope to give an adequate interpretation of *Hamlet* for the simple reason that the whole significance of the play is that it is an undergraduate play; if they have realized this they will have succeeded, but it is a secret well hidden under the shabby stage properties of three hundred years.’