

Virgin Spain: The History of a Book and Its Translation

Juan Jesús Zaro
Universidad de Málaga
jjzaro@uma.es

The history of the successive editions (1927, 1930, 1941, 1947, 1950, 1963, 1989) of León Felipe's translation of Waldo Frank's *Virgin Spain* is inexorably linked to the history of the country as described in the original. While the 1927 first edition was warmly welcomed by the target culture (the Spain of the 1920s), the book's ideological complexity and the ambiguous personality of the translator himself made it possible to publish editions in both South America and Franco's Spain: two appeared in Argentina (in 1947 and 1958) that purported to denounce Spain's fascist regime, and two others in Madrid (in 1950 and 1963) which tried to make use of the book for political propaganda, even though it was censored. *España virgen* is a unique case of ideological appropriation by means of such diverse instruments as paratexts, omissions, additions and translation shifts. Sadly, a complete Spanish version of Waldo Frank's second edition of the book (1941) has yet to be published.

1. Introduction

This paper is concerned with the complex history of León Felipe's translation of Waldo Frank's *Virgin Spain*. Its successive editions (the first in 1927) are testimony of the impact it made in various periods of Spanish history as well as of the existence of two target readerships after the Spanish Civil War: The first of these –Spaniards in exile– had access to the second edition of the original, published with slight changes in Buenos Aires in 1947 and 1958. The second, in Franco's

Spain, could only read the first edition, reprinted in 1950 and 1963, after being submitted to censorship. The paradox is that even the last Spanish edition –published in Madrid in 1989, more than ten years after the restoration of democracy and in the absence of censorship–, was again the translation of the first edition.

Cultural censorship on translations in Franco's Spain has been analysed extensively by Merino (1994), Rabadán (2000), Santamaría (2000), Hurtlely (2007) and Herrero-Olaizola (2007). But the uniqueness of *España virgen* as a case study lies firstly in the existence of these parallel editions of the translation and secondly, in the fact that the main censorship strategy applied to the editions produced in Spain was to keep republishing the first edition of the original instead of the second. Also, as we shall attempt to demonstrate, a certain degree of textual and paratextual manipulation can be detected in all the editions of the translation published after the Spanish Civil War.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 outlines the relevant Spanish historical context surrounding the publication of Waldo Frank's *Virgin Spain* and its translation into Spanish. Section 3 describes the original (1926) and the impact it made on American and Spanish cultures. Section 4 describes León Felipe's translation (1927). Section 5 contains descriptions of the second edition of the original (1942) and the successive editions of its translation: the 1947 and 1958 Buenos Aires editions, the 1950 and 1963 Madrid editions and the last one, published in Madrid in 1989. Some general conclusions are added at the end of the paper in section 6.

2. The Spain of the twenties

Spain's once powerful and immense Empire came to an end in 1898, when she lost her three remaining overseas colonies: Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. In 1895 supporters of Cuban independence, secretly aided by the United States, started hostilities. In April 1898, an explosion destroyed the battleship *U.S.S. Maine* in Havana harbour, stirring public opinion in the United States and leading to a declaration of war. The antiquated naval force sent from Spain was routed by the

United States at Santiago de Cuba and Manila Bay, and the Spanish army surrendered after a few weeks of hostilities against an American expeditionary force. In Paris that September, Spain relinquished its remaining colonies. This defeat, as well as the lack of European support during the war, threw Spain into despair.

The disaster prompted an intellectual re-evaluation of Spain's position in the world by the thinkers and writers of the so-called "Generation of 1898," who confronted Spaniards with the proposition that Spain was an archaic society whose institutions were incapable of moving into the twentieth century. Although in the last decade of the 19th century the country had achieved a degree of economic and cultural development and a stable –but not transparent– political system, it still had not taken the fundamental steps towards industrialization, social reform and a functioning democracy (Payne 1973: 559). Criticism of Spain's corruption, misgovernment, and apathy towards her colonies reached a climax after their loss. There was a public demand for "regeneration", and regenerationism was for a time the goal of most political, civic and intellectual groups. The result was the most extensive effort ever made by Spanish intellectuals to analyse the country and its problems.

The generation of 1898 was concerned with the problems of Spanish culture and values in the modern world. However, the men of 1898 were not a unified, but a diverse group, comprising figures such as Unamuno, Ortega, Azorín, and Maeztu. There was considerable pessimism in their analysis of modern Spain, but also a kind of cultural nationalism and re-evaluation of the role played by the heartland of Spain, Castile, in the forging of the nation (Payne 1973: 601). Nevertheless, there was disagreement over the course which Spanish revitalization should take, with a basic division of opinion between Europeanizers and those like Unamuno, one of the most fervent admirers of *España virgen*, who advocated a return to the traditional values that had once made Spain great. Such was the flourishing of literature and the arts in the first third of the twentieth century that this period has frequently been called the Silver Age of Spanish culture, second only to the Golden Age of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The First World War fuelled a social crisis in Spain which became almost as severe as that which affected some of the belligerent countries. The large and rapid growth of the rural and urban working classes pulled thousands of illiterate peasants and members of the urban working class into left wing and anarchist organizations. Elections were held in April 1923, notwithstanding the electorate's deepening apathy. Disillusionment with politics was widespread, and even though the Liberal coalition won a workable majority (223 seats), the situation in the Spanish Moroccan protectorate, increased anarchist and communist terrorism, industrial unrest and the effects of the postwar economic depression soon prompted a *pronunciamiento* or military coup that brought general Miguel Primo de Rivera into office from 1923 to 1930. At first, his authoritarian regime garnered wide support in much of the country, enjoying the confidence of King Alfonso XIII and the loyalty of the army. It was also warmly greeted by some reformist intellectuals such as José Ortega y Gasset, who believed that only a drastic solution could solve the problem of political and constitutional change. In fact, the establishment of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship was to a large extent the consummation of the antiparliamentary trend that had begun with some of the regenerationists. However, the government lacked an ideological foundation, given that Primo de Rivera was not a fascist, and the dictatorship had no distinct ideology or political theory. Its mandate was based on general disenchantment with the parliamentary system of the previous period. The original notion was that it would receive temporary powers from the Crown to resolve severe national problems by decree, after which the normal political process would be restored.

The Primo de Rivera regime came to an end in 1930. King Alfonso forced the General's resignation and appointed General Dámaso Berenguer as Prime Minister, but the lack of consensus in the government on the course that should be followed and the general mistrust of the monarchy contributed to the rise of republicanism, which enjoyed considerable support amongst the middle and working classes. The municipal elections held on 12 April 1931 saw the victory of an overwhelming majority of Republican municipal councillors, making it clear that the monarchy had lost the confidence of the

people. King Alfonso and the Royal family therefore went into exile on 14 April to avoid a civil war. The Republic was proclaimed but, five years later, the Spanish Civil War broke out.

3. The original

Virgin Spain (Scenes from the Spiritual Drama of a Great People), an unusual mixture of historical essay and travel book, was published in New York by Boni & Liveright and in London by Jonathan Cape in 1926. The book, based on a series of articles that its author, Waldo Frank (1889-1967), had published after traveling to Spain in 1921 and 1924, was the product of his fascination with a country that, in those days, was poor, underdeveloped and much more agricultural than industrial. In the Acknowledgments, Frank tried to explain the structure of the book by likening it to the essence of Spain itself:

Finally, a word by way of explanation. What I have attempted might be called a Symphonic History. Spain is a complex integer: some of the elements which compose it are known commonly under such terms as climate, geography, historical events, literature, manners, customs, law and art. Since I felt the Personality of Spain to hold all of these *immediately*, as a body holds all its organs, I have essayed, not to discuss them severally... But I have let them come, each in its measure and in its turn, upon the scene (1926a: 2).

In fact, Frank's contact with Spain encouraged him to develop the ideas that engendered the theory expounded in an earlier book, *Our America* (1919), which criticised the materialistic culture of the United States, the loss of spiritual values and the decadence of political leadership, among other things. According to the book, the "creative" minority of the country, based on the heritage of older and more "primitive" cultural minorities, was the only one that could restore the once "luminous" destiny of the United States and lay the foundations of a new, more spiritual, dematerialized society. Indeed, only a few

years later, Frank became a social activist: he traveled to the Soviet Union in 1932, and in 1935 was elected the first chairman of the League of American Writers, one of the main front organizations of the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA) (Faber 2003: 271). Considered in his time as one of the most influential of 20th century American intellectuals, Waldo Frank wrote more Social History books: *Salvos* (1924), *The Rediscovery of America* (1929), *America Hispana* (1931), *In the American Jungle* (1937), *Birth of the World* (1951) and *The Prophetic Island: A Portrait of Cuba* (1961), and also 14 novels, among them *City Block* (1922) *Holiday* (1923), *Chalk Face* (1924) and *The Death and Birth of David Markand* (1934).

The subsequent Spanish translations of *Virgin Spain* provide clear evidence of the impact it made in Spain. In October 1925, the highly prestigious *Revista de Occidente*, a journal edited by José Ortega y Gasset, published an article by Waldo Frank with the title “El español” (Ortega y Gasset 1925: 40-55), which included paragraphs from the book (Ortega y Gasset 1925: 216-226), but made no mention of the translator. The brief (and anonymous) introduction to the article stated that

... el joven escritor norteamericano no es desconocido del lector español. En la primavera de 1924 viajó por España y de su paso quedó huella en periódicos y revistas. Su ensayo, ‘El español’ es una visión que se aparta de los tópicos corrientes y ha de chocar e interesar sobremanera en nuestro país. [...the young American writer is not unknown to the Spanish reader. In the spring of 1924, he traveled around Spain, and his journey is traced in his contributions to newspapers and magazines. His essay, ‘El Español’, presents a vision that stands apart from the standard clichés and seems likely to cause much surprise and interest in our country]¹.

¹ Author’s translation.

In 1926, the great writer and scholar Miguel de Unamuno² used quotations (translated by himself) from the book in an article published by the Argentinean journal *Síntesis*. Finally, the poet León Felipe, one of the most prominent and highly respected left-wing intellectuals on the Spanish cultural scene, was commissioned to translate the whole book, which he did in less than one year. León Felipe and his Mexican wife, Berta Gamboa, were by that time living in the United States, which probably made it easier for them to contact Waldo Frank, who does not mention the Spanish poet in his Memoirs but to say that, many years later, León Felipe was not very pleased with the behaviour of the American poet Hart Crane, when he visited Mexico (Frank 1973: 243)³. According to Guillermo de Torre (1963: 15), the translation was co-authored by Felipe, then a Spanish assistant at Cornell University, and his wife. León Felipe's translation of *Virgin Spain*, first published in 1927, has been the only translation of Waldo Frank's book to date.

León Felipe had already translated a few French and English books: Oscar Wilde's *The English Renaissance of Art* [*El renacimiento del arte inglés y otros ensayos*], 1919; Gérard d'Houville's *Le Séducteur* [*El seductor*], 1921, and Willa Cather's *A Lost Lady* [*Una dama perdida*], 1923. Many years later, in exile in Mexico, after the end of the Spanish Civil War, he translated three "paraphrases" or free adaptations of Shakespeare's plays which are infused with motifs of his own poetry (Zaro 2005: 94): *Otelo o el pañuelo encantado* [*Othello or the Enchanted Handkerchief*], 1960; *Macbeth o el asesino del sueño* [*Macbeth or the Murderer of Sleep*], 1961, and *No es cordero que es cordera* [*It is not a He-lamb: It is a She-lamb*], 1974, based on *Twelfth Night*. He went on to translate more of Waldo Frank's books: *América Hispana. Un retrato y una perspectiva* [*America Hispana: A Portrait and a Prospect*], 1932; *Viaje por Suramérica* [*South American*

² Unamuno also commissioned the translation of another famous book on Spain, Havelock Ellis' *The Soul of Spain*, in 1928.

³ In a footnote, Frank describes León Felipe as "the great Spanish poet who translated *Virgin Spain* and other of my books".

Journey], 1944 and *Isla del Atlántico* [*Island in the Atlantic*], 1951, but none of them was as popular or successful as *Virgin Spain*.

Although *Virgin Spain* did not fare well in the United States—critics called it a “travelogue” and were prevented from taking it seriously by the excesses of Frank’s style (Rostagno 1997: 7)—its influence in Spain and, above all, in South America, was enormous. Frank “rediscovered” Spain as the mother country of Latin American states and reemphasized the importance of Spanish cultural roots in Latin America. Applying the doctrine of President Monroe, *America for the Americans* to his “Pan Americanism”, he would later emphasize in two books, *The Re-discovery of America* (1929) and *America Hispana: A Portrait and A Prospect* (1931), the common destiny of both North and South America. In his view, both geographical spaces were complementary: while in Anglo America there was order but no life, South America, due to the Spanish influence, could provide life but needed some order. “Pan Americanism”, a doctrine opposed not only to American imperialism but also to the Fascist regimes of that time, spread throughout the intellectual elites of South America, and Waldo Frank, who was invited to give lectures in many countries, enjoyed immense popularity for many years.

The book provided Spain with opportunities for reconciliation both with itself and also with Latin America, now that Spain had ceased to be a colonial power. *Virgin Spain*, written by an American Jewish scholar who could not conceal his fascination with the country, proved that there were values in the culture of Spain that, far from being negative, could even counterbalance those of highly developed capitalist societies of former enemies like the United States.

The role of Spain as a spiritual reservoir can be clearly seen in the last pages of the book. *Virgin Spain* ends with a fictional dialogue between Christopher Columbus and Miguel de Cervantes in Palos de la Frontera, the small Andalusian port from which Columbus departed for the unknown world in 1492. At a given point, Cervantes, looking to the west, notices how the “city of white towers” (the America of the 1920s) is falling. It seems to be the sign for a spiritual renewal in which Spain must play a leading role:

Ready, Spain! You must stir again. You must give again. Europe has rotted at last into the Grave they called America. Your work is not quite done. You, most broken mother of all Europe, you have preserved a seed... Your spirit, Spain. They above all will need it, in the north: they whose speech is English and who have led in the building of the Towers, which are the graves of Europe. For it is written that these shall also lead in the birth of the true New World—the true America which I discovered (1926a: 300).

As Faber points out (2003: 259), Frank's idealized representation of Spain was an uncommon one in ideological discourse in the U.S. at the time. On 17 February 1930, The New York Institute of International Education offered a gala dinner in the Roosevelt Hotel for Waldo Frank, who had just returned from a successful lecture tour in South America, Cuba and Mexico. The guest list, which included names such as Frank Boas, Charles Chaplin, John Dewey, Maxwell Perkins, Alfred Stieglitz and the Hispanists E. Allison Peers and Federico de Onís attests to the importance given to Frank's theories and their influence in Latin America. In *Waldo Frank in America Hispana* (1930), a book that includes the speeches made at that dinner, M.J. Bernardete, Professor of Spanish at Hunter College, denounces the "sepulchral silence" of American newspapers and magazines on Frank's triumphant tour and describes it as "a most curious commentary on the trend of events in the U.S.". For Bernardete,

Spain helped [Frank] to see how it was possible that a nation ... could throw her lot on the realization of a religious self when other clamouring selves... promised economic well-being and conservation to the goods possessed (1930: 9).

But while in the United States very few intellectuals, apart from Frank, would agree that the spiritual crisis of the United States would find a solution in the "values" of the Hispanic world, in Spain, Frank's ideas connected with the Regeneration intellectuals, who agreed insofar as they rejected the immediate past (including the Monarchy,

restored in 1875 after a disastrous attempt to found a first Republic in Spain), but disagreed about the means whereby the country could be renewed. The point is that Frank's discourse was listened to attentively by a number of regenerationists, who sympathised with the American writer's naïve and diffuse search for Spanish "essences" and, above all, with his vindication of the spiritual role that Spain should play in the configuration of the New World. Frank himself would boast in his *Memoirs*, many years later, that Spaniards had recognized his description of Spain as "an *objective* portrait of their land and their people" (Frank 1973: 130).

4. The translation

España virgen is a perfect example of meticulous and careful translation, a work intended to convey both the style and the content of the original work into the translated language. As mentioned above, it was commissioned by one of the most prominent and prestigious publishers of its time, the *Revista de Occidente*, whose main publication was the journal of the same name, founded it in 1923 and edited by José Ortega y Gasset. The translation policy of the *Revista de Occidente* (Gallego Roca 2004: 520) was ambitious: to publish works translated from their source texts and not from French –up to then, a fairly common practice in Spain– grouped into collections under the aegis of highly regarded academics in Spanish universities. This was a noble and enlightened enterprise, the aim of which was to spread knowledge in the best possible manner and end Spain's intellectual isolation in Europe.

Perhaps one of the most interesting translation strategies used by León Felipe, himself a respected and distinguished poet, was the choice of literary or ancient Spanish words to translate plain English terms: *límpido* [cloudless] (p. 31); *esquife* [ship] (p. 33), *cíngulo* [bond] (p. 20), *escanciar* [pour] (p. 48), *enhiesta* [upright] (p. 50), *diatribas* [outbursts] (p. 53), *pueblo berroqueño* [stone town] (p. 97), *gañán* [driver] (p. 111), *macilento* [haggard] (p. 156), *andorga* [belly] (p. 169), *no tenía un ochavo* [penniless] (p. 181), *exangüe* [squalid] (p.

184), *manigua* [forest] (p. 196), among others. This stylistic device, used by León Felipe in his own poetry and also in other translations, increases the already highly lyrical tone of Frank's English prose, which is evident in sentences and phrases like "the song drifted palpitant and humble" (1926: 33), or "the other women... mark a skeletal obbligato" (1926: 87).

On the other hand, León Felipe naturalizes the sometimes complex punctuation system developed by Frank. For example, the paragraph "the dancer is a column, articulate of spirit: a live plasticity: with the moods of eye and waving hand flung like a largess to our sense" (1926: 87), becomes in Spanish *la danzarina es una columna articulada por un alma. Plasticidad viviente que regala los sentidos con la dádiva de la mirada y de la mano ondulante* (Frank 1927: 81). He also makes sure that the Spanish literary quotations and allusions translated by Frank into English are cited from their original sources. For example, in the case of Cervantes and *Don Quixote*, León Felipe explicates that Cervantes' father was a *comadrón* [surgeon] (p. 179), that the *barber's dish* used by the novel's hero was a *bacia de barbero* (p. 183) and that Don Quixote's horse, a *splay-hoof nag*, was really *un rocín con más tachas que el caballo de Gomela*, which are the exact words used by Cervantes to describe it.

All of this leads to an interesting conclusion: León Felipe worked hard to comply with the well-known dictum, "a good translation is one which does not sound like one". In other words, the strategies he deployed reveal a high level of intervention to achieve a natural, fluid "literary" style that sometimes sounds even more poetic in Spanish than in English. It was a style that matched his own poetry (he never wrote any prose) and added to his already considerable prestige as a writer. This would ensure, on the one hand, a warmer reception for a book by an American writer about Spain that, as stated in the introduction in *Revista de Occidente*, "reflects a view that differs from the standard clichés", only twenty-seven years after the defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War (1898). On the other hand, however, this translation policy might also ultimately reflect the suspicion with which translators were regarded and the lack of clarity surrounding their role. In literary circles, translation was considered a

secondary activity and even the renowned poet and academic Dámaso Alonso had to use a pseudonym to conceal his identity when he translated Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (Franco Aixelá 2005: 69). Although this was a radical posture, what seems to be clear is that the style of any book translated by León Felipe could not fail to meet the expectations of *Revista de Occidente* readers or be too far removed from the characteristics of his own creative writing.

5. The history of the book and its translation

5.1 *Virgin Spain*

As mentioned in the *Introduction*, the history of both *Virgin Spain* and León Felipe's translation, *España virgen*, are marked by the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and the subsequent diaspora of distinguished Spanish intellectuals and professional people who went into exile in 1939, following the victory of the rebel army led by General Franco.

Virgin Spain was republished in 1942 by Duell, Sloan and Pearce. The subtitle of the book had been changed: "Scenes from the Spiritual Drama of a Great People" was reduced to "The Drama of a Great People". And there was a new *Introduction* (*Significance and Timelines of Virgin Spain*) written by the Mexican diplomat and intellectual Alfonso Reyes. But it was not the only change: in an "Author's Note", Frank explained that Chapter XIII (*Two Andalusians*) had been retitled *The Stirring*, and listed some other minor alterations and additions. He also made reference to the most important one: the addition of the entirely new chapter XIV (*The Awakening Passion*), which explored the themes of "the Republic, of its murder by the fascists and of the world meaning of Spain's fate" (p. xxv). Frank justified the changes with the following prophetic words:

Virgin Spain, written in 1921-25, so organically points to what has happened in Spain and Europe since its completion that it required only the addition of a chapter whose lack, before the events it describes took place, was an eloquent flaw in the

book's structure. It is as if the author had been prevented from rounding up his Symphonic History because he wrote it ten or fifteen years before the material needed for its completion had come true (pp. xxv-xxvi).

However, as Faber (2003: 284) says, what Frank does, unlike other intellectuals who offered monolithic support to the defeated Loyalists, is to abandon the standard left-liberal representation of the war and withdraw some of his support for the Republic in the new chapter XIV: "Not all the good and the brave Spaniards were in the Republican lines" (p. 309). For Frank, one of the reasons for the Republicans' defeat was that they were interested in the "horizontal" (social and economic) aspects of life and ignored its "perpendicular" (aesthetic and religious) aspects. This standpoint could hardly succeed in a country as "perpendicular" as Spain. In other words, Frank does not completely support the side that lost the war, something that confirms both the limited role that he attributes to politics in the spiritual "mission" that Spain still has to play and the few changes he feels compelled to make in the second edition of the book.

5.2 *España virgen*

León Felipe's 1927 translation was published, as mentioned above, by *Revista de Occidente*, in its "Obras publicadas" collection. Waldo Frank's book is in a list which comprises mainly first translations of literary works by authors such as Victoria Ocampo (*De Francesca a Beatrice*), Bernard Shaw (*Santa Juana*), or Lord Dunsany (*Cuentos de un soñador*), together with scientific and philosophical titles from authors such as E. Husserl (*Investigaciones Lógicas*), J. Hessen (*Teoría del Conocimiento*) and A. Weneger (*La génesis de los continentes y océanos*).

The book's second edition, an exact copy of the first, was published in 1930 by Galo Sáez in Madrid. In 1941, two years after the end of the Spanish Civil War, another similar edition was published in Santiago de Chile by Zig-Zag. These successive editions attest to the success of the book. However, the next editions, published

after the Spanish Civil War in Buenos Aires by Losada in 1947 and 1958, and in Madrid by Aguilar in 1950 and 1963, were different.

The 1947 and 1958 Buenos Aires editions

España virgen was republished for the first time after the Spanish Civil War by Losada in 1947 in Buenos Aires, and reprinted in 1958. The book followed the 1942 Duell, Sloan and Pearce edition and included the prologue in Spanish by Alfonso Reyes. The translation is still attributed to León Felipe. There is, however, one significant alteration: the “Author’s Note” in the 1942 edition is nowhere to be found. Other minor alterations in this edition are:

- 1) The subtitle. The title of the book remains *España virgen. Escenas del drama espiritual de un gran pueblo*.
- 2) The title of Chapter XIII remains *Dos andaluces*.
- 3) The paragraph on Ramón Pérez de Ayala is reduced. The omitted sentences are: *But this [the Modern in Ayala is the ironic salt of intellectual awareness] did not save him, when the hour of decision struck, from siding with the past and with the murderers of Spain’s awakening* (Frank 1942: 278).
- 4) A long paragraph on Pablo Picasso is omitted:

With the assault of the fascist world in Spain, Picasso rounded the cycle of his art with a renewed experience of his native land. His painting, *Guernica*, which commemorates the destruction of the holy city by the bombing planes of Italy and Germany, is an arabesque of tenderness and terror, the deep-song of a Spaniard whose long exile in the Court of rationalist Europe makes his return ecstatic. The tragedy of a nation whose struggle to survive lifted it from a symbol for the world made possible this ultimate phase of a Cosmopolitan’s art: the phase in which a too-generalized technique grows deliberately provincial, hermetically mythic in order to express a plaint too poignant for “civilized” utterance. The genius of Spain has been the transfiguration of the intensely individual into the cosmic. Now, the process is reversed; and the effect is

terror; as if God himself wept with an Andalusian peasant's accent. That only heartbreak such as Spain may bring this consummation, is the tragedy, the mystery, of mankind. (Frank 1942: 291)

- 5) The sentence “He [Juan Ramón Jiménez] was the master and the friend of the young poets of Castilian, not alone in Spain but in the greater Spain across the sea to which he escaped, when the fascists attacked his country” (Frank 1942: 292) is rewritten as *Es el maestro y el amigo de los nuevos poetas castellanos, no solo de España sino de la gran España del otro lado del mar* [He is the master and friend of the new Castilian poets, not just from Spain but from the greater Spain across the sea.]⁴ (Frank 1958: 262). An additional sentence follows: *Conoce los movimientos líricos de París, Alemania y Austria, y ha leído los libros de Whitman, de Emily Dickinson, de Frost, de Robinson, de Sandburg...* [He knows the lyrical movements of Paris, Germany and Austria and has read books by Whitman, Emily Dickinson, Frost, Robinson and Sandburg...]⁵ (Frank 1958: 262).
- 6) Before the paragraphs dedicated to Antonio Machado, Frank adds one short paragraph: *Otra vez España habla al mundo. Este pintor y este lírico son poetas. Su verbo es una creación, inmediato y eterno como la vida, y esta conjunción del tiempo y de la eternidad es la creación* [Again, Spain speaks to the world. This painter [Picasso] and this lyricist [Jiménez] are *poets*. His words are a creation, immediate and eternal like life, and this mixture of time and eternity is creation.]⁶ (Frank 1958: 263).

The precise reasons for these changes are unclear. Losada may have intended to publish an edition which could be sold both in the

⁴ Author's translation.

⁵ Author's translation.

⁶ Author's translation.

Americas and Spain, where it might have been “tolerated” in certain periods and even sold in some bookshops in Madrid and Barcelona; this would explain the omission of the paragraph on Picasso. Or perhaps León Felipe was simply trying to avoid the personal comments made about writers of his generation, like the criticism of Pérez de Ayala and the “intense” political commitment of Juan Ramón Jiménez, as described by Frank. In any case, the next edition of *Virgin Spain*, published in Spain, would be the subject of even greater demands from the censors.

The 1950 and 1963 Madrid editions

Editorial Aguilar was one of the most prestigious publishing houses in Franco’s Spain. Its catalogue comprised classics (including Shakespeare, Molière, Latin and Greek authors) as well as contemporary writers. Aguilar always followed a liberal publishing policy, trying to evade the strict censorship imposed on all books after Franco’s victory in the Spanish Civil War in 1939. This may explain the decision to republish *España virgen* in 1950⁷. But, of course, the additions and changes contained in the 1942 second edition, already published in the United States, would have never been approved by the Spanish censors.

The result –an example of self-imposed censorship, a common practice amongst Aguilar’s editors (Rodríguez Espinosa 1998: 158)– was an exact copy of the 1927 edition. However, it did include the *Introduction* by Alfonso Reyes and a brief preliminary note by Aguilar’s literary advisor, Federico Carlos Sáinz de Robles, who was identified in the book by the initials F.S.R. Sáinz de Robles, following the hyperbolic and deliberately vague language of the time, which had been devised to confuse the government’s censors, considers Frank’s books as *de ideas profundas y originales, de aguda crítica, de un lirismo casi visionario* [deep and original, acutely critical and

⁷ Perhaps another reason was that the relations between the U. S. and Spain were also changing. After a period of international ostracism following the end of the Second World War, in September 1950, President Truman signed a bill that appropriated US\$ 62.5 million for aid to Spain, and full diplomatic relations were resumed in 1951.

lyrical almost to the point of being visionary]⁸ (Sáinz de Robles 1950: 11). In this sense, *ningún, o casi ningún, escritor español (salvemos a Unamuno, a Azorín, a Noel en nuestros días) ha sabido superar en sus obras la visión magnífica, poética y profunda de Waldo David Frank* [no –or hardly any– Spanish writers (with the exception of Unamuno, Azorín or Noel, in our times) have been able to surpass the magnificent, poetic and profound vision of Waldo David Frank]⁹ (Sáinz de Robles 1950: 12). The absolute lack of criticism or disagreement with a book written by a left-wing American writer is, in the case of this brief prologue, highly revealing.

In spite of this, the decision to republish the translation of such a famous book must not have been easy. Although the translator's name was not included in the request sent to the Board of Censors, León Felipe had been exiled in Mexico for many years and was notorious for expressing in public his rejection of Franco's dictatorial regime. Even José Ortega y Gasset had taken the decision to live in exile for a few years in Buenos Aires before he returned to Spain in 1948. The inclusion of Alfonso Reyes' *Introduction* proves that the editors were familiar with the 1941 American Second Edition, but considered that it was impossible to publish it in its entirety. Since the book had to be approved by the censors, the 1927 edition could pass the test because it did not make any references to the Spanish Civil War. File number 30-50 of the *Archivo General de la Administración* in Alcalá de Henares (entry 3-1-1950) contains the reply to Aguilar's request to publish the book. The censor writes:

El autor hace un análisis del alma de España a través del prisma de su propia conciencia. Entiendo que puede autorizarse. Quizá convenga suprimir lo encerrado en un círculo en la página 209 que empieza “y alude...” y termina “el Calvario” por irrespetuosa y quizá inexacta [The author analyses Spain's soul through the filter of his own conscience. I believe it can be

⁸ Author's translation.

⁹ Author's translation.

authorized. Perhaps it would be advisable to delete the section circled on page 209, starting with the words “y alude...” and finishing with “el Calvario”, for being disrespectful and, perhaps, incorrect.]¹⁰

This paragraph corresponds to the following sentence in the English original: “*Verónica* is the name of this classic [bullfighting] gesture. And the allusion is to the handkerchief of the Saint, which smoothed the sweat from the forehead of the Christ” (1926: 235). This seems to be the only section in the entire book that attracted the censor’s attention to the extent that it was recommended for deletion. Surprisingly, the sentence remained in the 1950 Aguilar edition, which proves that either the censor’s proposal was not considered or that the publishers simply ignored the recommendation. On 5 June 1950, Aguilar sent another letter to the Board of Censors applying for the inclusion of Alfonso Reyes’ *Introduction* in their publication of *España virgen*. This might be further proof that the Aguilar editors tried to attest to the fact that the book had been revised in the 1941 American edition, including this *Introduction*. The Board answered on 14 June with the brief statement: “It can be authorized”.

A few years later, in 1963, Aguilar republished *España virgen* in a volume entitled *Obras completas* [Complete Works] of Waldo Frank, together with *Redescubrimiento de América*, *América Hispana* and *Nacimiento de un mundo*. Alfonso Reyes’ *Introduction* remains, but the note by Sáinz de Robles is replaced by a new, longer prologue by Antonio Espina, a renowned writer also linked to the *Revista de Occidente* in the twenties, who had been imprisoned by Franco just after the war and had not been able to endure his self-imposed exile in Mexico, between 1946 and 1953. On his return, Espina, one of the few exiles to come back, was hired by Aguilar as a translator, proof-reader and preface writer and spent the rest of his life in obscurity, writing assignments for publishers, newspapers and journals. Espina’s Preface to the 1963 edition, which again does not even mention León Felipe as

¹⁰ Author’s translation.

the translator of three of the titles in the book, emphasizes the aesthetic merits of *Virgin Spain* over the ideological ones: (*España virgen*) *es importante por sus valores estéticos que casi anulan la línea del pensamiento* [(Virgin Spain] is important because of its aesthetic values, that almost blur its lines of thought”¹¹ (Espina 1963: 17); *La historia aparece en su función emocional* [History appears in its emotional function] (Espina 1963: 19); (*Waldo Frank*) *ha sabido iluminar la teoría con una luz poética gracias a la cual muchas verdades refractarias al solo requerimiento de la razón se muestran patentes* [(Waldo Frank) has been able to illuminate theories with a poetic light that makes it easier to see truths that defy elucidation by reason alone]¹² (Espina 1963: 34). A constant feature of the Franco regime and the only political party that it recognized was the devaluation of ideology as a whole; official propaganda always tried hard to show the dangers posed by political thought in general for the stability and welfare of Spain. But the most interesting –and awkward– paragraph of Espina’s Preface is the one that relates Frank’s book to one of the most recurrent messages of Franco’s own fragile and eclectic ideology, the faith in a visionary and undefined “universal destiny” of Spain:

Lo que queda de ello [el concepto de “virginidad” de España] en el pensamiento del autor es la convicción de que España, lejos de ser un país agotado que vive del pasado sin posibilidades para el futuro, tiene una misión universal que realizar. Garantía de ello es lo intacta que conserva su potencia de amor en tiempos como los actuales, en que las demás naciones acusan el hastío de su impotencia [What remains of it (the concept of the “virginity” of Spain) in the author’s thought is his conviction that Spain, far from being an exhausted country without a future, still has a universal mission to fulfill. One proof is that its potential for love is undiminished in times such

¹¹ Author’s translation.

¹² Author’s translation.

as ours, when other nations are showing signs of impotence]¹³
(Espina 1963: 20).

The 1989 Madrid edition

España virgen was republished again by Aguilar in 1989 in its “Aguilar Maior” collection. It is, at the time of writing, the latest edition of the book. Franco had died in 1975, along with his regime, and censorship had been officially abolished in 1977, but no-one in Aguilar, a publishing house which was in its death throes, and which finally closed down for good a few years later, seemed to realize that there were no obstacles whatsoever to prevent publication of the complete 1942 edition. Frank had also died in 1967, forgotten by critics and readers alike.

The book, which went almost unnoticed, is an exact copy of the 1950 edition. It includes the Alfonso Reyes *Introduction* but leaves out the note by F.S.R. The addition of a brief text on the back cover attests to the book’s origins:

...el autor logra páginas de extraordinaria belleza, con algunos momentos de exactitud similares a los de la fotografía, que convierten a este libro en un documento de primer orden para mejor conocer aquella lejana España de los años veinte [...there are pages in which the author achieves extraordinary beauty, with moments of photographic precision that make this book a prime source for those wishing to become better acquainted with Spain as it was in the 1920s]¹⁴.

Two other elements confirm the political and cultural changes that had occurred in the period up to 1989: the inclusion of the name of León Felipe on the front cover –the fact that the translator was a poet opposed to Franco who died in exile now gave it added value– and of

¹³ Author’s translation.

¹⁴ Author’s translation.

one of Goya's engravings from his "Caprichos" series which was also reproduced on this front cover: another reminder, perhaps, of the remoteness and oddity of Waldo Frank's book on Spain.

6. Conclusion

Of all American writers, Waldo Frank is the one who has been closest to Latin American letters (Stavans 1999: 249), and perhaps this explains why he is still widely recognized and quoted in Latin America. This is not the case in Spain: as in the United States, his descriptions of Spain and the theories he draws from them are not acceptable now. However, there are good reasons for rescuing the book from oblivion and republishing the 1947 Losada translated edition, including all the missing chapters and sentences. One reason is that Waldo Frank's *Virgin Spain* still has an intrinsic historical value and has become a landmark in the history of Anglosaxon Hispanic studies. The literary merits of his translation are also unquestionable, but León Felipe, perhaps because of the very mixed and radical ideological positions he took and the difficulty of placing him within a given literary movement, is also neglected now by Spanish critics.

In this sense, perhaps, Waldo Frank and León Felipe have much in common. The ambiguity of the first edition of *Virgin Spain* made it possible to reprint it, in almost uncensored form, in Franco's Spain in 1950 and 1963. It even made it possible for Antonio Espina to write a prologue to the 1963 edition that overtly connected Frank's theories with the regime's ideological postulates. This is an example of a paratext devised to orientate the expectations of the translation's readership in a given direction; a sample of translation at the service of the established powers. In the case of León Felipe, perhaps his own misgivings about Frank's direct and open language made him change, omit and add sentences and paragraphs. Whatever the case, it has been impossible to ascertain whether Waldo Frank himself was ever aware of this.

References

Primary Sources

- Frank, Waldo. 1926a. *Virgin Spain*. New York: Boni & Liveright.
- Frank, Waldo. 1926b. *Virgin Spain*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Frank, Waldo. 1927. *España virgen*. León Felipe (trans.). Madrid: Revista de Occidente.
- Frank, Waldo. 1930. *España virgen* (2nd edition). León Felipe (trans.). Madrid: Imprenta Galo Sáez.
- Frank, Waldo. 1941. *España virgen*. León Felipe (trans.). Santiago de Chile: Zig-Zag.
- Frank, Waldo. 1942. *Virgin Spain*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce.
- Frank, Waldo. 1947. *España virgen*. León Felipe (trans.). Buenos Aires: Losada.
- Frank, Waldo. 1950. *España virgen*. León Felipe (trans.). Prologue by Federico Carlos Sáinz de Robles. Madrid: Aguilar.
- Frank, Waldo. 1958. *España virgen*. León Felipe (trans.). Buenos Aires: Losada.
- Frank, Waldo. 1963. *España virgen*. León Felipe (trans.). Prologue by Antonio Espina. In *Retratos Culturales*. Waldo Frank. Madrid: Aguilar.
- Frank, Waldo. 1989. *España virgen*. León Felipe (trans.). Madrid: Aguilar.

Secondary Sources

- Bernardete, Mair José. 1930. "On Waldo Frank". In *Waldo Frank in America Hispana*, The Hispanic Institute in the United States (ed.). New York: Lancaster Press. 9-11.
- Espina, Antonio. 1963. 'Prólogo', in Waldo Frank, *Retratos Culturales*. Madrid: Aguilar. 9-35.
- Faber, Sebastian. 2003. "Learning from the Latins: Waldo Frank's Progressive Pan-Americanism". *The New Centennial Review* 3 (1): 257-295.

- Franco Aixelá, Javier. 2005. "On the Essential Identity of Literary and Non-Literary Translation". In *Thistles. A Homage to Brian Hughes. Essays in Memoriam*, José Mateo Martínez and Francisco Yus Ramos (eds.). Universidad de Alicante. 57-70.
- Frank, Waldo. 1973. *Memoirs*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Gallego Roca, Miguel. 2004. "De las vanguardias a la guerra civil". In *Historia de la traducción en España*. Francisco Lafarga and Luis Pegenaute (eds.). Salamanca: Ambos Mundos. 479-526.
- Herrero-Olaizola, Alejandro. 2007. *The Censorship Files*. Alaby: State University of New York Press.
- Hurtley, Jacqueline A. 2007. "Tailoring the Tale. Inquisitorial Discourses, and Resistance, in the Early Franco Period (1940-1950)". In *Modes of Censorship and Translation*. Francesca Billiani (ed.). Manchester: St. Jerome Press. 61-92.
- Merino, Raquel. 1994. *Traducción, tradición y manipulación. Teatro inglés en España 1950-1990*. Universidad de León.
- Payne, S.G. 1973. *A History of Spain and Portugal*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. Vol. II.
- Rabadán, Rosa. 2000. "Con orden y concierto: La censura franquista y las traducciones inglés-español 1939-1985". In *Traducción y censura inglés-español: 1939-1985*. Rosa Rabadán (ed.). Universidad de León. 13-20.
- Rodríguez Espinosa, Marcos. 1998. "Editores y traductores difusores de la historia literaria. El caso de Arturo del Hoyo en la editorial Aguilar". *Trans. Revista de Traductología* 2: 153-164.
- Rostagno, Irene. 1997. *Searching for Recognition: The Promotion of Latin American Literature in the United States*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Sáinz de Robles, Federico Carlos. 1950. "Prólogo". In *España virgen*. Waldo Frank. Madrid: Aguilar. 11-13.
- Santamaría, José Miguel. 2000. "La traducción de obras narrativas en la España franquista: panorama preliminar". In *Traducción y censura inglés-español: 1939-1985*. Rosa Rabadán (ed.). Universidad de León. 207-225.

- Stavans, Ilan. 1999. *Mutual Impressions: Writers from the Americas Reading One Another*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Torre, Guillermo de. 1963. "Prólogo". In *Obras completas de León Felipe*. Adolfo Ballano Bueno (ed.). Buenos Aires: Losada. 9-26.
- Zaro, Juan Jesus. 2005. "Translating from Exile: León Felipe's Shakespeare *Paraphrases*". In *Latin American Shakespeares*. Bernice W. Kliman and Rick J. Santos (eds.). Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 92-111.