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Edited by E. S. Shaffer

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## Comparative criticism

16

Revolutions and censorship

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# Comparative criticism

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## An annual journal

Revolutions and censorship

16

Edited by

**E. S. SHAFFER**

READER IN COMPARATIVE LITERATURE  
SCHOOL OF MODERN LANGUAGES AND EUROPEAN HISTORY  
UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA



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*Poems of Ivan V. Lalić* (Anvil, 1981), Lalić's *The Passionate Measure* (Anvil/Dedalus, 1989), and, with the late Anne Pennington, Vasko Popa's *Complete Poems* (Anvil, in press).

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a wide range of contemporary French writers. She has translated many of Pinget's books and also his plays, several of which have been performed in New York by the Ubu Repertory Theater. She is at present working on a translation for Harvill of *Des hommes illustres* by Jean Rouaud (who won the 1990 Prix Goncourt). In volume 12 of *Comparative Criticism* she translated Stefan Themerson's 'Croquis dans les ténèbres'. Recognition for her work has come in several guises: she was created a *Régente de Zoologie [sic] Shakespearienne* by the Collège de 'Pataphysique' ('Pataphysics' being the 'Science of Imaginary Solutions'), and was made *Officier de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres* by the (real) French government.

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We are grateful to the Ypsilon archives for permission to reproduce photographs published in *Petadvacet, Studio Ypsilon 1963–1988*, and also to Luboš Pistorius for providing photographs to accompany Julek Neumann's article.

Drago Štambuk and Ivan V. Lalić have kindly granted permission to publish Francis R. Jones's translations of their poems.

We thank Professor Jeremy Adler for making the poems of Franz Baermann Steiner available from the Nachlaß which is in his possession. Thanks are also due to A. Goldberg and Sons (Glasgow) for permission to print Michael Hamburger's translation of Steiner's poem 'Prayer in the Garden'.

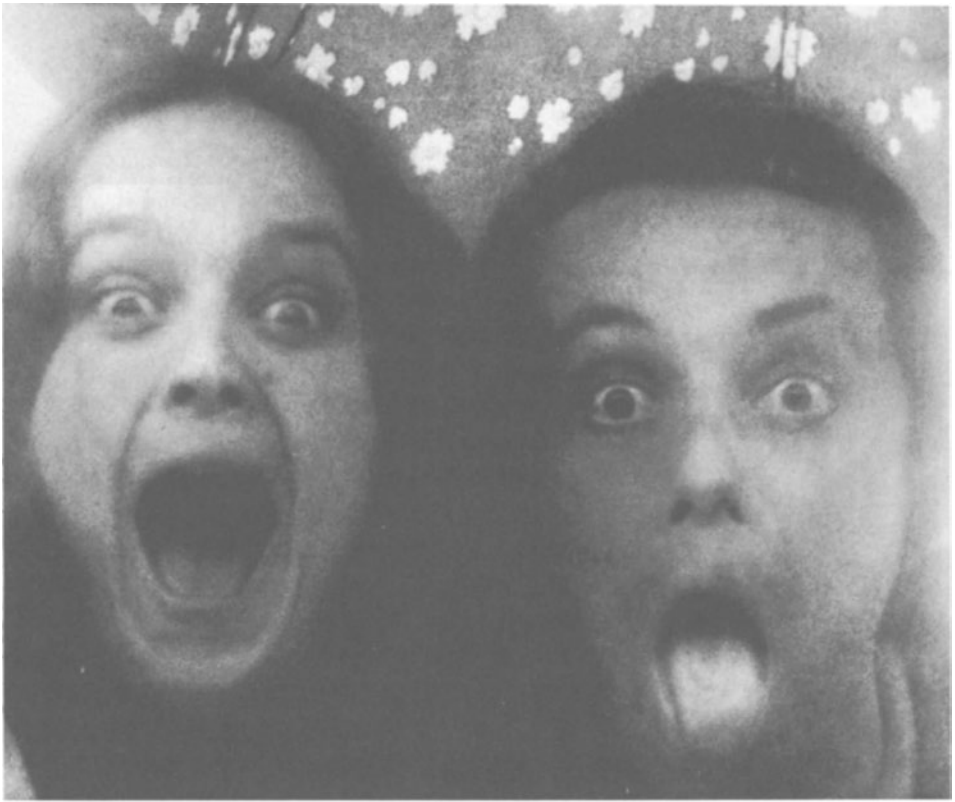
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'Spokespersons' from *Open-air Summer Cinema Life*, Ostrava, directed by Jan Kačer  
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## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

*Wheels of fortune: history reborn*

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and subsequent events in Eastern Europe have produced the powerful sense of the end of an era and the completion of a full turn of fortune's wheel. Strange as the new state of affairs may seem to those nurtured on the Cold War, this is no new feeling; it is a repeated effect of the wheel of history, the 'Rad der Geschichte'. Francis Bacon referred to such historical changes as the 'turning wheels of vicissitudes' that made the head spin (Bacon, 'On the Vicissitude of Things' in *The Essays or Counsels Civill & Morall of Francis Bacon* (London, 1906)). 'The Fall of Princes' as a model for tragedy has often been condescended to as over-simple by literary critics; but the peripety of ancient tragedy also reflected the change of fortune. Whether for good or ill, the fall, though stark, is anything but simple.

Our own time is scarcely unique in this sense of overturn and smashed or unexpectedly altered expectation. In this volume, Gary Handwerk displays the effect of such historical trauma on writing in another time, the time of the French Revolution, which produced perhaps the greatest and most far-reaching of such traumas in modern history. He takes as his subject William Godwin, an avant-garde thinker, the author of *Political Justice*, who had to cope with the disappointment of his utopian hopes and was nearly paralysed by it. This is a case at least as interesting as the much discussed Wordsworth and the other 'turncoats' made mock of by Byron and dissected by Hazlitt. Is it better to turn with the tide of history, and thus always appear to be in the right, or to cling to one's principles and be flung aside or washed up on the shores of history? Men of principle can overnight become has-beens and old fogeys, if not fodder for the guillotine. This dilemma came to be increasingly significant as eternal verities were historized and relativized and the only 'living ideas' might be those of historical process itself. To have been a new man, a prophet and an inventor of new ways, and to be relegated to the ranks of yesterday's

men within one's own lifetime as Godwin was, is perhaps the most intolerable situation of all. When whole political states are carried along with these processes these traumas may afflict large numbers of people.

History is a perpetual reanimation of past errors. Everyone is familiar with the aphorism, 'If you don't know the past, you are condemned to repeat it'. But if you do know the past, it is a rich source of fresh error. We can hardly feel Matthew Arnold's confidence that knowing the best that has been thought and said in the past will enable us to locate the 'living ideas' of our own time and make the right choices in the present. Usually 'the past' is experienced as situated at least a generation earlier (the generation, as Sartre pointed out, of one's parents or even grandparents), and rebellion against it normally occurs in youth, so that the best of the past may act to obscure what may be emerging as the best of the present, or may be perceived as so doing. It is only when 'yesterday' – our own, adult yesterday – is defined as 'the past' that it has a maximally shocking effect. As Thomas Mann put it in that meditation on time, *The Magic Mountain*, 'Is not the pastness of the past the profounder, the completer, the more legendary, the more immediately before the present it falls?'

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the destruction of the Wall brought at first a moment of unmitigated joy. A good deal in this present volume belongs to the first wave of delight at the liberation from Stalinism, in which long-suppressed and censored material has been released and continues to come to light daily. First, the documents of Stalinism itself are released: here, Lunacharsky's Letter to Stalin in protest against the censorship of Bulgakov (whose uncensored version of the play *The Days of the Turbins*, based on his fine novel *The White Guard* – in its censored form known as 'Stalin's favourite play' – we published in volume 14, together with Lesley Milne's dramatic account of the first performance of the uncensored version in Kiev in 1990). Anatoly Smeliansky, who has championed Bulgakov's writings through thick and thin in Russia, here introduces the Letter, in Arch Tait's translation.

In this 'documentary' category might also be placed (with some irony) the fine short story, 'Remnants', by David Bergelson, who was shot in the Lubianka prison on his sixty-eighth birthday, together with other Yiddish writers, in a deliberate act of linguistic genocide. There are further ironies here; for Bergelson, in the belief that Russia was the natural home of Yiddish writing, had remained loyal to what he took to be his country and its regime. His reputation, however, had been

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

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established before Stalin took office, and has outlived his regime. We look forward to the further circulation of his work in translation, on which Golda Werman is currently employed.

As with Bulgakov, a number of good writers had to struggle against a censorship that fell on parts of their *œuvre* and not on others, often in an unpredictable way. Yevgeni Shvarts was on the whole successful in fooling at least some of the censors some of the time. But his satiric and graceful 'fairy-tale' play, *The Shadow*, put on in 1940, fell under a ban when in 1943 his play *The Dragon* was perceived by the censors when already in rehearsal as applicable to Stalin as much as to Hitler (the ostensible target) and was forbidden production in the Soviet Union. After Stalin's death his three plays in this style were staged to great acclaim in 1960–1. The play is here translated in full by Alan Myers, who in volume 7 translated Joseph Brodsky's play, *Marbles*, about a pair of eternal prisoners; Brodsky, of course, was writing in exile and set his play in ancient Rome. Shvarts based his play on the familiar tale of the man who sold his shadow (in Shvarts's version his shadow tries to 'sell' him) and used Hans Christian Andersen as the type of unworldly poet, but the opposition to despotic government and the cowardice of its lackeys shines steadily through the very geniality and delicacy of the form. Shvarts, like Bulgakov, has been receiving new productions and adaptations in the West. One can only hope for an early production of a play that is a satire on time-serving not only in Stalin's or Hitler's dictatorship, but in any society, and a model of the 'aesopian' form of writing under persecution (to use the title of Leo Strauss's classic book about the strategies of evasion, *The Art of Writing under Persecution*).

Other writers survived as more extreme cases of 'internal emigration', a situation and state of mind condemned by Trotsky in his influential *Literature and Revolution* of 1923. In earlier volumes we have brought material on Mikhail Bakhtin, a figure of this kind who has roused much interest in the West, partly through the extraordinary tale of his concealed publication under a series of other men's names, partly through the intrinsic interest of his ideas. In volume 2 we published his influential essay on 'The Word in the Novel', with an illuminating introduction by Ann Shukman on the nature and recovery of his work; and in volume 15 Malcolm V. Jones reviewed Morson and Emerson's book *Mikhail Bakhtin. Creation of a Prosaics* (1990) against the whole panorama of the current situation in Bakhtin studies.

Soviet censorship had to be exercised not only on contemporary writers but on the Russian classics, in order to gain the crucial control

over the interpretation of the past. The memory of the past is perhaps the most vital possession one has to battle for against institutional control, as Milan Kundera demonstrated in the brilliant *Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. The 'sanitizing' mode of the censorship of the past, in the exemplary case of Chekhov, is traced with sardonic zest by Donald Rayfield. Here it is the puritanism of censors which is revealed: their acts of censorship are not confined to political sloganry, they touch the quick of human experience. The censorship extends from the public stage to the private letter. Although in Britain the institution of the censor, the Lord Chamberlain's Office, was dismantled in the 1960s after a prolonged campaign, bowdlerization or the cauterization of intimacy remains a familiar procedure to us, even as Dr Bowdler (who in 1818 published an edition of Shakespeare omitting 'those words and expressions which cannot with propriety be read aloud in a family') has been succeeded by Mrs Whitehouse. The techniques of suppression by prudery are matched only by those of censure through scandal.

Julek Neumann gives a subtle account at first hand of the operations of censorship in the Czech theatre in the period of Russian domination. The phenomenon of 'indirect censorship' is of particular importance, for when the rules and powers of the censors are only partially known, the element of self-censorship, under the sway of possibly imaginary fears, and the sense of shadow-boxing with an invisible enemy become more vital than the verifiable acts of censorship. The penumbra of fear which is cast far and wide around the whole operation of the institutions is far more terrible, and has more incalculable effects on the very acts of conception of art, as well as on the forms of its execution and the conditions of its public presentation, than the office of censorship could ever lay claim to or exert openly. Personalities are attacked at their very root by these fears. Many who operated the censorship were themselves not in sympathy with the foreign masters, or may not have been, and in these circumstances the expression of opposition through wit and oblique allusions known to be accessible to a receptive audience attains increased scope. Neumann's story of the parallel drawn in an officially approved production of Brecht's *Mother Courage* (after the Soviet tanks had put an end to the 'Prague Spring') between the seventeenth-century invading king Gustav Adolf and the current stooge leader Gustav Husak is a bracing example, one of many. The very factors that curtail free creativity may increase the resourcefulness of artist and audience, and raise the value of even a restricted act of expression. Neumann himself concludes bravely that often resistance to the shadow fears was,

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and is, the route to survival. But in no case could anyone be sure that resistance would prevail, either ultimately or in the immediate case. These reflections do not apply only to countries in thrall to others by military, economic or political means. The modes of indirect control operate in any society; but audiences in self-governing societies may be less conscious of them and artists less confident in relying on their collusive understanding. Adam Czerniawski in his account of the Polish community of writers in exile in England during the Cold War shows how their loss of this richness of context amounted to another form of censorship through historical vicissitude.

All these acts of rediscovery and reclamation of the true historical record and of the lost, suppressed or deformed works of art of the past seventy years rightly occasion rejoicing. In celebrating the reclamation of censored material after the latest revolution of the wheel, however, we need to remember that every turn also buries as much as it releases. Nor is value necessarily in any one-to-one relationship with the political creed we may prefer, although it may often be presented as if it were. Evgenii Zamyatin, the Russian author of the extraordinarily prescient novel *We* (written as early as 1920 and published only abroad in translation), foresaw the construction of the Stalinist totalitarianism that in the lifetime of Lenin had hardly yet got underway, and foresaw its demise. English, French, and Czech translations became available in the 1920s, but the first edition in Russian was published only in New York, in 1952; and the first edition published in Russia came only with *glasnost* in 1988. A new English version has now appeared, translated and introduced by Clarence Brown (Penguin Books, 1993), and a new edition in the Russian language has been published in this country by the Bristol Classical Press (1994), with an excellent introduction, notes, and further bibliography (in English) by Andrew Barratt. Zamyatin's novel served as the model for both Huxley's *Brave New World* and Orwell's *1984*. Yet the superior power and imaginative force of Zamyatin come from his ability to convey from the inside the utopian appeal of a rational state even while satirizing it unmercifully, and to perceive the drawbacks of the alternatives even while foreseeing (with equal satiric force) that the human race could not long tolerate rationality. Zamyatin, an engineer and naval architect by trade, imagined many of the inventions and implements of the totalitarian State, including the massive 'integral', or space rocket which was to carry the State to imperial conquests of other worlds, and the vast Wall separating the inorganic geometric city from the primitive green forest, as well as

more infernal machines of the kind we have come to identify as 'Kafkaesque', such as the Gas Bell Jar. The fall of the Wall takes place at the end of the novel (though even then there is the hint of a possible 'electronic Wall' that might replace it). Zamyatin, moreover, foresaw not just the construction of the totalitarian State and the mode of its downfall, but a succession of such revolutions and counter-revolutions, the 'vicissitudes' themselves, which he held to be necessary to the continuing dynamism of human society. It is only the foolish and short-sighted observer (perhaps, in other terms, the covert triumphalist and the astute political opportunist) who like Francis Fukuyama declares that the most recent turn of the wheel represents at last 'The End of History' (or, even, the end of the conception of history), as he claimed in his book of that title (1992). Thus the literary imagination at the very beginning of the Soviet experiment was able to see through and beyond it; the mind of the artist has this (rare) possibility, bound though we all are to the particular place on the historical wheel on which we happen to find ourselves. Miroslav Holub, the distinguished Czech poet, like Zamyatin a scientist by training, and a man who survived without subjugation – though one can never survive without loss – restates this possibility for our volume in his short but ringing statement, 'The Poet and Human Solidarity'.

The results of the British Comparative Literature Association Translation Competition (1992) enrich the themes of the volume. The First Prize went to Martha Ann Selby's versions of the classic Old Tamil poems; the Second Prize to Francis Jones's rich selection of poems in Serbo-Croatian, representing two very different poets, the Serb Ivan Lalić, elegant, sensuous, classical, and the Croat Drago Štambuk, with his powerful sense of Croatian mythic individuality. Against the background of the present political conflicts in the former Yugoslavia each speaks with a particularly poignant voice.

We are also pleased to print here the Commended translation from the previous year, Golda Werman's rendering of the fine story by David Bergelson, held over on account of its special appropriateness to the theme of this volume. A further entry received Commendation this year, a new version of a chapter from the Chinese classic, *The Water Margin*, translated by John and Alex Dent-Young, which will shortly be published elsewhere as a whole.

Peter France here brings us a new contribution to our series on the process of translating particular poets or poems, inaugurated by Alistair



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Elliot on Verlaine in volume 13, and carried on by Harry Guest on Alain Bosquet's 'Ton sang: Une Epopée' in volume 14. Gennady Aygi, for long a passionately 'dissident' voice in Russian poetry, and as a Chuvash representing one of the minority states of the former Soviet Union, finds an appropriate place in this volume.

The long eclipse of the work of Franz Baermann Steiner represents another form of censorship created by the vicissitudes of history. As a German national (a Jewish student in Oxford in the late 1930s) who spent the war years in England writing poetry in German, his poetry was ignored both by his countrymen and his host country. Only recently has he begun to be known, with an edition due out in Germany, and a number of recent translations into English. Michael Hamburger's translation of his best-known poem, 'Prayer in the Garden', which we reprint here, and Hamburger's eloquent espousal of his cause, have done much to establish the reputation he deserves; and Jeremy Adler's work in the archive of Steiner's writings, bequeathed to him by H. G. Adler, a close friend of Steiner's, has been indispensable in the preparation of a German edition, as well as initiating the translation of another key work, the lyric cycle, *Eroberungen (Conquests)*, some poems from which we include here. Adler's close knowledge of Steiner's oeuvre and milieu has enabled him to assess the unique combination of influences Steiner experienced and strove to absorb, especially the German Romantic poet Hölderlin, and the contemporary work of T. S. Eliot, especially *Four Quartets*, which Steiner followed as it appeared. We are particularly pleased to be able to enlarge the circle of poets who, like Paul Celan, responded to the fate of their people in a unique fashion, and to forward the recognition of a body of work both Germany and England may now be proud to claim.

Our other translations and translators are no less distinguished. Robert Pinget's *Théo ou le temps neuf* was selected by Gabriel Josipovici as the best book of 1992; Barbara Wright, one of the most accomplished translators from the French in the country, and the translator of most of Pinget's works, here renders approximately the first quarter of *Théo*, to be published in full by Red Dust in New York, Pinget's main English-language publisher. That he currently has no British publisher is nothing short of shameful. This is censorship of another sort, less driven by historical forces, perhaps, but no less crippling. Pinget is by any standards an innovative and subtle writer, destined never to have a mass audience, and not easy to export; should he therefore not be published? If his novel *L'Inquisiteur (The Interrogatory)*, certainly one

of the most impressive of the genre known as the *nouveau roman*, and his other experimental fictions and plays, do not appeal to the British media pundits or the rearguard defenders of vulgar realism, should he therefore be banished from the realm? Finally, if commercial interests reign, few authors of real distinction can be heard. The increasing concentration of publishing in the hands of large international companies concerned only with profit has brought about a sharp increase in this very real form of censorship. While rejoicing in the salvage of materials from behind the Iron Curtain we may not be complacent about the shipwreck of authors worldwide at the hands of economic interests.

Jeremy Adler, who after many years of contributing to *Comparative Criticism* has now joined its Editorial Board, has acted as Collaborating Editor on this volume, and many thanks are owing to him for his own signal contributions on Franz Baermann Steiner, and his suggestions of contributors through his contacts with the former Czechoslovakia in particular. His acuity of insight has this time as often in the past been a source of strength. He will be moving to a Chair of German at King's College, London in 1994–5, and we wish him well.

In welcoming a new member of the Editorial Board we must record our sorrow at the loss of Peter Stern, professor of German at University College, London, who contributed so much to German letters, to the pursuit of German and Czech literary studies in Britain, and to this Association and journal over many years. Ritchie Robertson's substantial review of his posthumous book of essays, *The Heart of Europe*, acts as a testimonial and a memorial to his life's work.

I should also like to thank my former colleague Dr Arch Tait, editor of *Glas*, a new magazine of Russian writing (see *Periodicals received* for details of the special issues so far published), for a good deal of valuable help and advice, including his translation from Anatoly Smeliansky.

Further thanks are owing to Professor Bo Göranson and to Lars Kleberg, Swedish Cultural Attaché in Moscow, and to colleagues in the European Development Institute of the University of East Anglia, especially Dr John Biggart, through whose good offices I was able to go to both St Petersburg and Moscow and make contact with a number of figures in the academic, literary and art worlds, ranging from the curators of the Tret'yakov Gallery in Moscow to Irina Prokhorova, the young editor of *The Literary Review*, widely reckoned the best of the new literary magazines to have arisen in the new Russia. We hope to maintain these links in the future.



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Adam Czerniawski, now retiring as Deputy Director of the British Centre for Translation Studies at the University of East Anglia, has also enabled many writers and translators from 'Eastern Europe' to spend time in this country. We trust that this volume of *Comparative Criticism* will be a contribution to continuing the dialogue and free movement that have been established across the demarcation line of the former 'Iron Curtain'.

The Bibliography of Franz Baermann Steiner, compiled by Jeremy Adler, who holds the archive of his writings, is the first full listing of his work, both as a poet and as an anthropologist, so much of which remained unpublished or largely unknown during his lifetime. It parallels our special individual bibliographies of the work of Michael Hamburger in English and German, compiled by Ralf Jeutter with an introduction by David Constantine (in volume 10), and of the Polish-born writer Stefan Themerson, which included his writings in Polish, French and English, as well as the publications of his Gaberbochus Press (compiled by Nicholas Wadley, in volume 12). Such bibliographies of work that is lost or in danger of being lost is one of the main lines of defence against censorship of whatever kind.

The 1990 Bibliography of Comparative Literature in Britain and Ireland appears in this, the 1994 volume, rather than in 1993, in order to leave a three-year gap between the publication of entries and the publication of *Comparative Criticism's* bibliography. As source bibliographies like the *BNB* are often delayed, this interval will enable us to give fuller and more accurate coverage. The Bibliography Editor, Nicholas Crowe (St John's College, Oxford), urges members of the BCLA and any others working in comparative literary fields in Britain and Ireland to send him full details of their publications by 1 September each year, including books, articles, and substantial review essays, in order to ensure full reporting of their work.

The results of the 1993 Translation Competition will be published in volume 17. The next Translation Competition will again be an open competition, not confined to EC languages. Special Prizes will also be available. The prizes in each case will be £350 for First Prize, £150 for Second Prize, and will carry with them as before publication in *Comparative Criticism*. Commended entries may be published. Prize-winners and other entrants may qualify for bursaries at the British Centre for Literary Translation at the University of East Anglia to support short residencies for specific translation projects.

Inquiries and requests for entry forms for the next BCLA Translation

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Competition (*deadline* 15 January 1995; please note change of deadline) should be directed to Dr Nicholas Crowe, St John's College, Oxford University, Oxford OX1 3JP. The judges of the Competition, drawing on specialist readers' expertise, are: Daniel Weissbort, poet, translator and editor of *Poetry in Translation*; Arthur Terry, translator from the Catalan, and formerly director of the M.A. in Literary Translation at the University of Essex; Susan Bassnett, professor and director, Graduate School of Comparative Literature and British Cultural Studies, University of Warwick; Anthony Rudolf, translator and editor of the Menard Press; and Elinor Shaffer, *ex officio* as editor of *Comparative Criticism*. We thank Edwin Morgan, the well-known Scottish poet, for his insightful and witty service as a judge of this Competition during the last three years.

The BCLA held a conference at the University of Essex in July 1993 entitled "'Word in Time": on Poetry, Narrative, Translation', in honour of Arthur Terry, retiring president of the Association and professor in the Department of Literature, specialist in Hispanic literature. We are happy to announce that the proceedings are to be published in book form by Boydell & Brewer.

Submissions of articles, translations, and original writing in English for volumes 17, 18 and 19 are welcome. The theme of volume 17 will be 'Walter Pater and the Culture of the *Fin-de-siècle*'; we are glad to welcome back as collaborating editor Stephen Bann, professor of Cultural History at the University of Kent, who collaborated on previous volumes, 3 and 11. This volume marks a new departure, as we have not hitherto included the name of any individual in our title; but it seems highly appropriate, as we approach the millennium, to engage with the figure who perhaps more than any other embodies the notion of the English *fin-de-siècle* of the last century.

Volume 18 will be on the topic of 'Spaces: Cities, Gardens, Wildernesses', and will contain plenary papers from the Seventh Triennial Congress of the British Comparative Literature Association, to be held in July 1995 at Edinburgh. The organizer, to whom offers of papers should be sent, is Dr Howard Gaskill, Department of German, University of Edinburgh, David Hume Tower, Edinburgh EH8 9JX.

Volume 19 will be on 'Literary Devolution: Writing Now in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and England'. For this volume we would welcome original writing in any language or dialect now in use in Great Britain, including translations from past or present writing. We hope to have an extensive selection of current writing, as well as essays dealing

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with the historical and contemporary significance of 'devolution' or regionalism in the arts.

Guidelines for Contributors are available on request, containing information on house style, illustrations, permissions, and copyright. The annual deadline for submission of manuscripts (two copies) is 1 March of the year preceding publication. All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor, *Comparative Criticism*, Cambridge University Press, The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 2RU.

E. S. Shaffer