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THE LETTERS OF

# Ernest Hemingway

1907-1922

EDITED BY

SANDRA SPANIER & ROBERT W. TROGDON

# THE LETTERS OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY

VOLUME 1  
1907–1922

With the first publication, in this edition, of all the surviving letters of Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961), readers will for the first time be able to follow the thoughts, ideas, and actions of one of the great literary figures of the twentieth century in his own words. This first volume encompasses his youth, his experience in World War I, and his arrival in Paris. The letters reveal a more complex person than Hemingway's tough-guy public persona would suggest: devoted son, affectionate brother, infatuated lover, adoring husband, spirited friend, and disciplined writer. Unguarded and never intended for publication, the letters record experiences that inspired his art, afford insight into his creative process, and express his candid assessments of his own work and that of his contemporaries. The letters present immediate accounts of events and relationships that profoundly shaped his life and work. A detailed introduction, notes, chronology, illustrations, and index are included.



THE  
CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF  
THE LETTERS OF  
ERNEST HEMINGWAY

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"WINDEMERE"

Dear some of the girls.

Walloon Lake, Mich.

Dear papa

today ~~I~~ ~~man~~ marna and the rest of us took a walk.

We walked to the school house.  
Marcelline ran on ahead.

While we stopt at Clouse.

I on a little while she came back.  
She said that in the wood shed of the  
Schoo house there was a porcupine.

So we went up there and looked in the door,  
the porcupine was asleep.

I went in and gave I a ~~wick~~ with the ax.

Then I gave I another and another.

Then I crawled in the wood.  
We went to Mr Clouse and he got his gun and  
shot it.

Ernest Hemingway to Clarence Hemingway, postmarked 23 July [1909] from Walloon Lake, Michigan. Ernest Hemingway Collection, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library.

# THE LETTERS OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY

VOLUME 1  
1907–1922

EDITED BY  
Sandra Spanier  
and  
Robert W. Trogdon

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UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,  
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521897334](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521897334)

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First published 2011

Printed in the United States of America

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

ISBN 978-0-521-89733-4 Hardback

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*These illustrations appear courtesy of the following:*

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# GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO THE EDITION

*Sandra Spanier*

On 1 July 1925, Ernest Hemingway wrote exuberantly to his friend F. Scott Fitzgerald from the Spanish mountain village of Burguete: "We are going in to Pamplona tomorrow. Been trout fishing here. How are you? And how is Zelda?" "God it has been wonderful country," he exclaimed, then remembered his audience: "But you hate country. All right omit description of country." Hemingway wondered what would be Scott's idea of heaven and declared, "To me heaven would be a big bull ring with me holding two barrera seats and a trout stream outside that no one else was allowed to fish in and two lovely houses in the town; one where I would have my wife and children and be monogamous and love them truly and well and the other where I would have my nine beautiful mistresses on 9 different floors." He urged Fitzgerald to write to him at the Hotel Quintana in Pamplona: "Or dont you like to write letters. I do because it's such a swell way to keep from working and yet feel you've done something."<sup>1</sup>

Hemingway always distinguished between letter writing and writing that counts, but this letter only goes to show the enormous interest and vitality of his correspondence. That next week in Pamplona, with his wife Hadley and a coterie of fellow expatriate friends from Paris, he plunged into the noisy nonstop public celebration of the annual fiesta of San Fermín and privately faced the real-life conflict between rectitude and desire that he had described to Fitzgerald in jest. By the end of the month, he was already well into the first draft of what would become *The Sun Also Rises*, the 1926 novel that would launch his career and forever transform a provincial Spanish town into an international literary mecca. Although he was a confident and ambitious writer from the start, even the young Hemingway could not have dreamed that in the ensuing decades and into the next century, pilgrims by the tens of thousands would descend upon Pamplona the second week of each July to revel in the streets, drink red wine from goatskin *botas*, and run with the bulls—drawn largely by the force of his imagination.

In a 1950 letter to Fitzgerald's biographer, Hemingway recalled Ford Madox Ford's advice that "a man should always write a letter thinking of how it would

read to posterity." He remarked, "This made such a bad impression on me that I burned every letter in the flat including Ford's." He continued:

Should you save the hulls a .50 cal shucks out for posterity? Save them. o.k. But they should be written or fired not for posterity but for the day and the hour and posterity will always look after herself. . . . I write letters because it is fun to get letters back. But not for posterity. What the hell is posterity anyway? It sounds as though it meant you were on your ass.<sup>2</sup>

Unguarded and never intended for publication, Hemingway's letters constitute his autobiography in the continuous present tense. They enrich our understanding of his creative processes, offer insider insights into the twentieth-century literary scene, and document the making and marketing of an American icon. They track his moods and movements, capture his emotions in the heat of the moment, and reveal a personality far more complex and nuanced than many might expect from his sometimes one-dimensional public persona. At times he would vent his anger in a letter and then not send it—usually wisely. He could be tender, boorish, vulnerable, critical, and self-critical, and he could be wickedly funny. However casually or hastily fired off, each letter records with immediate intensity the experiences and impressions of the day and hour: much of it raw material later to be transformed, by the alchemy that Hemingway the artist brought to bear, into some of the most enduring works of literature in the English language.

Few writers' lives have been as closely examined as Hemingway's, both as he lived it and in the decades after his death. Since the publication in 1969 of Carlos Baker's authorized biography, *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story*, at least six additional biographies have appeared, Michael S. Reynolds's richly textured study running to five volumes. Counting memoirs by family members and friends, pictorial volumes, collections of his conversations and conversations about him, and books focusing on his relationships with particular people or places, the volumes devoted to Hemingway's life number in the dozens. As Reynolds observed, "A biographer connects up the dots to draw the picture just as we did as children. First, of course, he must find the dots of data, leaving as little space between them as possible."<sup>3</sup> The unpublished letters hold untold thousands of new details to enhance the picture. The author's son Patrick Hemingway has said in support of the present edition, "Ernest Hemingway was a prodigious letter writer. His correspondence has been the principal source for his biographers, none of whom to date have succeeded in presenting the man as vividly as he does himself in his letters."<sup>4</sup>

The letters represent the last great unexplored frontier of Hemingway studies. And because Hemingway was always, as Edmund Wilson pointed out as early as the 1930s, a "gauge of morale," a barometer of his times, interest in his letters is

more than biographical.<sup>5</sup> Hemingway's first widely read book—a groundbreaking modernist experiment in English prose published in Paris in 1924 and expanded into his first trade collection of short fiction in 1925—was famously titled *In Our Time*. His work perennially reflected the temper of his times. In *The Sun Also Rises* he captured the postwar malaise of the so-called "Lost Generation"; in *A Farewell to Arms* (1929), the World War I experiences that precipitated that mood of disillusionment and dislocation; in *To Have and Have Not* (1937), the inequities and anxieties of the Great Depression; in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), the complicated tragedy of the Spanish Civil War; and in *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952), the dignity and grace of a Cuban fisherman battling brute natural forces while dreaming of Joe DiMaggio. Hemingway was always of the moment, and in both substance and style, his work stands as a chronicle of the twentieth century.

Among modern writers the breadth of Hemingway's appeal is remarkable, if not unique, transcending political divisions and national borders. At a low point of relations between the United States and Cuba, a month after his suicide and just four months after the Bay of Pigs invasion, it was with the personal cooperation of both Presidents John F. Kennedy and Fidel Castro that Hemingway's widow, Mary, traveled to Cuba in August 1961 and removed a small boatload of papers and belongings from their Havana bank vault and from Finca Vigía, Hemingway's home from 1939 until shortly before his death. Those papers—letters, notes, manuscripts, fragments, galley proofs, and other documents—now form the core of the Ernest Hemingway Collection at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library in Boston, the world's largest Hemingway archive. The Finca itself, where Hemingway spent half of his writing life and where he received the international press when awarded the 1954 Nobel Prize for Literature, is now the Museo Hemingway, dedicated in 1962 as a national museum of Cuba. Four decades later, Hemingway again served as a bridge between the estranged nations, as an unprecedented cooperative agreement between the Cuban National Council of Cultural Patrimony and the U.S.-based Social Science Research Council provided for the conservation and preservation of the thousands of pages of his papers remaining at Finca Vigía, the originals to stay in the collection of the Museo, with copies to be deposited at the Kennedy Library. In November 2002, Fidel Castro appeared at the Finca to add his signature to the agreement in a poolside ceremony witnessed by a crush of journalists and reported in the international news media. The 2009 opening of the Finca papers to researchers, both by the Museo Hemingway and by the Kennedy Library, once more attracted international attention.

A roster of Hemingway's correspondents reads like a twentieth-century *Who's Who*: Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein, Sherwood Anderson, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Gerald and Sara Murphy, John Dos Passos, Archibald MacLeish, Janet Flanner, Charles

Scribner (three generations of them), Maxwell Perkins, Pablo Picasso, Ingrid Bergman, Gary Cooper, and Marlene Dietrich, to name a few of the luminaries. He also corresponded copiously with family members, including his parents and grandparents, five siblings, four wives, three sons, and numerous in-laws, and with friends scattered across continents. Even after attaining global celebrity, he responded conscientiously and generously to students and strangers who wrote to express their admiration, ask questions, and seek advice or autographs.

On his desk in the library at Finca Vigía sits a rubber stamp that reads, "I never write letters. Ernest Hemingway." Perhaps he had it made to ease the burden of correspondence, perhaps someone gave it to him as a joke, but if he ever actually used the stamp in place of writing a letter, the evidence has yet to be found. As Carlos Baker put it, "All his life after adolescence Hemingway was a confirmed, habitual, and even compulsive correspondent for whom communication was a constant necessity."<sup>6</sup>

Letter writing was a habit that Hemingway's parents fostered in their children from an early age. What might be considered the earliest surviving "Hemingway letter," dated 26 December 1903 and addressed to "My own dear Ma Ma," enumerates the Christmas gifts he received from members of the family and from Santa Claus. Written and signed "Your son Ernest" in his father's hand, it bears the scribbles of the three-and-a-half year old "author."<sup>7</sup> When the teenage Ernest went away—whether to canoe the Illinois River with a high school friend in April 1917, or to tend the family farm in northern Michigan during the summer of 1919—his father sent along pre-addressed stamped postcards, by which his son could and did keep in touch. Correspondence was a habit that Hemingway felt important to instill in his own sons, from whom, when they were apart, he expected regular letters, and to whom he would express his pleasure or disappointment regarding their spelling, grammar, and penmanship. Some of Hemingway's earliest letters are marked with circled dots, signifying "tooseys" or "toosies," the family term for kisses. That, too, was a custom he shared with his sons. Even into their adulthood, Hemingway would end his letters to them with whimsical drawings bearing such captions as "Finca kuss" or "mango kuss" in letters from Cuba or, when writing from Africa, a "LARGE (Dark Continent) kuss." Patrick Hemingway had not realized that this was a family tradition predating his own generation until at the age of seventy-eight he was shown a 1912 letter from Ernest to his father, Dr. Clarence Hemingway, and immediately recognized the circled dots as symbols for kisses.<sup>8</sup>

Throughout his life, Hemingway thrived on the contact of letters and constantly urged family and friends to write. "Screed me and tell me all your troubles," he wrote in his characteristic slang to his sister Ursula in 1919. "Screed a man," he implored his friend Howell Jenkins in 1922. "Slip me the dirt in its totality," he

wrote conspiratorially in November 1925 to his sister Madelaine ("Sunny"), referring to other siblings by nicknames: "I've heard nothing but the official versions for a hell of a long time. Those kind of bulletins are as dry as official communiques of the reparation commission. Let me have the frigid on the paternal, maternal, Masween, Carol, Liecester, misspelled, Ura and all. Write again and slip me the frigid."<sup>9</sup>

While eagerly soliciting letters from others, he often apologized for the quality of his own. In December 1925 he wrote to *This Quarter* editors Ernest Walsh and Ethel Moorhead from the village in the Austrian Tyrol where he and his wife Hadley were spending their second winter: "Write me here. Letters are tremendous events in Schruns. I can write a better letter when I've one to answer."<sup>10</sup> To Archibald MacLeish he sent a similar plea: "It is Sunday today so there isn't any mail. And by the way if you ever write letters for god's sake write to us down here. We have a swell time but letters are terribly exciting things in Schruns . . . Write me a letter. I wont turn out such a dull mess as this again. Tell me all the dirt. We miss Scandal very much here."<sup>11</sup>

As much as he loved to get letters, he often procrastinated in writing them. He variously viewed correspondence as a diversion, a lifeline, an exasperating obligation, and, at worst, a peril to his work. Less than two months after he arrived in Paris, pursuing his vocation as a writer of fiction while making a living as a reporter for the *Toronto Star*, he wrote to his mother on 15 February 1922: "I am sorry to write such dull letters, but I get such full expression in my articles and the other work I am doing that I am quite pumped out and exhausted from a writing stand point and so my letters are very commonplace. If I wrote nothing but letters all of that would go into them."

In March 1923, en route from Italy via Paris to Germany to cover the French occupation of the Ruhr, he reported to his father that he had been thirty-eight hours on the train and in the past year had logged nearly 10,000 miles by rail. Affectionately and apologetically he added, "I hope you have some good fishing this spring. I appreciate your letters so much and am dreadfully sorry I dont write more but when you make a living writing it is hard to write letters."<sup>12</sup>

It would be a recurring theme. In November 1952, enmeshed in settling the estates of his mother and his second wife, Pauline, both of whom had died the year before, he wrote in exhaustion to Scribner's editor Wallace Meyer:

I want to get the hell away from here and from the daily destruction of correspondance. That doesn't mean that I do not want to hear from you when there is anything I should know. I can dictate in an hour what will keep two stenographers busy all day. But writing letters by hand in the mornings, when he should work or exercise, is the quickest way for a writer to destroy himself that I know.<sup>13</sup>



Two years later in a letter to Charles Scribner, Jr., he sent his best regards to Meyer: "He knows that when I don't write I am not being snotty or touchy. It is the logistics of work. If you are writing well there is no thing left in you to write letters with."<sup>14</sup>

Hemingway once described his letters as "often libellous, always indiscreet, often obscene and many of them could make great trouble."<sup>15</sup> His letters are written in a range of voices, varying according to mood and occasion and calibrated to each audience with perfect pitch. "What he wrote is always performance," Patrick Hemingway said of his father's letters. "Of course, a person is always writing to a person. They're always taking a tone with that person, but isn't that the way we behave with people? I'm sure he didn't behave with Charles Scribner, the old man, the way he behaved with me."

When what he wrote privately ended up in the public print, Hemingway was not pleased. After he was wounded as an eighteen-year-old volunteer ambulance driver in Italy in World War I, he was agitated to discover that two of his letters home had appeared in the local Oak Park, Illinois, newspaper, courtesy of his proud father. "Now Kid who in hell is giving all my letters out for publication?" he asked his sister Marcelline in a letter of 23 November 1918. "When I write home to the family I don't write to the Chicago Herald Examiner or anybody else—but to the family. Somebody has a lot of gall publishing them and it will look like I'm trying to pull hero stuff. Gee I was sore when I heard they were using my stuff in Oak Leaves. Pop must have Mal di Testa."

Even as he sought and was gratified by popular and critical attention to his work and would become the most public of writers, he closely guarded his privacy. On 12 October 1929, just fifteen days after the publication of *A Farewell to Arms*, he happily reported to his mother: "I have not yet heard how the book is going but hear it has had very good reviews and Scribners cable 'splendid press. prospects bright.'" But, he cautioned, "If anyone ever wants to interview you about me please tell them that you know I dislike any personal publicity and have promised me not to even answer questions about me. Don't ever give out anything. Just say your sorry but you cant. Scribners have the same instructions. If I'm to write at all I have to keep my private life out."<sup>16</sup> It would be a lifelong struggle. His letters of the 1950s reflect his deep ambivalence and wariness about the growing interest of biographers and scholars, including Charles Fenton, Carlos Baker, and Philip Young, whose attentions he found worrisome and intrusive, even as he engaged in correspondence with them.

As early as 1930, Hemingway letters were on the market as collectors' items—a development he found discomfiting. A group of nine letters he wrote to Ernest Walsh was touted in the March 1930 catalog of the Ulysses Book Shop in London as "a complete revelation of the man as he really is."<sup>17</sup> Maxwell Perkins informed

Hemingway on 8 April that Scribner's rare books department had purchased the letters to get them out of circulation, and he offered to destroy them or return them to Hemingway unread. Hemingway responded: "It certainly is a crappy business to find your own personal letters up for sale—am going to quit writing letters."<sup>18</sup> He did not, and as the decades passed, his letters only increased in interest and value. In July 1952 he wrote to Meyer, Perkins's successor, asking if the head of Scribner's rare books department had recently bought any letters he had written. If so, Hemingway wrote, "I would like a list of the purchases he made in order that I may be relieved of some correspondents."<sup>19</sup>

Two months before his fifty-ninth birthday, Hemingway typed out a directive, sealed it in an envelope marked "Important / To be opened in case of my Death," and placed it in the safe at the Finca. Dated 20 May 1958, the note reads: "To my Executors: It is my wish that none of the letters written by me during my lifetime shall be published. Accordingly, I hereby request and direct you not to publish, or consent to the publication by others, of any such letters."<sup>20</sup>

Following his death in 1961, nearly two decades passed before Mary Hemingway, as his literary executor, decided to authorize the compilation of a volume of his selected letters. Scribner's 1981 publication of *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters, 1917–1961*, edited by Carlos Baker, was a landmark literary event, heralded, amid other publicity, by an illustrated cover spread in the 15 February 1981 *New York Times Magazine*.

As Baker notes in his introduction to *Selected Letters*, Hemingway did, in fact, consent during his lifetime to the publication of a few of his letters or extracts from them. These included three abridged letters in Edmund Wilson's *The Shores of Light* (1952), four letters in Donald Gallup's *The Flowers of Friendship: Letters Written to Gertrude Stein* (1953), and one to the chief librarian of the Oak Park Public Library on the occasion of the library's fiftieth anniversary, published in the 15 February 1954 *Library Journal*. (Hemingway had missed the celebration dinner but wrote on 10 June 1953 to say, "I was at sea . . . or I would have sent you a message telling you how much I owe to the Library and how much it has meant to me all my life." He enclosed a \$100 check to cover any costs of making and distributing copies of his message and added, "If you find that I owe any fines or dues you can apply it against them."<sup>21</sup>) A few of Hemingway's letters to his German and Italian publishers, Ernst Rowohlt and Arnoldo Mondadori, also appeared in print: one (in English) in *Rowohlts Rotblonder Roman* (1947) and three (translated into Italian) in *Il Cinquantennio Editoriale di Arnoldo Mondadori, 1907–1957* (1957). And Hemingway permitted Arthur Mizener to quote from his letters to F. Scott Fitzgerald in *The Far Side of Paradise*, the 1949 biography of his old friend.

Hemingway wrote some letters expressly for publication, including letters to editors or columnists of various magazines and newspapers, answers to

questionnaires, blurbs to promote the books of other writers, and the occasional commercial product endorsement.<sup>22</sup> He may, however, have regretted his endorsement of Ballantine Ale after a two-page advertisement appeared in the 5 November 1951 issue of *Life* magazine, featuring a facsimile of his letter on his stationery headed "FINCA VIGIA, SAN FRANCISCO DE PAULA, CUBA." After *The Old Man and the Sea* was published complete in *Life* (1 September 1952), he "got smacked with 3800 letters." "An awful lot of them got through straight here due to the Ballantine ad which published my address," he reported to a friend in November 1952. "I answered one whole school at Louisville Ky. and am going to answer another whole school," he claimed. But, he said, "I am a writer and not an homme des lettres. So I am going to drift now and not have an address for a while so my conscience won't bother me about answering kids (all of whom I will answer until I have to cast off) and I want to write again and not write letters."<sup>23</sup>

Despite Hemingway's 1958 directive, after his death additional letters appeared in print, in part or in full, including two to Sylvia Beach (both in English and in French translation) in *Mercur de France* (1963); seven to Milton Wolff, last commander of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion in the Spanish Civil War, in *American Dialog* (1964); and four, quoted in Italian in *Epoca* (1965), to Adriana Ivancich, the aristocratic young Venetian with whom he became infatuated in 1948 and upon whom he modeled the character Renata in *Across the River and into the Trees* (1950). When Mary Hemingway publicly objected to what she felt was A. E. Hotchner's extensive unauthorized use of Hemingway's letters in his 1966 book *Papa Hemingway: A Personal Memoir*, Philip Young, a professor at The Pennsylvania State University, took up her side with an exposé in the August 1966 *Atlantic Monthly* called "On Dismembering Hemingway."<sup>24</sup> Although Mary lost the case in court, "in the face of a common enemy Mary and I became friendly," Young recalled.<sup>25</sup> She subsequently invited him, along with Charles W. Mann, Chief of Rare Books and Special Collections at The Pennsylvania State University Libraries, to catalog her late husband's papers. At the time, the papers—gathered from Cuba, their house in Ketchum, Idaho, the back room of Sloppy Joe's bar in Key West, and elsewhere—were stored in her New York City bank vault and in shopping bags in her apartment closet. Young and Mann's 1969 volume, *The Hemingway Manuscripts: An Inventory*, was the first public accounting of the 19,500 pages that Mary would donate to the Kennedy Library and that would become accessible to scholars with the 1980 opening of its Hemingway Collection.

Audre Hanneman's landmark 1967 volume, *Ernest Hemingway: A Comprehensive Bibliography*, included entries for 110 Hemingway letters partially quoted in print or published in full. Her 1975 supplementary volume listed 122 more. Many had appeared as extracts or facsimiles of letters in sale catalogs and dealer listings.

*Hemingway at Auction, 1930–1973*, compiled by Matthew J. Bruccoli and C.E. Frazer Clark, Jr., reproduced pages from sixty auction and fifty-five dealer catalogs describing Hemingway books, manuscripts, and letters that had been offered for sale. “Most remarkable in recent years has been an almost magisterial series of sales of letters in which Hemingway the old battler scores in the same league with such older pros as Goethe,” wrote Charles W. Mann in his introduction to that 1973 volume. He marveled that auction sales of Hemingway books, letters, and manuscripts to date had totaled \$130,342.75: “One would like to hear Ernest Hemingway’s reaction to it,” he remarked. While to the present-day reader the sum may sound quaint (a single 1925 letter from Hemingway to Ezra Pound sold at Christie’s in London for £78,000 in 2007, equivalent at the time to more than \$157,000), Mann cited it as evidence that reports of the decline of Hemingway’s reputation were greatly exaggerated. But what Mann found most intriguing was the glimpse that these catalogs and advertisements provided of Hemingway’s correspondence: “Finally, Hemingway with his guard down in his letters remains a startling, aggressive, compelling writer. As we will never read his collected letters, these pages will remain the only medium through which, however fragmentarily, we can still occasionally hear his voice”.<sup>26</sup>

The intensity of scholarly interest in Hemingway’s correspondence (and attendant frustration at its inaccessibility) before the publication of Baker’s selected edition is evident in E. R. Hagemann’s 1978 “Preliminary Report on the State of Ernest Hemingway’s Correspondence.” Taking into account the sixty-eight extracts from Hemingway’s letters to Mary Hemingway in her 1976 memoir, *How It Was*, Hagemann counted approximately 83,000 words “in the public print.” Compiling “Hemingway epistolary wordage” was painstaking and tedious work, he said, “but what has been revealed up to now demands an even greater effort. This is not a demand for literary gossip or prurience; it is a demand for literary history. But there it is! Hemingway’s note of 20 May 1958. Never has a dead man’s hand lain heavier on academic excellence.”<sup>27</sup>

It was in May 1979 that Mary Hemingway and her attorney, Alfred Rice, in consultation with Charles Scribner, Jr., decided to publish a volume of Hemingway’s letters. “There can be no question about the wisdom and rightness of the decision,” Baker remarked.<sup>28</sup> On the publication of his father’s letters in light of the 1958 directive, Patrick Hemingway commented, “If you don’t want them published, burn them. That’s the only way you’re going to prevent it. It’s like a great heap of cellulose, you know. It’s going to burn.”

Since the 1981 publication of *Selected Letters*, two additional volumes focusing on Hemingway’s letters have appeared, each representing both sides of his correspondence with one person: *The Only Thing That Counts: The Ernest Hemingway/Maxwell Perkins Correspondence, 1925–1947*, edited by Matthew J. Bruccoli with

Robert W. Trogdon (1996); and *Dear Papa, Dear Hotch: The Correspondence of Ernest Hemingway and A. E. Hotchner* edited by Albert J. DeFazio III (2005). Baker's edition includes 581 letters, reproduced in their entirety. The Brucoli-Trogdon volume includes 130 letters from Hemingway to Perkins (of the 472 extant in the Scribner's archives at Princeton University Library), some previously published by Baker and many abridged for length considerations. DeFazio's volume includes 161 letters exchanged between Hemingway and Hotchner from 1948 to 1961, eighty of them written by Hemingway.

Other clusters of Hemingway letters, some previously published, have appeared in books including *Hemingway in Cuba*, by Norberto Fuentes (1984); *Hemingway in Love and War*, edited by Henry S. Villard and James Nagel (1989); and *Letters from the Lost Generation: Gerald and Sara Murphy and Friends*, edited by Linda Patterson Miller (1991; expanded edn., 2002). The published memoirs of Hemingway's siblings also include some of his letters. Quotations from them appear in Madelaine Hemingway Miller's *Ernie: Hemingway's Sister "Sunny" Remembers* (1975; rpt. 1999), and selections of complete letters are featured in the revised editions of *My Brother, Ernest Hemingway* by Leicester Hemingway (1961; rev. edn., 1996) and *At the Hemingways* by Marcelline Hemingway Sanford (1962; rev. edn., 1999). *Running with the Bulls: My Years with the Hemingways* (2004) by Valerie Hemingway (née Danby-Smith), who served as his secretary and married his son Gregory after Hemingway's death, includes an October 1959 letter she received from Hemingway. And *Strange Tribe: A Family Memoir* (2007) by Gregory's son John Hemingway includes extracts of correspondence between his father and grandfather. A few additional extracts or letters, representing Hemingway's correspondence with Jane Mason (Havana friend, perhaps lover, of the 1930s), Lillian Ross, and Ezra Pound, have appeared in magazine pieces.<sup>29</sup> Scattered extracts and facsimile reproductions of letters have continued to appear in auction catalogs and dealer listings over the years.

While these publications testify to the interest in and value of the letters (and their perennial marketability as collectibles), together they account for only a fraction of Hemingway's more than 6,000 surviving letters, underscoring the need for a comprehensive scholarly edition. The Kennedy Library holds more than 2,500 outgoing Hemingway letters, and Princeton University Library holds approximately 1,400 (among the papers of Sylvia Beach, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Patrick Hemingway, Carlos Baker, and others, in addition to the Scribner's archive). The rest are scattered in scores of additional institutional repositories and private collections around the world. Among repositories with significant holdings are the Library of Congress, New York Public Library, Newberry Library, the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas, and the libraries of Yale, Pennsylvania State, Indiana, and Central Michigan Universities, Knox

College, Colby College, and the Universities of Chicago, Delaware, North Carolina, Tulsa, Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Maryland, South Carolina, Virginia, and Reading (England).

The Cambridge Edition of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway* brings together for the first time as many of the author's surviving letters as can be located, approximately 85 percent of them never before published. The edition is authorized by the Ernest Hemingway Foundation and the Hemingway Foreign Rights Trust, holders, respectively, of the U.S. and international copyrights to the letters. This collection will provide scholars and general readers alike with ready access to the entire corpus of Hemingway's extant letters, those that previously have appeared in print as well as the thousands new to publication. The edition is planned for publication in more than a dozen volumes, with letters organized chronologically by date of composition. The edition includes only letters written by Hemingway, but the incoming letters of his many correspondents will inform editorial commentary throughout.

Because Hemingway did not routinely keep copies of his letters and because they are so widely dispersed, locating the letters has been a massive undertaking, requiring resourceful archival research and grassroots detective work. In addition to procuring copies of letters from the dozens of institutional archives known to hold Hemingway correspondence, we also sent blind-search letters of inquiry to more than 500 other libraries and institutional repositories in the United States and abroad. The edition has benefited from the generosity and interest of scores of scholars, archivists, aficionados, book and autograph specialists, collectors, and surviving correspondents and their descendants, including members of Hemingway's extended family, who have provided valuable information or shared copies of letters. Our transcriptions have been meticulously compared against the original documents on site visits whenever possible.

Since the launching of the edition project was publicly announced in the spring of 2002, it has attracted considerable attention, not only in scholarly circles, but in the news media, nationally and internationally. As a result of this widespread publicity, as well as our own queries, published in such venues as the *Times Literary Supplement* and the *New York Review of Books*, dozens of people around the globe have contacted us to share information or copies of letters in their possession. To cite just a few examples, Walter Houk, the widower of Hemingway's part-time secretary in the late 1940s and early 1950s (otherwise employed by the U.S. Embassy in Havana), has shared copies of her transcriptions of 120 letters that Hemingway dictated into a wire recorder, as well as letters that Hemingway wrote to her, reporting domestic details and discussing his work in progress. John Robben, of Greenwich, Connecticut, sent copies of three letters that Hemingway wrote to him in the early 1950s in response to a critique he had written

for his college newspaper of the newly published *The Old Man and the Sea*. He was astonished that the great writer would take the time to respond to “a 21-year-old college student who had the temerity to critique his work,” evidence, he says, that Hemingway was “a caring and understanding person.”<sup>30</sup> We also were contacted by a relative of Roy Marsh, who piloted the plane that crashed in Africa on 23 January 1954 with Ernest and Mary aboard and who also was a passenger with them on the rescue plane that crashed the following day. Living in retirement in the Seychelles islands, Captain Marsh sent scanned copies of his letters via electronic mail.

To date we have gathered copies of Hemingway letters from nearly 250 sources in the United States and abroad, including more than 65 libraries and institutional repositories, and more than 175 dealers, private collectors, and Hemingway correspondents. We will continue to pursue extant letters for the duration of the edition project. The final volume will feature a section of “Additional Letters,” to include those that come to light after publication of the volumes in which they would have appeared in chronological sequence.

It is the particular wish of Patrick Hemingway that this be a complete collection of his father's letters, rather than a selected edition. “I think the real interest from writers' letters is all of them,” he has said. “Let the cards fall where they may. People can make up their own minds.” We aim for this edition to be as inclusive as possible, comprising all of Hemingway's outgoing correspondence that we can locate, including postcards, cables, identifiable drafts and fragments, in-house missives, and letters he completed but put away unsent. Yet even in a “complete edition,” some editorial judgment regarding selection is required—especially given Hemingway's celebrity, which has made a collector's item of nearly anything he signed, from checks to bar coasters, and given his own tendency to save nearly every scrap of paper he handled, including bills and grocery lists. We do not as a rule include book inscriptions, except those that the editors consider substantive or of particular interest. 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.

Letters are transcribed whole and uncut whenever possible. When letters are known only through facsimiles or extracts appearing in auction catalogs or dealer listings, we publish whatever portions are available, citing their source. Such extracts typically reflect the most substantive and interesting aspects of letters, and while they are no substitute for the original documents, they can serve as place markers in the sequence of letters until such time as complete originals may become available.

For the preservation of Hemingway's earliest letters, we can be grateful to his mother, Grace Hall Hemingway, who meticulously maintained volumes of

scrapbooks for each of her six children, pasting in correspondence as well as photographs, locks of hair, a swatch of fabric from a christening gown, crayon drawings, baby teeth, program booklets for concerts and Sunday School pageants and high school dances, and other memorabilia of their young lives. The five volumes she compiled for Ernest date from his birth through high school graduation, and another volume that she prepared for his grandparents covers his World War I experience. Perhaps it was the value his family placed on the well-documented life that fostered Hemingway's tendency to maintain a paper trail of his own. Like many writers, he saved drafts, manuscripts, and galley proofs of his published work, manuscripts of work in progress, and carbon copies of some business letters. But over the decades and through multiple moves, he also preserved drafts and false starts of letters, completed letters that in the morning light he thought better of mailing (sometimes scrawling "Unsent" across a dated envelope), and sliced-off outtakes of letters he scissor-edited before sending.

Fortunately, too, for this edition, Hemingway was famous enough at an early enough age that many of his correspondents beyond his family saved his letters. And beginning in the 1920s, many recipients of his letters were sufficiently well known themselves that their own correspondence has been preserved in archival collections.

We are aware, of course, that some of Hemingway's correspondence simply does not survive, whether by accident or intent, for personal or political reasons. For example, the bulk of Hemingway's letters to Juanito Quintana, proprietor of his favorite hotel in Pamplona and friend since the 1920s, were lost (along with the hotel) in the Spanish Civil War. Five surviving letters, written in Spanish in the 1950s, are held in the collections of the Princeton University Library.<sup>31</sup> Sadly for scholarship, if understandably from the recipients' perspective, among the letters known to be lost are those he wrote to some of the most important women in his life. In late 1918 and early 1919 he carried on an intense correspondence with Agnes von Kurowsky, the nurse with whom he fell in love at the American Red Cross hospital in Milan and who served as a prototype for the character Catherine Barkley in *A Farewell to Arms*. "I got a whole bushel of letters from you today, in fact haven't been able to read them all, yet. You shouldn't write so often," Agnes wrote to him on 1 March 1919. The next week she broke the news to him in a "Dear Ernie" letter that she was engaged to marry another man.<sup>32</sup> Domenico Caracciolo, a dashing Italian artillery officer and heir to a dukedom, jealously forced her to burn all of Hemingway's letters, before his family objected to the notion of his marrying a common American and the romance ended.

Hemingway's courtship correspondence with his first wife, Hadley Richardson, was even more intense, judging from the tone and volume of the surviving letters she wrote to him: nearly 200, totaling more than 1,500 pages, between November



1920 and their marriage on 3 September 1921. In 1942, fifteen years after leaving her to marry Pauline Pfeiffer, he reminisced fondly and nostalgically to Hadley, "I sometimes think that I wrote you so many letters to St. Louis from Chicago at one time that it crippled me as a letter writer for life. Like a pitcher with a dead arm."<sup>33</sup> Characteristically, Hemingway kept her letters all his life. His widow Mary returned them to Hadley after his death, and after Hadley's death in 1979, her son John found them in a shoe box in her Florida apartment. The vast majority of Hemingway's letters to Hadley, however, do not survive. As her biographer Gioia Diliberto reports, "Hadley burned them one day after their marriage collapsed, one of the few outward signs of her rage and sorrow."<sup>34</sup>

Nor do many of the letters survive that Hemingway wrote to Pauline, whom he divorced in 1940 to marry Martha Gellhorn. After Pauline died suddenly and unexpectedly in 1951, her twenty-four-year-old son Patrick received a call from her executor, saying she had left instructions that all of her correspondence was to be burned. "So, unlike some of these people, at least she was logical," Patrick recalled. "She didn't want her correspondence to be immortalized. That was the way to deal with it. And he was shocked. I was shocked. He said, 'Pat, if you want to go in and look through it, if you think that anything shouldn't be burned . . .' And I said, 'She said burn it. Burn it.'" The letters were destroyed in accordance with her wishes.

Hemingway claimed to have rewritten the ending of *A Farewell to Arms* thirty-nine times before he was satisfied. Surviving manuscripts prove he was not exaggerating: the Kennedy Library has cataloged forty-one variants in its collection. In contrast to the painstaking craftsmanship of his published work, his letter-writing style was spontaneous and informal. In 1952 he wrote to his editor:

It could be argued that I have no right to speak of English Prose since I mis-spell and make errors of grammar in letters. But this usually happens because my head races far ahead of my hands on the type-writer, my typewriter sometimes sticks and over-runs and my time in this life is so short that it is not worthwhile to look up the proper spelling of a word in the dictionary when writing a letter. The spelling and construction of my letters is careless rather than ignorant. I try to avoid the level on which I write seriously when I write a letter. Otherwise each letter would take all day. As it is too many take much too much time that should go into writing.<sup>35</sup>

Of the relationship between his father's letters and his writing for publication, Patrick Hemingway commented, "I don't think they interfered much with his writing. I think it was just another part of his brain, and I don't think he ever mulled over them or tried to reach his idea of perfection with them. He just wrote them. But he was engaged with the person he was writing to." In the *New York*

*Times Magazine* piece that allowed the first public glimpse of Hemingway's letters shortly before the release of *Selected Letters* in April 1981, James Atlas also remarked on the difference between Hemingway's professional and personal writing, expressing surprise "that such a hoarder of words as Ernest Hemingway should have been so garrulous in his letters": "After a day that produced perhaps 500 words, he might turn out a 3,000-word letter the same evening. And where in his work he labored to be as tight-lipped as possible, to intimate rather than describe emotion, in his correspondence he was profligate, expansive, anecdotal."<sup>36</sup>

Lively, colorful, and idiosyncratic, Hemingway's letters present numerous challenges to the reader (and transcriber) not privy to the experiences, in-jokes, and private lingos that he shared with his various correspondents. He conferred upon family and friends a sometimes bewildering array of nicknames, in many cases more than one per person.<sup>37</sup> Hemingway variously addressed his sister Marcelline as "Marce," "Mash," "Masween," "Ivory," "Old Ivory," and "Antique Ivory." Hadley was "Hash," "Bones," "Binney," "Feather Cat," "Miss Katherine Cat," "Wickey," and "Poo." Conversely, a single nickname might apply to different persons: "Kitten" was a term of endearment not only for Hadley, his first wife, but for Mary, his last. Sometimes he and someone close to him affectionately shared a nickname, as when he addressed a letter to Martha Gellhorn as "Dearest Beloved Bongy" and signed it "Bongy." In his youth he and his friend Bill Smith had done the same, writing to each other as "Bird," "Boid," or (in a Latin variation on the theme) "Avis." Hemingway's sons John, Patrick, and Gregory were almost always "Bumby," "Mouse," and "Gigi."

Hemingway signed off his letters with multiple variants on his own name. Before he became "Papa," in early letters he was not only "Ernie," but "Oin," "Oinbones," "Miller" (his middle name), "Old Brute" (sometimes shortened to "O.B." or amplified to "Antique Brutality"), and "Wemedge." His high school nickname "Hemingstein" morphed to "Stein" or "Steen," and sometimes a sketch of a foam-topped beer stein served as his only signature. From here the private patois spun on, as rainbow trout became "rainsteins" and the Dilworths (the Horton Bay family who ran the local blacksmith shop, chicken dinner establishment, and guest houses) became the "Dillsteins" and even "Stilldeins."

The linguistic acrobatics that marked much of his correspondence with Ezra Pound, the master of modernist innovation, were already evident in Hemingway's much earlier letters to the friends of his youth in Oak Park and up in Michigan. Suffering a head cold in mid-March 1916, he apologized to his friend Emily Goetzmann for the lateness of his letter in prose mimicking his nasal congestion (throwing in an allusion to a popular poem for good measure): "On pended gknees I peg your bardun vor the ladness of this legger. Bud a gombination of monthly

examinachugs and Bad goldt are my eggscuse, or to quote 'them immortal lines,' the brooks are ruggig—also my gnose." To Bill Smith he wrote on 28 April 1921, "Laid non hearage from you to some form of displeasure with the enditer and so after a time stopped screedage." His slang is fluid, with some words changing meaning with the context, and occasionally it is nearly impenetrable. As a rule, we leave it to readers to experience Hemingway's language on their own as he wrote it, without editorial intervention or attempts at explication.

In transcribing the letters, we have made every effort to preserve verbatim "Hemingway's endearing or exasperating idiosyncrasies" of mechanics and style, as Baker put it.<sup>38</sup> These include his well-known habit of retaining the silent "e" in such word forms as "loveing," "haveing," or "unbelievable," and the invented "Hemingway Choctaw talk," stripped of articles and connectives, that Lillian Ross captured in her famous (or infamous) 13 May 1950 *New Yorker* profile of the writer. The letters exhibit Hemingway's often exuberant love of language, as he plays with such phonetically spelled and humorously conflated inventions as "Yarrup" (for Europe), "genuwind," "eggzact," "langwiges," "Alum Mattress" (for alma mater), and "Christnose" (as in "CHRISTNOSE IVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY EVERY GOOD WRITER IVE EVER READ BUT OUT OF IT WE COME, IF WEVE GOT ANYTHING, HARD AND CLEAR WITH OUR OWN STUFF," from a typewritten 1925 letter to composer George Antheil).<sup>39</sup>

Hemingway employed languages other than English in his letters as well, with varying degrees of expertise. Some letters of his teenage years are peppered with fractured high school Latin. Throughout his life he inserted into his correspondence a variety of words and phrases of other languages as he encountered and acquired them: Italian, French, German, Spanish, and Swahili, in some of which he eventually became fluent, if not always achieving grammatical perfection. Even when using English words, he sometimes adopted the syntax of another language: a linguistic cross-over that he also experimented with in his published works, as when he evokes the inflections of Spanish dialog in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. In an 18 November 1918 letter written from the American Red Cross hospital in Milan on stationery with the letterhead "Croce Rossa Americana," he refers to a "cross red nurse"—imitating the grammar of Italian, while playing on the meaning of the words in English. From the Finca in 1942 he wrote to Martha Gellhorn with pleasure and pride in her skill as a writer after reading her *Collier's* magazine account of a rugged Caribbean "cruise" she made on a thirty-foot potato boat in hurricane season in order to report on German submarine activity in those waters. In his praise, he mixes Spanish syntax with his own "Choctaw talk," declaring, "Ni Joyce ni nobody any better ear than my Bong has now."<sup>40</sup>

When not taking deliberate liberties with the English language or experimenting in another, Hemingway generally was a sound speller, and his handwritten letters

exhibit few errors, apart from occasional slips of the pen. But his typewritten letters often are riddled with mechanical errors that he did not bother to correct. As one example, he often did not depress the shift key sufficiently, resulting in oddities like "I8ve" instead of "I've," or causing only a portion of an uppercase letter to appear, suspended above the line. When he mistyped a word or phrase, rather than stop to erase and retype it accurately, he typically would type a string of x's through the mistake and continue on, or sometimes simply retype his correction or revision over the original attempt with more forceful keystrokes. "This typing is a little woosy, but the light is bad and I am trying to make speed," he explained in a 17 December 1917 letter to his parents, in which a number of sentences end not with a period, but with the symbol "¾".

The condition of his typewriter was frequent cause for colorful comment. "Calamity has in the language of the Michigese Moss Back 'Laid hold of' the typer," he reported in a handwritten letter from northern Michigan to an unidentified friend in late September 1919. "It just let off a series of jarring whirrs like an annoyed rattler and quit frigidly. The main spring I imagine." In a letter of 10 January 1921 to his mother he wrote, "Love to you, pardon the rotten typer—it's a new one and stiff as a frozen whisker." To his friend Kate Smith he explained in a letter of 27 January 1922 from Paris, "Don'yt get to thinking I can't spell, I can ' but this is an accursed French typer and the key board is rotten to work." "THIS MILL IS DIRTY AND ONLY FUNCTIONS IN THE UPPER REGISTER," he wrote to *Little Review* editor Jane Heap in 1925, "SO IF I NEED THE EMPHASIS USUALLY GIVEN BY CAPITAL LETTERS I WILL INSERT SOME PROFANE PHRASE OR VULGAR EJACULATION LIKE SAY HORSESHIT FOR EXAMPLE."<sup>41</sup>

To silently correct spelling and punctuation or to regularize capitalization in the letters would strip them of their personality and present a falsely prettified and homogenized view of the letters his correspondents received. Such tidying up also would render meaningless Hemingway's own spontaneous "meta-commentary" on the imperfections of his letters ("Excuse the bum spelling and typographicals," he wrote to his father on 2 May 1922), as when he took a phonetic stab at writing words in a foreign language or a proper name and followed it with a disclaimer such as "Spelling very doubtful." And it would render invisible Hemingway's comical manipulations of people's names, as when he addressed Sylvia Beach as "Dear Seelviah," or Ezra Pound as "Dear Uzra," or referred to poet and publisher Robert McAlmon as "MuckAlmun."<sup>42</sup>

Yet in attempting to preserve the strong idiosyncratic flavors of Hemingway's epistles, we do not want to give readers what one scholarly editor termed "literary dyspepsia."<sup>43</sup> So as not to tax the reader's patience or ability to focus on the sense of the letters, 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. For example, frequently he would type a space both before and after punctuation marks or hit the space bar two or three times between words, creating a visual quirkiness that we do not attempt to reproduce in print. We are mindful that no published transcription of a typed or handwritten letter can ever fully capture its 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 order to avoid what Lewis Mumford termed the "barbed wire" entanglements of too many editorial marks,<sup>44</sup> we rely primarily on notes, rather than more intrusive symbols within the text, to supply necessary contextual information, translations of foreign words and passages, and first-mention identifications of people in each volume. Annotations appear as endnotes immediately following each letter.

In addition to an introduction discussing Hemingway's life, work, and correspondence of the period represented, each volume includes a brief chronology of events in Hemingway's life and career during that span of years, a note outlining editorial policies, a roster of correspondents represented in that volume, a selection of illustrations, and relevant maps. The back matter of each volume includes a calendar of letters, an index of recipients, and a general index to the volume. The final volume will contain a comprehensive index to the complete edition.

A more detailed description of editorial practices and procedures appears in the Note on the Text. Our aim is to produce an edition that is at once satisfying to the scholar and inviting to the general reader.

Publication of Hemingway's collected letters will be a crucial step forward for the study of American literature and literary modernism. Hemingway has had an indelible impact on English prose—and on the popular imagination. Nearly every book he wrote since 1925 remains in print. He has had an uncommonly prolific posthumous career. Dozens of previously unpublished or uncollected stories, articles, and poems have appeared in new collections of his work. And several major new books have been published since his death, edited from manuscripts he left behind in varying stages of completion. These include *A Moveable Feast* (1964), *Islands in the Stream* (1970), *The Garden of Eden* (1986), and two editions of his "Africa book": *True at First Light* (1999), edited by Patrick Hemingway, and a complete unabridged edition, *Under Kilimanjaro* (2005), edited by Robert W. Lewis and Robert E. Fleming. *A Moveable Feast: The Restored Edition*, edited by the author's grandson Seán Hemingway, was published in 2009.

Ernest Hemingway is arguably the most widely recognized and influential of all American writers. More than a half century after his death, interest in his life and

work is seemingly insatiable, his iconic stature unshakable, his celebrity still global. Serious writers and readers must come to terms with his artistic legacy. Few writers' letters can rival his in importance and interest—both for scholars of modern literature and for the reading public.

Hemingway's letters present fresh and immediate accounts of events and relationships that profoundly shaped his life and work. "We go to the front tomorrow," the eighteen-year-old volunteer ambulance driver wrote home on a picture postcard from Milan on 9 June 1918. A month later he would be wounded seriously in a mortar explosion and hospitalized in Milan, where he would fall in love: experiences that fueled his fiction, from "A Very Short Story" (a version of which first appeared in his 1924 *in our time*) to *A Farewell to Arms*. On 14 February 1922, newly arrived in Paris and about to take his place among the expatriate writers and artists of the Left Bank, he wrote to his mother back in Oak Park: "Paris is so very beautiful that it satisfies something in you that is always hungry in America." "Gertrude Stein who wrote Three Lives and a number of other good things was here to dinner last night and stayed till mid-night," he reported. "She is about 55 I guess and very large and nice. She is very keen about my poetry." He continued, "Friday we are going to tea at Ezra Pounds. He has asked me to do an article on the present literary state of America for the Little Review." Hemingway's description of Pamplona's fiesta of San Fermín in a July 1924 letter to his mother is particularly striking, considering that his own novel, published two years later, would forever alter the scene: "It is a purely Spanish festa high up in the capital of Navarre and there are practically no foreigners altho people come from all over Spain for it."<sup>45</sup>

Hemingway's letters express and provoke the gamut of human emotions. They are by turns—and sometimes simultaneously—entertaining, informative, poignant, silly, wrenching, depressing, outrageous. Surprising to some readers will be the extent to which the letters contradict the common image of Hemingway the solitary artist, adventurer, and tough guy, unencumbered by if not estranged from his family. To be sure, the family relationships were complicated and at times contentious, but despite the strains, the ties did bind. The letters show Hemingway's less familiar but no less honest faces: as loving husband, as proud father, as playful and devoted brother, and as affectionate and ever-dutiful son. They reveal other less familiar facets of the writer as well: Hemingway the political observer, the natural historian, the astute businessman, the infatuated lover, the instigator and organizer of festivities, and the everyday Hemingway. Even when writing about the least literary of subjects—financial transactions, brands of motor oil, the necessity of car insurance, varieties of avocados and mangoes growing at the Finca, what provisions to take on a hunting trip or aboard his beloved boat *Pilar*, the logistics of his children's travels, remodeling plans and roof repairs—he

was rarely dull. His briefest cables capture his inimitable voice: "SUGGEST YOU UPSTICK BOOK ASSWARDS," he wrote in December 1922 to his employer, Frank Mason, who had suggested that his expense reports did not match the accounting books.

Hemingway was famously competitive about his writing. "You should always write your best against dead writers," he advised William Faulkner in a 1947 letter, "and beat them one by one."<sup>46</sup> To Charles Scribner in 1949 he confessed, "Am a man without any ambition, except to be champion of the world."<sup>47</sup> He told Lillian Ross: "I started out very quiet and I beat Mr. Turgenev. Then I trained hard and I beat Mr. de Maupassant. I've fought two draws with Mr. Stendhal, and I think I had an edge in the last one. But nobody's going to get me in any ring with Mr. Tolstoy unless I'm crazy or I keep getting better."<sup>48</sup> Yet Hemingway did not view his correspondence as art (even if it was always performance) and regarded it lightly. He did not recognize the letter as one of his own richest and strongest genres.

In "Old Newsman Writes: A Letter from Cuba," published in *Esquire* in 1934, Hemingway declared:

All good books are alike in that they are truer than if they had really happened and after you are finished reading one you will feel that all that happened to you and afterwards it all belongs to you; the good and the bad, the ecstasy, the remorse and sorrow, the people and the places and how the weather was. If you can get so that you can give that to people, then you are a writer.<sup>49</sup>

While he always drew a clear distinction between the importance of letter writing and "real" writing, the same standards of judgment can be brought favorably to bear on his own letters, written without thought of their lasting power, or self-consciousness of their testimony to his prowess as a writer. Each letter is a snapshot capturing the news of the day and mood of the hour. Together they form a vast album, a detailed and candid record not only of his own extraordinarily eventful, complicated, and accomplished life, but of the places and times in which he lived and on which he made his mark. Ernest Hemingway's collected letters constitute a rich self-portrait of the artist and a vivid eyewitness chronicle of the twentieth century.

#### NOTES

- 1 EH to F. Scott Fitzgerald, 1 July 1925 (PUL; SL, 165–66). A key to abbreviations and short titles used in this volume follows the Note on the Text. Unless otherwise cited, all letters quoted in this introduction are included in this volume.
- 2 EH to Arthur Mizener, 12 May 1950 (UMD; SL, 695).
- 3 Michael S. Reynolds, *Hemingway: The Paris Years* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989), 356.

- 4 Patrick Hemingway letter, "To Whom It May Concern," 12 October 2004 (in the archives of the Hemingway Letters Project, The Pennsylvania State University).
- 5 Edmund Wilson, "Ernest Hemingway: Bourdon Gauge of Morale," *Atlantic Monthly* 164 (July 1939): 36–46.
- 6 *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters, 1917–1961*, ed. Carlos Baker (New York: Scribner's, 1981), ix.
- 7 The letter is in the collection of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas.
- 8 Interview with Sandra Spanier, Boston, Massachusetts, 2 April 2007. All subsequent quotations from Patrick Hemingway are from this interview.
- 9 EH to Ursula Hemingway, [c. 17 September 1919]; EH to Howell Jenkins, 8 January [1922]; EH to Madelaine Hemingway, [24 November 1925] (PSU).
- 10 EH to Ernest Walsh and Ethel Moorhead, [c. 27 December 1925] (JFK).
- 11 EH to Archibald MacLeish, [c. 20 December 1925] (Library of Congress; *SL*, 179).
- 12 EH to Clarence Hemingway, 26 March 1923 (JFK).
- 13 EH to Wallace Meyer, 28 November 1952 (PUL).
- 14 EH to Charles Scribner, Jr., 7 August 1954 (PUL).
- 15 EH to Wallace Meyer, 21 February 1952 (PUL; *SL*, 750).
- 16 EH to Grace Hall Hemingway, 12 October 1929 (PSU).
- 17 *Hemingway at Auction, 1930–1973*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli and C. E. Frazer Clark, Jr. (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1973), 235.
- 18 EH to Maxwell Perkins, [c. 11 April 1930] (PUL; *TOTTC*, 143).
- 19 EH to Wallace Meyer, 29 July 1952 (PUL).
- 20 EH to "my Executors," typescript of statement, 20 May 1958 (JFK).
- 21 EH to Frederick Wezeman, 10 June 1953 (OPPL).
- 22 These are collected in *Hemingway and the Mechanism of Fame: Statements, Public Letters, Introductions, Forewords, Prefaces, Blurbs, Reviews, and Endorsements*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli and Judith S. Baughman (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006).
- 23 EH to Daniel Longwell, 5 November 1952 (Columbia). EH's letter thanking twenty-three junior high school students in Louisville, Kentucky, for their letter about *The Old Man and the Sea* was quoted in *Time*, 2 March 1953, 33.
- 24 The piece was published as "I Dismember Papa" in Philip Young, *Three Bags Full: Essays in American Fiction* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1967), 55–67.
- 25 Philip Young, "Hemingway's Manuscripts: The Vault Reconsidered," in *American Fiction, American Myth: Essays by Philip Young*, ed. David Morrell and Sandra Spanier (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 120.
- 26 Bruccoli and Frazer Clark, Jr., *Hemingway at Auction*, vii, xi.
- 27 In *Literary Research Newsletter* 3, no. 4 (1978): 163–72; 165.
- 28 *Selected Letters*, xxiii.
- 29 Alane Salierno Mason, "To Love and Love Not," *Vanity Fair*, July 1999, 108–18ff.; Lillian Ross, "Hemingway Told Me Things," *New Yorker*, 24 May 1999, 70–73; Matthew J. Bruccoli, ed., "'Yr Letters Are Life Preservers': The Correspondence of Ernest Hemingway and Ezra Pound," *Paris Review* 163 (Fall 2003): 96–129.
- 30 John Robben to Sandra Spanier, 10 May 2002 (Hemingway Letters Project archives).
- 31 Carlos Baker, "Letters from Hemingway," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 24 (Winter 1963): 101–7.
- 32 Henry S. Villard and James Nagel, eds., *Hemingway in Love and War: The Lost Diary of Agnes von Kurowsky, Her Letters, and Correspondence of Ernest Hemingway* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 162.
- 33 EH to Hadley Mowrer, 23 July 1942 (PUL); quoted in Gioia Diliberto, *Hadley* (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1992), xiii.
- 34 Diliberto, *Hadley*, xii.



- 35 EH to Wallace Meyer, 28 November 1952 (PUL).  
36 James Atlas, "The Private Hemingway," *New York Times Magazine*, 15 February 1981, 23.  
37 Kenneth B. Panda notes Hemingway's penchant for slang and nicknames, in the introduction to "Ernest Hemingway: Letters, 1908–1925" (doctoral dissertation, University of Delaware, 2002).  
38 *Selected Letters*, xxv.  
39 EH to George Antheil, [c. January 1925] (Columbia).  
40 EH to Martha Gellhorn, 19 September [1942] (JFK).  
41 EH to Jane Heap, [5 April 1925] (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee).  
42 EH to Sylvia Beach, [6 November 1923] (PUL; SL, 97–99); EH to Ezra Pound, [c. 10 April 1925] (Yale). EH refers to "MuckAlmun" in this letter to Pound.  
43 Frederick Karl, "General Editor's Introduction," *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), vol. 1, xlv.  
44 Lewis Mumford, "Emerson Behind Barbed Wire," *New York Review of Books*, 18 January 1968, 3–5, 23.  
45 EH to Grace Hall Hemingway, 18 July 1924 (PSU).  
46 EH to William Faulkner, 23 July 1947 (JFK; SL, 624).  
47 EH to Charles Scribner, 1 September 1949 (PUL).  
48 Lillian Ross, *Portrait of Hemingway* (New York: Modern Library, 1999), 19.  
49 "Old Newsman Writes: A Letter from Cuba," *Esquire*, December 1934 (BL, 184).

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## 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 generous and supportive of this effort, meeting with the general editor on several occasions and graciously answering questions, identifying references, and sharing stories that illuminate the letters. We wish to extend special thanks to Michael Kataakis, representative of the Trust, for his role in securing permissions.

The Hemingway Letters Project is supported in part by a Scholarly Editions Grant 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 those 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, 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, the Idaho Humanities Council, and the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library.

The Pennsylvania State University has provided indispensable institutional support and an ideal home for the Project from its inception in 2002. We are particularly grateful to the following for their sponsorship and commitment: Dean Susan Welch and Associate Deans Raymond E. Lombra, Jack Selzer, and Denise Solomon, College of the Liberal Arts; Dean Emeritus Nancy Eaton and Dean Barbara Dewey, University Libraries; Rodney Erickson, Office of the Provost; Eva Pell and Henry Foley, Office of the Vice President for Research; Marie Secor, Robert Caserio, and Robin Schulze, Heads of the Department of English; and Laura Knoppers, Marica Tacconi, and Michael Bérubé, Directors of the Institute for Arts and Humanities.

Penn State's Office of Development and Alumni Relations has provided valuable assistance in securing external philanthropic funding; Rodney Kirsch, Peter Weiler, Joanne Cahill, and Rebecca Mills have been instrumental in these efforts. Others to whom we owe thanks include Ron Huss, Mark Righter, and the Intellectual Property Office; Bill Mahon, Cynthia Hall, and Cyndee Graves in University Relations; Trish Alexander, Shane Freehauf, Mary Kay Hort, Mark Luellen, Michael Renne, Cathy A. Thompson, and Sandra Wingard in the College of the Liberal Arts; Robert Edwards, Elizabeth Jenkins, and Mark Morrisson in the English Department's Graduate Studies Program, as well as Amy Barone, Sharissa Feasler, Laurie Johnson, Kim Keller, Charlie Reese, Michael Riden, Wendy Shaffer, and Peg Yetter in the Department of English; Roger Downs and Deryck Holdsworth of the Department of Geography; and cartographer Erin Greb and the Peter R. Gould Center for Geography Education and Outreach.

We wish also to acknowledge support provided to volume I co-editor Robert W. Trogdon by Kent State University, with particular thanks to Ronald Corthell, Chair of the Department of English, and Timothy Moerland, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences. Boise State University and Illinois State University have provided much appreciated support to scholars working on later volumes of the edition.

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 generously and tirelessly of their time and expertise. Headed by Linda Patterson Miller, the advisors include Jackson R. Bryer, Scott Donaldson, James Meredith, Linda Wagner-Martin, 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.

Project Associate Editor LaVerne Kennevan Maginnis has served with dedication and professionalism on a daily basis in myriad ways, and the Project is most fortunate to have the benefit of her editorial and organizational expertise.

## Acknowledgments

In addition to those named on the title page of this volume, others serving on editorial teams of later volumes and as consulting scholars to the Project merit grateful acknowledgment: Edward Burns, Rose Marie Burwell, Stacey Guill, Hilary K. Justice, Ellen Andrews Knodt, Mark Ott, Gladys Rodriguez Ferrero, Chtiliana Stoilova Rousseva, Rena M. Sanderson, Rodger L. Tarr, and Lisa Tyler. We owe special thanks to Professors Knodt and Sanderson for their contributions in the preparation of volume 1.

We are deeply 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 more than 2,500 outgoing letters, providing a number of images for illustrations free of charge, and responding tirelessly to our requests and queries. Special thanks are due to Director Thomas J. Putnam; past Director Deborah Leff; Hemingway Collection Curator Susan Wrynn; retired Chief Archivist Allan Goodrich and his successor, Karen Adler Abramson; James Roth; Stephen Plotkin; Amy Macdonald; Megan Desnoyers; James B. Hill, Laurie Austin, and Maryrose Grossman of Photo Archives; and interns Shanti Freundlich, Becky Robbins, Samuel Smallidge, Marti Verso, and Diana Wakimoto.

We also gratefully acknowledge the outstanding support of the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, with warmest thanks to William L. Joyce, Head of Special Collections; Sandra Stelts, Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts; and William S. Brockman, Paterno Family Librarian for Literature. Mark Saussure, Steven Baylis, Shane Markley, and Peggy Myers of Digital Libraries Technologies have provided indispensable technical and database management support. We also wish to thank Timothy R. Babcock, Sandra Ball, Shirley Davis, Catherine Grigor, Susan Hamburger, Catherine Hanhauser, Sally Kalin, Amy Yancey, and Stelts/Filippelli Intern Buthainah Al Thowaini.

For supplying copies of letters in their collections and granting permission for their publication in volume 1 of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, we acknowledge the following libraries and archives, with special thanks to the librarians, curators, and staff members named here for their kind assistance: Brown University Library; Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University—Frank J. Boles; Lewis Galantière Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University—Bernard Crystal, Susan G. Hamson, Jennifer B. Lee; Lilly Library, Indiana University—Directors Breon Mitchell and Saundra Taylor, and Rebecca Cape, Zachary Downey, and Gabriel Swift; Ernest Hemingway Collection at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum; Special Collections and Archives, Knox College Library—Carley Robison, Kay Vander Meulen, and Mary

McAndrew; Richard John Levy and Sally Waldman Sweet Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations—Thomas G. Lannon; The Newberry Library, Chicago—John H. Brady, Martha Briggs, JoEllen Dickie, Alison Hinderliter, and John Powell; North Central Michigan College Library—Eunice Teel; Oak Park Public Library—Leigh Gavin and William Jerousek; Petoskey District Library—Andrew Cherven; Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library—Don C. Skemer, Curator of Manuscripts, and Charles E. Greene, AnnaLee Pauls, Ben Primer, and Margaret Sherry Rich; Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries—Margaret J. Kimball, Sean Quimby, and Mattie Taormina; Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library—Julia Gardner, Daniel Meyer, Reina Williams; Hemingway Collection, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries—Beth Alvarez; Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin—Richard Workman, Lea K. Cline, Nick Homenda, Francisca Folch, Elspeth Healey, Caitlin Murray; Department of Special Collections, McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa—Marc Carlson; Special Collections, University of Virginia Library—Christian Dupont, Margaret D. Hrabe, Edward F. Gaynor, Heather Riser, and Robin D. Wear; Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library—Frank M. Turner, Director; Nancy Kuhl, Curator, Collection of American Literature; and Heather Dean, Diane Ducharme, Stephen C. Jones, Laurie Klein, Susan Klein, Ngadi W. Kponou, John Monahan, Karen Nangle, Natalia Sciarini, Adrienne Sharpe, and Graham Sherriff.

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

The following manuscript specialists and dealers have been most helpful in a variety of ways, including supplying sale catalogs and information about their offerings, forwarding queries to owners, sharing copies of letters, and otherwise assisting in our research: Bart Auerbach; David and Natalie Bauman, Ernest Hilbert, Bauman Rare Books; Patrick McGrath, Christie's New York; Steve Verkman, Clean Sweep Auctions; David Bloom, Freeman's Auctions; Thomas A. Goldwasser; Glenn Horowitz Bookseller, Inc.; George R. Minkoff; David Meeker, Nick Adams Rare Books; Kenneth W. Rendell Gallery; Selby Kiffer, Sotheby's New York; and Swann Galleries.

We are extremely grateful to a number of individuals for their generosity in sharing copies or transcriptions of letters with the Project: Nick Angell, Charles Bednar, Edwin McHaney Bennett, Ricardo Bernhard, Edward Brown, Benjamin Bruce, Annette Campbell-White, Herbert S. Channick, Andrew Cohen, Joseph J. Creely, Jr.,

## *Acknowledgments*

Page Dougherty Delano, Wesley J. Dilworth, Roger DiSilvestro, Fraser Drew, T. Mike Fletcher, Peggy Fox, Arthur T. Garrity, Mark Godburn, Hank Gorrell, Jr., Edgar Grissom, Mina Hemingway, Patrick and Carol Hemingway, Dan Hodges, Walter Houk, Ellen Andrews Knodt, Genevieve Kurek, Elizabeth Gardner Lombardi, Ernest H. Mainland, Lou Mandler, Loretta Valtz Mannucci, Roy Marsh, Robert and Susan Metzger, Ulrich Mosch, Maurice F. and Marcia Neville, Frederick W. Nolan, Sarah Parry, Arne Herlov Petersen, Paul Quintanilla, John Robben, Dan Rosenbaum, James and Marian Sanford, John E. Sanford, Michael Schnack and family, Dorothy Shaw, Paul Sorrentino, Charles Strauss, Mel Yoken, Mark and Rhonda Ziemann, Edward L. Ziff, and Daniel Zirilli. We are grateful, too, to those donors of letters who wish to remain anonymous.

In order to ensure accuracy in the transcriptions and annotations of letters that Hemingway wrote from a range of locales and employing various languages, we have called upon the local expertise and language skills of a number of willing volunteers. The following deserve special thanks for the information and insights they have provided.

For information concerning Hemingway's hometown of Oak Park, Illinois, Kathryn J. Atwood, Barbara Ballinger, Virginia Cassin, Dan Fang, Grant Gerlich, Redd Griffin, Katie Simpson, and the Ernest Hemingway Foundation of Oak Park; William Jerousek and Leigh Gavin, Oak Park Public Library; Donald Vogel, Oak Park and River Forest High School; and Blaise Dierks, Hadley Ford, and Michael McKee of the River Forest Public Library.

For details relevant to Hemingway's 1910 visit to Nantucket, Susan F. Beegel.

For Michigan people and places, Janice Byrne, Michael Federspiel, Jack Jobst, Ken Marek, Charlotte Ponder, Frederick J. Svoboda; Ann Wright, Otsego County Historical Society; and Ray Argetsinger, Gary and Maxine Argetsinger, Wesley J. Dilworth, and Bob and Judy Sumner, descendants of those in Horton Bay who knew the Hemingway family.

For Kansas City, Steve Paul.

For St. Louis and other Missouri connections, Catey Terry, Doris Mayuiers, and Steve Weinberg, University of Missouri; Deborah E. Cribbs, St. Louis Mercantile Library; and Harry Charles and Dan Lilienkamp, St. Louis County Library.

For Key West, Brewster Chamberlin, Key West Arts and Historical Society; and Tom Hambright, Monroe County Library.

For Hemingway's high school Latin, Paul B. Harvey, Jr.

For Hemingway's Italian, Mark Cirino, Sherry Roush, and Marica Tacconi.

For French language and Parisian references, Edouard Cuilhé, Michel and Marie-Isabelle Cuilhé, and J. Gerald Kennedy.

For Spanish language and references to Spain and bullfighting, Miriam B. Mandel.

And for German language and references to Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, Thomas Austenfeld and Rena M. Sanderson.

For providing information and assisting the Project in various other ways, we also wish to thank the following: Norman Aberle, Frank Aldrich, Robert Baldwin, Jonathan Bank, A. Scott Berg, James Brasch, Carlene Brennan, Silvio Calabi, Maureen Carr, Suzanne Clark, Peter Coveney, Gioia Diliberto, Quentin Fehr, Ande Flavelle, Thomas P. Fuller, William Gallagher, Matthew Ginn, Cheryl Glenn, Lavinia Graecen, Kathryn Grossman, Sue Hart, John Harwood, Hilary Hemingway, John Hemingway, Sean and Colette Hemingway, Valerie Hemingway, Paul Hendrickson, Donald Junkins, Mary Kiffer, John King, Jobst Knigge, Linda Lapidés, Douglas LaPrade, David Lethbridge, Richard Liebman, Gaille Marsh, Laurence W. Mazzeno, David Morrell, John Mulholland, Robert M. Myers and sons Bruce and David Myers, James Nagel, Robert Nau, David Nuffer, Sean O'Rourke, Claudia Pennington, Stéphanie Perrais, Andrea Perez, Bruno Riviere, DeWitt Sage, Patrick Scott, Charles Scribner III, Pat Shipman, Gail Sinclair, Tom Stillitano, Neil Tristram, Alan Walker, Emily Wallace, and William B. Watson.

A milestone for Hemingway studies and an important benefit for this edition as we strive for completeness has been the preservation of Hemingway's letters and other documents at Finca Vigía, his longtime home outside Havana, and the 2009 opening of these materials to researchers by both the Museo Hemingway in Cuba and the Kennedy Library in Boston. For their parts in this effort, the following deserve recognition: in Cuba, Dra. Margarita Ruíz Brandi, President, Consejo Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural (National Council of Cultural Patrimony); her predecessor, Dra. Marta Arjona; Gladys Rodríguez Ferrero; Ada Rosa Alfonso Rosales, Isbel Ferreiro Garit, and the staff of the Museo Hemingway; in the United States, Congressman Jim McGovern, Jenny and Frank Phillips, Mary-Jo Adams, Thomas D. Herman, Consuelo Isaacson, Martin Peterson, Bob Vila, and the Finca Vigía Foundation; Stanley Katz, Social Science Research Council; and Ann Russell and Walter Newman, Northeast Document Conservation Center. For various help in our research of Hemingway's life in Cuba we also are grateful to Ana Elena de Arazoza, Enrique Cirules, Esperanza García Fernández, Oscar Blas Fernández, Raul and Rita Villarreal, and René Villarreal.

Those who have served as graduate research assistants at Penn State deserve much appreciation for their dedication and diligence and their many valuable contributions to the edition: Lauren Christensen, Geoffrey Davis, Michael DuBose, Charles Ebersole, Jeffrey Gonzalez, Janet Holtman, Verna Kale, Julius Lobo, Stefani Marciante, Susan Martin, and Katie Owens-Murphy.



## *Acknowledgments*

We appreciate, too, the fine work of these undergraduate assistants at the Project center: Kyle Bohunicky, Alicia Brennan, Claudia Caracci, Mark Celeste, Jennifer Cihonski, Bekah Dickstein, Lauren Eckenroth, David Eggert, Lauren Finnegan, John Gorman, Catherine Grabenhorst, Samantha Guss, John Haefele, Jabari Hall, Matthew Hook, Juliet Howard, Robert Huber, Matthew Inman, Lindsay Keiter, Allison Kuchta, Katherine Leiden, Carolyn Maginnis, John Malone, Ashlee Mayo, Andrew Mihailoff, Ashley Miller, Letitia Montgomery, Bryon Moser, Kooshan Nayerahmadi, Alice Portalatin, Megan Shawver, Aline Smith, Kelly Snyder, Brian Tkaczyk, Kevin Todorow, Michelle Vincent, and Danielle Zahoran.

For their excellent service to the Project in various other capacities we thank Linnet Brooks, Elizabeth Knepp, Richard Stutz, JoAnn Wilson, and Shannon Whitlock.

We also wish to recognize those based at the following universities for their contributions: Boise State University graduate assistants Lauren Allan, Nicole Christianson, Marek Markowski, Christy C. Vance, and Kristin W. Whiting; Illinois State University graduate assistant Catherine Ratliff; and at Kent State University, Catherine Tisch, administrative assistant for the Institute for Bibliography and Editing, and graduate assistants Jennifer Beno, Jennifer Butto, Benjamin Gundy, Rebecca Johnson, Chad Junkins, Jacqueline Krah, Adam McKee, Rachel Nordhoff, Joanna Orcutt, Garth Sabo, Christa Testa, and Simone West.

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 Maartje Scheltens. We also wish to thank the following for their roles in the preparation and publication of this volume: in the United Kingdom, Elizabeth Davey and Audrey Cotterell, and in New York, Liza Murphy, Melissanne Scheld, and Michael Duncan. We owe thanks, too, to 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 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.

SANDRA SPANIER

## 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 or pencil, 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.
- Hemingway's occasionally uncrossed t's and undotted i's appear correctly without editorial comment.

### **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 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 note.

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 that 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 or flourishes underneath the letter date or 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 transcribed as a new paragraph following the signature, reflecting the probable order of composition.

### 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 begins:] or [Hadley begins:]. 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 have not attempted 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., SCH[RUN]S. 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. 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 EH'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 EH'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

Brown	Brown University Library; Providence, Rhode Island
CMU	Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University; Mount Pleasant, Michigan
Cohen	Andrew Cohen Collection
Columbia	Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University; New York, New York
IndU	Lilly Library, Indiana University; Bloomington, Indiana
JFK	Ernest Hemingway Collection at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum; Boston, Massachusetts
<i>KCStar</i>	<i>Kansas City Star</i> ; Kansas City, Missouri
Knox	Special Collections and Archives, Knox College Library; Galesburg, Illinois
NCMC	North Central Michigan College; Petoskey, Michigan
Mainland	Ernest H. Mainland Collection
Meeker	David F. Meeker Collection
Newberry	The Newberry Library; Chicago, Illinois
NYPL	The New York Public Library; New York, New York
OPPL	Oak Park Public Library; Oak Park, Illinois
PDL	Petoskey District Library; Petoskey, Michigan
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
Schnack	Schnack Family Collection, provided by Michael Schnack

Stanford	Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries; Stanford, California
UChicago	Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago; Chicago, Illinois
UMD	Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries; College Park, Maryland
UT	Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin; Austin, Texas
UTulsa	Department of Special Collections, McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa; Tulsa, Oklahoma
UVA	Special Collections, University of Virginia Library; Charlottesville, Virginia
Yale	Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; New Haven, Connecticut
Zieman	Mark and Rhonda Zieman 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 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

OPRFHS Oak Park and River Forest High School; Oak Park, Illinois

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.
- 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.
- iot *in our time*. Paris: Three Mountains Press, 1924.
- IOT *In Our Time*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925. Rev. edn. New York: Scribner's, 1930.
- IIS *Islands in the Stream*. New York: Scribner's, 1970.
- 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*. Edited 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.
- 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.

**Reference works frequently cited in this volume**

- Baker *Life*                      Baker, Carlos. *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story*. New York: Scribner's, 1969.
- Bakewell                      Bakewell, Charles M. *The Story of the American Red Cross in Italy*. New York: Macmillan, 1920.
- Bruccoli *Apprenticeship*    Bruccoli, Matthew J., ed. *Ernest Hemingway's Apprenticeship: Oak Park 1916–1917*. Washington, D.C.: Microcard Editions, National Cash Register, 1971.
- Bruccoli *Cub*                      Bruccoli, Matthew J., ed. *Ernest Hemingway, Cub Reporter: "Kansas City Star" Stories*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970.
- Diliberto                      Diliberto, Gioia. *Hadley*. New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1992.
- Fenton                         Fenton, Charles. *The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway: The Early Years*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1954.
- Griffin                         Griffin, Peter. *Along with Youth: Hemingway: The Early Years*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Hanneman                      Hanneman, Audre. *Ernest Hemingway: A Comprehensive Bibliography*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- Hanneman2                      Hanneman, Audre. *Supplement to Ernest Hemingway: A Comprehensive Bibliography*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1975.