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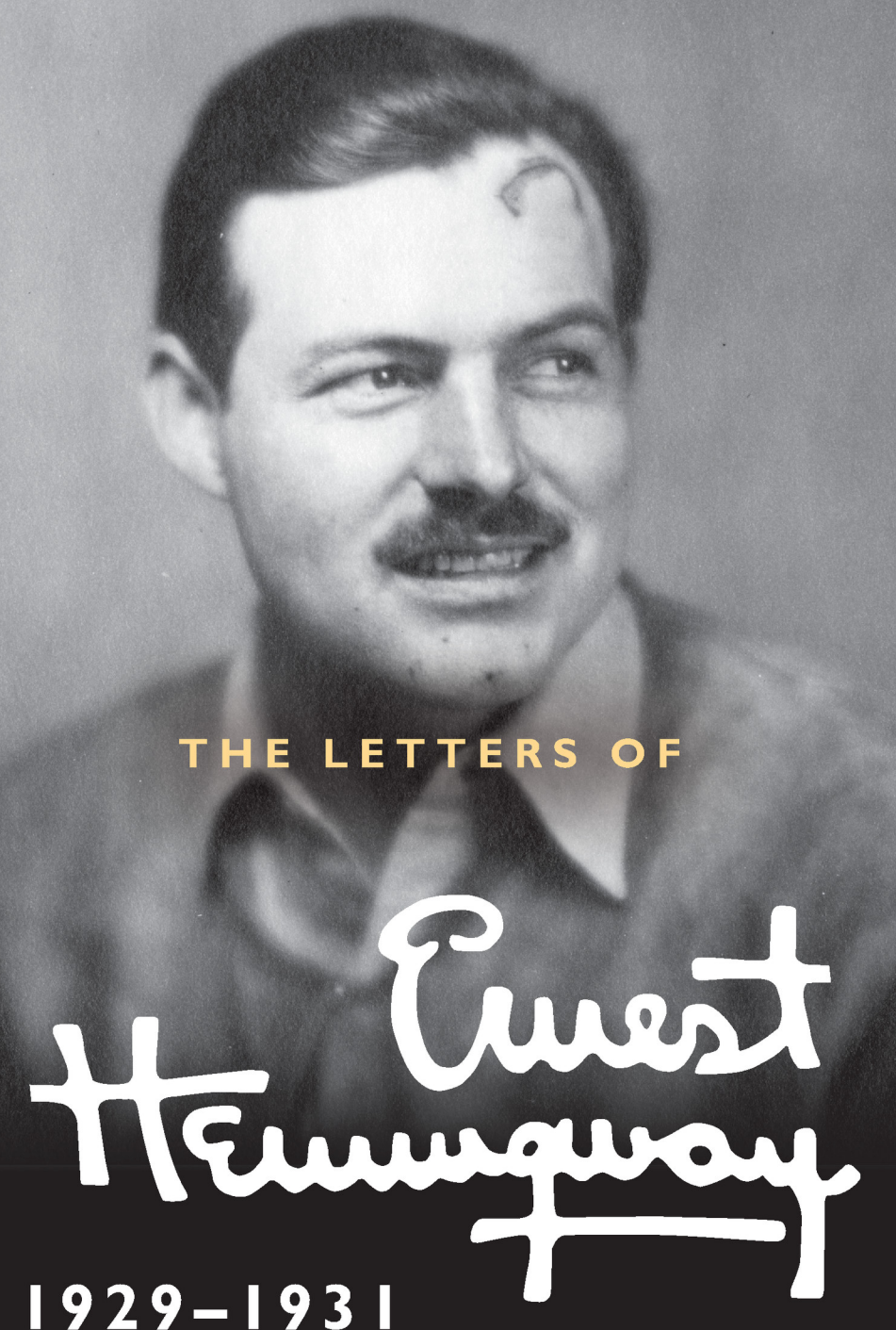
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THE LETTERS OF

Ernest  
Hemingway

1929-1931

EDITED BY  
SANDRA SPANIER AND MIRIAM B. MANDEL



THE LETTERS OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY,  
VOLUME 1: 1907–1922

“The delight of these letters and the sheer quantity of useful editorial material . . . should entice even the most ardent Papa-reviler to delve into the spontaneous words of a creative genius.”

*Publishers Weekly*, starred review

“The existence of some of these documents (predating Hemingway’s fame) is close to a miracle, and the Letters is without question a spectacular scholarly achievement.”

Arthur Phillips, *New York Times*

“A work of monumental authority, shrewd and sympathetic, which will be indispensable for anyone delving into Hemingway’s childhood affections, adolescent bravura, and the hope, enthusiasm and disgust of his early manhood.”

*Spectator*

“His letters burst off the page with all his swaggering vigour, brio, brilliance, wit and rage, uncensored and unrestrained.”

Sarah Churchwell, *Guardian*

“[Hemingway’s] letters were never intended for publication, and they are surprising . . . Behind the hard-living, hard-loving, tough-guy literary persona we find a loyal son pouring his heart out to his family, an infatuated lover, an adoring husband, and a highly committed friend.”

Robert McCrum, *Guardian*

“Hemingway admirers, scholars, and students will find the book essential. The letters fill in abundant biographical and intellectual details, and readers will revel in the young man’s exuberant wordplay, private language, and slang.”

*Booklist*

“Magnificently edited . . . [this volume] is a work of true literary scholarship . . . what makes this first volume more than a mere collection of juvenilia is that here is all the evidence of the writer – and the man – that he was to become.”

*Literary Review*

“The collected Hemingway letters will be enthusiastically welcomed by the scholarly world as well as the legion of Hemingway enthusiasts around the world. He is not only one of the most important twentieth-century writers in the world, but a fascinating and frank letter writer. This collection will be an invaluable addition to the world of letters.”

Noel Riley Fitch

“By any measure it’s a Very Big Deal.”

Roger Cox, *Scotsman*

“And so begins the ambitious – and highly anticipated – publication of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, a vast collection that proves to be both a revealing autobiography and the passkey to his literary works.”

A. Scott Berg

“To know what Ernest Hemingway was really like, don’t read biographies of him. Read his letters.”

*Chronicle of Higher Education*

THE LETTERS OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY,  
VOLUME 2: 1923–1925

“This essential volume, beautifully presented and annotated with tremendous care and extraordinary attention to detail, offers readers a Hemingway who is both familiar and new.”

*Times Literary Supplement*

“With more than 6,000 letters accounted for so far, the project to publish Ernest Hemingway’s correspondence may yet reveal the fullest picture of the twentieth-century icon that we’ve ever had. The second volume includes merely 242 letters, a majority published for the first time . . . readers can watch Hemingway invent the foundation of his legacy in bullrings, bars, and his writing solitude.”

*Booklist*

“It would be hard to find a more crucial three year period in a writer’s life.”

*Independent on Sunday*

“This second volume of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway* documents the years in which he became himself . . . His style is at once close to and yet unutterably distant from that of his fiction.”

Michael Gorra, *New York Times*, Editor’s Choice

“The volume itself is beautifully designed and skillfully edited . . . As a book, it is perfect.”

*Los Angeles Review of Books*

“Never is Hemingway more fascinating or in flux than in these letters from his Paris years, that dark and dazzling confluence of literary ascendancy and personal maelstrom. Bravo to Sandra Spanier for giving us this dazzling gem of literary scholarship, and the young Hemingway in his own words—unvarnished, wickedly funny, mercilessly human.”

Paula McLain, author of *The Paris Wife*

“the newly published letters are bracingly energetic and readable, and they add depth and detail to the already vast biographical record of Hemingway’s early years.”

Edward Mendelsohn, *New York Review of Books*

“The volume’s 242 letters, about two-thirds previously unpublished, provide as complete an account of Hemingway’s life during the Paris years as one could ask for.”

John Reimringer, *Star Tribune*

“The editors of this project have much to celebrate. Volume 2 is an exceptional collection, magnificently collated and, in Papa’s words, ‘exciting as hell’.”

James McNamara, *The Australian*

THE LETTERS OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY,  
VOLUME 3: 1926–1929

“The publication of Ernest Hemingway’s complete correspondence is shaping up to be an astonishing scholarly achievement.... Meticulously edited, with shrewd introductory summaries and footnotes tracking down every reference, the series brings into sharp focus this contradictory, alternately smart and stupid, blustering, fragile man who was also a giant of modern literature.”

– Phillip Lopate, *Times Literary Supplement*

“Reading Hemingway’s letters is to go back in time by stepping into the fascinating world of a revolutionary wordsmith; a voyage through decades to the very moments when literature was taking a sudden bend in the road; a shift that was being steered by the father of modern literature. Indeed, the value of these letters cannot be overstated.”

– Nick Mafi, *Esquire*

“This monumental publishing project... has reached the pivotal chronological moment in the late 1920s when Hemingway emerges as an astounding new voice in American literature.... Scholars will be deeply absorbed; general readers will find enjoyment and enlightenment.”

– Steve Paul, *Booklist*

“*Volume Three*’s letters are an invaluable record of Hemingway as a professional author...another stellar contribution to a series of grand scope and vision, executed with rigorous professionalism, and resulting in a deeply satisfying volume for the reader and an unsurpassable resource for the scholar.”

– James McNamara, *Australian Book Review*

“The newly published third volume of his complete letters gives a more nuanced picture of his life before nostalgia set everything in aspic. Away from the chisel work of his early fiction ... the letters show Hemingway at play in figurative language, humour, meandering sentences and desultory subjects.”

– Naomi Wood, *Literary Review*

“meticulously edited”

–Nicolaus Mills, *Daily Beast*

“The letters are profane, witty, gossipy, literary, emotional, and insightful... Hemingway’s boozing, boasting, and bullying have been well-documented elsewhere, but his body of work, and his letters here, illustrate what a truly great writer he was.”

– Paul Davis, *Philadelphia Inquirer*

“The correspondence reveals Hemingway as a ravenous reader and gossip, gobbling up books, short stories and newspapers—as well as the latest rumors... His letters are speckled with slang, unorthodox spelling and punctuation, and creative stabs at French, Spanish and German.”

– Brenda Cronin, *Wall Street Journal*

“These correspondences, which are being published in up to 17 volumes, already show that Hemingway was a disciplined and painstaking artist who relied on mentors as he struggled to perfect his craft. He was also chatty and gossipy with friends, a man whose epistolary persona differs in many respects from the laconic speaking styles of his fictional protagonists.”

– Tony Evans, *Idaho Mountain Express*

“What’s most enjoyable is how lacking in self-consciousness Papa could be; he didn’t yet realise people would be keeping his bits of paper. Or he simply didn’t care, so one sees the brilliance and offensiveness all at once.”

– *The Tablet*

“Like the first two installments, *Volume 3*... is expertly collected and annotated. The quality of the ancillary details on each page is... unmatched by other letters-compilations of famous writers—a testament to the passion, skill, and dedication of the editorial team. The collection is a great achievement and a superb resource for scholars of Hemingway’s work and American literatures more generally.”

– Jeffrey Herlihy-Mera, *Hemingway Review*

“... the range of correspondents and subject matter is extraordinary... This volume is painstakingly yet unobtrusively annotated. Endnotes after each letter explain obscurities with a sensitive anticipation of the reader’s questions.... The editors are scrupulous in their attention to detail...”

– Byron Landry, *Hopkins Review*

“It’s difficult to overestimate the effect of this project... It’s clear that the publication of these letters is already stimulating scholars to revise prior judgments and incorporate insights from them into new projects.”

– Peter Coveney, *Firsts: The Book Collector’s Magazine*

THE LETTERS OF  
ERNEST HEMINGWAY

VOLUME 4  
1929–1931

*The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, Volume 4, spanning April 1929 through 1931, featuring many previously unpublished letters, records the establishment of Ernest Hemingway as an author of international renown following the publication of *A Farewell to Arms*. Breaking new artistic ground in 1930, Hemingway embarks upon his first and greatest non-fiction work, his treatise on bullfighting, *Death in the Afternoon*. Hemingway, now a professional writer, demonstrates a growing awareness of the literary marketplace, successfully negotiating with publishers and agents and responding to fan mail. In private we see Hemingway's generosity as he provides for his family, offers support to friends and colleagues, orchestrates fishing and hunting expeditions, and sees the birth of his third son. Despite suffering injuries to his writing arm in a car accident in November 1930, Hemingway writes and dictates an avalanche of letters that record in colorful and eloquent prose the eventful life and achievements of an enormous personality.



THE  
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THE LETTERS OF  
ERNEST HEMINGWAY

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THE LETTERS OF  
ERNEST HEMINGWAY

VOLUME 4  
1929–1931

EDITED BY  
Sandra Spanier  
Miriam B. Mandel

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CAMBRIDGE  
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# CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

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Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521897365](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521897365)

DOI: [10.1017/9781139051361](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139051361)

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First published 2018

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

ISBN 978-0-521-89736-5 Hardback

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*These illustrations appear courtesy of the following:*

*Hemingway Collection, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 5–6, 10, 17, 24, 27–29, and with courtesy of Karin Peirce, 2; Bruce Family Archives, courtesy of Benjamin C. Bruce, 15, 18–20, 25–26, 31; Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, 1, 14; Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of South Carolina, 11, 13; Louis Henry and Marguerite Cohn Collection, University of Delaware Library, 22–23; Fitzgerald Smith Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Vassar College Libraries, 4; Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, courtesy of Lucy Dos Passos Coggins and the Estate of John Dos Passos, 8; Beinecke Special Collections, Yale University Library and the Estate of Honoria Murphy Donnelly/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY, 12; Hemingway-Pfeiffer Museum and Educational Center, 16; Wyoming State Archives, 21; Paul Quintanilla Collection, 30.*

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## GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

*Sandra Spanier*

PARIS, Nov. 18—Perhaps one in a thousand comes out of the sordid crucible of the Latin Quarter to contemporary literary fame. This percentage of achievement makes the bestseller “arrival” of Ernest Hemingway of Oak Park, Ill., a fitting subject of attention.

Hemingway really deserves oodles of attention. He coolly saturated himself with the night life of Montparnasse and then wrote “The Sun Also Rises,” after which he made a mental cutback to his soldier life on the Italian front, and wrote “A Farewell to Arms.”

*New York Evening Post*, 18 November 1929<sup>1</sup>

Hemingway's latest novel, released in New York by Scribner's on 27 September 1929, was an immediate critical and commercial success. In one of the earliest reviews, published just nine days later, James Aswell wrote: “I have finished ‘A Farewell to Arms,’ and am still a little breathless, as people often are after a major event in their lives. If before I die I have three more literary experiences as sharp and exciting and terrible as the one I have just been through, I shall know it has been a good world.”<sup>2</sup>

By the time Aswell's letter enclosing the review reached Hemingway in Paris, *A Farewell to Arms* had already soared to the top of the bestseller lists. On 21 October 1929, Hemingway wrote to thank him (crossing out a mild profanity in the opening line): “Dear Mr. Aswell:— Your review just came and what the hell can I say—except that if the book made you feel like writing a review like that I'm a lucky bastard to have written the book.” In a postscript he added, “This is a lousy letter but by Christ the review made fine reading for me.”<sup>3</sup> To Maxwell Perkins, his editor at Scribner's, Hemingway wrote on 17 November, “In spite of having written the bloody book and having worked over it so much that I am completely unable to read it when I read this review I wanted to go right out and buy one—”

As volume 4 of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway* opens in April 1929, the author is aboard the S.S. *Yorck* bound for France, returning to live in Paris after spending the past year in the United States. He is accompanied by his wife Pauline, their eight-month-old son Patrick, Hemingway's six-year-old son “Bumby” from his first marriage to Hadley Richardson, and his younger sister Madelaine, nicknamed “Sunny.” Within weeks the first of ten serial installments of “The eagerly awaited New Novel” will appear in the May issue of Scribner's

*Magazine*.<sup>4</sup> After the book is published in September, he will begin filling sixty-seven scrapbook pages with clippings of reviews (now preserved among Hemingway's papers at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Museum and Library in Boston). Over the next two years, *A Farewell to Arms* will be adapted for the Broadway stage, appear in German and French translations, be dramatized in German for a run in Berlin, and the rights sold to the movies for \$80,000.

The volume ends in December 1931, as Hemingway and his family, including a newborn son, have just taken up residence in an old Spanish-colonial-style house with iron railings and balconies, across from the lighthouse in Key West. "Mr. Hemingway, author of international fame, with his wife and two sons, Patrick and Gregory, are occupying the home recently purchased by him," the local newspaper, the *Key West Citizen*, reports on the front page with civic pride.<sup>5</sup> The Hemingway house at 907 Whitehead Street will quickly become a Key West landmark and remains a magnet for tourists and aficionados to this day.<sup>6</sup>

In the span of the thirty-two months covered in this volume, Hemingway makes four transatlantic crossings. He follows the bullfights across Spain, returning to Pamplona during the annual Fiesta of San Fermín in the summers of 1929 and 1931, all the while gathering material for his long-planned treatise on bullfighting. He travels to Berlin and to the Swiss Alps, rounds up friends for winter fishing expeditions to the Dry Tortugas in the Gulf of Mexico, and rounds up more friends for fishing and hunting in the mountains of Wyoming and Montana. Periodically he retreats to work alone in Hendaye or Madrid, or at the L-Bar-T Ranch near Cody, Wyoming, then rejoins family and friends for another round of camaraderie—all the while reporting in his letters the page counts of his work in progress. As Hemingway biographer Michael S. Reynolds astutely observes, "His contemplative and his active life are jammed together so tightly that only minutes separate them."<sup>7</sup>

In terms of Hemingway's creative output, the period of this volume is bounded by the completion and final revisions of *A Farewell to Arms* (with forty-seven surviving draft endings produced in the process—different ones appearing in the final *Scribner's Magazine* installment and in the published book) and completion of the first draft of his book on bullfighting, to be published in 1932 as *Death in the Afternoon*.

In between, he returns to the scene of his own beginnings as a writer, contributing an introduction for the translated memoirs of Alice Prin, the woman known as "Kiki of Montparnasse"—famed habitué of Left Bank cafés, model and muse for photographer Man Ray. Like Hemingway's own first two books, *Kiki's Memoirs* (1930) is a slim, limited-edition volume published by a small avant-garde press in Paris. Hemingway's other publications during this period include the 1930 Scribner's edition of his 1925 story collection *In Our*

*Time*, a bullfight article for *Fortune* magazine, and two short stories—"Wine of Wyoming" appearing in *Scribner's Magazine* and "The Sea Change" in the little magazine *This Quarter*.

In an automobile accident in Montana on 1 November 1930 (Hemingway at the wheel and John Dos Passos in the passenger seat), Hemingway's arm is badly broken, and subsequent surgeries and complications keep him hospitalized in Billings for seven weeks. After slowly and painfully regaining use of his right arm—his writing arm—he is finally able to resume work and finish the first draft of *Death in the Afternoon* by early December 1931.

Of the 430 items of correspondence included in Volume 4, about 85 percent are previously unpublished. Whereas each of the first two volumes (spanning 1907–1922 and 1923–1925, respectively) represents some sixty correspondents, and Volume 3 (1926–April 1929) represents ninety-nine, the letters in this volume are directed to 125 recipients.

As in the previous volume, Maxwell Perkins continues to be far and away Hemingway's most frequent correspondent, the recipient of eighty-seven letters (more than two-thirds of them previously unpublished). As testimony to their deepening friendship, Volume 4 includes twenty-three letters to Archibald MacLeish, compared to a total of nine letters to MacLeish in Volume 3. Perhaps surprisingly, the third most frequent correspondent represented in this volume is Hemingway's mother. Grace Hall Hemingway is the recipient of twenty letters over this period, during which Ernest and Pauline established a trust fund to provide financial security for her and his younger siblings following the suicide of his father, Dr. Clarence E. Hemingway, in December 1928.

Next in succession of frequent correspondents are the artists Waldo Peirce (eighteen letters) and Henry Strater (seventeen letters). Each painted an iconic oil portrait of Hemingway begun while visiting him in Key West, Peirce in 1929 and Strater in 1930. Milford Baker, a fellow veteran of the American Red Cross Ambulance Service in Italy during World War I, received fourteen letters from Hemingway—all written in 1930. After reencountering each other by chance in the elevator of the Abercrombie & Fitch sporting goods store in New York City, the two carried on an active correspondence. While Hemingway obligingly autographed books for Baker, Baker advised him on the best firearms and ammunition for hunting in the American West and on an anticipated African safari. Baker kept carbons of all his letters as well as Hemingway's responses, and the complete exchange—preserved at Princeton University Library—is a fascinating and detailed record of Hemingway's education as a big game hunter.

Other frequent correspondents of this time include Guy Hickok, Paris-based correspondent for the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (recipient of thirteen letters in this volume), followed by Hemingway's in-laws, Mary and Paul Pfeiffer (eleven and

nine letters, respectively, some addressed jointly); bibliographer Louis Henry Cohn (ten letters); and F. Scott Fitzgerald tied with Kansas City obstetrician Don Carlos Guffey (nine each, with those to Dr. Guffey mainly written in the form of substantive inscriptions in first editions of Hemingway's books, relating their composition history).

The letters trace the ebb and flow of Hemingway's friendships and measure the increasing number and importance of his business associations. The diminishing number of surviving letters to F. Scott Fitzgerald is telling. Only nine are included in this volume, down from thirteen in the span of the previous volume, when their friendship was in full flower. The fact that Hemingway wrote seven of these nine letters to Fitzgerald between July and December 1929 and only one letter each year in 1930 and 1931 reflects the growing strain and distance between them that Scott Donaldson details in his Introduction to this volume.

Even more dramatic is the falling off in correspondence with Ezra Pound, arguably Hemingway's most important early champion and mentor, who helped pave his path to prominence among the Left Bank literati after the two met in Paris in 1922. Pound was the recipient of thirty-five letters in Volume 2, eighteen in Volume 3, and only four in Volume 4 (one of them a picture postcard from Havana).

Those new to the roster of correspondents in Volume 4 include a number of professional associates: Hemingway's French translator, Maurice-Edgar Coindreau; his German publisher, Ernst Rowohlt; Laurence Stallings, who wrote the 1930 Broadway adaptation of *A Farewell to Arms*; attorney Maurice Speiser; bibliographer Louis Henry Cohn, whose proposed project Hemingway initially resisted but ultimately supported; and Caresse Crosby, who with her husband Harry Crosby founded the Black Sun Press in Paris. After Harry's sensational murder-suicide with a mistress in 1929, Caresse carried on the work of the press and launched her own Crosby Continental Editions of inexpensive paperback avant-garde works, persuading Hemingway to let her publish *The Torrents of Spring* as the first volume in the series in 1932.

Hemingway's growing celebrity is marked by the number of recipients to whom he wrote only a single located letter—seventy-nine, or more than half the recipients represented in this volume—as he replied to fan mail, answered queries, and responded to requests for autographs. Many of these brief correspondences go well beyond the perfunctory. On 9 December 1931, Hemingway responded cooperatively to a questionnaire from Philadelphia endocrinologist Israel Bram, who had written to dozens of persons listed in *Who's Who of America* asking about their sleep habits. We learn that Hemingway never worked at night “because of difficulty of getting to sleep afterwards” and that “Brandy keeps me awake— rarely drink after eating at

night except continuing beer and wine drunk with meal—” Prompted by the doctor’s request for “personal or abstract” comments about sleep and dreams, Hemingway responded, “Enjoy sleep and dreams very much— Have gone with very little sleep for long periods due pain of wounds, infections, broken bones etc—very hard on nerves— Have often heard clock strike every hour and half hour from midnight to daylight—would like to sleep 9 hrs. every night—”

Only a handful of correspondents are represented in all four volumes of the edition published to date. They are his mother and siblings; Isabelle Simmons Godolphin, the girl next door as he was growing up in Oak Park; Dorothy Connable, whose family employed Hemingway as a live-in companion to her brother in their Toronto home in 1920; and Ezra Pound.

Of course, the number of located surviving letters is not a reliable indication of the importance or magnitude of a correspondence. People have to keep their mail, and we have to find it. From incoming letters that Hemingway saved and from his comments in letters to others, we know of letters he wrote that either do not survive or remain unlocated. We know, for example, that he corresponded regularly with Pauline’s Uncle Gus Pfeiffer, a supporter of Hemingway’s work and generous benefactor to them both. The Kennedy Library holds sixteen letters from Gus to Hemingway during the period of this volume, yet only three items from Hemingway to Gus have been located, two of them cable drafts that Hemingway kept.

Unfortunately (if understandably, from the recipients’ perspective), the vast majority of Hemingway’s letters to his first two wives, Hadley and Pauline, do not survive. Hadley burned most of his letters after he fell in love with their close friend Pauline and the marriage collapsed. Most of his letters to Pauline were destroyed after her death in 1951, in compliance with her stated wishes. This volume contains only one letter from Ernest to Hadley and two to Pauline. Yet the Hemingway Collection at the Kennedy Library contains fourteen incoming letters from Hadley written during the period of this volume, and twenty-six from Pauline.

Their surviving letters to him afford tantalizing glimpses into these relationships at this time. As might be expected, Hadley’s letters frequently concern their son, Bumby—his tonsillectomy, his school report card, her wish that he not be raised as a Roman Catholic by Ernest and Pauline (despite her earlier consenting to their request to do so). But Hadley’s letters to Ernest also testify to the enduring warmth between them. She signs off affectionately with variants on his old nicknames for her—Kat, Catherine Cat, Hadlein, and Haddlekat. In a letter postmarked from Paris on 27 April 1931, she seeks his “advice & opinion as a friend on Paul’s and my situation,” referring to journalist Paul Mowrer, whom she would marry in 1933: “Will you let me talk & you listen,

and then if you'll talk I'll listen. Maybe you can help clarify things for me." Although we do not know what Hemingway said in return, we do know he responded: the back of the envelope bears the notation in his hand, "Answered May 28th."<sup>8</sup>

After Ernest and Pauline sailed separately from Key West to Europe in the spring of 1931, Pauline arrived in Paris to find letters from him waiting for her at the Guaranty Trust Company, which they used as their Paris mailing address. Again, the surviving incoming correspondence hints at the quantity and quality of his lost letters to her. "That was the loveliest collection of letters at the bank—13 of them and each more lovely than all the rest. Full of love and full of meat—the ideal combination," she wrote to him in Madrid on 30 May. "I came home and read and read and got more excited every minute and you are certainly the finest husband a woman ever had." Looking forward to joining him in Spain, she added, "Only a week now, and thanks for the enchanting beautiful letters & I'm going to cover them with gold stars and keep them forever" (JFK).

Hemingway loved getting letters. "Write me all the dope," he urged friends repeatedly, supplying his travel itineraries and the varying addresses where mail would reach him along the way. As he was following the bullfights in Spain in the summer of 1929, he wrote to Waldo Peirce from Valencia on 28 July to say that he and Pauline would be spending August at the Hotel Suizo in Santiago de Compostela: "Write me there. It is always fun to get letters but in Spain or in the country it is damned fine excitement."

Patrick Hemingway, the author's surviving son, has observed that his father tailored his letters to each of his correspondents as part of their continuing conversation, carrying on "a sort of going dialog with them about the things they had mutually in common."<sup>9</sup> To F. Scott Fitzgerald, who had been struggling for four years to complete his next novel after the success of *The Great Gatsby*, Hemingway ended his letter of 23 July 1929 by commiserating about the difficulty of writing: "Wish the hell I could work—will try again now," signing off, "Your afft. friend— / E. Cantwork Hemingstein." In a postscript he added, "This Couldn't be a duller letter but want to hear how you are and hope your work and everything goes well—"

The letters are laced with apologies for the quality or infrequency of his correspondence "Excuse this lousy letter" (to Waldo Peirce, 6 April [1930]); "Excuse this punk letter" (to his World War I comrade Bill Horne, 1 June [1930]). In a "Dear Family" letter to his mother and younger siblings, he wrote in August 1930, "Excuse brevity of letter and lack of general correspondence but when working cant write letters— Had to write so many this winter that ruined my work— Am sticking to work for a while—"

In Hemingway's hierarchy of priorities, letter writing clearly took a distant second place to his professional writing. "This is a lousy letter and I wish it could be a good one," he told Max Perkins on 31 July 1929. "Started a story day before yesterday and went pretty well then and yesterday. Am playing truant to be writing a letter now—" After the frustrating delay in his work on *Death in the Afternoon* as he regained the use of his broken right arm, he told Henry Strater around 1 May 1931, "for Christ sake forgive me either not writing or writing such a foul scrawl as this because until I get this book done I am unfit for human consumption—"

The letters vividly evoke the immediate circumstances of their composition. In a letter to Perkins of 20 November 1929, Hemingway explained his use of stationery embossed with the letterhead "Writing Room / Guaranty Trust Company of New York / 4 Place de la Concorde / Paris." Penning a letter on ten sheets measuring 5 ½ by 8 ¼-inches, he commented, "(This paper is too small to write on— They are doing some fumigating to the house and am turned out)." To his in-laws, Paul and Mary Pfeiffer, he wrote on 23 April 1930 with the expensive fountain pen they had given him for Christmas, "This is the great pen and if I'd had anything worthy of being written by it this letter would not have been so long delayed."

In several erratically spaced typewritten letters written between October and December 1931, Hemingway complained about the machine he was using (a gift from the manufacturer): "This bitch of a typewriter is a Remington noiseless presented by the company and it skips letters and makes typeing bloody impossible," he told Eric Knight around 19 October 1931.

Hemingway's commentary on his immediate surroundings—including the weather—adds to the conversational quality of his letters. "I've been lousy about writing because when get through work am too pooped— Then it's been hot too—really hot—42° and one day 46° in shade— Try that on your fahrenheit thermometer—" he wrote to Archibald MacLeish from San Sebastian on 29 June 1931. MacLeish was "a smart fellow" to be at Conway, Massachusetts, "working in the cool." "This is a punk letter Archie— There is something about writing becoming not a physically painful but merely an uncomfortable act that buggers up the writing of letters— If you were here I would tell you a lot of funny things but it is too damned physically uncomfortable to start writeing anything— This no complaint—just an explanantion—"

During the weeks Hemingway was confined to St. Vincent's Hospital in Billings with his arm immobilized, his only means of corresponding was by dictating letters to the ever-patient Pauline. Three are typewritten on "X-Ray Department" forms. In the 23 November 1930 letter to Bill Horne, she typed "Pauline P. Hemingway" in the space designated "Interne Attending." Hemingway did not take naturally or well to dictation.

"It is lousy to have my one writing tool, my right arm, busted in the way that it is," he told Max Perkins on 17 November: "as you see from this letter, I can't rely on dictating, but that's all I can do now, as I am still in bed in the same position that they put me in two weeks ago, and cannot move from side to side." He couldn't resist a bad pun in his 22 November letter to MacLeish, saying, "if this is the worst letter you ever got, it's because Mussolini is the dictator, not old Pappy." He continued to be amused by the double entendre, telling Guy Hickok in a letter of 5 December, "In case this letter should not seem sweet in tone, it is because it's being dictated. Pen pencil, or glass in hand I am the sweetest tempered of mortals (Mrs. Hemingway may refuse to type this). But dictating that old Primo de Rivera strain comes up."

Regaining the full use of his "writing tool" came slowly, and Hemingway's frustration with the physical impediments to his writing is a continuing refrain in his letters in early 1931. "Am typeing this with one hand and it goes damned slowly. By the time you get something to say and have it ½ typed have forgotten the rest of it," he told Waldo Peirce on 17 January. "Write me kid and dont pay any attention to what a bum letter I write because this method is just about as slow as building with blocks."

Hemingway's correspondence takes a variety of forms. During his summer 1929 travels through Spain, Hemingway wrote from his Valencia hotel to Guy Hickok in Paris that he had received five letters from Hickok and apologized, "I would try and do better but lack of typewriter makes punk letters" [c. 30 July 1929]. Writing a month later from Santiago de Compostela, he struck a similar note in a letter to Evan Shipman on 24 August: "It is hell for me to write a letter without the typewriter so please forgive this—" Obviously intended as an excuse for not writing more often, it is an odd comment nevertheless. Of the 430 items of correspondence in this volume, 290 of them, more than two-thirds, are handwritten letters. Only thirty-six are letters typewritten by Hemingway himself. The volume also contains twenty-one dictated letters, four postcards, forty sent cables, ten cable drafts, and ten transcriptions of letters made by biographer Carlos Baker and preserved in his files at Princeton University Library.

Hemingway said he never wanted his letters to be published and in 1958 typed out a directive to his executors to that effect. During his lifetime he had, in fact, consented to publication of a handful of his letters. He wrote others expressly for publication, including letters to the editor, public petitions, book jacket blurbs, and a few commercial endorsements (including for Ballantine's Ale and Parker Pens).<sup>10</sup> After his death in 1961, a trickle of additional letters appeared in print, and scholars began to call for publication of his letters to satisfy the "demand for literary history."<sup>11</sup> Finally, Hemingway's fourth wife and widow, Mary

Hemingway, in consultation with publisher Charles Scribner, Jr., and her attorney Alfred Rice, determined that the time had come to authorize publication of a volume of his letters. They chose as its editor Carlos Baker, the Princeton professor who had written the 1969 authorized biography, *Hemingway: A Life Story*. Baker's edition of *Selected Letters, 1917–1961* was published by Scribner's in 1981, encompassing 581 letters. Since then, a few other clusters of Hemingway's correspondence have been published, including letters he exchanged with Maxwell Perkins, his sister Marcelline, Sara and Gerald Murphy, and A. E. Hotchner.<sup>12</sup>

When the Cambridge Edition of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway* was launched in 2011 with the publication of the first volume, only about 15 percent of Hemingway's some 6,000 known surviving letters were previously published. The project was authorized by the Ernest Hemingway Foundation and the Hemingway Foreign Rights Trust, holders, respectively, of the U.S. and international copyrights to the letters.

It is the express wish of Patrick Hemingway that this be as complete a collection of his father's letters as possible, rather than a selected edition. "I felt that if they were going to publish his letters at all, there shouldn't be any picking and choosing, that you either got the whole picture of him as a correspondent, as a letter writer, or nothing at all," he said.<sup>13</sup> Of his father's directive that his letters not be published, Patrick has said, "I find that puzzling. He surely was pretty savvy about these things. I mean the sign that you're destroying your letters is that you're destroying them." Beyond their obvious biographical interest, Hemingway's letters constitute a primary record of the history of his times. Liking his father's letters to the seventeenth-century diary of Samuel Pepys, who witnessed and wrote of the plague and the Great Fire of London, Patrick noted that Hemingway's letters "are a portrait of the first half of the twentieth century."<sup>14</sup>

The Cambridge Edition aims to be as comprehensive as possible, affording readers ready access to the entire body of Hemingway's located surviving letters, those previously published as well as those appearing here in print for the first time. The letters are presented complete and unabridged, arranged in chronological order of their composition. Although we do not publish the letters that Hemingway received, they inform our editorial comments on his outgoing letters.

Fortunately for posterity, Hemingway was a packrat. Like many writers, he saved drafts, manuscripts, and galley proofs of his published work, manuscripts of work in progress, and occasional carbon copies of business letters. But over the years he also preserved drafts and false starts of letters, letters he wrote but decided not to mail (sometimes scrawling "Unsent" across a dated envelope), and outtakes from letters that he scissored off or tore away before sending.

We define “letters” broadly to include postcards, cables, identifiable drafts and fragments, letters Hemingway wrote for publication, and those he thought better of sending but nevertheless saved. As a rule we do not include book inscriptions, except those the editors consider substantive or of particular interest. Volume 4 includes fifteen inscriptions that the editors feel meet those criteria.

Letters are transcribed whole and uncut whenever possible. However, when they are known only through facsimiles or extracts appearing in auction catalogs or dealer listings, or through published quotations, we present whatever portions are available, citing their source. While they are no substitute for the original documents, such extracts can serve as place markers in the sequence of letters until such time as complete originals may become available.

Because Hemingway did not routinely keep copies of his letters and because they are so widely dispersed, simply locating the letters has been a massive undertaking. It helps that Hemingway was famous enough at an early enough age that many of his correspondents beyond his family saved his letters. Furthermore, many recipients of his letters were sufficiently well known themselves that their own correspondence has been preserved in archival collections, with Hemingway’s letters among their papers. His letters to Maxwell Perkins, F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald, Henry Strater, and others survive at the Princeton University Library; those to Archibald MacLeish at the Library of Congress; and letters to Waldo Peirce, along with photographs and scrapbooks, at Colby College. The Pennsylvania State University Special Collections Library holds a collection of more than one hundred previously inaccessible family letters acquired in 2008 from Hemingway’s nephew Ernest Hemingway Mainland, son of Hemingway’s sister Sunny. He also donated a trove of other family materials, including several volumes of scrapbooks that Grace Hemingway compiled for Sunny (as she did for each of her six children) and an ancient suitcase filled with newspaper clippings, sheet music, event programs, and other mementos of life in the Hemingway household.

To date we have gathered copies of letters from some 250 sources in the United States and around the globe. These include more than seventy libraries and institutional archives. The world’s largest repository of Hemingway papers, the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston, has donated copies of all outgoing letters in its collection (some 2,500 letters). The edition has benefited from the generosity and interest of scores of scholars, archivists, aficionados, book and autograph specialists, collectors, and Hemingway correspondents and their descendants, including members of the author’s extended family, who have provided valuable information or shared copies of letters.

As an important part of our editorial process, our transcriptions, initially made from photocopies or scans provided by institutional repositories and private

owners, have been meticulously compared against the original documents on site visits whenever possible. For the most part only one authorial copy of each letter exists; thus we have faced few problematic issues of textual history and textual variants. When such issues do arise, they are addressed in the notes that follow each letter.

Since the Hemingway Letters Project was initiated in 2002 to produce this edition, I have learned that it is almost impossible to overestimate public interest in Hemingway and the broad appeal of his work. Dozens of people from around the world have contacted us to share information or copies of letters, and new letters continue to surface.

Based on the estimated number of letters we expected to find, we initially planned a twelve-volume edition. We now project the complete edition to run to at least seventeen volumes to hold the nearly three million words Hemingway wrote in letters, along with our own introductory materials, annotations to the letters, chronologies, maps, and other editorial apparatus. The final volume will feature a section of "Additional Letters," for those that come to light after publication of the volumes in which they would have appeared chronologically.

Hemingway's letters present more editorial challenges than some might expect from a writer so renowned for simplicity. In transcribing Hemingway's letters, we generally leave it to readers to experience Hemingway's language on their own as he wrote it, without editorial intervention or attempts at explication. We have preserved exactly Hemingway's idiosyncrasies of spelling, punctuation, syntax, and style, including his well-known habit of retaining the silent "e" in such word forms as "writeing" or "sizeable." To silently correct Hemingway's spelling and punctuation or to regularize capitalization in the letters would strip them of their personality and present a falsely tidy view of the letters his correspondents received. Such cleaning up also would render meaningless his own spontaneous metacommentary on the imperfections of his letters or his likely misspellings.

Typing a letter to Megan Laird on 1 January 1931, two months after his automobile accident, he began, "This is being written with the left hand, the right arm being at present and for some months to come, useless, so with your permission I'll let the caps go and you will not mind spelling etc." Despite his ardent admiration for MacLeish's long poem *Conquistador*, Hemingway was hesitant to write a blurb for it, explaining in a 10 April 1931 letter to Laurence Stallings his fear that "every little constipated dioehreic (mis-spelled) enemy I had would be transferred to him and that his poem was too damned good to need anything said on the jacket anyway."

Yet even as we attempt to preserve the idiosyncratic flavors of Hemingway's letters, we strive to make them as accessible and readable as possible. We have regularized the placement of such elements as dateline, inside address, salutation,

closing, signature, and postscripts. We also normalize Hemingway's often erratic spacing and paragraph indentation. No published transcription of a typed or handwritten letter can ever fully capture its actual appearance on the page. This is not a facsimile edition, and for those wishing to study in depth the physical characteristics of a letter, no printed rendition can substitute for an examination of the original.

In endnotes following individual letters we supply necessary contextual information, reasoning for conjectured dates, translations of foreign words and passages, and first-mention identifications of people in each volume. A more detailed description of our editorial practices and procedures appears in the Note on the Text in this volume. Our overarching aim is to produce an edition that is at once satisfying to the scholar and inviting to the general reader.

This project has benefitted tremendously from the support and interest of Patrick Hemingway, who has been unfailingly generous in supplying information, answering questions, and sharing anecdotes that only he can tell. One nagging question in our work on this volume concerned the name of Patrick's French nanny, who is variously referenced in Hemingway biographies as Henrietta or Henriette. Hemingway mentions her by name nineteen times in this volume's letters, and his handwriting is sometimes ambiguous. Biographer Michael Reynolds, apparently drawing upon a ship passenger list, gives her name as "Henrietta Lechuer."<sup>15</sup> But our editorial policies call for verifying all details with at least two reliable sources whenever possible. In April 2016, during what has become a delightful tradition of meeting for breakfast in Boston the morning after the annual PEN/Hemingway Award ceremonies at the Kennedy Library, I asked Patrick if he remembered his French nurse. "Henriette Lechner," he immediately replied (pronouncing her first name in the French manner). When I showed him a copy of the January 1930 passenger manifest of *La Bourdonnais* with her name spelled "Lechuer," he examined it closely, but posed the sensible question, "Why would I remember it another way?" The spelling on the ship passenger list was a typographical error. Once we knew the correct spelling of her name, we finally were able to locate more information about her by searching databases of historical records. Patrick also recalled staying with Henriette and her husband in Bordeaux when he was about six years old. "According to my dad, I would never have my heart broken by a woman because she did it first," he laughed. "She was the master of pommes frites."<sup>16</sup>

Conjecturing dates for undated letters is akin to putting together a jigsaw puzzle—trying to match up circumstances, stationery, the weight or length of a fish caught, Hemingway's word count of works in progress. Sometimes, particularly before or after his travels, or while he was staying at the Wyoming ranch with once a week mail service, Hemingway would write letters in clusters—

sometimes as many as five or six in a single day. The challenge then—even assuming the letters bear the day's date—is to determine the best sequence in which to present them in the absence of any internal clues (such as “I just finished writing to Archie”). We were fortunate to be able to call upon Valerie Hemingway, who worked as the author's secretary during the last two years of his life (later marrying his son Gregory) and knows better than anyone his habits of correspondence. Although Hemingway's correspondents of 1959–1960 were different from those of 1929–1931, Valerie outlined his approach to letter writing:

He always started with business, Max Perkins (Harry Brague in my day), Charlie Scribner, Alfred Rice, and any other business, agents, foreign publishers, translators, etc. including Hotchner if they were discussing business. Then Carlos Baker, his chosen official biographer, if there was something to report or if Carlos had written to him. He followed this with close friends such as Buck Lanham, Harvey Breit, Lillian Ross, Bernard Berenson, Ezra Pound, Lenny Lyons and many, many more. Finally he wrote to the family, mostly to his sons, particularly to Patrick. In many of these cases as you will find out, he wrote virtually the same news with slight variations depending upon the recipient. Any unsolicited queries, requests for autographs etc. were considered after that.<sup>17</sup>

We have followed these general principles in arranging same-day letters in this volume: business first, then letters to close friends, letters to family, and finally, his more perfunctory responses to requests and queries.

Two months after the publication of Hemingway's 1929 novel, John Dos Passos wrote in a review for the *New Masses*:

Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* is the best written book that has seen the light in America for many a long day. I don't mean the tasty college composition course sort of thing that our critics seem to consider good writing. I mean writing that is terse and economical, in which each sentence and each phrase bears its maximum load of meaning, sense impressions, emotion. The book is a first-rate piece of craftsmanship by a man who knows his job. It gives you the sort of pleasure line by line that you get from handling a piece of wellfinished carpenter's work.<sup>18</sup>

The contrast between the unhoneed prose of Hemingway's letters and the meticulous craftsmanship of his published work could not be starker. The letters give a different kind of pleasure.

“Never for gods sake use or turn over to the advt. dept. anything I say in a letter—” Hemingway implored Max Perkins in late August 1929. Hemingway's letters are hasty, spontaneous, unfiltered, and unpolished. Cleaning them up for consumption was not where he chose to invest his efforts. He was certainly not writing them for posterity.

Writing to Perkins from the L-Bar-T Ranch in Wyoming on 30 September 1930, Hemingway acknowledged the freestyle nature of his correspondence: "My God Max I seem to write you the lousiest letters— But if I rewrite this and make it as decent as I wish it would sound it will take all tomorrow and the last mail for a week goes at breakfast—"

Each of Hemingway's letters captures the events and moods of a particular day and hour. Taken together they chart the arc of an epic life story and record an unedited running history of his eventful times. It is exactly in their lack of polish that the letters add texture, depth, and nuance to our understanding of their iconic author.

NOTES

- 1 Raymond G. Carroll, "Paris, the Real, As Seen Today / Hemingway Gives up Old Life With Literary Success," *New York Evening Post*, 18 November 1929, 6.
- 2 James Aswell, "Critic Lavishes Praise on New Hemingway Novel," *Richmond Times-Dispatch* Sunday Supplement, 6 October 1929, 3; reproduced in Robert W. Trogdon, ed., *Ernest Hemingway: A Literary Reference* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1999), 106–7.
- 3 Unless otherwise cited, all letters quoted here are included in this volume.
- 4 Scribner's advertisement in *Publishers Weekly*, 20 April 1929, 1883.
- 5 "To 'Love at First Sight' For Key West, Ernest Hemingway Attributes His Coming Here," *Key West Citizen*, 23 December 1931, 1. As an indication of the mythos already surrounding the author, at least three 1931 articles in the *Key West Citizen* refer to the Hemingways' Paris residence as a "chateau" near Paris ("Hemingway Glad To Be Here Again," 15 January 1931, 1; "Hemingway Deed To Residence In This City Filed," 30 April 1931, 5; "Personal Mention," 18 May 1931, 4).
- 6 For a full account of the history of the house, Patrick Hemingway's memories of living there, and a debunking of some of the manufactured mythologies surrounding it, see Carol Hemingway, "907 Whitehead Street," *Hemingway Review* 23, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 8–23.
- 7 Michael S. Reynolds, *Hemingway: The 1930s* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 48.
- 8 Hadley Hemingway to Ernest Hemingway, [April 1931], postmarked Paris, 27 April 1931 (JFK). A key to Abbreviations and Short Titles used in this volume follows the Note on the Text. Hadley mailed the letter to Ernest at his Key West address, but it arrived after he had left for Europe and was forwarded from Key West to his Paris bank.
- 9 Patrick Hemingway, interview with Sandra Spanier, Bozeman, Montana, 8 June 2011.
- 10 The history of publication of Hemingway's letters is discussed in more detail in the "General Editor's Introduction to the Edition" in *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, Volume 1 (2011), in the "General Editor's Introduction" to Volume 2 (2013) and Volume 3 (2015), and in my "Letters" chapter of *Ernest Hemingway in Context*, ed. Debra A. Moddelmog and Suzanne del Gizzo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 33–42. Letters he wrote for publication during his lifetime are collected in Matthew J. Bruccoli and Judith S. Baughman, eds., *Hemingway and the Mechanism of Fame: Statements, Public Letters, Introductions, Forewords, Prefaces, Blurbs, Reviews, and Endorsements* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006).
- 11 E. R. Hagemann, "Preliminary Report on the State of Ernest Hemingway's Correspondence," *Literary Research Newsletter* 3, no. 4 (1978): 163–72.
- 12 Matthew J. Bruccoli, ed., with Robert W. Trogdon, *The Only Thing That Counts: The Ernest Hemingway-Maxwell Perkins Correspondence* (New York: Scribner's, 1996); Marcelline Hemingway Sanford, *At the Hemingways: With Fifty Years of Correspondence Between Ernest and Marcelline Hemingway* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1999); Linda

- Patterson Miller, ed., *Letters from the Lost Generation: Gerald and Sara Murphy and Friends*, expanded edn. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002); and Albert J. DeFazio III, ed., *Dear Papa, Dear Hotch: The Correspondence of Ernest Hemingway and A. E. Hotchner* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005).
- 13 Patrick Hemingway, interview with Sandra Spanier, Bozeman, Montana, 8 June 2011.
  - 14 Patrick Hemingway, interview with Sandra Spanier, Boston, Massachusetts, 20 April 2015.
  - 15 Reynolds, *Hemingway: The 1930s*, 37.
  - 16 Patrick Hemingway, interview with Sandra Spanier, Boston, Massachusetts, 11 April 2016.
  - 17 Valerie Hemingway, email correspondence with Miriam B. Mandel and Sandra Spanier, 31 August 2016.
  - 18 John Dos Passos, review of *A Farewell to Arms*, *New Masses* (1 December 1929), 16; reprinted in Robert W. Trogdon, ed., *Ernest Hemingway: A Literary Reference* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1999), 107–8.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Cambridge Edition of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway* owes its existence to the authorization and kind cooperation of the Ernest Hemingway Foundation and the Hemingway Foreign Rights Trust, which hold, respectively, the U.S. and international copyrights to the letters. It was Patrick Hemingway who originally conceived of a complete scholarly edition of his father's letters, and he has been most supportive of this effort, meeting with the general editor on several occasions and generously answering questions, identifying references, and sharing his unique knowledge and insights. Patrick and Carol Hemingway were particularly gracious in welcoming the general editor to visit them in Bozeman, Montana, bearing a fat stack of letters marked with queries. For their roles in securing permissions, we extend special thanks to Michael Katakis, representative of the Trust, and to Kirk Curnutt, permissions officer for the Foundation.

From the start the Hemingway Letters Project has benefited immensely from the sound guidance and strong support of our Editorial Advisory Board, whose members have given tirelessly of their time and expertise. Headed by Linda Patterson Miller, the advisors include Jackson R. Bryer, Scott Donaldson, Debra Modellmog, and James L. W. West III. They deserve special recognition for their exceptional commitment and active involvement, including advising in the establishment of editorial policies and reading the manuscript of this volume at several stages. The edition is much the stronger for their contributions. We are most grateful, too, to J. Gerald Kennedy and Rodger L. Tarr, who have brought to bear their deep knowledge and meticulous attention to detail and have made vital contributions in advisory roles as well.

The Hemingway Letters Project has been supported in part by Scholarly Editions grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities. We are honored to have been designated a *We, the People* project, "a special recognition by the NEH for model projects that advance the study, teaching, and understanding of American history and culture." (Any views, findings, or conclusions expressed in this publication do not necessarily represent these of the National Endowment for the Humanities.)

We deeply appreciate the generosity of those organizations and endowments that have supported the Project through grants and gifts: AT&T Mobility, the Heinz Endowments, the Michigan Hemingway Society, the Dr. Bernard S. and Ann Re Oldsey Endowment for the Study of American Literature in the College of the Liberal Arts at The Pennsylvania State University, and the Xerox Corporation, which has contributed copying, printing, faxing, and scanning equipment as well as a DocuShare database management system that has been customized for our needs.

We are grateful, too, to individual donors, including Ralph and Alex Barrocas, Linda Messer Ganz, Eric V. Gearhart, Walter Goldstein, Gary Gray and Kathleen O'Toole, Harold Hein, Bill and Honey Jaffe, Lewis Katz, Ira B. Kristel, Mary Ann O'Brian Malkin, Randall Miller, Barbara Palmer, Graham B. Spanier, David A. Westover III, and Mark Weyermuller.

For fellowships and grants to support travel to archives and other research activities by Project scholars, we also wish to thank the Bibliographical Society (U.K.), the Bibliographical Society of America, and the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library. We are grateful to the Idaho Humanities Council for its support for the work of Rena Sanderson. A generous grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities enabled Miriam B. Mandel to conduct extensive on-site taurine and historical research in Spain.

The Pennsylvania State University has provided indispensable institutional support and an ideal home for the Project from its inception in 2002. We particularly wish to thank the following, in addition to those named in earlier volumes: Dean Susan Welch, College of the Liberal Arts; Dean Barbara Dewey and Dean Emerita Nancy Eaton, University Libraries; Nicholas P. Jones and Neil Sharkey, Offices of the Provost and of the Vice President for Research; Mark Morrisson, head of the Department of English; and Michael Bérubé, director of the Institute for the Arts and Humanities. Rodney Erickson strongly supported the project from the beginning, and for that we are most appreciative. We also wish to thank Rodney Kirsch, senior vice president emeritus for Development and Alumni Relations, Beth Colledge, and John Dietz; Ron Huss and the Intellectual Property division of the Office of Technology Management; in the College of the Liberal Arts, Associate Dean Eric Silver, Senior Adviser to the Dean Raymond E. Lombra, Chris Hort, Mary Kay Hort, Mark Luellen, and Chris Woods; in the Department of English, graduate studies director Debra Hawhee, internship coordinator Elizabeth Jenkins, Kim Keller, and the staff; cartographer Erin Greb and the Peter R. Gould Center for Geography Education and Outreach; and in Liberal Arts Information Technology, director Veronica Longenecker, Art Fogleman, Jeff Foltz, Shane Freehauf, Marc Kepler, Michael Renne, Ian Spears,

## *Acknowledgments*

John Taylor, and Morgan Wellman. In Israel, computer expert Uri Hubara provided additional technical support and advice to Miriam B. Mandel.

In addition to those named on the title page of this volume, we owe special thanks to Hemingway Letters Project editorial team members Mark Cirino and Robert W. Trogdon, and to Stacey Guill, Hilary K. Justice, Verna Kale, Ellen Andrews Knodt, and LaVerne Maginnis for their various contributions, including perfecting transcriptions of letters against original documents.

We are indebted to the dozens of libraries, museums, and institutional archives that have supplied copies of letters in their collections and assisted in research for the edition.

The John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, the world's largest repository of Hemingway papers, has been particularly generous in its support of the Project, donating copies of its entire holdings of some 2,500 outgoing letters and other materials, providing images for illustrations free of charge, and responding tirelessly to our requests and queries. Special thanks are due to Acting Director James Roth, Director of Archives Karen Adler Abramson; former Library Director Thomas J. Putnam; former Hemingway Collection curator Susan Wrynn; Hemingway Program specialist Hilary K. Justice; in Reference, Stacey Chandler, Christina Fitzpatrick, Elyse Fox, Kelly Francis, and interns Corbin Apkin, Dana Bronson, David Castillo, Samuel Smallidge, and Marti Verso-Smallidge; and in Audio-Visual Archives, Maryrose Grossman, Laurie Austin, Connor Anderson, Aubrey Butts, Milo Carpenter, and Jacqueline Gertner.

Princeton University Library holds important collections of Hemingway correspondence, accounting for some 40 percent of the letters in this volume, and we are most grateful for its ongoing support and assistance. In particular we wish to thank Stephen Ferguson, Acting Associate University Librarian for Rare Books and Special Collections; Don C. Skemer, Curator of Manuscripts; Chloe Pfendler, Curatorial Assistant for Manuscripts; Gabriel Swift, Head of Public Services and Reference Librarian for Special Collections; AnnaLee Pauls, Special Collections Reference Assistant; Sandra Bossert and Brianna Cregle, Special Collections Assistants; and Squirrel Walsh, Special Collections Imaging Services Coordinator.

We also gratefully acknowledge the outstanding support of the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, with special thanks to Athena Jackson, Head of Special Collections, and her predecessor, William L. Joyce; Sandra Stelts, Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts; and William S. Brockman, Paterno Family Librarian for Literature. Jeff Friday and Linda Klimczyk in the Department for Information Technologies have provided indispensable technical and database management support. We also wish to thank Timothy R. Babcock, Sandy Confer, Barbara Coopey, Ann Passmore, Albert Roza, and Meredith Weber.

For supplying copies of letters in their collections and granting permission for their publication in Volume 4 of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, we acknowledge the following additional libraries and archives, with special thanks to the individuals named here: Colby College Special Collections—Patricia Burdick and Erin Rhodes; College of Physicians of Philadelphia—Beth Lander and Chrissie Perella; Columbia University, Rare Book & Manuscript Library—Karla Nielsen; Cornell University, Kroch Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections; Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection—Dawn Eurich; Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach—Mirko Nottscheid; Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest—Frank Lipo; Indiana University, The Lilly Library—Zachary Downey and David K. Frasier; Karpeles Manuscript Library; Key West Art and Historical Society—Cori Convertito; Knox College Library, Special Collections and Archives—Mary McAndrew; Library of Congress; Mills College; Missouri History Museum Library and Research Center, Archives Department—Dennis Northcott; Newberry Library, Chicago—Martha Briggs; New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Berg Collection of English and American Literature—Isaac Gewirtz; Northwestern State University of Louisiana—Mary Linn Wernet; Oak Park Public Library; Smith College, Neilson Library—Barbara Blumenthal; Southern Illinois University, Morris Library, Special Collections Research Center—Pam Hackbart-Dean and Aaron Michael Lisec; Stanford University Libraries, Special Collections and University Archives—Tim Noakes; University of California, Berkeley, the Bancroft Library—Shannon Supple, Allen Arthur, Kathi Neal, Kate Tasker, Kai Tomeo; University of Delaware Library—Timothy Murray, head of Special Collections, Alexander Johnston, Valerie Stenner, and Anita Wellner; University of Maryland Libraries, Special Collections—Beth Alvarez and Amber Kohl; University of Missouri—Kansas City; The State University of New York, University at Buffalo, The Poetry Collection of the University Libraries—James Maynard; University of Pennsylvania Libraries, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books & Manuscripts—Mitch Fraas; University of Reading Library, Archives of Jonathan Cape Ltd.—David Plant; University of South Carolina Library—Elizabeth Sudduth, director of the Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Mary Anyomi, Kate Foster Boyd, Jessica Dowd Crouch, Laura D. Marion, Kate Moore, and Paul Schultz; University of Texas at Austin, Harry Ransom Center—Rick Watson; University of Tulsa, McFarlin Library, Department of Special Collections—Marc Carlson; University of Virginia Library, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections—Nicole Bouché, director, Mary Schwartzburg, curator, Margaret Downs Hrabe and Regina Rush, reference coordinators; Wake Forest University, Z. Smith Reynolds Library—Rebecca Petersen May; Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library—

## *Acknowledgments*

Nancy Kuhl, curator of the Collection of American Literature, Anne Marie Menta and Phoenix Alexander, and for assistance to Miriam B. Mandel during her 2013 visit, Melissa Barton, Moira Fitzgerald, John M. Monahan, Karen Nangle, Adrienne Leigh Sharpe, Dolores Colon, and Sara Azam.

The many additional libraries and archives whose contributions of materials and assistance pertain primarily to later volumes of the edition will be acknowledged there.

We are extremely grateful as well to these individuals who have provided letters or other materials appearing in or pertaining to Volume 4: Benjamin C. Bruce, Herbert S. Channick, Lucy Dos Passos Coggin, Alessandra Comini, Roger DiSilvestro, Robert K. Elder, Virginia Fritch (trustee of the Jean M. Breeden estate), David Mason, David Meeker, Paul Quintanilla, James Sanford, Stanley L. Weinberg family (courtesy of Irene, Ellen, and Sue Weinberg), and Mel Yoken.

The following also provided assistance or materials useful in the preparation of Volume 4: Grolier Club—Meghan Constantinou and Barbara Bieck; John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation—Mary Kiffer; Morgan Library and Museum—Declan Kiely; Pfeiffer University—Jonathan Hutchinson; and Traverse Area District Library—Amy Barritt. For help with historical maps, we thank Mark Fritch and Kellyn Younggren of the University of Montana Library and Ben DiBase, Florida Historical Society.

We also thank the following for sharing copies of letters and other materials pertaining to other volumes in the edition: Anne Fadiman, Betsy Riggs-Fermano, Tom Fuller, Michael Halpern, Jobst Knigge, Maurice F. and Marcia Neville, Piero Ambogio Pozzi, Filippo di Robilant, Daniel Robinson, John E. Sanford, Nicolas Sarkozy, Charles Scribner III, and Wolfgang Stock. We are grateful, too, to Douglas LaPrade together with José Belmonte Serrano, Liborio Ruiz Molina, and the Fundación José Luis Castillo Puche. Representatives of Hemingway's European publishers have also been most helpful: Gallimard—Alban Cerisier, Eric Legendre, and Jean Mattern; Mondadori Foundation; and Rowohlt Verlag—Thomas Überhoff. We remain grateful to those named in previous volumes and to the donors of letters who wish to remain anonymous.

The following manuscript specialists and dealers have been most helpful: in addition to those named in previous volumes, James E. Arsenault; Bart Auerbach; B & B Rare Books; David and Natalie Bauman and Eric Pedersen, Bauman Rare Books; James Cummins; Thomas A. Goldwasser; Glenn Horowitz Bookseller, Inc.; Selby Kiffer, Sotheby's New York; Stuart Lutz; Jeffrey H. Marks; David Mason and Debra Dearlove, David Mason Books, Toronto; Peter L. Stern; and Claudia Strauss-Schulson, Schulson Autographs; University Archives; Hugo Wetscherek and Martin Peche, Antiquarian Inlibris. David Meeker of Nick Adams Rare Books in Sacramento, California, deserves special thanks for inviting

the general editor to come view his extensive Hemingway collection and, along with Stephanie Meeker, for being so hospitable during her visit.

In order to inform our annotations and ensure accuracy in the transcriptions of letters that Hemingway wrote from a range of locales, addressing an array of specialized topics, and employing other languages, we have called upon the particular expertise of a number of willing volunteers. We especially wish to thank the following people for their assistance relative to Volume 4.

Brewster Chamberlin has served generously and tirelessly as Our Man in Key West and, with Lynn-Marie Smith, was a most gracious host to the general editor. We are also grateful to Cori Convertito, Michael Curry, Bill Geiser, Tom Hambricht, Art Noble, and Wendy Tucker for sharing their knowledge about Hemingway's Key West connections.

Ruth Hawkins and Adam Long of the Hemingway-Pfeiffer Museum and Educational Center have been unfailingly helpful in matters concerning Pauline Pfeiffer, her family, and Hemingway's time in Piggott, Arkansas. Steve Paul has been, as always, generous with his knowledge of Hemingway's Kansas City connections. Members of the Ernest Hemingway Foundation of Oak Park have continued to be most supportive: Barbara Ballinger, John W. Berry, Virginia Cassin, Kurt and Mary Jane Neumann, and Alison Sansone. Channy Lyons and Wendy Greenhouse provided valuable information about Grace Hall Hemingway as an artist.

Susan Beegel has been our expert consultant regarding Hemingway's fishing and all marine matters. Silvio Calabi has provided important information and insight about firearms, fishing boats, trap shooting, elk bugling, and more. Sara Kosiba has been a fount of information about John Herrmann and Josephine Herbst. Paul Preston has kindly shared his expertise and provided materials concerning the history of the Second Spanish Republic.

We also thank James Byrne and Janice F. Byrne for their careful research about Dorothy Fautleroy; Michael Culver for sharing his knowledge and unpublished manuscript, "Sparring in the Dark: The Art and Life of Henry Strater"; Ethan Mannon for information on Louis Bromfield; Laura Reiner of Wellesley College for information on alumna Dorothy Connable; and Raymond Wemmlinger, Librarian of The Player's Club, for information on Hemingway's membership.

We are most grateful, too, to those who shared their language skills and local knowledge. For French language and Parisian references, Kathryn Grossman, Monique Jutrin, and Julia Kelsey. For German language and references to Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, Thomas Austenfeld, Thomas Beebee, Gail and Stan Galbraith, and Rena Sanderson. For Hemingway's Italian, Mark Cirino and Sherry Roush. For Spanish language questions, Hjalmar L. Flax, Miriam B. Mandel, Pablo Pésaj Adí, and Enric Sullà. For details about Pamplona, Emilio Goicochea Zubelzu, Maria Goicochea, and José Mari Marco, with thanks to Gary Gray.

## *Acknowledgments*

For assisting the Project in various other ways, we also wish to thank Elizabeth Barker, Danny Bennett, Suzanne Clark, Donald Daiker, Michael Federspiel, Cheryl Glenn, John Harwood, Hilary Hemingway, John Hemingway, Mina Hemingway, Sean and Colette Hemingway, Valerie Hemingway, Gary Scharnhorst, Gail Sinclair, Sarah Allen Wilson, and Hidso Yanagisawa, as well as those named in previous volumes.

An important benefit for this edition has been the preservation of Hemingway's letters and other documents at Finca Vigía, his longtime Cuban home; the 2009 and 2013 opening of these materials to researchers by both the Museo Hemingway in Cuba and the Kennedy Library in Boston; and the continuation of the preservation efforts. For their parts in this endeavor, the following deserve recognition: in Cuba, Gladys Collazo Usallán, President, Consejo Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural (National Council of Cultural Patrimony); Gladys Rodríguez Ferrero, Ana Cristina Parera, Ada Rosa Alfonso Rosales, Isabel Ferreiro Garit, Néstor Álvarez Garciaga, and the staff of the Museo Hemingway; in the United States, Congressman Jim McGovern, Jenny and Frank Phillips, Bob Vila, Mary-Jo Adams, Thomas D. Herman, Deborah Harding, Vicki Huddleston, Consuelo Isaacson, Joel Schwartz, and the Finca Vigía Foundation. For enhancing our understanding of Hemingway's life in Cuba we also are grateful to Ana Elena de Arazoza, Enrique Cirules, Esperanza García Fernández, Oscar Blas Fernández, Raúl and Rita Villarreal, and René Villarreal.

The Hemingway Letters Project has been most fortunate to have the benefit of the skills, professionalism, and dedication of project assistant editors Jeanne Alexander and Bryan Grove and project assistants David Eggert and Linnet Brooks. For their substantial contributions as postdoctoral research associates, we also thank Bethany Ober Mannon and Krista Quesenberry.

Those who have served as graduate research assistants at Penn State also deserve much appreciation for their many valuable contributions. They include Jace Gatzemeyer, Michael Hart, Juliette Hawkins, Michelle Huang, Leslie Joblin, Justin Mellette, and Sean Weidman, in addition to those named in previous volumes. We appreciate, too, the fine work of these undergraduate and post-baccalaureate assistants at the Project center involved in this volume: Coral Flanagan, Julia Kelsey, Luiza Lodder, Benjamin Rowles, Erin Servey, and Adam Virzi.

We are most grateful to our publisher, Cambridge University Press, for its commitment to producing this comprehensive scholarly edition. We wish to express our particular thanks for the vision and support of publisher Linda Bree and the expert assistance of Tim Mason. It has been a great pleasure to work on

publication of this volume with Thomas D. Willshire and Diana Risetto in the New York office, and Victoria Parrin, Hilary Hammond, Amy Watson, and Chris Burrows in the United Kingdom. For his cover design, we warmly thank Chip Kidd.

Finally, we are deeply grateful for the interest and support of other colleagues, family members, and friends too numerous to name, but who, we trust, know of our appreciation. The editors wish to express special appreciation to the following: Miriam B. Mandel to Jessica and Naomi Mandel, Pablo Pésaj Adí, her women's groups, and Franz Schubert. Sandra Spanier to Graham, Brian, and Hadley Spanier, and to her parents, Richard and Maxine Whipple. The list of those to whom we owe thanks inevitably will grow much longer as publication of the edition proceeds, and we will continue to acknowledge our accumulating debts of gratitude in subsequent volumes.

## NOTE ON THE TEXT

### RULES OF TRANSCRIPTION

As a rule, the text is transcribed exactly as it appears in Hemingway's hand or typewriting, in order to preserve the flavor of the letter—whether casual, hurried, harried, inventive, or playful (as when he writes “goils” instead of “girls,” refers to his cats as “kotsies,” remarks “we cant stahnd it,” or exclaims “Goturletter thanks!”). When his handwriting is ambiguous, we have given him the benefit of the doubt and transcribed words and punctuation in their correct form.

Special challenges of transcription are treated as follows:

#### **Spelling**

- When a typed character is incomplete, distorted, or visible only as an impression on the paper (whether due to a weak keystroke, type in need of cleaning, or a worn-out ink ribbon) but nevertheless is discernible (as ultimately determined in the field checking of the original document), the intended character is supplied without editorial comment.
- When a blank space suggests that an intended letter in a word is missing but no physical trace of a keystroke exists on the manuscript page, or when Hemingway types a word off the edge of the paper, the conjectured missing letter or portion of the word is supplied in square brackets: e.g., “the[y] are trying,” or “meningiti[s] epidemic.”
- Similarly, when a word is incomplete due to an obvious oversight or a slip of the pen, and the editors deem it advisable for clarity's sake, we supply missing letters in square brackets: e.g., “I[t] makes no difference.”
- Because typewriter keyboards varied over time and from one country to another and did not always include a key for every character Hemingway wished to write, he necessarily improvised: e.g., for the numeral one he often typed a capital letter “I,” and for an exclamation point, he would backspace to type a single quotation mark above a period. We have not attempted to

reproduce those improvisations or conventions of the day but have silently supplied characters that Hemingway would have typed himself had his keyboard allowed.

- We have not attempted to reproduce in print the appearance of mechanical malfunctions. For example, when jammed typewriter keys cause two letters to appear superimposed in a single letter space, such errors are silently corrected, the letters transcribed without comment in the sequence that makes sense.

### **Capitalization**

As a rule, Hemingway's usage is preserved exactly. However, while his handwriting is generally open and legible, his uppercase and lowercase letters are sometimes indistinguishable (the letters "a" and "g," for example, almost always take the form of the lowercase, with capital letters often differentiated only by their size relative to other letters). In ambiguous cases, we have silently followed correct usage in the context of the sentence.

### **Punctuation**

Whether Hemingway is writing by hand or on a typewriter, there is no apparent pattern to his use or omission of apostrophes, and in handwritten letters he frequently marks the end of a sentence with a dash rather than a period. Hemingway's often erratic punctuation—or lack thereof—has been strictly preserved, except in the following instances:

- In handwritten letters Hemingway sometimes marked the end of a declarative sentence with a small "x" (likely a carryover from his early habits as a newspaper reporter), a wavy flourish, or another mark difficult to render in print. Rather than attempting to reproduce these markings, we have normalized them without comment as periods.
- Hemingway sometimes wrote parentheses as vertical or slanted lines; these have been normalized as curved parentheses.
- Hemingway often neglected to put a period at the end of a paragraph's last sentence (as indicated by indentation of the following line) or at the end of a sentence enclosed in parentheses. Other sentences simply run together. To routinely insert ending punctuation for the sake of grammatical correctness would alter the letters' pace and tone: masking Hemingway's carelessness or breathlessness, erasing both the inadvertent charm of some childhood letters and his intentional wordplay, and imposing an arbitrary logic or false clarity on some ambiguously worded passages. Generally we do not supply missing full stops, except when the editors deem it necessary for clarity or when

Hemingway's intention seems obvious: e.g., as indicated by extra spacing after a word and capitalization of the following word to mark the beginning of a new sentence. In such cases, we supply a period within square brackets.

- Whenever the editors have supplied punctuation for clarity's sake, those punctuation marks are enclosed within square brackets: e.g., as when Hemingway neglected to use commas to separate proper names in a list.

### **Cancellations and corrections**

Hemingway rarely bothered to erase errors or false starts in his letters, typically canceling or correcting written material either by drawing a line through it or typing over it. Usually his intent is clear, and we have not reproduced every cancellation and correction. However, when deleted or altered material is legible and the editors deem it of significance or interest, a cancellation or correction may be retained in place, with a line drawn through the text that Hemingway canceled, as the reader would have encountered it in the letter.

When he typed over his misstrikes with more forceful keystrokes so that his intended phrasing appears in darker type, we present only his corrected version. When he canceled words and phrases by backspacing and typing over them (usually with strings of the letter "x"), he occasionally missed a letter at the beginning or end of the canceled material; we do not reproduce stray characters that he obviously intended to cancel. Nor do we transcribe stray characters and false starts that he simply neglected to cancel: e.g., a portion of a word typed off the right margin of the page, followed by the complete word on the following line.

### **Interlineations, marginalia, and other markings**

Hemingway's insertions, whether they appear as interlineations or marginalia, have been transferred into the text at a point that, in the editors' judgment, most accurately reflects his intended placement. However, when the insertion would render a sentence or passage ungrammatical or confusing if simply transcribed at the indicated point without comment, we enclose the inserted material within square brackets and provide a brief editorial explanation in italics: e.g., [*EH insertion*:]. When the intended position of any material is questionable or an insertion merits editorial comment, the situation is addressed in a bracketed in-text notation or in an endnote.

When Hemingway's markings indicate that the order of letters, words, or phrases should be transposed, we have done so without comment. When he uses ditto marks to indicate repetition of a word or phrase appearing on a previous line of the original text, we have supplied the word or phrase within

square brackets at the indicated place: e.g., “Did you write the Steins? [*Ditto marks*: Did you write the] Ford Maddox Fords.”

Whenever possible, Hemingway’s occasional sketches or drawings are reproduced as they appear in the text of the letter. Otherwise, brief descriptions are provided in square brackets where such graphic elements appear in the text: e.g., [*Drawing of a sleeping cat*], and any commentary that the editors deem necessary is supplied in a note.

Other markings in the text that are difficult to render in print, such as stray doodles, demarcation lines underneath the letter date or return address, or flourishes following his signature, are not noted unless the editors deem them to be of particular interest. We do not transcribe Hemingway’s page numbering.

### **Indentation and spacing**

In both handwritten and typewritten letters, Hemingway’s indications of paragraph breaks are irregular or non-existent. Sometimes, instead of indenting, he signaled a paragraph break by starting a new page, leaving a gap between lines, or ending the previous sentence in midline. The editors have indicated new paragraphs by regular indentation of the first line.

In typewritten letters, Hemingway’s spacing is erratic. Frequently he hit the space bar both before and after punctuation marks or several times between words, and extraneous blank spaces occasionally appear in the middle of a word. The spacing around punctuation marks and between words has been normalized, and extraneous blank spaces appearing within words have been silently eliminated.

However, when Hemingway ran words together with no space between, they are transcribed exactly as they appear, as it is often impossible to determine whether he did this accidentally or intentionally for effect. Run-together words also may indicate a mood of haste or excitement that would be lost to readers if conventional spacing were editorially inserted.

### **Compound words**

Transcriptions follow Hemingway’s treatment of compound words exactly, with no attempt made to impose consistency or to correct or standardize hyphenation or spacing: e.g., there is no apparent pattern to his usage of such compounds as “good-bye,” “goodbye,” and “good bye,” or “someone” vs. “some one.”

In handwritten letters, Hemingway’s “y” is often followed by a space that might or might not mark a gap between words: e.g., it is sometimes difficult to tell if he intended to write “anyway” or “any way.” When Hemingway’s handwriting is ambiguous, we transcribe the word as it would be used correctly in that sentence.

### **Underlined words**

Words underlined by Hemingway are underlined in the transcriptions; the double, triple, and quadruple underlining he occasionally employed also is indicated in order to capture his emphasis or exuberance.

### **Missing portions of text**

Square brackets are used to indicate illegible, damaged, or missing text at the point of occurrence, with a description of the manuscript's condition in italics: e.g., [*illegible*], [*MS torn*], [*MS razor-cut by censor*]. Any conjectured reconstruction of missing text is supplied in roman type within square brackets.

### **Date and place of writing**

The date and place of origin (often a specific return address) as supplied by Hemingway in the text of his letters are transcribed exactly as he wrote them; however, we have standardized the line placement of these elements so they appear flush to the right margin. The use of letterhead is indicated in the source note following the complete text of a letter, and letterhead address information also is recorded there rather than transcribed as part of the text of the letter.

### **Valediction and signature**

Hemingway's valediction and signature are transcribed as he wrote them, whether on one line or two, but their position on the page is standardized so that they appear flush to the right margin.

### **Postscripts**

Regardless of where a postscript appears in the manuscript (in a margin, at the top or bottom of a letter, or on the back of a letter's final page), it is generally transcribed as a new paragraph following the signature, reflecting the probable order of composition. Occasionally the position of a postscript is described in a square-bracketed editorial note: e.g. [*on envelope verso*].

### **Joint letters**

Letters that Hemingway wrote with another person or to which he adds a postscript are presented in their entirety so as to preserve the context of his portion, with the point at which one writer takes over from another indicated in brackets: e.g., [*EH writes*:] or [*Pauline writes*:]. Where one writer inserts a brief

remark into the text of another, the point of interjection as well as the remark itself are indicated in brackets: e.g., [*EH interjects*: I doubt this.].

### Foreign languages

Any portion of a letter written in a language other than English is transcribed exactly as Hemingway wrote it, with no attempt to correct errors or to supply any missing diacritical marks.

When a word, phrase, sentence, or passage within a letter is in a foreign language, a translation is supplied in a note preceded, when deemed necessary for clarity, by the correct spelling or diacritical form of a word. Translations are not supplied for words or phrases presumably familiar to most readers: e.g., *adios*, *au revoir*. When Hemingway wrote an entire letter in another language, the transcription of the original text is followed by an English translation in square brackets.

We do not attempt in our translations to replicate Hemingway's foreign-language grammatical errors: e.g., in conjugation of verbs and in gender agreement of nouns and adjectives. Rather, we provide a translation that conveys the sense of the message, while briefly noting the presence and nature of such errors. Similarly, we do not attempt to replicate the exact syntax and mechanics (e.g., capitalization and punctuation) of Hemingway's use of a foreign language, but rather aim in our English translation to convey the style and tone of his usage, whether formal or colloquial.

## EDITORIAL APPARATUS

### Heading

Each letter is preceded by a heading indicating the recipient and date of the letter, with any portion supplied by the editors enclosed in square brackets.

### Source note

A bibliographical note immediately following each letter provides information about the source text upon which the transcription is based, including the location and form of the original letter. Abbreviations used are described in the list of Abbreviations and Short Titles in the front matter of each volume. Information appears in this order:

- (1) Symbols indicate the location and form of the original letter. For example, "JFK, TLS" indicates a typed letter signed that is located in the collections of the John F. Kennedy Library. When the original letter cannot be located and the transcription derives from another source (e.g., a photocopy, a recipient's

transcription, a secretary's transcription of dictation, an auction catalog, or another publication), that source is indicated. When Hemingway closed a letter with a "mark" instead of writing his name (as when he drew a beer stein to signify his nickname "Stein," short for "Hemingstein"), we have considered the letter to be signed, describing it, for example, as "TLS" rather than "TL."

- (2) The use of letterhead stationery is noted and the address information supplied. Additional letterhead elements tangential to the study of Hemingway (e.g., an advertising slogan, description of a hotel's facilities, proprietor's name, phone number) are not generally recorded. However, in the rare cases when Hemingway provides commentary on these elements, the situation is described in a note. If the text is from a picture postcard, a brief description is provided: e.g., A Postcard S, verso: Sun Valley Lodge, Idaho.
- (3) Surviving postmark information is supplied. When a postmark stamp is incomplete or illegible, portions of place names or dates supplied by the editors are enclosed in square brackets: e.g., SAN SEBA[STIAN]. When the original letter cannot be consulted and postmark information derives from another source (e.g., a description in an auction catalog), we enclose that information in square brackets.

### **Endnotes**

Annotations appear as endnotes following each letter. In notes Ernest Hemingway is referred to as EH. Initials are not used for any other persons, but editors frequently use the short names that Hemingway would have used: e.g., Hadley for his first wife, Elizabeth Hadley Richardson Hemingway; or Buck Lanham for his friend General Charles T. Lanham. Recipients of letters included in a given volume are identified in the Roster of Correspondents in the back matter of that volume. Other people are identified in endnotes at first mention. Square-bracketed information (such as a last name) has occasionally been inserted into the text of a letter to briefly identify a person without adding to the number of endnotes. There necessarily may be some duplication and cross-referencing as we aim to make the volumes useful to readers, not all of whom will read the letters strictly chronologically within a given volume or across the edition.

In determining which references merit annotation, we have been mindful of the international audience for the edition and, in consultation with the publisher, have provided notes for some references likely to be familiar to U.S. readers: e.g., Karo syrup, Old Faithful geyser. We do not generally attempt to explicate Hemingway's inventive expressions, private slang, and other wordplay, leaving it to readers to experience and interpret his language as he wrote it.

The editors have made every effort to identify Hemingway's references to people, places, events, publications, and artistic works. However, the identities of some are inevitably lost to history. When a note is not provided at the first mention of a reference, the reader can assume that it remains unidentified.

SANDRA SPANIER

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

### MANUSCRIPT SOURCES AND LOCATIONS

Bruce	Bruce Family Archives, courtesy of Benjamin C. Bruce
Channick	Herbert S. Channick Collection
Colby	Special Collections, Miller Library, Colby College; Waterville, Maine
Columbia	Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University; New York, New York
Comini	Alessandra Comini Collection
Cornell	Rare and Manuscript Collections, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University; Ithaca, New York
CPP	College of Physicians of Philadelphia; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
DLA	Deutsches Literaturarchiv; Marbach, Germany
DiSilvestro	Roger DiSilvestro Collection
DPL	Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library; Detroit, Michigan
Fritch	Jean Breeden Estate Collection, courtesy of Virginia Fritch
Guggenheim	John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation; New York, New York
HPMEC	Hemingway–Pfeiffer Museum and Educational Center; Piggott, Arkansas
HSOPRF	Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest; Oak Park, Illinois
IndU	Lilly Library, Indiana University; Bloomington, Indiana
JFK	Ernest Hemingway Collection at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum; Boston, Massachusetts
Karpeles	Karpeles Manuscript Library
KWAHS	Key West Art and Historical Society; Key West, Florida
Knox	Special Collections and Archives, Knox College Library; Galesburg, Illinois

LOC	Library of Congress; Washington, D.C.
Mason	David Mason Books; Toronto, Canada
MHM	Archives Department, Missouri History Museum Library and Research Center; St. Louis, Missouri
Mills	F. W. Olin Library, Mills College; Oakland, California
Newberry	The Newberry Library; Chicago, Illinois
NWSU	Cammie G. Henry Research Center, Watson Memorial Library, Northwestern State University of Louisiana; Natchitoches, Louisiana
NYPL–Berg	The Berg Collection of English and American Literature, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations; New York, New York
OPPL	Oak Park Public Library; Oak Park, Illinois
Penn	University of Pennsylvania; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
PSU	Rare Books and Manuscripts, Special Collections Library, Pennsylvania State University Libraries; University Park, Pennsylvania
PUL	Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; Princeton, New Jersey
James Sanford	James Sanford Collection
SIU	Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University; Carbondale, Illinois
Smith	Mortimer Rare Book Room, Neilson Library, Smith College; Northampton, Massachusetts
Stanford	Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries; Stanford, California
SUNYB	The Poetry Collection of the University Libraries, University at Buffalo, State University of New York; Buffalo, New York
Syracuse	Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries; Syracuse, New York
UCalB	Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Berkeley, California
UDel	Special Collections, University of Delaware Library; Newark, Delaware
UMD	Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries; College Park, Maryland
UMKC	LaBudde Special Collections, Miller Nichols Library, University of Missouri–Kansas City; Kansas City, Missouri
URead	Archives of Jonathan Cape Ltd., Special Collections, University of Reading Library; Reading, Berkshire, United Kingdom

*Abbreviations and Short Titles*

USCar	Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Ernest F. Hollings Special Collections Library, University of South Carolina; Columbia, South Carolina
UT	Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin; Austin, Texas
UTulsa	Special Collections and University Archives, McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa; Tulsa, Oklahoma
UVA	Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia; Charlottesville, Virginia
Wake Forest	Z. Smith Reynolds Library, Wake Forest University; Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Weinberg	Stanley L. Weinberg Family Collection
Yale	Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; New Haven, Connecticut
Yoken	Mel Yoken Collection

FORMS OF CORRESPONDENCE

The following abbreviations are used in combination to describe the form of the original source text (e.g., ALS for autograph letter signed, TLS for typed letter signed, ACD for autograph cable draft, TLcc for typed letter carbon copy, phJFK for a photocopy at the John F. Kennedy Library):

A	Autograph
C	Cable
cc	Carbon copy
D	Draft
Frag	Fragment
L	Letter
N	Note
ph	Photocopy
S	Signed
T	Typed

**Other Abbreviations**

b.	born
c.	circa
d.	died
m.	married
n.d.	no date
n.p.	no pagination

## PUBLISHED WORKS

**Works by Ernest Hemingway**

The following abbreviations and short titles for Hemingway's works are employed throughout the edition; not all of them appear in the present volume. First U.S. editions are cited, unless otherwise noted.

- ARIT*            *Across the River and into the Trees*. New York: Scribner's, 1950.
- BL*                *By-line: Ernest Hemingway; Selected Articles and Dispatches of Four Decades*. Edited by William White. New York: Scribner's, 1967.
- CSS*              *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: The Finca Vigía Edition*. New York: Scribner's, 1987.
- DLT*              *Dateline: Toronto; The Complete "Toronto Star" Dispatches, 1920–1924*. Edited by William White. New York: Scribner's, 1985.
- DIA*              *Death in the Afternoon*. New York: Scribner's, 1932.
- DS*                *The Dangerous Summer*. New York: Scribner's, 1985.
- FC*                *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-nine Stories*. New York: Scribner's, 1938.
- FTA*              *A Farewell to Arms*. New York: Scribner's, 1929.
- FTA–HLE*        *A Farewell to Arms: The Hemingway Library Edition*. Foreword by Patrick Hemingway. Edited with an Introduction by Seán Hemingway. New York: Scribner's, 2012.
- FWBT*            *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. New York: Scribner's, 1940.
- GOE*              *The Garden of Eden*. New York: Scribner's, 1986.
- GHOA*            *Green Hills of Africa*. New York: Scribner's, 1935.
- GHOA–HLE*      *Green Hills of Africa: The Hemingway Library Edition*. Foreword by Patrick Hemingway. Edited with an Introduction by Seán Hemingway. Scribner's, 2015.
- iot*                *in our time*. Paris: Three Mountains Press, 1924.
- IOT*                *In Our Time*. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1925. Rev. edn., New York: Scribner's, 1930.
- IIS*                *Islands in the Stream*. New York: Scribner's, 1970.
- Letters vol. 1*    *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway: Volume 1 (1907–1922)*. Edited by Sandra Spanier and Robert W. Trogdon. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Letters vol. 2*    *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway: Volume 2 (1923–1925)*. Edited by Sandra Spanier, Albert J. DeFazio III, and Robert W. Trogdon. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

*Abbreviations and Short Titles*

- Letters vol. 3     *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway: Volume 3 (1926–1929)*. Edited by Rena Sanderson, Sandra Spanier, and Robert W. Trogdon. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- MAW             *Men at War*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1942.
- MF                *A Moveable Feast*. New York: Scribner's, 1964.
- MF–RE          *A Moveable Feast: The Restored Edition*. Foreword by Patrick Hemingway. Edited with an Introduction by Seán Hemingway. New York: Scribner's, 2009.
- MWW            *Men Without Women*. New York: Scribner's, 1927.
- NAS              *The Nick Adams Stories*. New York: Scribner's, 1972.
- OMS              *The Old Man and the Sea*. New York: Scribner's, 1952.
- Poems            *Complete Poems*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Nicholas Gerogiannis. Rev. edn. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.
- SAR              *The Sun Also Rises*. New York: Scribner's, 1926.
- SAR–HLE       *The Sun Also Rises: The Hemingway Library Edition*. Foreword by Patrick Hemingway. Edited with an Introduction by Seán Hemingway. New York: Scribner's, 2014.
- SL                *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters, 1917–1961*. Edited by Carlos Baker. New York: Scribner's, 1981.
- SS                *The Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway*. New York: Scribner's, 1954.
- TAFL            *True at First Light*. Edited by Patrick Hemingway. New York: Scribner's, 1999.
- THHN           *To Have and Have Not*. New York: Scribner's, 1937.
- TOS              *The Torrents of Spring*. New York: Scribner's, 1926.
- TOTTC          *The Only Thing That Counts: The Ernest Hemingway–Maxwell Perkins Correspondence, 1925–1947*. Edited by Matthew J. Bruccoli with Robert W. Trogdon. New York: Scribner's, 1996.
- TSTP            *Three Stories and Ten Poems*. Paris: Contact Editions, 1923.
- UK                *Under Kilimanjaro*. Edited by Robert W. Lewis and Robert E. Fleming. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2005.
- WTN             *Winner Take Nothing*. New York: Scribner's, 1933.

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- Bruccoli and Baughman *Mechanism* Bruccoli, Matthew J., and Judith S. Baughman, eds. *Hemingway and the Mechanism of Fame: Statements, Public Letters, Introductions, Forewords, Prefaces, Blurbs, Reviews, and Endorsements*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Bruccoli and Clark *Auction* Bruccoli, Matthew J. and C. E. Frazer Clark, Jr., eds. *Hemingway at Auction, 1930–1973*. Detroit: Gale Research, 1973.
- Bruccoli *As Ever* Bruccoli, Matthew J., ed. *As Ever, Scott—Fitz: Letters between F. Scott Fitzgerald and His Literary Agent, Harold Ober 1929–1940*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1972.
- Bruccoli *Fitz–Hem* Bruccoli, Matthew J. *Fitzgerald and Hemingway: A Dangerous Friendship*. Paperback edition with appendices. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1995.
- Bruccoli *Sons* Bruccoli, Matthew J., ed. *The Sons of Maxwell Perkins: Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Wolfe, and their Editor*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004.
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- Callaghan Callaghan, Morley. *That Summer in Paris: Memories of Tangled Friendships with Hemingway, Fitzgerald, and Some Others*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1963.
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- Cohn Cohn, Louis Henry. *A Bibliography of the Works of Ernest Hemingway*. New York: Random House for the House of Books, 1931.
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- Donaldson *Force* Donaldson, Scott. *By Force of Will: The Life and Art of Ernest Hemingway*. New York: Penguin Books, 1977.
- Donaldson *MacLeish* Donaldson, Scott. *Archibald MacLeish: An American Life*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992.
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## INTRODUCTION TO THE VOLUME

*Scott Donaldson*  
College of William and Mary

The three previous volumes of Hemingway's letters cover his adolescence, growing up in Oak Park and northern Michigan, his early newspaper work in Kansas City and Toronto, his wounding in World War I, his marriage to Hadley Richardson and their years together in Paris, the birth of their son Bumby, his discovery of bullfighting in Spain, his work as a foreign correspondent, his connections to such guiding literary figures as Ezra Pound and Gertrude Stein, his first publications in little magazines and limited editions succeeded by major books *In Our Time* (1925), *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), and *Men Without Women* (1927), his divorce from Hadley to marry Pauline Pfeiffer, his return to the United States and the fishing (off Key West) and hunting (out West) that he always valued, the birth of his son Patrick and suicide of his father, and the completion of his second novel *A Farewell to Arms*.

Volume 4 contains his correspondence from April 1929 through the end of 1931. During this period Hemingway established himself as a major writer with a growing awareness of the literary marketplace, continued his outdoor adventures, with the aid of Pauline's Uncle Gus set up a trust fund to support his family in Oak Park, suffered a painful broken bone in his arm that delayed completing *Death in the Afternoon*, and saw the birth of his third son Gregory.

### BRINGING OUT 'A FAREWELL TO ARMS'

"I'm a Professional Writer now," Ernest Hemingway wrote to Maxwell Perkins at Scribner's on 3 October 1929, a week after publication of *A Farewell to Arms*. "Than which," he added, "there isn't anything lower."<sup>1</sup> The book was to become a bestseller and establish Hemingway as a leading figure in the literary world, but at the time he wasn't particularly proud of it. In his view, he had knuckled under to his publisher by deleting the irreverent cuss words that were common parlance for his military characters. The dispute over this issue dominated much of the

communication between Hemingway and his editor during the spring and summer of 1929, after Ernest and Pauline, accompanied by their infant son Patrick, came back to Paris in April to resume their life as expatriates.

He'd worked "like a convict" on the novel for a year, he wrote Thornton Wilder on 26 May 1929, and in several places: Paris, Key West, Arkansas, Kansas City, Wyoming, and back in Key West again. He felt elated when it was finished, followed by a bout of depression and a troubling period when he couldn't get any fiction down on paper.

As a professional writer, Hemingway accepted an offer of \$16,000—a lot of money in those days and far more than he had earned from previous books, to serialize the book in six installments of *Scribner's Magazine*. Though he didn't like it, Hemingway understood that the magazine serial would have to cut certain words to avoid scandalizing its genteel readership. But he stoutly resisted similar changes in the book itself.

In two letters written to Perkins on the same day, 7 June 1929, Hemingway pleaded his case. His publishers objected most of all to three words regularly uttered by soldiers in wartime: specifically *shit*, *balls*, and the "Supreme insult" *cocksucker*. These words were to be found in Shakespeare, Hemingway maintained, and also in Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, a popular German war novel then available in translation in England and about to be published in the United States.

To sum up his argument, Hemingway wrote that if "a word can be printed and is needed in the text it is a weakening to omit it. If it cannot be printed without the book being suppressed all right." He didn't want to make trouble, Ernest added. He only wanted all they could "possibly get" in the fight for full use of the language. He never used a word if he could avoid it, he pointed out. Then if Perkins decided that it was "unpublishable really unpublishable I suppose I must leave it blank—But I want the blanks to indicate what the word is."<sup>2</sup>

Two weeks later the issue became further complicated when the Boston police chief banned the sale of the June issue of *Scribner's* on the grounds that the serial of *A Farewell to Arms*, with its love affair unsanctified by marriage, was salacious. This was hardly a surprise inasmuch as the Boston censors had banned *The Sun Also Rises* on similar grounds three years earlier. But the stakes were higher this time. His publishers had not only invested in a serialization of Hemingway's novel, but were planning to promote the book vigorously when it came out in late September.

At first, Hemingway did not take the ban very seriously. Boston was manifestly the nation's capital for book censorship, and something of a laughing stock for its recent suppression of books by prominent authors—among them, H. G. Wells, Conrad Aiken, John Dos Passos, Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, and Theodore Dreiser, in addition to Hemingway.

Perkins, however, was not amused. The incident, he wrote to Hemingway on 12 July 1929, guaranteed that the book itself would be “scrutinized from a prejudiced standpoint” when it came out and therefore the three words they had talked so much about “could not be printed, or plainly indicated.” He was particularly worried that the federal authorities might be stirred up. Both United States Customs and the Post Office had recently been busy suppressing books. Customs ruled against admitting the unexpurgated British edition of *All Quiet on the Western Front*, and Little, Brown was forced to bring out a sanitized version of that novel. Even more to be feared was a refusal by the Post Office to mail copies of books they regarded as obscene. “[I]f the post office should object,” Perkins pointed out, “we would be in Dutch.”<sup>3</sup>

“Max sounded scared,” Hemingway wrote to Fitzgerald on 23 July 1929, and if Scribner’s decided to “lay off the book I’ll be out of luck.” Fitzgerald had more or less orchestrated the 1925–1926 maneuvers that enabled Hemingway to break his contract with Boni & Liveright and sign on—like Fitzgerald himself—with Scribner’s and with Perkins as editor. And at this time Ernest continued to consult Scott, the more experienced writer three years older than himself, on professional matters.

On 26 July 1929, Hemingway capitulated on the three words that most bothered Perkins and the conservative firm he worked for. “I understand your viewpoint about the words you cannot print,” he wrote Perkins. “If you cannot print them—and I never expected you could print the one word (C—K—)—then you cannot and that lets me out.” Accordingly, the words *shit*, *fuck*, and *cocksucker* were represented by blanks in *A Farewell to Arms* and at Ernest’s suggestion *scrotum* was substituted for *balls*.

This dirty language was hardly the only thing about the novel that invited censorship. There remained the love affair between the unmarried Frederic Henry and Catherine Barkley, for example. A few reviewers focused on that matter, titling their comments under “Naughty Ernest” and “What is Dirt?” Veteran writer Owen Wister, a friend of Perkins, objected to the frank use of obstetrical details in describing Catherine’s death during childbirth. And Italians and Italian Americans were offended by the book’s graphic depiction of the catastrophic defeat at Caporetto and the defections and desertions of the troops during the disorganized retreat afterwards. Hemingway, anticipating the problem, wrote a disclaimer that appeared in *Scribner’s Magazine*, to the effect that the story was fictional, not autobiographical, and no more intended as a criticism of Italy or Italians than *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

The publicity generated by the ban in Boston and by Scribner’s itself undoubtedly stimulated sales. *A Farewell to Arms* was published in a first printing of 31,050 copies, more than five times as many as the 6,000 initial run

of *The Sun Also Rises* three years earlier. Most reviews were highly favorable, and the book quickly shot up the bestseller list. The Boston censors took no action. Neither did the Post Office. Only in Italy was the book banned. Hemingway was pleased by the sales, but continued to regret backtracking on his conviction that fictional soldiers could only emerge as authentic on the page if they spoke like real ones.

#### THE PROFESSIONAL AT WORK

The Hemingways spent most of July and August 1929 in Spain. Ernest and Pauline were happy traveling together, leaving Patrick in the care of a French nanny. After attending the fiesta at Pamplona, they visited artist Joan Miró at his home in Tarragona, the site of the famous painting *La Ferme* (*The Farm*) that Ernest had purchased in 1925 as a birthday gift for his wife Hadley. Then they followed the bullfight season in Valencia and Madrid and in August sojourned to Santiago de Compostela in Galicia.

In Madrid, Hemingway saw and was impressed by Sidney Franklin, the bullfighter from Brooklyn whose exploits were making news in the press. Hemingway was asked by his close friend Guy Hickok, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle's* European correspondent, to interview Franklin. This was not a simple matter, now that Hemingway was becoming a well-known author. He could write something for the *Eagle*, he replied to Hickok on 30 July 1929, but not under his own name. "You see," he explained, "I could sell an interview with [Franklin] . . . for a thousand seeds [dollars] I think and if we did it signed for nothing wd just poop that away."

A few months later Archibald MacLeish, then working for *Fortune* magazine, invited him to write an article on bullfighting as an industry. He could do "a hell of a good" piece with lots of data and the "inside stuff" he'd acquired as an *aficionado*, Hemingway answered on 15 December 1929. But he'd want \$2,500—or \$2,000 at least—for a 5,000–6,000-word article, the same price, he maintained, that a long story of his would command in the marketplace. This was an exaggeration, and it didn't persuade the magazine. *Fortune* offered \$1,000 for 2,500 words, and Hemingway took it, without enthusiasm. "It's a romance of business magazine," he told Perkins, but there wasn't any romance in his article, which was "written in journalese full of statistics." Still, though he was keeping his article "as dull as possible," he realized that "[e]very aspect" he touched on could eventually "make a long chapter in a book." In fact, the project helped pave the way for what would become *Death in the Afternoon* (1932).

As his correspondence with Hickok and MacLeish indicated, Hemingway was becoming savvy about money matters by the fall of 1929. At the beginning of his

literary career, he pursued any and all avenues—little magazines, private presses, limited editions—leading to publication of his work. Though he was paid little or nothing, the important thing was to get his stories into print where they could be noticed. But after bringing out four books—*In Our Time* (1925) with Boni & Liveright, and *The Torrents of Spring*, *The Sun Also Rises* (both 1926), and *Men Without Women* (1927) with Scribner's— and with the success of *A Farewell to Arms* virtually assured, he took an increasingly aggressive stance about payment for his work.

He secured an advance of \$6,000 on *Farewell* from Scribner's, and as the book boomed, renegotiated his contract to a higher royalty rate—20 percent—for sales beyond 25,000. "You and Mr. Scribner are both damned fine about it," he wrote to Perkins on 4 January 1930.

The firm had every reason to be supportive of its author, who at age thirty had emerged as a major literary property. Within three months after *A Farewell to Arms* came out—partly because of false rumors that he was unhappy with Scribner's—he was approached by Harper's, Coward-McCann, and Knopf about switching publishers. Hemingway loyally let Perkins know about these overtures, each time declaring that he had no intention whatsoever of leaving Scribner's.

He was somewhat uncomfortable in his double role as dedicated artist and hard-headed businessman. But he felt it was incumbent on him to earn as much as possible to support Pauline and Patrick, contribute to Bumby's welfare, and—above all—provide financial assistance to his family in Oak Park. As he told Perkins on 26 July 1929, now that he had "all these bloody people" to take care of and couldn't write more than one book every two years, he had to make all the money he legitimately could.<sup>4</sup> The suicide of Dr. Clarence E. Hemingway in December 1928 had left the family in dire straits. He had sunk most of his resources into basically worthless Florida real estate, and as the eldest male child, Ernest considered himself responsible for providing his mother and younger siblings with enough income to live on.

Throughout 1929 Ernest sent his mother Grace monthly checks for \$100 and assured her that he would be able to do so indefinitely. Sometimes the correspondence between the two grew contentious. The son distributed advice as well as funds, and the mother wanted things done her own way. But these disputes faded away when, in April 1930, he was able to establish a \$50,000 trust fund to guarantee his family long-term support.

Hemingway supplied \$20,000 toward that fund from the royalties of *A Farewell to Arms*, and the other \$30,000 came from Pauline's wealthy and generous Uncle Gus (Gustavus Adolphus) Pfeiffer. Gus doted on Pauline, admired Ernest, and was determined to assist them whenever he could. He provided them with a new Ford Model A in 1928 when they came to America, and shipped them a new Ford

Cabriolet in 1929 after they arrived in Europe. Later he paid for their house in Key West and for an African safari. Ernest dedicated *A Farewell to Arms* to G. A. Pfeiffer, explaining to Max Perkins on 26 July 1929 that there could hardly be “a less graceful name nor a much better man.”

The success of his novel brought Hemingway a great deal of attention, not all of it welcome. Ironically, for a man who would become the most famous writer of the twentieth century, he took a hard line against personal publicity. In a letter of 12 October 1929 he cautioned his mother against submitting to any interviews about him. “Don’t ever give out anything. Just say your sorry but you can’t.” Scribner’s had the same instructions, he wrote, adding, “If I’m to write at all I have to keep my private life out of it.”

Even for Dorothy Parker’s laudatory piece about him—“The Artist’s Reward,” in the 30 November 1929 *New Yorker*—Hemingway refused to supply personal information. And Max Perkins earned his gratitude by purchasing half a dozen letters Hemingway had sent to Ernest Walsh, editor of the little magazine *This Quarter*, in 1925 and 1926. “It certainly is a crappy business to find your own personal letters up for sale,” Hemingway wrote to Perkins (c. 24 April 1930). There were some he’d written to girls he’d be prepared to pay a good price for.

Hemingway was incensed when Grosset & Dunlap included “biographical crap” on the back wrapper of its inexpensive edition of *The Sun Also Rises*. He wrote to Perkins on 31 July 1930 to instruct the firm to remove that material at once, warning particularly against any references to his war service and marital status.

Then there was the matter of dealing with letters from readers who praised *A Farewell to Arms*. He faithfully replied to these communications from fans in brief notes, thanking them for liking his work and bothering to tell him so. The trouble was that each response cost him a significant chunk of time and 1.50 francs in postage. How was he supposed to manage that? he asked English writer Hugh Walpole on 10 December 1929. *The Sun Also Rises* had elicited only a few letters from elderly ladies offering to make a home for him despite his (or Jake Barnes’s) unfortunate disability and from drunks who claimed to have met him in one watering hole or another; his 1927 book of stories, *Men Without Women*, generated almost no letters at all. But it was different with *A Farewell to Arms*. What was he to do when he really started to get letters?

A few of the letters came from aspiring young writers seeking advice. Early in October 1929 he told younger sister Carol to try to “write straight English,” never using slang—“swell,” for example—except in dialogue. She’d need a lot of luck to make money as a writer, he warned another young woman on 30 November 1929. “If you want to make a living writing I would say it was easier to make it any other way,” he said. But if she wanted to write anyway, “the only thing is to write and no one can help you.”

Some correspondents sent stories of their own for comments, and Hemingway sometimes supplied them. Of a promising story from George Albee, for example, Ernest observed on 7 May 1931 that he didn't quite believe that the protagonist would have killed himself at the end. "You see in all writing when you first start to do it you, writing, get a terrific kick and the reader" did not. Only later, and there was no short cut, could "you learn to give it all to the reader."

Much of the incoming mail involved professional matters. Magazine editors inquired if he had anything to send them. No, he told *Pagany* and *Hound & Horn*, he had nothing new to submit. He wasn't getting much down on paper during late 1929 and early 1930. Besides, he'd promised Ray Long at *Cosmopolitan* first crack at commercially viable long stories, and *Scribner's Magazine* remained a reliable place for his shorter pieces.

There were also letters from book collectors eager to acquire copies of his writings. The prices for his early limited edition publications in Paris were rapidly accelerating. In June 1930 a copy of *in our time* (1924) fetched \$160 and one of *Three Stories and Ten Poems* (1923) \$150 on the open market. Hemingway himself only had one copy of *Three Stories* and none at all of *in our time*. He arranged to send *Three Stories* to Dr. Don Carlos Guffey in Kansas City, an avid collector as well as the obstetrician who supervised both of Pauline's difficult deliveries.

Hemingway cooperated fully with Captain Louis Henry Cohn of New York, who was preparing the first bibliography of his work by tracking down stories and poems in little magazines that were hard to find or no longer in existence. In several long letters Hemingway supplied Cohn with lively anecdotes about the circumstances of these publications. He refused, however, to be of any assistance when it came to his newspaper articles. These pieces, he insisted in a letter dated 24 June 1930, were written to be timely and not permanent, and bore no relation to his "signed and published writing in books and magazines." It was "a hell of a trick on a man . . . to dig [them] up" and confuse them with his real work.

#### THE FITZGERALD RELATIONSHIP

Hemingway's most interesting letters concerning a literary figure during the 1929–1931 period were those to or about Scott Fitzgerald. In 1929, Fitzgerald was not quite halfway through his nine-year struggle to complete *Tender Is the Night*, the novel he began shortly after *The Great Gatsby* and that was to go through substantial changes in plot and characters before finally being published in 1934. From the beginning, though, Fitzgerald had been promising Perkins that the book was all but finished and that he would deliver it to Scribner's for the spring list, or the fall list, or in any case very soon, and then missing the deadlines.

Worried about the delays and aware that the Fitzgeralds were in Paris in the spring of 1929, Perkins apparently asked Hemingway to keep him informed about Scott's health and welfare. "Got in last night, so haven't seen Scott yet," Hemingway wrote to their editor on c. 23 April 1929, the day after arriving in Paris. "They said at the bank that he was in town—I'll see him soon and let you know." When he had located Fitzgerald, he reported to Perkins that Scott was doing well and working on his writing; a report that may have been motivated more by the writers' friendship than by entire fidelity to the facts.

Their relationship was at least slightly compromised one spring afternoon in the basement gymnasium of the American Club, where Hemingway and the Canadian novelist Morley Callaghan—recently moved to Paris—occasionally boxed with each other. Though smaller than Hemingway and not in particularly good shape, Callaghan was a very good boxer who knew his way around the ring.

On the day in question, Hemingway indulged in an extravagant luncheon with Scott and John Peale Bishop, eating lobster thermidor and drinking white burgundy, and was ill prepared for the bout with Callaghan. Enlisted to serve as timekeeper, Fitzgerald unfortunately froze and let the round overrun as Callaghan kept landing punches. When Scott finally called time, Hemingway wrote to Perkins on 28 August 1929, "I was pooped as could be and thought I had never known such a long round." Afterwards Fitzgerald said he "was very sorry and ashamed and would I forgive him."

The symbiosis between them as professionals was also undergoing a shift. Hemingway continued to rely on Fitzgerald for counsel on financial issues, but in a letter of 13 September 1929 he assumed the role of authority, imploring the older writer to finish his stalled novel. Fitzgerald might no longer have "the bloom" of his earlier career, he acknowledged, but that was no reason to despair. "You lose everything that is fresh and everything that is easy and it always seems as though you could never write." But Scott had more *métier* now and knew more, and when he got "flashes of the old juice" he could write better than ever. And, Hemingway added, Fitzgerald should stop turning out high-priced stories for the *Saturday Evening Post* and concentrate on the novel instead. "You have more stuff than anyone and you care more about it and for Christ sake just keep on and go through with it now and dont please write anything else until it's finished. It will be damned good—"

In mid-November Fitzgerald warned Hemingway that sales of *A Farewell to Arms* were liable to fall in the wake of the stock market crash. To forestall that happening, Fitzgerald recommended promoting the book as a love story and not just another story of war. This led Hemingway to compose a long letter to Perkins on 19 November 1929 with two specific and widely different suggestions: either

prepare an ad “hammer”ing away that *Farewell* was “A Great MODERN Love STORY” or simply run James Aswell’s rave review in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* in its entirety. A month later, Hemingway apologized for his advertising advice. That was Scribner’s job, not his, and he wouldn’t have done it but for Fitzgerald seeming “so alarmed.” He was “damned fond of Scott and would do anything for him,” he wrote Perkins on 15 December 1929, “but he’s been a little trying lately.”

As—for example—at a gathering Gertrude Stein organized at 27, rue de Fleurus, specifically asking Hemingway in advance to bring Fitzgerald along as the one writer with the most talent. At the soirée itself, Stein was praising “her head off” to Hemingway about Fitzgerald when Scott came over to join them. She started to repeat her praise and then, “to spare [Scott] blushes and not be rude to [Ernest]” commented that the two writers had contrasting “flames.”

Fitzgerald took that remark as a veiled attack, feeling sure that Stein meant to deprecate his work vis-à-vis Hemingway’s. Writing to Scott c. 28 November 1929, the highly competitive Ernest maintained that it made no sense to worry about which of them was better. They’d started “along entirely separate lines and as writers ha[d] nothing in common except the desire to write well.” So why talk about superiority? They were “all in the same boat,” after all.

Toward the end of 1929 the unhappy spring boxing workout with Morley Callaghan came back to roil their friendship. The trouble started when Hemingway read in Isabel Paterson’s 24 November *New York Herald Tribune* column that he had insulted Callaghan, who challenged him and knocked him cold. This was a blatant falsehood. As Ernest wrote to Max Perkins in high dudgeon in a letter of c. 8–10 December 1929, Callaghan had indeed hit him “whenever he wanted” on the day when he “was tight and could hardly see,” but he was certainly not knocked out.

Callaghan promptly denied this rumored yarn, but Paterson—one of the few critics to review *Farewell* unfavorably—did not print this retraction until 8 December. In the meantime, still feeling guilty about his errant timekeeping, Fitzgerald cabled Callaghan demanding a correction. This angered Callaghan, who chastised Fitzgerald in response. On c. 12 December 1929, Hemingway wrote to Scott that he knew he had not “let the round go on deliberately” and not to trouble himself about it.

The Hemingway–Fitzgerald friendship was fractured but not entirely shattered by this series of events. Back from overseas and hearing the sad news of Zelda Fitzgerald’s psychological breakdown and hospitalization in Switzerland, on 24 July 1930 Hemingway asked Perkins to send Fitzgerald his love. On 12 August he went further. “Please let me know . . . anything you think of that I can do [for Scott],” he wrote to Perkins. “I’d go over [to Europe] if you think it would do any good.”

## THE ARTIST AS OUTDOORSMAN

By early 1930 the Hemingways were back in Key West, with Ernest eager to resume the fishing trips that meant so much to him and his friends. “Key West is a hell of a fine place don’t you think,” he wrote to the painter Waldo Peirce on 29 August 1929. “We want to get a shack there and one in Wyoming and live between the two.” Peirce had come down from Maine the previous year to pursue the “monsters” of the deep, but was living overseas and unable to repeat his visit in the winter of 1930.

Too bad, but Hemingway had other candidates for journeys to the ideal fishing waters of the Dry Tortugas and the Marquesas. In a series of letters written in February 1930, Ernest rounded up companions for these outings, including Archie MacLeish, Mike Strater, and Max Perkins. Perkins caught a record fifty-eight-pound kingfish during his visit.

Other overtures went out to John Dos Passos and Bill Horne, who’d served with him in Italy—both of them recently and happily married. Dos Passos had married Kate Smith, one of Hemingway’s closest friends up in Michigan. Dos and Kate came to Key West in April. And in August, Bill and Bunny Horne joined the Hemingways in Wyoming for trout fishing and game hunting. He’d never “seen people finer married,” Hemingway wrote to them on 12 September 1930.

He wasn’t getting much writing done during 1930, but had a plenitude of professional matters to attend to. To an unusual degree, Hemingway himself—not his agent Paul Reynolds, and not his editor Perkins—handled negotiations for translations of his work, *A Farewell to Arms* in particular. He drove a hard bargain with the German publisher, chose among three potential Spanish offers, and settled on the expert Maurice-Edgar Coindreau to translate his novel into French.

The Reynolds agency, he believed, did a poor job of selling the theatrical rights to *Farewell*. Neither the play written by Laurence Stallings (it flopped on Broadway in mid-1930) nor the movie rights based on that play brought in the funds he’d hoped for. After he learned that Harold Ober—Fitzgerald’s agent as well—had left the Reynolds firm, Hemingway switched representation to lawyer Mo Speiser.

He was spending most of his time pursuing the outdoor life in 1930, and—as he wrote to Waldo Peirce on 1 June 1930—the “book racket” was “just about belly up” with publishers unable to move volumes even at \$1 prices. Nonetheless, Hemingway understood that he had to keep writing. It was his occupation, and his calling. He contemplated writing a play before deciding on bullfighting as the subject for his next book. In late July, when he was staying at the Lawrence Nordquist ranch in Wyoming, he was humming along on *Death in the Afternoon* at 700 to 1,200 words a day, and planned to stay out West until he finished it.

The other literary venture in summer and fall of 1930 had to do with Scribner's bringing out a new edition of *In Our Time*, the first book of stories published by Boni & Liveright in 1925. In an exchange of correspondence with Max Perkins, Hemingway lobbied for an introduction by Edmund Wilson, resisted any wholesale revisions that would make it seem as if this were a new book and not a reissue, and worried over possible libel suits inasmuch as several of the stories were based on actual events and real people. Scribner's published it on 24 October, with a legal disclaimer stating that both the characters and their names were fictitious.

It was not all work in Wyoming: far from it. Just as he had in Key West, Hemingway sang the praises of the place in letters to potential outdoor companions. Best trout fishing in the world, he declared, and he could guarantee shots at mountain sheep, elk, deer, and bear once the hunting season opened on 15 September. Equipped with a new Springfield rifle recommended by gun expert Milford Baker, he himself brought down a bear that had been attacking the livestock, a bull elk, and a ram sighted high above the timber line.

Hemingway corresponded intensively with Baker in preparation for the ultimate hunting trip he was planning for the following year: a three-month African safari, with three fellow outdoorsmen. "How would you like to go to Africa to hunt and see the country?" he wrote to Archie MacLeish in early to mid-August 1930. Mike Strater and Charles Thompson were coming along, with the magnanimous Uncle Gus financing everything. They'd leave around the end of May 1931 and spend three months in the bush.

The safari plan had to be delayed when Hemingway suffered two injuries out West. The first, and less damaging, occurred when his horse bolted through the timber and he was cut up pretty badly: legs, arms, and a face wound requiring stitches from mouth to chin. The second and more serious injury resulted from an automobile crash. On the evening of 1 November, Ernest was driving with John Dos Passos on the second day of a cross-country trip from Wyoming to Key West. As they approached Billings, Montana just after sundown, one of the cars going in the opposite direction pulled out of line to pass, forcing Hemingway's car off the road and into a deep ditch.

Dos Passos was unhurt, and aside from having its doors sprung and scratches from the rocks the car itself weathered the accident. Hemingway, as always prone to wounds, broke his right arm badly. The arm was broken between the elbow and the shoulder, with the sharp bone churning up the flesh. A couple of attempts to set it failed, so finally the doctor operated, notching the bone, boring a hole through one side, and then tying it together with kangaroo tendons. Making light of the matter, Hemingway proposed that Scribner's might secure more money by insuring him against accident and disease than by publishing his books. Since

he'd been under contract with the publisher, he'd had anthrax, cut his right eyeball, suffered congestion of the kidney, cut his index finger, gashed his forehead, torn open his cheek, run a branch through his leg, "and now," as he wrote to Perkins on 17 November 1930, "this arm."

He was less breezy about the fracture in a letter to Mike Strater, also in mid-November 1930. The doctor said he'd have to stay in the hospital for a month, confined to one position while waiting for the nerve to regenerate, and in more or less constant pain. "Don't let anybody ever mix you up in this broken bone racket because it hurts like hell all the time," he told Strater. These letters were dictated to Pauline, who had hurried back from Piggott to care for Ernest during his long period of recuperation. MacLeish, at the time one of Hemingway's closest friends, made the long trip from Conway, Massachusetts, to visit him in the hospital. "You know . . . how much it meant to us your coming out there," Ernest wrote him on 28 December 1930.

With his right arm immobilized, Hemingway could not write at all for several months. Finishing *Death in the Afternoon* was thus delayed, and he had to put aside for the time being the experiences in the Billings hospital that he eventually chronicled in "The Gambler, the Nun, and the Radio." Not until 16 February 1931 could he announce to Evan Shipman, "First writing with right hand! Still very difficult."

The safari was also postponed. As Hemingway wrote to MacLeish around 4 December 1930, "I can't tell you how terribly I feel about putting the trip on the bum." But he had no choice. The doctors were talking six months before the nerve could heal. They'd have to wait until 1932, he told Mike Strater, and in letters to MacLeish the departure date changed from June to September of that year. As it happened, neither Strater nor MacLeish made the journey. It was not until the end of 1933 that the Hemingways—Ernest and Pauline—and their Key West neighbor Charles Thompson went on safari in Africa.

#### HEMINGWAY AS AUTHORITY

The Hemingways spent the winter and most of spring 1931 in Key West while Ernest's right arm was healing. Max Perkins came down once again for a fishing trip to the Dry Tortugas that included John Herrmann and—as skipper-cook—Berge Saunders. Hemingway had only two new stories to offer *Scribner's Magazine* at that time: the rather grisly "A Natural History of the Dead" and the controversial "A Sea Change," an explicit foray into the realm of lesbianism. He was able to work steadily on *Death in the Afternoon*, though, and assured Perkins that he would finish the book after a summer visit to Spain to obtain photographs and bring his account up to date.

Family matters were being settled that spring as well. Pauline was pregnant with a second child, with delivery expected in November. The Hemingways planned to spend the interim period in Paris—which while not as wonderful as it once was yet still, as he wrote to MacLeish on 12 October 1930, was “the only city in the world to live in”—and in Spain. When they returned, it would be to inhabit an old stone house at 907 Whitehead Street in Key West that Uncle Gus had bought for them: their first permanent home in the United States.

A good many of Ernest’s letters in 1930 through 1931 demonstrated his propensity to adopt an air of authority. As an autodidact who’d never been to college, he set himself the task of achieving expertise on any number of subjects. He was a quick learner who knew a lot of things and was eager to dispense his knowledge. Bullfighting was but one of the fields of study in which he felt qualified to instruct others, and just as he expounded on tauromachy in *Death in the Afternoon*, he discoursed on a number of other subjects in his correspondence.

Noteworthy among these were his evaluations of other writers. In a letter to Ezra Pound of 28 February 1930, he traced a downward arc of Gertrude Stein’s career. She had started out well, as in the Melanctha section of *Three Lives* (1909) and the first part of *The Making of Americans*. Next, when this work failed to achieve general acceptance, she lapsed into a period of near automatic writing, cranking out copy “without corrections.” But Stein needed to get this less worthy material “approved and accepted and accoladed,” which led her to a “pretty awful” third “period of trying to get into the Academy.”

In similar fashion, Hemingway divided the fiction of Ford Madox Ford into categories. Ford was interested in locating an American publisher for his writing, and on 28 September 1930, at Ford’s request, Ernest wrote to Max Perkins about him. Ford goes “about like this,” he said: (1) good book, (2) regular megalomania, (3) poor work, (4) success “pee-ed away,” (5) discredited, (6) depression, (7) megalomania diminishes, (8) gets down to work, (9) good book again. Ford “might be due” for that next good book, he told Perkins, “anyway it’s up to you.”

Hemingway railed against Sinclair Lewis winning the 1930 Nobel Prize in Literature. He’d been “damned happy” to see previous Nobel awards go to Thomas Mann and William Butler Yeats, but it was “a filthy business” for Lewis to be chosen over Ezra Pound or James Joyce, he wrote to Guy Hickok on 5 December 1930.

Hemingway had become aware of William Faulkner as a rival fiction writer—often, he thought, a very good one, if sometimes “unnecessary.” But the man whose life and work he particularly admired in 1930–1931 was his friend Archibald MacLeish. He tried to add MacLeish to Perkins’s cadre of authors at Scribner’s. “You couldn’t get a better name, a better writer, or a better guy for your list . . . and his future is ahead of him instead of behind him,” he assured Perkins

on 28 December 1930. (Perkins and MacLeish explored the possibility, but in the end Archie decided to stick with Houghton Mifflin as his publisher.)

Ernest rarely wrote blurbs for fellow writers—he had no facility for doing so—but composed endorsements both for John Herrmann in late 1930 and for MacLeish’s Pulitzer prizewinning *Conquistador* on 23 December 1931. As a friend, he felt awkward about praising MacLeish’s work, Hemingway admitted, “but even those who do not like him nor what he writes must see by now that he is a great poet.”

In the longest letter of this volume, dated 1 January 1931 and running to fourteen pages, Hemingway expounded on various alcoholic beverages for the benefit of his brother-in-law Karl Pfeiffer, who was about to leave on a trip to Europe. Much of his advice dealt with French wines. In this letter Hemingway expressed his admiration for the “continental” attitude toward consumption of alcohol. An aperitif before a meal, wine or beer during it, and possibly a liqueur afterwards could give you “a sense of well being and a pleasant feeling,” he observed. And unlike in the United States—and particularly in the teetotaling household where he had been brought up—it was not regarded “as immoral to drink.”

It was early May 1931 before the Hemingways traveled to Europe on separate ships. Pauline, Patrick, and Patrick’s nurse-governess sailed from New York to France, while Ernest went directly to Spain, then in the throes of revolution. The bullfight season was about to begin, but in the meantime Hemingway immersed himself in the political situation. By way of personal observation, conversations with Spaniards and with newsmen, and considerable reading, he arrived at conclusions that he duly dispensed in his letters. On politics as on drinking or bullfights or a number of other subjects, he played the role of expert.

After six weeks in Spain, Hemingway summed up his judgments in a 26 June 1931 letter to John Dos Passos. He felt sure that the Republicans would win the election two days later. But they were so divided into factions—“Red White and Black Republicans”—that it would be difficult for them to govern the country. Besides, the various regions had different priorities.

He’d been following the Spanish situation as closely as if he were “working for a paper,” he wrote to Max Perkins on 1 August 1931, and wished there was a market for what he’d learned. Instead, he buckled down to prepare a glossary of bullfight terminology and write two final chapters for *Death in the Afternoon*. Ernest’s time alone in Madrid had ended when Pauline came down from Paris in mid-June and they went together to visit Patrick and Bumby at Hendaye, where Pauline remained while Ernest attended the fiesta at Pamplona. This time, seven-year-old Bumby went with him and had a wonderful time.

The principal family event of the year was the birth of Gregory Hancock Hemingway on 12 November. On 15 July 1931 Ernest asked Guy Hickok about the possibility of a delivery in Paris. A Caesarian might be necessary, he pointed out, and they knew that Dr. Guffey in Kansas City could perform that operation. Who was the best doctor in Paris? The best hospital? Did Hickok think it would be “gambling” for Pauline to have the baby in Paris?

In the end Pauline and Ernest decided on Kansas City, and the birth turned out to be as difficult as they feared. Pauline’s pains started about 6 p.m. on 11 November, “armistice night,” and twelve hours of heavy labor failed to move the child at all. Dr. Guffey, who wanted to avoid a Caesarian if possible, then performed the operation “very well.” Pauline suffered terribly, Ernest wrote to her parents later that day, and it took nearly twenty minutes to get the baby to breathe, but both mother and son Gregory, nearly nine pounds and physically perfect, were doing well.

The Hemingways returned to their new home in Key West a week before Christmas. The furniture Pauline had shipped from Paris was on hand, but plumbers and carpenters were still at work while Ernest typed all day on the bullfight manuscript. It would be finished by the end of the year, he promised Perkins.

By that time, Ernest Hemingway had become an experienced professional writer, sensitive to the complications of the literary marketplace and wary of the costs of his growing fame. At only thirty-two, he was the father of three sons and the principal provider for his mother and two youngest siblings. He was happily married to a wife who cared deeply about him, and they had just moved into a home of their own.

Despite injuries and other setbacks, he continued to revel in the outdoor life of fishing and hunting. These pleasures, shared with male companions, were balanced by a devotion to his craft and a rigorous work ethic. He had established himself as the kind of writer, with the kind of recognition, he had only dreamed of in his youth.

#### NOTES

- 1 Unless otherwise cited, all letters quoted are included in this volume.
- 2 The blanks used in the novel, as published, did not indicate which words had been omitted. For full discussion of this issue, see Scott Donaldson, “Censorship and *A Farewell to Arms*,” *Studies in American Fiction* 19 (Spring 1991): 85–93.
- 3 Maxwell Perkins to EH, 12 July 1929 (PUL; *TOTTC*, 108).
- 4 The American literary marketplace was not organized during this period to generate continuing income after first publication of a book. Book clubs were just getting started. Paperbacks did not arrive until 1939. Drama and film rights were rare windfalls, hardly to be counted upon.

## VOLUME 4 (1929–1931) CHRONOLOGY

- 5 April 1929 EH, Pauline, son Patrick, along with EH's son from his first marriage to Hadley, John (nicknamed "Bumby") and EH's sister Madelaine (nicknamed "Sunny") sail from Havana to Boulogne aboard the *Yorck*.
- 21 April 1929 Hemingways arrive at Boulogne, take a train to Paris, and arrive the next day at their apartment, 6, rue Férou. Sunny will stay in a nearby pension. Bumby returns to Hadley, who lives in an apartment at 98, boulevard Auguste-Blanqui.
- May 1929 EH's poem "Valentine for a Mr. Lee Wilson Dodd and Any of His Friends who Want it" appears in the final issue of Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap's *Little Review*.
- early May 1929 The first of six installments of *A Farewell to Arms* appears in *Scribner's Magazine*. EH is at Hendaye Plage, staying as usual at the Barron family's Ondarraitz Hotel, as he continues revising the novel's ending and page proofs for later installments. Sunny remains in Paris; Pauline is diagnosed with exhaustion and a sinus infection, Patrick with the flu. EH is back in Paris by 10 May.
- 18 May 1929 The Hemingways share a turbulent dinner at the Paris apartment of F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald.
- June 1929 EH boxes several times with Morley Callaghan in Paris, including the infamous match refereed by Fitzgerald, who gets distracted and lets the round run for too long, to EH's disadvantage.

*Chronology*

- 7 June 1929 EH protests Scribner's decision to excise from the book version of *A Farewell to Arms* "certain" words they deem censorable.
- 19 June 1929 The June issue of *Scribner's Magazine*, which appeared on newsstands on 25 May and contained the second installment of *A Farewell to Arms*, is banned by Boston's Superintendent of Police.
- c. 1–2 July 1929 EH drives to Spain in the new Ford Cabriolet, a gift that Pauline's uncle, Gus Pfeiffer had shipped to them in Paris. He is accompanied by Guy Hickok and Jinny Pfeiffer.
- 6–14 July 1929 EH and companions, including Hickok, Jinny Pfeiffer, and Patrick Morgan, stay at the Hotel Quintana in Pamplona for the annual Fiesta of San Fermín. Pauline travels from Paris to join EH in Spain c. 12 July.
- 18 July 1929 EH and Pauline are visiting Joan and Pilar Miró, in Montroig, Tarragona province.
- 21 July 1929 EH and Pauline are staying at the Hotel Regina in Valencia, where they celebrate their birthdays (on 21 and 22 July) and attend the city's annual taurine fiesta.
- 26 July 1929 EH unwillingly accedes to the excision of three words and the replacement of another in the book version of *A Farewell to Arms*.
- 3 August 1929 EH and Pauline begin the drive to Santiago de Compostela, where they will stay at the Hotel Suizo until the end of the month.
- 13 August 1929 Sunny sails for home aboard *Nieuw Amsterdam*.
- 16 August 1929 Maxwell Perkins sends proofs of Scribner's book edition of *A Farewell to Arms* to EH's British publisher, Jonathan Cape, with blanks to represent three excised words and with pages containing the words in case Cape decides to include them.
- 31 August 1929 EH and Pauline begin the drive from Santiago to Madrid by way of Orense, Benavente, León, and Palencia, where they experience extreme heat and

- see two bullfights on 1 and 2 September. While in Madrid, they meet Sidney Franklin, the bullfighter from Brooklyn, New York, and EH's passport, *carte d'identité*, and automobile documents are stolen by a pickpocket but later returned.
- 6 September 1929 In Madrid, EH buys a copy of an etching from Goya's series *Los Desastres de la Guerra* (*The Disasters of War*), executed between 1810 and 1820, and a catalog of Goya's works.
- 12 September 1929 EH and Pauline leave Madrid for Hendaye Plage, where they again stay at the Barron family's Ondarraitz Hotel.
- 16 September 1929 At a bookstore in San Sebastian, EH purchases three works by Goya (etchings and lithographs).
- 18–20 September 1929 EH and Pauline drive back to Paris.
- 25 September 1929 Date of the Scribner's contract for *A Farewell to Arms*, probably signed in Key West in March 1930 but backdated to precede the novel's publication date. The contract stipulates that the first \$20,000 of royalties be set aside in a separate account which, with additional contributions by Pauline and her uncle Gus Pfeiffer, would become a trust fund for EH's mother and younger siblings.
- 26 September 1929 EH, with Morley and Loretto Callaghan, tours Versailles and Chartres.
- 27 September 1929 *A Farewell to Arms* is published in New York to rave reviews and within two weeks appears on the bestseller lists.
- 3 October 1929 EH, not having received copies of his book, buys two at a Paris bookshop. He complains to Perkins about the cover design.
- 4–22 October 1929 Fearing further cuts, EH rejects an offer from Current News Features (Washington D.C.) for newspaper syndication of *A Farewell to Arms*. EH and Perkins revise royalty rates and discuss dramatization rights for *A Farewell to Arms*; Perkins recommends retaining literary agent Paul R. Reynolds.

*Chronology*

- 5–6 October 1929 EH, Pauline, and Harry and Caresse Crosby visit the restaurants and racetracks of Paris.
- 8 October 1929 *A Farewell to Arms* has sold 24,500 copies, the sales rising to 33,000 by 22 October.
- 24 October 1929 On “Black Thursday” a record 12.9 million shares are traded on the U.S. Stock Exchange. The panic selling continues and on “Black Tuesday” (29 October 1929) the stock market collapses, marking the beginning of the Great Depression.
- 25 October 1929 Heeding Perkins’s recommendation, EH accepts the Modern Library offer to publish a 50,000-copy edition of *The Sun Also Rises* and rejects Coward-McCann’s offer of a \$25,000 advance for his next book.
- November 1929 EH begins a bullfight article commissioned by Archibald MacLeish for *Fortune* magazine.
- 10 November 1929 EH travels to Berlin with Guy Hickok and Gus Pfeiffer, arriving on Monday, 11 November.
- 11 November 1929 Perkins cables that *A Farewell to Arms* has sold 43,000 copies, the number growing to 45,000 by the next day.
- 11–15 November 1929 While in Berlin EH meets Pfeiffer relatives and negotiates the German serialization rights to *A Farewell to Arms* with publisher Rowohlt Verlag. On 15 November he makes a partial payment on Paul Klee’s painting *Monument in Arbeit* (*Monument Under Construction*, 1929) at Alfred Fleckheim’s Berlin gallery, with the concluding payment to Fleckheim’s Galerie Simon in Paris following on 18 November.
- 16 November 1929 EH arrives back in Paris.
- 24 November 1929 In her weekly column for *New York Herald Tribune Books*, Isabel Paterson reports that Morley Callaghan had knocked out EH in a June boxing match in Paris.
- 27 November 1929 EH, Fitzgerald, Allen Tate, and Caroline Gordon meet at Gertrude Stein’s home in Paris.

- late November 1929 Dorothy Parker's profile of EH, "The Artist's Reward," is published in the *New Yorker* (30 November 1929). EH reacts angrily to Robert Herrick's negative review of *A Farewell to Arms* ("What is Dirt?") published in the November issue of *Bookman*.
- 7 December 1929 Sales of *A Farewell to Arms* reach 57,000.
- 8 December 1929 Callaghan's correction of Isabel Patterson's report is published in *New York Herald Tribune Books*. He denies that he knocked out EH during a boxing match.
- 9 December 1929 EH and Pauline dine with Fitzgerald, who reports that Robert McAlmon has been spreading rumors around New York that EH was gay, Pauline a lesbian, and that EH had physically abused Hadley while she was pregnant with Bumby.
- 10 December 1929 In New York City, Harry Crosby shoots and kills his lover, Boston socialite Josephine Rotch Bigelow, and himself in a suicide pact.
- 20–31 December 1929 The Hemingways are at the Palace Hotel in Montana-Vermala, Switzerland, to spend Christmas with the Murphys, whose son Patrick is being treated for tuberculosis at a sanatorium. Other friends gather to lend their support around this time as well, including the Fitzgeralds, John and Kate Dos Passos, Donald Ogden and Beatrice Stewart, and Dorothy Parker.
- c. 31 December 1929 EH, Pauline, and Patrick return to Paris. EH has finished an article on bullfighting for *Fortune* magazine.
- late December 1929–early January 1930 EH writes an introduction to *Kiki's Memoirs*, Samuel Putnam's translation of the memoirs of French model Alice Prin, who was known as "Kiki of Montparnasse." EH's introduction is published as a pamphlet in New York by Edward Titus in an edition of twenty-five copies in order to secure copyright before it is included in the book published in Paris in June 1930.

*Chronology*

- 10 January 1930 The Hemingways and Patrick's French nanny, Henriette Lechner, sail from Bordeaux aboard *La Bourdonnais*, stopping at Vigo and Halifax en route to New York; the family's Ford Cabriolet is in the hold of the ship.
- 25 January 1930 *La Bourdonnais* docks in New York, where EH meets with Perkins and Henry (Mike) Strater, visits Ada MacLeish in hospital, and makes arrangements for the Grace Hemingway trust fund.
- 27 January 1930 The Hemingways depart from New York on *La Bourdonnais*, arriving in Havana on 31 January.
- February 1930 EH begins writing *Death in the Afternoon*. Mike Strater arrives in Key West and begins his third portrait of EH. John Herrmann and Josephine Herbst are in Key West, where they will stay until April.
- 2 February 1930 After a one-day stopover in Havana, the Hemingways arrive in Key West, where they have rented a house at 1301 Whitehead Street and a four-horsepower boat.
- 7 February 1930 EH signs a release permitting Fox Film Corporation to use the title *Men Without Women* for a film unrelated to the stories in EH's 1927 collection of that name; EH is paid \$500.
- 10 February 1930 EH asks Milford Baker, a fellow American Red Cross ambulance driver in Italy during WWI, for advice on rifles and other hunting equipment for a planned safari to Africa the following year, to be financed by Gus Pfeiffer.
- 16 February 1930 EH hooks, fights, and shoots a 205-pound, 8-foot long mackerel shark whose photograph and jawbone he will send to Ezra Pound in late February.
- 18 February 1930 Details of the \$50,000 trust fund for Grace Hall Hemingway are finalized, with EH and Pauline as trustees.
- 22 February 1930 The Modern Library pays \$3,000 to republish *The Sun Also Rises*, with royalties assigned to Hadley.

- late February 1930 Waldo Peirce's pregnant girlfriend Alzira Boehm arrives in Key West, where she will stay while Peirce is in Paris negotiating his divorce from Ivy Troutman.
- March 1930 "Bullfighting, Sport and Industry" is published in *Fortune* magazine.
- 17 March 1930 Perkins arrives in Key West for a fishing vacation. He hand-delivers a letter from Louis Henry Cohn, who is interested in preparing an annotated bibliography of EH's work.
- 18 March–5 April 1930 EH, Perkins, Mike Strater, John Herrmann, Archibald MacLeish, and Berge Saunders sail from Key West to Cape Sable, Florida, but the mosquitoes drive them away and they continue to the Marquesas and Dry Tortugas. Stranded in the Dry Tortugas by a storm c. 26 March, they are rescued on 30 March by the large yacht *Caroline*, which returns them to Key West when the storm is over.
- April 1930 The trust fund that EH and Pauline have established for Grace Hemingway goes into effect.
- 8 April 1930 Perkins reports that letters EH had written to Ernest Walsh in the mid-1920s had been offered for sale in London and were purchased by Scribner's Rare Books Department to get them off the market. He offers to send the letters to EH.
- c. 13 April 1930 John and Kate Dos Passos arrive in Key West.
- 15 April 1930 EH, Pauline, John Dos Passos, and Pat Morgan embark on a fishing cruise to the Dry Tortugas.
- c. 22 April 1930 The boat pump breaks down as the fishing party is returning from the Dry Tortugas to Key West, forcing them to spend the night at anchor. The next morning EH brings Pauline and Dos Passos back to Key West in an outboard motor boat.
- 24 April 1930 EH agrees to Cohn's proposed bibliography of his works.

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- early May 1930 EH requires six stitches on his right forefinger, injured during a workout with a punching bag. The finger will be stiff and painful for all of May.
- 8 May 1930 First serial installment of the German translation of *A Farewell to Arms* appears as *Schluss Damit. Adieu Krieg!* in *Frankfurter Zeitung*, with the final installment appearing on 16 July 1930.
- 20 May 1930 Alzira Boehm and her two sisters leave Key West; she will join Waldo Peirce in Paris.
- June 1930 *Kiki's Memoirs*, with an introduction by EH, is published in Paris by Edward Titus's Black Manikin Press.
- 7 June 1930 Pauline, Patrick, and Henriette leave Key West by train, bound for Piggott, Arkansas.
- c. 12 June 1930 EH has received and is pleased with the customized Springfield rifle that Milford Baker assisted him in purchasing.
- 14 June 1930 EH leaves Key West for New York, to meet Bumby and Jinny, who are due to arrive from Paris aboard the *Lafayette* on 23 June. In New York EH discusses the publication of *In Our Time* with Perkins and lunches with Milford Baker. EH stays at the Brevoort Hotel.
- 21 June 1930 The *Lafayette* arrives two days earlier than expected.
- 24 June 1930 EH writes to Cohn, declining to provide an introduction or epilogue to the bibliography but returning the completed questionnaire Cohn had sent him in May.
- 25 June 1930 EH and Bumby travel by train to Cincinnati, where they will pick up the Ford roadster, shipped from Key West, for the drive to Piggott.
- 2–14 July 1930 EH, Pauline, and Bumby drive from Piggott to the Nordquists' L-Bar-T Ranch in Wyoming, where EH will stay through October. Patrick and Jinny remain in Piggott.
- 24 July 1930 EH has written 700–1,000 words of *Death in the Afternoon* since arriving at the L-Bar-T Ranch.

- 31 July 1930 EH objects to biographical material published on the dust jacket of the Grosset & Dunlap edition of *The Sun Also Rises*. By 6 August, the jackets will have been removed and destroyed.
- August 1930 “Wine of Wyoming” is published in the August issue of *Scribner’s Magazine*. EH works on revising “Up in Michigan” for the Scribner’s edition of *In Our Time*.
- 8 August 1930 Bill and Frances (Bunny) Horne arrive in Wyoming for a two-week visit.
- 22 August 1930 EH’s horse bolts during a bear hunt and EH suffers cuts to face, legs and arms. His face requires several stitches. He resumes the hunt the following evening and kills a bear.
- 30 August 1930 EH kills a second male bear.
- 13 September 1930 EH writes a new will before going to the mountains for a two-week hunting trip. Pauline and Bumby depart by train for Piggott. There they will pick up Henriette, who will sail with Bumby from New York to France and remain there with her family for five months.
- mid- to late September 1930 *A Farewell to Arms* is published in French and German translations.
- 22 September 1930 The Laurence Stallings stage adaptation of *A Farewell to Arms* opens at the National Theatre in New York; it will close on 11 October.
- 2 October 1930 EH is on page 205 of *Death in the Afternoon*. He acknowledges receipt of a new Mannlicher rifle, ordered for him by Milford Baker.
- 21 October 1930 Dos Passos arrives in Wyoming for a ten-day hunting trip.
- 24 October 1930 The Scribner’s edition of *In Our Time* appears with an introduction by Edmund Wilson. “Up in Michigan” is not included in the volume.
- 31 October 1930 EH, Dos Passos, and cowboy Floyd Allington leave Cooke City in EH’s car, bound for Billings,

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- Montana; they camp out that night in Yellowstone National Park.
- 1 November 1930 In a road car accident near Billings shortly after sundown, EH's right arm is broken about three inches above the elbow. He is taken to St. Vincent's Hospital. Dos Passos cables Pauline in Piggott on 2 November and she leaves the next day for Billings, arriving on 4 November.
- 5 November 1930 Sinclair Lewis is awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature.
- 6 November 1930 After two attempts at setting the broken arm, Dr. Louis Allard operates, notches the bone, and uses kangaroo tendons to hold it. EH's nurses and fellow patients will become prototypes for characters in EH's story "The Gambler, The Nun, and the Radio."
- 15 November 1930 Paramount acquires the movie rights to *A Farewell to Arms* for \$80,000, of which EH will receive \$24,000.
- 1 December 1930 EH is allowed to sit up for the first time since the surgery. He is still in great pain.
- c. 6–7 December 1930 Infection has set in where the broken bone in EH's arm had lacerated muscles and flesh. EH has fever and difficulties urinating.
- c. early to mid-December 1930 MacLeish travels to Billings to visit EH in hospital.
- 21 December 1930 EH is released from hospital. He and Pauline travel by train to St. Louis, where Paul Pfeiffer meets them and drives them to Piggott, arriving on 24 December. EH is running a fever.
- early January 1931 The Hemingways, accompanied by Jinny Pfeiffer, return to Key West and move into a rented house at 1425 Pearl Street. Their car, repaired in Montana and driven to Key West by Nordquist ranch hand Chub Weaver, has already arrived.
- c. 26–27 January 1931 Grace Hemingway visits Key West, staying at the Casa Marina resort.

- 31 January–1 February 1931 EH and Pauline host a fishing trip to the Dry Tortugas for Lawrence and Olive Nordquist, John Herrmann, Chub Weaver, and Leonard Outhwaite.
- 27 February–c. 12 March 1931 EH and Pauline host another fishing expedition to the Dry Tortugas. The party includes Uncle Gus and Aunt Louise Pfeiffer, Carol Hemingway, Jinny Pfeiffer, John Herrmann and Josie Herbst, Lawrence and Olive Nordquist, Chub Weaver, and William and Elaine Sidley, whom EH met at the L-Bar-T Ranch. Stormbound in the Dry Tortugas, they return later than expected.
- 26 March–10 April 1931 EH, Pauline, Max Perkins, John Herrmann, Berge Saunders, Chub Weaver, and Pat and Maud Morgan go fishing in the Dry Tortugas. Perkins is obliged to return before the others and is back in New York c. 3 April. On 2 April, Saunders and Herrmann return to Key West to fetch supplies, and Perkins departs for New York. On 7 April, Herrmann and Saunders, delayed by mechanical problems, rejoin EH and the others in the Dry Tortugas.
- c. 11–12 April 1931 EH has started to write with his right hand again.
- 29 April 1931 With the financial assistance of Uncle Gus, EH and Pauline purchase a house at 907 Whitehead Street. EH resumes writing *Death in the Afternoon*.
- 2 May 1931 EH leaves Key West for Havana.
- 4 May 1931 EH sails for Spain from Havana on the *Volendam*.
- 15 May 1931 EH debarks in Vigo and takes the train to Madrid to work on *Death in the Afternoon*. The city's San Isidro festival presents daily bullfights on 15, 16, and 17 May.
- 16–28 May 1931 Pauline, Patrick, and Henriette leave Key West for New York, from whence they sail for France aboard the *President Harding* on 20 May. Landing in Cherbourg on 28 May, they take a train to Paris, where Pauline begins packing their

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- belongings in the apartment on rue Férou for shipping to Key West. Henriette and Patrick travel to Bordeaux and Hendaye Plage.
- early June 1931      On a brief visit to Paris, EH sees Sylvia Beach, Adrienne Monnier, Hadley, and Bumby. By mid-June EH and Pauline have returned to Madrid, where they stay at the Hotel Biarritz and renew their acquaintance with Sidney Franklin.
- 4–5 July 1931      EH and Pauline go to Hendaye to see Patrick and Bumby, who has recovered from his tonsillectomy in Paris of c. 30 June.
- 6–14 July 1931      EH and Bumby are in Pamplona with Sidney Franklin for the annual Fiesta of San Fermín.
- 15 July 1931      EH and Pauline are at the Barrons' hotel in Hendaye "for a little while seeing the kids." EH writes to Guy Hickok that Pauline is pregnant.
- 9 August 1931      EH and Pauline are staying at the Hotel Avenida in San Sebastian, where they see a bullfight in the company of Caresse Crosby and Jacques Porel.
- 14–18 August 1931      The Hemingways are in Hendaye, where EH meets with attorney Maurice Speiser. They also visit San Sebastian, where the annual taurine festival takes place 15–17 August.
- 19–end August 1931      EH, Pauline, Bumby, and Patrick travel to Madrid, where they stay at the Hotel Biarritz.
- 1 September 1931      *Kat*, a dramatization of *A Farewell to Arms*, opens in Berlin at the Deutsches Theater.
- c. 6 September 1931      Pauline leaves Madrid for Paris. EH remains in Madrid to work on the "Explanatory Glossary" of *Death in the Afternoon*.
- 14 September 1931      EH cables Perkins from Paris to say that he has finished work on the illustrations for *Death in the Afternoon*. He has had serious eye trouble since mid-August.
- 23 September 1931      EH, Pauline, Patrick, and Gabrielle sail for New York on the *Île de France* and arrive on 29