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THE LETTERS OF

Ernest Hemingway

1923-1925

EDITED BY

SANDRA SPANIER, ALBERT J. DEFAZIO III,
& ROBERT W. TROGDON

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

“A fascinating new volume that peels away at a young Hemingway different, richer, more tender than the machismo-encrusted persona we’ve come to know through his published works.”

Atlantic

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

Publishers Weekly, starred review

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

Arthur Phillips, *New York Times*

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

Spectator

“[A] superbly edited volume.”

TLS

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

Sarah Churchwell, *Guardian*

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

Robert McCrum, *Guardian*

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

Booklist

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

Literary Review

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

Noel Riley Fitch

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

Roger Cox, *Scotsman*

“And so begins the ambitious – and highly anticipated – publication of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, a vast collection that proves to be both a revealing autobiography and the passkey to his literary works. This first volume is a vibrant portrait of the artist as a young man, striking all the notes that will resonate as themes in the epic life and epochal literature that lie ahead.”

A. Scott Berg

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

Chronicle of Higher Education

“ . . . a major project in literary scholarship . . . left me eager to read more.”

National Post

“An intriguing insight into the evolving personality before it entered the public arena.”

Dublin Review of Books

“[The] truth of Hemingway . . . [is] gleaned from the rawness of reading his letters like this; the master appears here so unedited, so naked, so young . . . These letters – boisterous, exuberant, and insistent on a reply [see me! hear me! feel me! so many

of them seem to implore] – only show more deeply how fearlessly – carelessly, even – Hemingway lived in order to be seen.”

Alexandra Fuller, *Daily Beast*

“This Cambridge edition of all of Hemingway’s known letters is as elegant and proper a solution as one could wish to such a daunting challenge: how to make this treasure available to all interested scholars and readers for generations to come. I think that Papa Hemingway would be pleased.”

Charles Scribner III

“A literary treasure trove . . . Where Hemingway’s published works had all been so deliberate and painstakingly chiseled, his letters were free-form and expansive – unsanded and unvarnished . . . His letters may prove to be the most honest log of Hemingway’s fascinating life-voyage, the truest sentences he ever wrote . . . Their value cannot be overstated.”

Vanity Fair

“This book combines the most serious scholarship with great readability – the perfect Christmas gift.”

Standpoint

THE LETTERS OF
ERNEST HEMINGWAY

VOLUME 2
1923–1925

The Letters of Ernest Hemingway documents the life and creative development of a gifted artist and outsized personality whose work would both reflect and transform his times. Volume 2 (1923–1925) illuminates Hemingway's literary apprenticeship in the legendary milieu of expatriate Paris in the 1920s. We witness the development of his friendships with the likes of Sylvia Beach, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and John Dos Passos. Striving to "make it new," he emerges from the tutelage of Ezra Pound and Gertrude Stein to forge a new style, gaining recognition as one of the most formidable talents of his generation. In this period, Hemingway publishes his first three books, including *In Our Time* (1925), and discovers a lifelong passion for Spain and the bullfight, quickly transforming his experiences into fiction as *The Sun Also Rises* (1926). The volume features many previously unpublished letters and a humorous sketch that was rejected by *Vanity Fair*.

THE
CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF
THE LETTERS OF
ERNEST HEMINGWAY

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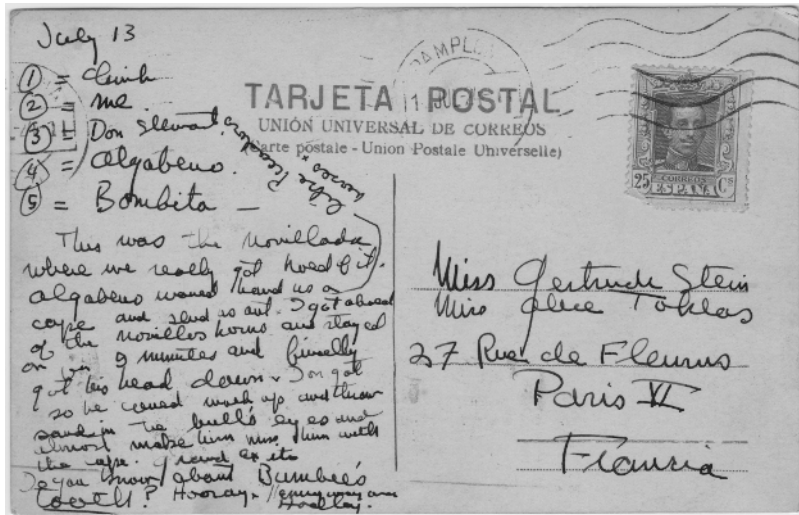
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Ernest Hemingway to Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, 13 July [1924] from Pamplona, Spain. Yale University Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library.

THE LETTERS OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY

VOLUME 2
1923–1925

EDITED BY

Sandra Spanier
Albert J. DeFazio III
Robert W. Trogdon

VOLUME ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Miriam B. Mandel
Rena Sanderson

VOLUME ADVISORY EDITOR

J. Gerald Kennedy



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CONTENTS

List of Plates	page <i>xii</i>
List of Maps	<i>xiv</i>
General Editor's Introduction	<i>xv</i>
SANDRA SPANIER	
Acknowledgments	<i>xxviii</i>
Note on the Text	<i>xxxv</i>
Abbreviations and Short Titles	<i>xlii</i>
Introduction to the Volume	<i>xlix</i>
J. GERALD KENNEDY	
Chronology	<i>lx</i>
Maps	<i>lxvii</i>

THE LETTERS 1923–1925 *1*

Roster of Correspondents	<i>463</i>
Calendar of Letters	<i>475</i>
Index of Recipients	<i>491</i>
General Index	<i>493</i>

PLATES

The plates are located between pages 214 and 215.

- 1 Hemingway bobsledding near Chamby-sur-Montreux, Switzerland (January 1923).
- 2 Robert McAlmon and Hemingway at bullring in Madrid (1923).
- 3 Chink Dorman-Smith (c. January 1923).
- 4 Bill Bird photograph inscribed to Sylvia Beach.
- 5 Sylvia Beach and George Antheil outside her bookstore in Paris (c. 1923).
- 6 Hemingway's letter to McAlmon suggesting the cover design for his first book [5 August 1923].
- 7 Hemingway's first book, *Three Stories and Ten Poems* (1923).
- 8 James Joyce, Ezra Pound, John Quinn, and Ford Madox Ford, Paris (November 1923).
- 9 Hemingway's completed passenger declaration form for transatlantic crossing to Canada (1923).
- 10 Clarence and Grace Hall Hemingway with all six of their children, Oak Park, Illinois (December 1923).
- 11 Hemingway in sawmill courtyard at 113, rue Notre-Dame des Champs (1924).
- 12 Ernest and son John Hadley Nicanor Hemingway, known as Bumby, Paris (1924).
- 13 Hadley and Bumby in Paris (1924).
- 14 Bumby and Gertrude Stein in Paris (1924).
- 15 Frontispiece (Henry Strater's portrait of Hemingway) and title page of *in our time* (Paris: Three Mountains Press, 1924).
- 16 Hemingway and friends in the bullring at Pamplona (July 1924).
- 17 Ernest and Hadley at mountain hut near Schruns, Austria (early 1925).
- 18 Bill Smith, Michigan.
- 19 Hadley at Schruns (1925).
- 20 Ernest and Bumby at Schruns (1925).

- 21 Ernest Walsh and Ethel Moorhead, Switzerland (1925).
- 22 *This Quarter* number 1 (Spring 1925).
- 23 Pauline Pfeiffer, Paris (1925).
- 24 F. Scott, Zelda, and Scottie Fitzgerald (1925).
- 25 Horace Liveright, publisher.
- 26 Dust jacket for *In Our Time* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1925).
- 27 Ernest, Hadley, and companions during the Fiesta of San Fermín, Pamplona (July 1925).
- 28 Oil portrait of Ernest by Grace Hall Hemingway (1925).

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MAPS

1	Hemingway's Paris (through 1925)	<i>page</i> <i>lxix</i>
2	Switzerland, Italy, and Austria	<i>lxx</i>
3	Spain and the South of France	<i>lxxi</i>
4	Hemingway's North America (1923–1925)	<i>lxxii</i>
5	Hemingway's Europe (through 1925)	<i>lxxiv</i>

GENERAL EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Sandra Spanier

On 3 August 1925 Ernest Hemingway wrote from Valencia, Spain, to his friend Sylvia Beach, owner of the famed Paris Left Bank bookshop Shakespeare and Company, "I've written six chapters on a novel and am going great about 15,000 words done already."¹

On 17 August he sent a picture postcard from the French seaside resort of Hendaye (a photo of himself on the beach) to Ernest Walsh, editor of the avant-garde literary magazine *This Quarter*. "Have done 48,000 words on a novel. A swell novel," Hemingway reported. "It will be suppressed the day they publish it but its going to be a damn good one. It's about Paris and Spain."

Three days later, back in Paris, he wrote to Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, "I have been working very hard and done about 50 some thousand words on a novel . . . Never worked so hard. Sometimes till 4 oclock in the morning from after dinner and sometimes like now—it's about 4:30 am. and I couldnt sleep so got up and writing now and then start. It certainly is funny how your head, I mean my head, can go most of the time like a frozen cabbage and then it can give you hell when it starts going. Have been so pleased to find it still functions."

On 11 September he wrote to his mother in Oak Park, Illinois (in language he knew would cause her to bristle):

I have been working so hard on my novel that I have not noticed days of week, month or change of season. I am nearly through now and damned tired. That is the only word I know that expresses that degree of tiredness. I have worked from 3 to 5 hours writing on it steadily every day including days on the train in Spain since July 13th. Have written probably about 80,000 words so far.

In the margin he added, "It should be a very fine novel. So far it is called Fiesta, but I may change the title."

Hemingway's novel, drafted in the two months following the 1925 Fiesta of San Fermín in Pamplona and published the next year as *The Sun Also Rises*, would propel him to fame and forever define the sensibilities of the so-called "Lost

Generation" who gathered in Paris and wandered Europe in the wake of the Great War.

In Volume 2 of the Cambridge Edition of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, spanning 1923 through 1925, we witness Hemingway coming into his own in the legendary milieu of expatriate Paris in the twenties. We trace the course of his close friendships and associations with the likes of Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein, Ford Madox Ford, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and John Dos Passos. The letters also illuminate his relationships with other pivotal but less widely remembered players on the scene, such as Robert McAlmon, Bill Bird, Ernest Walsh, and Ethel Moorhead, thus opening new windows on developments in literary modernism and broadening our understanding of that movement and era. Striving to "make it new," Hemingway quickly found his voice and crafted a new style, gaining recognition as one of the freshest and most formidable talents of his generation. This period also marks the beginning of Hemingway's lifelong passion for Spain and the bullfight.

Hemingway's letters document in rich and lively detail the life and creative development of a groundbreaking artist and outsized personality whose work would both reflect and transform his times.

Hemingway described his artistic method as inventing from experience. In his letters we live in the country, meet the people, track the relationships, and witness events unfold that later he would forge into fiction. In a postscript to the 11 September 1925 letter to his mother telling of his novel in progress, Hemingway added a note about his wife: "Hadley is better looking and huskier than ever. She's had her hair cut like a boys as all the chic people now and has several people in love with her including a very nice bull fighter named Nino de la Palma who dedicates bulls to her and gives her the ears. These are carefully saved in my handkerchiefs." In *The Sun Also Rises*, the matador Pedro Romero dedicates a bull and presents its ear to the chicly short-haired Brett Ashley, who wraps it in the handkerchief of the narrator, Jake Barnes. The school notebook in which Hemingway drafted that particular scene is labeled on the cover "Book V. finished Sept 9. Paris."² Both the incident and the fictional treatment would have been fresh in his mind when he wrote to his mother.

Hemingway did not view letters as serious writing, and he took no care to polish them—dashing them off on whatever paper was handy, sometimes with apologies, but always with a sense of immediacy, an urgency, an eagerness to converse, to communicate. To his friend Jim Gamble, whom he had met while serving in the American Red Cross Ambulance Service in Italy during World War I, he wrote on 12 December 1923, "Excuse this typewriter and copy paper, but if I don't write on the machine I don't know when I will get a chance and I've found it to be fatal to delay letters. And I want to write to you bang off." To the brash young composer George Antheil, he wrote (c. 4 April 1925) on a malfunctioning typewriter,

"EXCUSE THE UPPER CASE TYPE BUT THE DAMN MILL STICKS OTHERWISE AND I WANT TO WRITE THIS FAST."

Unedited, unselfconscious, unabashed, and often uncouth, Hemingway's letters record the raw material of literary history in the making—capturing his opinions, impressions, and experiences of the day as they stream like news bulletins clattering off an old-fashioned teletype machine.

Volume 2 includes 242 letters, nearly two-thirds of them previously unpublished, directed to more than sixty recipients. It is an eclectic mix. Those represented most frequently are Ezra Pound (thirty-two letters), Ernest Walsh (twenty-nine letters, counting those addressed to him jointly with *This Quarter* co-editor Ethel Moorhead), Gertrude Stein (twenty-six letters to her singly and with Alice B. Toklas), Hemingway's parents, Clarence and Grace Hall Hemingway (twenty-three letters directed to them individually and together), and Bill Smith, Hemingway's friend from summers in Michigan (seventeen letters). Other correspondents represented in this volume include publisher Horace Liveright, *Little Review* editor Jane Heap, writer and editor Harold Loeb (the model for Robert Cohn in *The Sun Also Rises*), editor Edward J. O'Brien (who dedicated his *Best Short Stories of 1923* annual to "Ernest Hemenway"), Hemingway's old friend and war comrade Howell Jenkins, and his new literary friend F. Scott Fitzgerald.

Patrick Hemingway, the author's sole surviving son (born in 1928), recalled the "intense pleasure" of receiving a letter from his father. "In fact, it was really one of the great pleasures I had when I went away to boarding school," he said. "I would not have had that pleasure had I gone to a local high school and just come home every night."³

Hemingway's some 6,000 surviving letters located to date are directed to more than 1,900 recipients. Certainly he wrote to many more whose letters have not survived or have yet to be discovered. But although he had multitudes of correspondents, he was, in Patrick's words, "always conscious of the person he was writing to, and he kept a sort of going dialog with them about the things they had mutually in common."

Hemingway's letters convey the spirit of someone vital, living his life "all the way up" (as Jake Barnes says of bullfighters) and actively engaging with each of his correspondents. On 24 June 1923, he wrote to Isabelle Simmons, the girl next door when they were growing up in Oak Park, of the upcoming adventure on which he and Hadley, then five months pregnant, were about to embark:

We are going down to Pampluna in Spain for a week for the great bull fighting festa. Wish you were going along. Bull fighting ought to have a stalwart pre-natal influence dont you think? Pamplona is a wild place up in Navarre in the edge of the mountains that run down into the Basque

country. May be you cant read my writing but remember your own is damn bad.

How are you, what are you doing, thinking about, who in love with etc?
Write us. We can get a letter before we go.

Hemingway relished the contact of letters and was always hungry for gossip (what in later years he would call the “gen,” Royal Air Force slang for “intelligence”). To Ezra Pound he wrote on 29 January 1923, “Shoot me the dope. We yearn to see youall.” Marooned in Toronto in a staff job at the *Toronto Star*, he beseeched Pound in a letter postmarked 13 October 1923, “For Gawd sake keep on writing me. Yr. letters are life preservers.” In a letter of 20 March 1925 he entreated Morley Callaghan, an aspiring young Canadian writer he had befriended in the *Star* newsroom, to “Write again soon and give me all the dirt.”

When asked what he believed people would learn from reading Hemingway’s collected letters, Patrick Hemingway responded, “I think he certainly emerges more from a stereotypical version of him as an outdoor hunter-fisherman-*bon vivant* sort of mythical figure—a person who emphasized his macho nature, which is really a ridiculous picture of any major writer . . . The main thing that emerges from him as a letter writer is a person very interested in other people, very much interested in the work, and with a sense of humor.”

A special feature of Volume 2 is the inclusion of a previously unpublished short story titled “My Life in the Bull Ring with Donald Ogden Stewart”—a humorous sketch that Hemingway sent in December 1924 to the editor of *Vanity Fair*.

The piece grew out of an incident at the 1924 Fiesta of San Fermín. Flush with enthusiasm for the bullfight, Hemingway had rounded up a gang of friends to join him and Hadley in Pamplona—a group that included John Dos Passos and Donald Ogden Stewart. A well-known humorist who had published several successful novels and frequently contributed to *Vanity Fair* and other popular magazines, Stewart would serve as a partial model for Jake Barnes’s witty friend Bill Gorton in *The Sun Also Rises*.

Each morning of the fiesta the bullring is open to the public for games with fighting cows with padded horns (animals nonetheless capable of inflicting bodily harm). Goaded by Hemingway to participate in one of these amateur events, Stewart was “tossed into the air amid a great gleeful shout from the spectators,” as he later recalled in his memoirs. But when he hit the ground, he lost his fear and got mad. Calling the animal a “stupid son-of-a-bitch,” Stewart went on the offense, charging toward it and throwing sand in its eyes, to the delight of the cheering crowd.⁴

Hemingway related the tale in various tones of voice with various selections of detail in July 1924 letters to friends like Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, Sylvia

Beach and to Ezra Pound (comically emphasizing the injuries and heroics), and to his mother (assuring her that the bullring antics were no more dangerous than football).

On 28 July the *Chicago Tribune* ran a front page story with Hemingway's picture, headlined "Bull Gores 2 Yanks Acting as Toreadores"—inaccurately reporting that while Donald Ogden Stewart was in the process of being gored, "Hemingway rushed to rescue his comrade and was also gored. He was saved from death only because the bull's horns were bandaged." Another report, prominently featured in the *Toronto Star* on 30 July, was headlined "Bull Gores Toronto Writer in Annual Pamplona Fiesta."

Perhaps encouraged by the public attention and liking the taste of celebrity, Hemingway wrote about the incident himself in a humorous vein. His five-page typewritten sketch is rife with slapstick action, silly non-sequiturs, and multilingual wordplay—the kind of "crazy humor" that was Stewart's own hallmark. (The story is narrated by a matador named Hemingway, who speaks with an upper-crust English accent.) Hemingway enclosed the story with a letter of c. 15 December 1924 to *Vanity Fair* editor Frank Crowninshield, in the hope it would be published in the magazine. It was not.

In his rejection letter of 22 January 1925, Crowninshield wrote, "We have been trying for a long time to think of some way of using material like this, but have never been able to use material of this sort. I am therefore returning it with our regrets that we cannot use it, clever and amusing as it undoubtedly is."

If not a great lost work of modern literature, Hemingway's unpublished bullring story is a piece of high-spirited nonsense significant for showing one of Hemingway's less familiar faces. The incident that inspired it has significance in itself. "The story marked the take-off point of the public's awareness of Hemingway the man," according to biographer Kenneth Lynn, who observed that "it was not until the appearance of the *Tribune* piece that the press began to puff him up with any degree of regularity." The incident continued to be related and embellished by journalists and critics over the next several years. "The mileage he got out of the Pamplona story was quite impressive," Lynn remarked.⁵ We are happy to include it in this volume.

Hemingway claimed he did not wish his letters to be published. In 1958 he typed out a directive to his executors to be opened upon his death, saying, "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."⁶

During his lifetime he had, in fact, consented to the publication of a handful of his letters, in part or in full, including letters to Gertrude Stein, to critic Edmund Wilson, to his Italian and German publishers, and to the Oak Park Public Library

on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary.⁷ And he wrote others expressly for publication—among them letters to the editor, book jacket blurbs, a 1939 public letter on behalf of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, a 1954 cabled statement for the *Life* magazine obituary of his friend Robert Capa, and occasional commercial endorsements, including for Parker Pens, Ballantine's Ale, and Pan American Airlines.⁸

After Hemingway's death in 1961, a trickle of additional letters appeared in print, and the following years saw increasing calls for publication of his letters—not to bend to “a demand for literary gossip or prurience,” in the words of scholar E. R. Hagemann, but to satisfy the “demand of literary history.”⁹

Finally the author's widow, Mary Hemingway, in consultation with her attorney, Alfred Rice, and Hemingway's publisher, Charles Scribner, Jr., authorized publication of a volume of letters and tapped as its editor Princeton professor Carlos Baker, author of the 1969 authorized biography, *Hemingway: A Life Story*. Baker's edition of *Selected Letters 1917–1961*, encompassing 581 letters, was published by Scribner's in 1981. Since then a few other clusters of Hemingway correspondence have been published, including letters he exchanged with editor Maxwell Perkins, his sister Marcelline, Sara and Gerald Murphy, and A. E. Hotchner.¹⁰

A more detailed history of the publication of Hemingway's letters is presented in the General Editor's Introduction to the Edition in Volume 1 of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*. Suffice it to say here that when this Cambridge Edition was launched in 2011 with the publication of the first volume (1907–1922), only about fifteen percent of Hemingway's some 6,000 known surviving letters had previously seen print. 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.

Of the decision to publish the 1981 volume of *Selected Letters* despite Hemingway's instructions to the contrary, Charles Scribner, Jr., maintained that it was the right thing to do:

I believe his letters show a side of him that nothing else in his work does, and it is a very nice side. I considered that I was justified. It is well known that Virgil left instructions for the *Aeneid* to be burned after his death. Fortunately, not all literary executors obey such requests.¹¹

Patrick Hemingway put it more bluntly: “If you don't want your letters published, burn them. It's simple.” When asked what he thought had motivated his father's 1958 directive, he responded that he really did not know: “To me it's a mystery because they were obviously going to be published if he left them.”

It is Patrick Hemingway's express wish that the Cambridge Edition be as complete a collection of his father's letters as possible. “Given that you're going to publish a

person's letters at all, I think that selection is a deadly process," he said. "Because people pick and choose and that is very unfair, and I felt that if they were going to publish his letters at all, there shouldn't be any picking and choosing, that you either got the whole picture of him as a correspondent, as a letter writer, or nothing at all."

Interestingly, at the age of twenty-six Ernest Hemingway took a similar stance when he wrote to Ezra Pound on 7 October 1925 with advice as to what ought to be included in a forthcoming volume of Pound's collected poetry (published by Boni & Liveright in 1926 as *Personae: The Collected Poems of Ezra Pound*):

Dear Duce,

First about the Collected Edition. Keep everything. You didnt write any bad poetry. You look back on it now and think it's bad poetry for now. But it wasnt for then. Also it is damned good, damned valuable and necessary for young ones coming on. As you say any Collected Work is auto-biographical and no hand picked-mistake removed biography is worth a shit. Let them all stay in. A Collected Poems should have plenty of Volumne anyway. Wish I was with you to make this even stronger. Just because now you wouldnt write 'em is no reason to throw them out. Keep all early stuff no matter whether it embarrasses you or not. This book isnt being gotten up for you.

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

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

We define "letters" broadly to include postcards, cables, identifiable drafts and fragments, letters Hemingway wrote for publication, and those he thought better of sending but nevertheless saved. Volume 2 even includes a c. mid-May 1925 draft cable to Zelda Fitzgerald that exists only as a blind impression made by the pressure of Hemingway's pen on a blank back page of a book owned by F. Scott Fitzgerald—itself preserved in the Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections of the University of South Carolina Libraries.

As a rule we do not include book inscriptions, except those 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. However, when letters are known only through facsimiles or extracts appearing in auction catalogs or dealer listings, or through quotations published in a contemporary newspaper, we publish whatever portions are available, citing their source. While they are no substitute for the original documents, such extracts can serve as place markers in the sequence of letters until such time as complete originals may become available.

Because Hemingway did not routinely keep copies of his letters and because they are so widely dispersed, simply locating the letters has been a massive undertaking. Fortunately for the edition, Hemingway was famous enough at an early enough age that many of his correspondents beyond his family saved his letters. Furthermore many recipients of his letters were sufficiently well known themselves that their own correspondence has been preserved in archival collections, with Hemingway's letters among their papers. His letters to Fitzgerald, for example, survive at the Princeton University Library, his letters to Pound primarily at the Lilly Library at Indiana University, his letters to Stein at the Beinecke Library at Yale, those to Archibald MacLeish at the Library of Congress. The Pennsylvania State University Libraries hold a collection of more than one hundred previously inaccessible family letters acquired from Hemingway's nephew Ernest Hemingway Mainland and opened in 2008.

To date we have gathered copies of letters from some 250 sources in the United States and abroad. These include more than seventy libraries and institutional archives, including the world's largest repository of Hemingway papers, the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library in Boston, which kindly donated copies of all outgoing letters in its collection (some 2,500 letters) for the benefit of this project. 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. As an important part of our editorial process, our transcriptions, initially made from photocopies or scans provided by institutional repositories and private owners, have been meticulously compared against the original documents on site visits whenever possible.

Since the Hemingway Letters Project was launched in 2002 to produce this edition, I have learned that it is almost impossible to overestimate public interest in Hemingway and the broad appeal of his work. Dozens of people from around the

world have contacted us to share information or copies of letters. After the October 2011 issue of *Vanity Fair* featured a long piece on Hemingway's letters and included a selection of previously unpublished letters from Volume 1, we heard from the daughter of Irving Fajans, a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who had met Hemingway during the Spanish Civil War and defended Hemingway in the face of some Brigade members' anger over the negative portrayal of French communist leader André Marty in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, published in October 1940. She shared a copy of a letter that Hemingway wrote to her father in December 1940 from Havana. (Sadly, she noted, "There were six others in my grandmother's attic. She threw them out when she moved, an event best not to dwell upon.")¹² We also were contacted by the daughter of another man, Benjamin Weissman ("a spirited left wing liberal and not afraid to express himself"), who had written to Hemingway in 1940 about his depiction of Marty and received a thoughtful letter in reply.¹³

The publication of Volume 1 also prompted an email from the grandson of Marion Kirkland, who had been a cleaning woman at the Mayo Clinic, offering to share a letter that Hemingway wrote to her in January 1961, when he was a patient there in failing physical and mental health. Her maiden name was Hemingway, and in his letter to her the author speculated that they might have ancestors in common. "My great grandfather came West from Watertown, Connecticut, and they settled in Illinois not too long after Chicago was Fort Dearborn," he wrote. "The Hemingways that spelled their names with two m's we always thought were bastards but that may be just a family rumor." He concluded, "I am leaving here shortly, perhaps before you get this letter but I wish you good luck and best to all one 'm'ed' Hemingways and the others too. Very truly yours, Ernest Hemingway."¹⁴

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

Hemingway's letters present more challenges to the reader (and transcriber) than one might expect from a writer so renowned for simplicity. Unpolished, unguarded, and generally intended for an audience of one, Hemingway's letters are marked by a rambunctious love of language and wordplay. Obscure personal references, ever-evolving nicknames, in-jokes, and offbeat private lingos that he shared with particular correspondents are at times perplexing, if not virtually

impenetrable. In a letter of 8 January 1925, Hemingway apologized to Bill Smith for the delay in answering his letter, addressing him as "Dear Nokol," a reference to the Nokol ("No-coal") brand of home oil burners that Smith was then attempting to sell for a living in Chicago with little success: "I feel like a horses ass not to have rescrode up to now but will not re-wait for answerage but screed at will. Which is the only decent form of screedage."

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 preserved exactly Hemingway's idiosyncrasies of spelling, punctuation, syntax, and style, including his well-known habit of retaining the silent "e" in such word forms as "takeing" or "liveable."

The letters display Hemingway's often exuberant linguistic acrobatics, as he tosses off such phonetically spelled, whimsically inverted, or playfully conflated inventions as "Taranna" for Toronto, "springoff" for offspring, "pufickly" for perfectly, "Guy Maude" for "my God," and "Jo Esus boid" ("Boid" being a variant on "Bird," one of his many nicknames for Bill Smith). Parroting various accents, he speaks of "Goimans" and the "artic coicle" and of the "English AHMY." In a visual wordplay, he refers to the "British Ramy impeccability" of his friend Eric Edward "Chink" Dorman-Smith, an officer of the British Army.

After some puzzling, one realizes that by "the pueblo of well ordered acorn springers," Hemingway means "the town of Oak Park." And on the same theme he commiserates with Bill Smith, who was then living in Hemingway's suburban Chicago hometown, "Christnose I'd be in a bad state if living in the orderly Oaks."

As Hemingway lived in Paris and traveled in Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and Austria, he seasoned his letters with words and phrases of French, Spanish, Italian, and German with various degrees of grammatical precision. He quickly picked up idiomatic expressions and slang, including the off-color. He would mix languages for humorous effect, anglicize foreign words, and give English words a foreign flair. He "trouved" an apartment in Paris (from the French *trouver*, to find) and referred to the "hentire hiver," adding a silent "h" to "entire" to parallel that in the French word for winter.

When not taking deliberate liberties with the English language or experimenting in another, Hemingway generally was a sound speller. 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. Sometimes he did not depress the shift key hard enough, so that "I've" appears as "I8ve," 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.

To silently correct Hemingway's spelling and punctuation or to regularize capitalization in the letters would strip them of their personality and present a sterilized view of the letters his correspondents received. Such tidying up also would render meaningless his own spontaneous "meta-commentary" on the imperfections of his letters or his likely misspellings. In a long letter of 12 December 1923 to Jim Gamble, catching him up on two years' worth of news, Hemingway writes, "This will go on for about forty pages unless it condenses. (mis-spelled)." In a letter of 17 March 1924 to Ezra Pound he snipes at Ford Madox Ford: "He has never recovered in a literary way from the mirracle, or however you spell it, Miricle maybe, of his having been a soldier." In a letter of 18 January 1925 to Bill Smith, Hemingway describes skiing on the Madloch Spitze, a peak in the Arlberg mountain range of western Austria: "Yestern I pestled a climb on skis to the top of the Madlock Spitz or spell it yourself any way a climb of 2545 meters and a run down all the way." Editorial corrections also would render invisible Hemingway's comical manipulations of people's names, as when he addresses Sylvia Beach as "Dear Seelviah," speaks of Harold Loeb as "Low-ebb," or refers to Robert McAlmon as "MuckAlmun."

Yet even as we attempt to preserve the idiosyncratic flavors of Hemingway's letters, we strive to make them as accessible and readable as possible. 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, sometimes 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. No published transcription of a typed or handwritten letter can ever fully capture its actual appearance on the page. This is not a facsimile edition, and for those wishing to study in depth the physical characteristics of a letter, no printed rendition can substitute for an examination of the original.

We rely primarily on notes, rather than on 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. A more detailed description of our editorial practices and procedures appears in the Note on the Text in this volume.

In a letter of 31 March 1925 to Horace Liveright, who had just accepted for publication the boldly innovative *In Our Time*, Hemingway astutely assessed his own writing (in comparison to that of fellow experimental modernist E. E.

Cummings): "My book will be praised by highbrows and can be read by lowbrows. There is no writing in it that anybody with a high-school education cannot read." Our aim is to produce an edition that is at once satisfying to the scholar and inviting to the general reader.

Hemingway always drew a clear distinction between writing letters and writing for keeps. He liked to write letters, he told Fitzgerald in a letter of 1 July 1925, "because it's such a swell way to keep from working and yet feel you've done something." Patrick Hemingway compared a writer's modes of discourse to those of a pope: "A pope does a lot of talking, but then when he sits down and speaks from the chair — '*ex cathedra*,' or whatever the term is—then he's very careful." It is in his father's letters, he said, "that you see more of him and less of the Great Writer. You get a little more insight into what he was as a person, and that's always interesting to people because they don't really want to deal with gods. They respect good work, but they also want to know how they felt about ham and eggs and the French or whatever, you know."

The monumental and lasting value of Hemingway's published work is indisputable. Yet the letters have their own enormous worth for their revelation of the everyday Hemingway. Writers' letters "now so respectfully reproduced in a handsome volume replete with textual apparatus were written in the heat of the moment," observed James Atlas, and in their very spontaneity lies their value. While biographers "must brutally select events" to serve a narrative, "letters, with their absorption in the trivial, their incessant specificity, show us what life was like on those days when nothing happened."¹⁵

But the interest of Hemingway's letters extends beyond illuminating the biography and art of their author. When the Swedish Academy awarded him the 1954 Nobel Prize for Literature, Hemingway was commended for "the eagle eye with which he has observed, and for the accuracy with which he has interpreted the human existence of our turbulent times." He was described as "one of the great authors of our time, one of those who, honestly and undauntedly, reproduces genuine features in the hard countenance of the age."¹⁶ Hemingway's letters narrate a running eyewitness history of his times by one who managed to be always, to borrow a phrase from Gertrude Stein, where the twentieth century was.

NOTES

- 1 Unless otherwise cited, all letters quoted here are included in this volume.
- 2 Reproduced in Matthew J. Bruccoli, ed., *Ernest Hemingway: "The Sun Also Rises": A Facsimile Edition, Part Two* (Detroit: Omnigraphics, 1990), 419, 495.
- 3 Interview with Sandra Spanier, Bozeman, Montana, 8 June 2011. All subsequent quotations from Patrick Hemingway are from this interview.

- 4 Donald Ogden Stewart, *By A Stroke of Luck!* (New York: Paddington Press/Two Continents, 1975), 133.
- 5 Kenneth S. Lynn, *Hemingway* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 262.
- 6 EH to "my Executors," typescript of statement, 20 May 1958 (JFK). A key to abbreviations and short titles used in this volume follows the Note on the Text.
- 7 These appear, respectively, in Donald Gallup, ed., *The Flowers of Friendship: Letters Written to Gertrude Stein* (New York: Knopf, 1953); Edmund Wilson, *The Shores of Light: A Literary Chronicle of the Twenties and Thirties* (New York: Vintage Books, 1952); *Il Cinquantennio Editoriale di Arnaldo Mondadori, 1907–1957* (Verona: Mondadori, 1957); *Rowohlts Rotblonder Roman* (Hamburg: Rohwohlt, 1947); and *Library Journal* 79 (December 1954), 292. The history and scope of the Cambridge Edition are also discussed in the General Editor's Introduction to the Edition in *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, Volume 1 (1907–1922), ed. Sandra Spanier and Robert W. Trogdon (Cambridge, 2011), xi–xxxiii, and in my "Letters" chapter of *Ernest Hemingway in Context*, ed. Debra A. Modellmog and Suzanne Del Gizzo (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 33–42.
- 8 Collected in Matthew J. Bruccoli and Judith S. Baughman, ed., *Hemingway and the Mechanism of Fame: Statements, Public Letters, Introductions, Forewords, Prefaces, Blurbs, Reviews, and Endorsements* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006).
- 9 E. R. Hagemann, "Preliminary Report on the State of Ernest Hemingway's Correspondence," *Literary Research Newsletter* 3, no. 4 (1978): 163–72; 165.
- 10 Matthew J. Bruccoli, ed., with Robert W. Trogdon, *The Only Thing That Counts: The Ernest Hemingway–Maxwell Perkins Correspondence* (New York: Scribner's, 1996); Marcelline Hemingway Sanford, *At the Hemingways: With Fifty Years of Correspondence Between Ernest and Marcelline Hemingway* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1999); Linda Patterson Miller, ed., *Letters from the Lost Generation: Gerald and Sara Murphy and Friends*, Expanded edn. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002); and Albert J. DeFazio III, ed., *Dear Papa, Dear Hotch: The Correspondence of Ernest Hemingway and A. E. Hotchner* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005).
- 11 Charles Scribner, Jr., *In the Company of Writers: A Life in Publishing* (New York: Scribner's, 1990), 85.
- 12 Elizabeth Fajans to Sandra Spanier, email of 21 September 2011.
- 13 Evelyn Marques to Sandra Spanier, email of 17 April 2012.
- 14 Sean D. Kirkland to Sandra Spanier, emails of 22 March, 13 April, and 16 April 2012.
- 15 James Atlas, "Putting One Letter After Another," *New York Times Book Review*, 15 March 1987, 25.
- 16 These comments were made, respectively, by H. S. Nyberg, member of the Swedish Academy, and Anders Österling, Permanent Secretary of the Swedish Academy, in his presentation speech, as quoted on the website of the Nobel Foundation: www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1954/hemingway-speech.html and www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1954/press.html.

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Finally, we are deeply grateful for the interest and support of other colleagues, family members, and friends too numerous to name, but who, we trust, know of our appreciation. The editors wish to express special appreciation to the following: Sandra Spanier to Graham, Brian, and Hadley Spanier, and to her parents, Richard and Maxine Whipple; Albert J. DeFazio III to Lynn Gill DeFazio; and Robert Trogdon to Sara Kosiba. 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, and the editors deem it advisable for clarity's sake, we supply missing letters in square brackets: e.g., “I[t] makes no difference.”
- Because typewriter keyboards varied over time and from one country to another and did not always include a key for every character Hemingway wished to write, he necessarily improvised: e.g., for the numeral one he often typed a capital letter “I,” and for an exclamation point, he would backspace to type a single quotation mark above a period. We have not attempted to reproduce those improvisations or

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

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

Capitalization

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

Punctuation

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

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

a word and capitalization of the following word to mark the beginning of a new sentence. In such cases, we supply a period within square brackets.

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

Cancellations and corrections

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

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

Interlineations, marginalia, and other markings

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

When Hemingway's markings indicate that the order of letters, words, or phrases should be transposed, we have done so without comment. When he uses ditto marks to indicate repetition of a word or phrase appearing on a previous line of the original text, we have supplied the word or phrase within square brackets at the indicated place: e.g., "Did you write the Steins? [*Ditto marks*: Did you write the] Ford Madox Fords."

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

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

Indentation and spacing

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

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

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

Compound words

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

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

Underlined words

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

Missing portions of text

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

Date and place of writing

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

Valediction and signature

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

Postscripts

Regardless of where a postscript appears in the manuscript (in a margin, at the top or bottom of a letter, or on the back of a letter's final page), it is generally transcribed as a new paragraph following the signature, reflecting the probable order of composition.

Joint letters

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

Foreign languages

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

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

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

EDITORIAL APPARATUS

Heading

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

Source note

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

- (1) Symbols indicate the location and form of the original letter. For example, "JFK, TLS" indicates a typed letter signed that is located in the collections of the John F. Kennedy Library. When the original letter cannot be located and the transcription derives from another source (e.g., a photocopy, a recipient's transcription, a secretary's transcription of dictation, an auction catalog, or another publication), that source is indicated. When Hemingway closed a letter with a "mark" instead of writing his name (as when he drew a beer stein to signify his nickname "Stein," short for "Hemingstein"), we have

considered the letter to be signed, describing it, for example, as “TLS” rather than “TL.”

- (2) The use of letterhead stationery is noted and the address information supplied. Additional letterhead elements tangential to the study of Hemingway (e.g., an advertising slogan, description of a hotel’s facilities, proprietor’s name, phone number) are not generally recorded. However, in the rare cases when Hemingway provides commentary on these elements, the situation is described in a note. If the text is from a picture postcard, a brief description of the image 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. Likewise, we have annotated terms likely familiar to readers outside the United States, including foreign language terms and expressions. 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

Cohen	Andrew Cohen Collection
Columbia	Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University; New York, New York
Dew	Bernard Dew Collection
Guggenheim	John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation; 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
Knox	Special Collections and Archives, Knox College Library; Galesburg, Illinois
LOC	Library of Congress; Washington, D.C.
Mainland	Ernest H. Mainland Collection
Neville	Maurice Neville Collection
Newberry	The Newberry Library; Chicago, Illinois
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
Stanford	Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries; Stanford, California
UDel	Special Collections, University of Delaware Library; Newark, Delaware
UMD	Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries; College Park, Maryland

USCar	Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Ernest F. Hollings Special Collections Library, University of South Carolina; Columbia, South Carolina
UT	Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, 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
UWMil	Division of Archives/Special Collections, Golda Meir Library; University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Yale	Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; New Haven, Connecticut

FORMS OF CORRESPONDENCE

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

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

Other abbreviations

b.	born
c.	circa
d.	died
m.	married
n.p.	no pagination
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	<i>Across the River and into the Trees</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1950.
BL	<i>By-line Ernest Hemingway: Selected Articles and Dispatches of Four Decades</i> . Edited by William White. New York: Scribner's, 1967.
CSS	<i>The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: The Finca Vigía Edition</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1987.
DLT	<i>Dateline: Toronto: The Complete "Toronto Star" Dispatches, 1920–1924</i> . Edited by William White. New York: Scribner's, 1985.
DIA	<i>Death in the Afternoon</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1932.
DS	<i>The Dangerous Summer</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1985.
FC	<i>The Fifth Column and the First Forty-nine Stories</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1938.
FTA	<i>A Farewell to Arms</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1929.
FWBT	<i>For Whom the Bell Tolls</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1940.
GOE	<i>The Garden of Eden</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1986.
GHOA	<i>Green Hills of Africa</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1935.
iot	<i>in our time</i> . Paris: Three Mountains Press, 1924.
IOT	<i>In Our Time</i> . New York: Boni & Liveright, 1925. Rev. edn. New York: Scribner's, 1930.
IIS	<i>Islands in the Stream</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1970.
Letters vol. 1	<i>The Letters of Ernest Hemingway: Volume 1 (1907–1922)</i> . Edited by Sandra Spanier and Robert W. Trogon. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
MAW	<i>Men at War</i> . New York: Crown Publishers, 1942.
MF	<i>A Moveable Feast</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1964.
MF-RE	<i>A Moveable Feast: The Restored Edition</i> . Edited by Seán Hemingway. New York: Scribner's, 2009.
MWW	<i>Men Without Women</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1927.
NAS	<i>The Nick Adams Stories</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1972.
OMS	<i>The Old Man and the Sea</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1952.

<i>Poems</i>	<i>Complete Poems</i> . Edited, with an Introduction and Notes by Nicholas Georgiannis. Rev. edn. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.
SAR	<i>The Sun Also Rises</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1926.
SL	<i>Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters, 1917–1961</i> . Edited by Carlos Baker. New York: Scribner's, 1981.
SS	<i>The Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1954.
TAFL	<i>True at First Light</i> . Edited by Patrick Hemingway. New York: Scribner's, 1999.
THHN	<i>To Have and Have Not</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1937.
TOS	<i>The Torrents of Spring</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1926.
TOTTC	<i>The Only Thing That Counts: The Ernest Hemingway–Maxwell Perkins Correspondence, 1925–1947</i> . Edited by Matthew J. Bruccoli with Robert W. Trogdon. New York: Scribner's, 1996.
TSTP	<i>Three Stories and Ten Poems</i> . Paris: Contact Editions, 1923.
UK	<i>Under Kilimanjaro</i> . Edited by Robert W. Lewis and Robert E. Fleming. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2005.
WTN	<i>Winner Take Nothing</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1933.

Selected reference works cited in this volume

Baker <i>Life</i>	Baker, Carlos. <i>Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story</i> . New York: Scribner's, 1969.
Bakewell	Bakewell, Charles M. <i>The Story of the American Red Cross in Italy</i> . New York: Macmillan, 1920.
Brenner	Brenner, Gerry. <i>A Comprehensive Companion to Hemingway's "A Moveable Feast": Annotation to Interpretation</i> . Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000.
Bruccoli <i>Fitzgerald Inscriptions</i>	Bruccoli, Matthew J., ed. <i>F. Scott Fitzgerald: Inscriptions</i> . Columbia, South Carolina: Bruccoli Clark Layman, 1988.
Bruccoli <i>Fitz–Hem</i>	Bruccoli, Matthew J. <i>Fitzgerald and Hemingway: A Dangerous Friendship</i> . New York: Carroll & Graf, 1994.

- Brucoli "Pound–Hem" Brucoli, Matthew J., ed. "Yr Letters Are Life Preservers": The Correspondence of Ezra Pound and Ernest Hemingway." *Paris Review* 163 (2006): 96–219.
- Brucoli *Sons* Brucoli, Matthew J., ed. *The Sons of Maxwell Perkins: Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Wolfe, and their Editor*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004.
- Burrill Burrill, William. *Hemingway: The Toronto Years*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1994.
- Buske Buske, Morris. *Hemingway's Education, A Re-examination: Oak Park High School and the Legacy of Principal Hanna*. Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007.
- Culver Culver, Michael. "Sparring in the Dark: The Art and Life of Henry Strater." (Unpublished manuscript.)
- 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.
- Ford Ford, Hugh. *Published in Paris: American and British Writers, Printers, and Publishers in Paris, 1920–1939*. New York: Macmillan, 1975.
- Gallup Gallup, Donald, ed. *The Flowers of Friendship: Letters Written to Gertrude Stein*. New York: Knopf, 1953.
- Griffin *Youth* Griffin, Peter. *Along with Youth: Hemingway: The Early Years*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Grissom Grissom, C. Edgar. *Ernest Hemingway: A Descriptive Bibliography*. New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2011.

Hanneman	Hanneman, Audre. <i>Ernest Hemingway: A Comprehensive Bibliography</i> . Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967.
Hanneman2	Hanneman, Audre. <i>Supplement to Ernest Hemingway: A Comprehensive Bibliography</i> . Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1975.
L. Hemingway	Hemingway, Leicester. <i>My Brother, Ernest Hemingway</i> . Sarasota, Florida: Pineapple Press, 1996.
P. Hemingway	Hemingway, Patricia S. <i>The Hemingways: Past and Present and Allied Families</i> . Rev. edn. Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1988.
Mandel HDIA	Mandel, Miriam B. <i>Hemingway's "Death in the Afternoon": The Complete Annotations</i> . Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2002.
Mandel Facts	Mandel, Miriam B. <i>Reading Hemingway: The Facts in the Fictions</i> . Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1995.
McAlmon and Boyle	McAlmon, Robert and Kay Boyle. <i>Being Geniuses Together 1920–1930</i> . Rev. edn. with supplementary chapters and an afterword by Kay Boyle. San Francisco: North Point Press, 1984.
Mellow	Mellow, James R. <i>Hemingway: A Life Without Consequences</i> . Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992.
Mercure	<i>Mercure de France</i> no. 1198–99 (August–September 1963): 105–10.
Meyers “Loeb”	Meyers, Jeffrey. “Hemingway and Harold Loeb: An Unpublished Letter.” <i>Michigan Quarterly Review</i> 45, no. 3 (Summer 2006): 433–38.
M. Miller	Miller, Madelaine Hemingway. <i>Ernie: Hemingway's Sister “Sunny” Remembers</i> . New York: Crown Publishers, 1975.

Abbreviations and Short Titles

Poli	Poli, Bernard J. <i>Ford Madox Ford and the "Transatlantic Review."</i> Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1967.
Reynolds AH	Reynolds, Michael S. <i>Hemingway: The American Homecoming.</i> Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell, 1992.
Reynolds PY	Reynolds, Michael S. <i>Hemingway: The Paris Years.</i> Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
Reynolds Reading	Reynolds, Michael S. <i>Hemingway's Reading, 1901–1940: An Inventory.</i> Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981.
Sanford	Sanford, Marcelline Hemingway. <i>At the Hemingways: With Fifty Years of Correspondence Between Ernest and Marcelline Hemingway.</i> Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1999.
Smith	Smith, Paul. <i>A Reader's Guide to the Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway.</i> Boston: G. K. Hall, 1989.
Trogon Racket	Trogon, Robert W. <i>The Lousy Racket: Hemingway, Scribners, and the Business of Literature.</i> Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2007.
Trogon Reference	Trogon, Robert W., ed. <i>Ernest Hemingway: A Literary Reference.</i> New York: Carroll & Graf, 1999.
E. Wilson	Wilson, Edmund. <i>The Shores of Light: A Literary Chronicle of the Twenties and Thirties.</i> New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952.

INTRODUCTION TO THE VOLUME

J. Gerald Kennedy
Louisiana State University

This volume of letters illuminates a three-year period that forms the crux of Ernest Hemingway's literary apprenticeship in Paris. Living on the Left Bank with his first wife, Hadley, the author learned about writing from Gertrude Stein and Ezra Pound as he "whittled a style for his time" (in Archibald MacLeish's apt phrase).¹ In two chapbooks as well as the innovative story sequence, *In Our Time* (1925), he stripped ornamental language from his prose, discovered the power of innuendo, and then channeled this restraint into the novel of thwarted desire that became *The Sun Also Rises* (1926). He fathered a son, John "Bumby" Hemingway, established friendships with John Dos Passos and F. Scott Fitzgerald, wrote *The Torrents of Spring* (1926), and became attracted to Pauline Pfeiffer. Decades later, in *A Moveable Feast* (1964), Hemingway idealized the Paris years as a time of poverty, hunger, and happiness but also acknowledged that the simple pleasures he had known with Hadley masked complex desires and emerging differences. The letters in Volume 2 bear witness to that idyllic, fated relationship and to the latent complications—the euphoric excitements and dark presentiments—that attended Hemingway's rise in the modernist literary world.

In the preceding volume, which includes correspondence from Hemingway's childhood through the end of his first full year in Paris (1922), readers may trace his coming of age. There we obtain glimpses of his family life in middle-class Oak Park; conflicts with his moralistic parents; his outdoor adventures in northern Michigan; his journalistic debut in Kansas City; his wounding on the Italian front and subsequent romance with Red Cross nurse Agnes von Kurowsky; his homecoming and the "Dear Ernest" letter that devastated him; his early writing in Petoskey and Chicago; his marriage and expatriation to France; and his first major assignments for the *Toronto Star*. Those travels as an international reporter significantly shaped the events that play out in 1923, for Hemingway's assignment to cover the Greco-Turkish War in 1922 produced the first serious breach in his marriage—a bitter quarrel followed by a one-month separation and (as hinted in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro") a possible lapse of marital fidelity. That journey

produced several news stories for the *Star* as well as the macabre sketch he called "On the Quai at Smyrna." A few months later, while Hemingway covered the international peace talks in Lausanne, Hadley packed up his literary manuscripts, intending to bring them to Switzerland so that he could write there; but a thief in the Gare de Lyon snatched the suitcase containing two years of hard work. The marital tensions intensified by this loss preceded by roughly two months the unwelcome discovery that Hadley was pregnant.

Volume 2 begins, then, with the complex adjustments of 1923, which included, for the couple, the consciousness of impending parenthood, and for Hemingway, four miserable months in prohibition-era Toronto, where Hadley gave birth while her husband was out pursuing a newspaper story. As the author complained to Mike Strater (18 November 1923), the Canadian sojourn nearly choked off his literary creativity. His long hours at the *Star* forced him to write fiction in his head; he soon felt, as he explained to Edward O'Brien (c. 18 November 1923), that everything he wished to write was dammed up inside of him. When he returned to Paris two months later, the stories flowed from his brain almost effortlessly, as if they were writing themselves. Working at a furious pace, he also reveled in Hadley's new openness to sensual game-playing: "We lived as savages and kept our own tribal rules and customs and our own standards, secrets, taboos, and delights," he wrote in a passage happily recovered in Seán Hemingway's "restored" edition of *A Moveable Feast*.² At once "simple" and "complicated," this experimentation epitomizes the author's lifelong passion to explore the strange country of uncharted experience.

One important new site of discovery was the Spanish bullfight, which (on a tip from Gertrude Stein) he had first encountered in 1923. By the following year, Hemingway had organized an elaborate expedition to Pamplona; the entourage included Hadley, humorist Donald Ogden Stewart, John Dos Passos and his girlfriend, Hemingway's British chum Chink Dorman-Smith, and a St. Louis friend (George O'Neil) who took reels of movies to document the madcap action. At an amateur event, Hemingway jumped into the ring himself to experience the rush of danger. He soon began to present himself in letters as an expert on this ancient and deadly sport. In 1925 he recruited another group of friends to share the excitement, but by then tensions and temptations complicated the revelry: Hemingway had become enamored of Duff Twysden, a stylish, uninhibited Englishwoman who could outdrink everyone in Montparnasse; and that autumn, he acquired a fetching new social companion in Hadley's friend, Pauline, who worked for *Vogue* magazine. By the end of 1925, Hemingway was on the brink of the liaison that forms the starting point for Volume 3.

Each volume of the *Letters* contributes to a virtual history of the author's life. Unlike a formal biography, which reconstructs the subject's lifetime as a coherent

narrative already defined by the arc of a career, this virtual narrative produces a rather different perspective, as shifting, incomplete, and episodic as lived experience, which it mirrors more closely than a biographical account. Produced under different circumstances and pressures, these letters reveal the changing temperament of an exuberant young writer learning his craft and savoring the delights of foreign places, surrounded by famous friends and acquaintances. We learn about Hemingway's activities and relationships, his ambitions and pastimes; we discover raw, uncensored private opinions that appear nowhere else. The letters resemble a series of high-resolution photographs, variously framed and lighted, the subject revealing a different countenance depending on moment and mood. This composite portrait of the author as a young man thus resembles a shifting collage more than a formal likeness: the discontinuities from letter to letter reveal an array of postures, styles, and voices, from dutiful missives to his parents to the raucous screeds he sent to old pals Bill Smith, Bill Horne, and Howell Jenkins.

In addition to the information they supply, the letters serve another biographical function: nothing else that Hemingway wrote gets us closer to his ebullient yet prickly personality. He writes of his plans with an infectious enthusiasm that conveys his early personal magnetism. Through these communications, we learn of Hemingway's preoccupation with professional boxing and his love of card playing. We recognize too his fondness for drink and catch hints of incipient alcoholism. Especially in letters to male friends we meet a coarse, unbuttoned Hemingway who flaunts his prejudices, hostilities, and resentments with sardonic vulgarity. His correspondence to Smith on Valentine's Day 1925 contains a nasty denunciation of literary homosexuals like Glenway Wescott, whom he would satirize in *The Sun Also Rises*. From time to time Hemingway similarly tosses off the N-word, betraying the racism pervasive in that era, although his c. 26 August 1923 letter to Auguste Fabiani also shows him intervening to halt the mistreatment of African-Canadian boxer Larry Gains. Here and there we encounter hints of an emerging moroseness, as when Hemingway writes (20 June 1923) of being deeply depressed by Paris rains or when he comments flippantly to Ezra Pound (22 October 1924) about the suicide of a U.S. Senator: "I still claim that anybody that wants to do it can do it." Elsewhere, he confides ominously both to Jane Heap and to Pound (c. 12 June 1925) that he has felt "all shot to hell inside" for two months, hinting (one supposes) at both marital friction and sexual restlessness, the latter presumably stirred by the provocative Miss Twysden, the prototype of his fictional Brett Ashley. Moving through the letters chronologically, we observe the metamorphosis of a young Midwesterner gaining confidence, honing his prose, brushing off setbacks, taking on editorial tasks, and forming relationships advantageous to his career.

All collections of letters implicitly reflect the vagaries of friendship and the accidents of property succession. Not surprisingly, then, the contents of this volume indicate that while many people preserved Hemingway's letters, others apparently did not or subsequently lost or discarded them. While extraordinary efforts have been made to assemble in this edition the entirety of Hemingway's extant correspondence, a few letters have no doubt disappeared into private collections or (more tantalizing to imagine) still lie forgotten among unsorted papers. Gertrude Stein—for whom the flowers of Hemingway's friendship faded in late 1925—nevertheless saved the correspondence of her onetime protégé. So too did Pound, whose many letters from Hemingway constitute some of the funniest, raunchiest prose between these covers. But Dos Passos, who befriended Hemingway in mid-1924, seems to have preserved only one letter from 1925, even though they must have exchanged other epistles. Their later clash over the Spanish Civil War probably explains this lacuna. Curiously, we have no early notes or letters to fellow newsman Bill Bird, who published Hemingway's second chapbook in 1924 and who (with his wife, Sally) rambled in Germany with the author and Hadley. Nor, apparently, did the novelist Ford Madox Ford bother to save any letters from the cocky young American who was editing the *Transatlantic Review* while Ford was away from Paris in 1924.

These gaps in the record of Hemingway's life, as reflected in letters, make us grateful for the remarkable body of correspondence that does survive and that through the comprehensive Hemingway Letters Project now constitutes a permanent, irreplaceable archive. Of the 240-some letters gathered in Volume 2, more than 60 percent appear in print for the first time, and though scholars have already culled isolated details from them, many new pieces of information come to light. We now have, for example, several previously unavailable letters from the author to his parents which, in juxtaposition with other correspondence, illuminate Hemingway's strategies of concealment and appeasement; in these dispatches, he routinely emphasizes his unrelenting work while painting a rosy, sanitized picture of his private life. Only occasionally does candid resentment shatter the veneer of pleasantness. The extensive, hitherto unpublished correspondence with Smith and with fellow Red Cross ambulance drivers Horne and Jenkins captures the poignancy of Hemingway's attachment to the past he shared with them while highlighting his unfolding expatriate adventures. In this context, Hemingway's extended commentaries on bullfighting, for Smith's benefit, comprise seminal sketches that unmistakably represent the groundwork for *Death in the Afternoon* (1932). From the additional correspondence with Stein and Pound, we can piece together a more nuanced version of Hemingway's dealings with his principal literary mentors (including his genuine appreciation of Stein's acumen and his tendency to mimic Pound's bigotry), and the newly published letters to Ernest

Walsh, Jane Heap, Sylvia Beach, and Donald Ogden Stewart supply additional details about his literary formation.

The apprenticeship that culminated in 1925 with the publication of *In Our Time* and the writing of *The Sun Also Rises* forms, of course, the principal scholarly fascination of this volume. This correspondence provides several significant new revelations and a myriad of fresh details that remind us, more than anything else, of how much we still do not know about Hemingway's initiation into the modernist guild. My revised dating of the 1 November 1924 letter to McAlmon (first published in Baker as c. 15 November) lets us place more accurately the late-October conversation with Stein, as recalled in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, in which she famously explained that "remarks are not literature."³ We now know that the "meditations" Stein told him to cut from "Big Two-Hearted River" consisted of an internal monologue (published in Philip Young's edition of *The Nick Adams Stories* as "On Writing") in which Nick, forgetting his therapeutic trout-fishing, compares his old friends from Michigan with his new literary cohorts in Paris—Stein, Pound, James Joyce, Robert McAlmon, and others. For a time, Hemingway envisioned an avant-garde, meta-fictional swerve, in which the story of Nick Adams blurred with Hemingway's own past, down to the names of his actual fishing pals. Writing to McAlmon on All Saints' Day, Hemingway said nothing about Stein's crucial intervention, disingenuously claiming that he had "a hell of a shock" when he "realized how bad [the ending] was." And when, two days later, he wrote an urgent (and previously unpublished) letter to Stewart, who was pitching *In Our Time* to U.S. publishers, he again said nothing about Stein's counsel, instead ordering Stewart *three separate times* to replace the last eleven pages of "faecal matter" in the fishing story with the now familiar ending, thus betraying a panic at this narrowly averted embarrassment.

Another new disclosure, first brought to my attention by Robert Trogon, concerns Hemingway's break with Stein in late 1925. As indicated in his 8 November 1925 letter to Pound (here published for the first time), when the author presented Stein and Toklas with a copy of *In Our Time*, Stein brushed off his insistence that she compose a friendly review. She had, after all, praised his debut volume, *Three Stories and Ten Poems* (1923), in the Paris edition of the *Chicago Tribune*.⁴ Her reluctance to endorse *In Our Time*, after he had published an excerpt of her *Making of Americans* in the *Transatlantic*, infuriated Hemingway, inspired an anti-Semitic outburst for Pound's benefit, and fueled the parody of Stein in the comic novella he dashed off three weeks later, *The Torrents of Spring*. In the same letter, Hemingway blamed Stein for dampening T. S. Eliot's interest in publishing his work, when she urged Eliot to take a "wait and see" attitude. Her refusal to champion *In Our Time* festered into lasting

indignation; playing on Pound's dislike of Stein and Toklas, Hemingway spun his account of the quarrel to suggest that "having a book published by a so called regular publisher . . . seems to have been the very worst way I could have betrayed them," alluding to Stein's dependence on little presses and personal subsidies to her publishers.

Another significant set of previously unpublished letters illuminates Hemingway's relationship with Walsh, who together with his patroness, Ethel Moorhead, launched the little magazine *This Quarter* in 1925. While Walsh and Moorhead were living in the South of France (for the sake of Walsh's health), Hemingway stepped in to supervise the Paris publication of their first issue, advising Walsh on a myriad of topics, technical and aesthetic. Earlier biographies have mentioned Hemingway's editorial work, but this new material enables us to appreciate the full range of services he performed, including advising Walsh about the legal procedure to secure the approval of French literary censors. Because the issue was being dedicated to Pound (a surprise the assistant leaked to his mentor), Hemingway took a special interest in Walsh's dedication—advising him to cut a phrase that made the poet sound like a pederast—and he himself secured the Man Ray photograph of the honoree. But he also spent countless hours reading proofs and racing across Paris to the printer's office to deliver corrections or to confirm that the printing job was moving forward. Using his journalistic experience—as well as inside knowledge acquired while editing the *Transatlantic Review*—Hemingway advised on formatting, arrangement, and even the dating of the issue, which he changed from "April" to "Spring" to extend its shelf life. Clearly, Hemingway perceived his association with Walsh and *This Quarter* as a profitable arrangement; on one of the rare occasions when he indulged in pandering, he asserted (c. 6 April 1925) that Walsh had "a damn sight better chance of being a major poet than T. S. Eliot or Marianne Moore." A judgment so spectacularly wrong should be attributed not to Hemingway's notorious dislike for Eliot but rather to his worry that he had offended Walsh with a glib comment about "minor" poets.

What the letters to Pound principally demonstrate is the utter candor of Hemingway's dialogue with the poet and his ongoing respect for Pound's literary judgment, even after the two agreed to disagree about fascism in Italy. The letters composed during the Hemingways' stay in Toronto repeatedly emphasize the dreariness of their situation and Hemingway's longing for Paris. His letter to Pound of 9 December 1923, originally scrawled on telegraph paper, stands practically unrivalled in its virulence; after complaining that "Canada is the shit" and warning Pound to "never come back" to North America, Hemingway begins a lengthy (and probably sodden) outburst about the many categories of individual "shits" he wishes to avoid. There is something in this rant to offend everyone.

Unfortunately, when Hemingway returned to Paris in January 1924, Pound had already decamped for Rapallo, thus preventing the resumption of regular tennis, boxing, drinking, joking, and literary talk with his principal role model. In the letters from 1924 onward, one notes that despite Pound's long-standing regard for and Hemingway's indebtedness to Ford, the apprentice writer's ridicule of the British novelist becomes unrelenting, as if he were determined to lower Pound's opinion of Ford to heighten the poet's regard for himself. Hemingway kept Pound informed about mutual acquaintances in Paris, and he vaunted his cheeky novella, *Torrents*, as the "first really adult thing [he had] ever done" (30 November 1925). The statement seems especially puzzling in light of earlier reports to Pound about his progress toward a first major novel. The bullfighting book was really "all about Paris" he told Pound on c. 18 August 1925, and around late September (when he was reconsidering the title *Fiesta*) he recommended to Pound the book of Ecclesiastes, from which he drew his eventual, well-known American title, *The Sun Also Rises*.

The letters from these three years touch upon many other notable moments and turning points, such as Fitzgerald's arrival in Paris in 1925. Two documents here allude to their emerging friendship: a telegram from Hemingway to Zelda Fitzgerald documenting the crazy, mid-May journey to Lyon, undertaken by Scott and Ernest to retrieve the roofless car the Fitzgeralds had abandoned there in the rain; and a note from Hemingway to Stein a few days later, proposing a social introduction. There he touted Zelda as the chief attraction: "Fitzgerald was around yesterday afternoon with his wife and she's worth seeing so I'll bring them around Friday afternoon unless you warn me not to." A letter to Grace Hemingway on 19 October discloses that Hemingway was that fall giving boxing lessons three times weekly and that Fitzgerald was one of his pupils—a detail that adds a new twist to their complicated friendship. The same letter confirms that the author had met Gerald and Sara Murphy, who invited him to visit them on the Mediterranean. In early November he told Harold Loeb that he was drinking "a lot of champagne" with Fitzgerald, but he was also drinking with many other people. In his 3 December 1925 letter to Bill Smith, Hemingway confided about Pauline Pfeiffer: "She is a swell girl. Her and Hash [Hadley] and I are together all the time. She and I have done some A1 drinking." He described one marathon: "Pauline and I killed on a Sunday [probably November 22 or 29] two bottles of Beaune, a bottle of Chambertin and a bottle of Pommard and with the aid of Dos Passos a q. [quart] of Haig in the square bottle, and a quart of hot Kirsch." He also reported that Pauline would spend ten days skiing with the Hemingways in Austria. A few weeks later he sent Fitzgerald a letter from the Alps (the last in this volume) in which he portrays himself as sleepless in Schruns, explicitly fretting about changing publishers—William Aspenwall Bradley of Knopf and Alfred

Harcourt had also shown recent interest in his work—but perhaps tacitly agitated by his incipient domestic dilemma.

Among the most intriguing revelations of these letters is the confirmation in his 22 October 1924 note to Pound that “Jean Toomer, a sort of long brown Max Eastman, has been in town. Unlike his stuff he is all right.” This is the first evidence of Hemingway’s direct contact with any members of the Harlem Renaissance group who sojourned in Paris in the 1920s, and even though there is a hint of racial derision and disdain for Toomer’s work, Hemingway seems to have found Toomer likeable enough in conversation. Another previously unpublished letter (7 October 1925) alludes—with a racist slur—to the debut of Josephine Baker and the *Revue Nègre* in Paris. A special bonus in this volume is the inclusion (as an epistolary enclosure) of a comic short story, “My Life in the Bull Ring with Donald Ogden Stewart,” which parodically documents the madcap Spanish junket of 1924. Elsewhere, Hemingway’s letters refer in passing to such notable acquaintances as George Antheil, Joan Miró, Tristan Tzara, and William Carlos Williams (whose American address he provides in one letter); but we get precious little information about specific encounters. On behalf of Antheil, Hemingway wrote a generous recommendation—rife with misspellings—to the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation. But in all of these letters we discover no significant evidence of personal contact with Picasso or Joyce, even though Hemingway seems to have known them both and claimed familiarity with Joyce in *A Moveable Feast*.

While he complained more than once about feeling “homesick” for Paris when he was away from the city, the letters also reveal that Hemingway felt a profound, recurrent nostalgia for American scenes. Correspondence shows him struggling to accept his displacement from the woods, lakes, and rivers of northern Michigan and from the beloved friends who shared his zest for outdoor life. “A big part of my brain has lived exclusively in the bay [Horton Bay], the Black, the Sturgeon and all that country,” he wrote to Bill Smith on 17 February 1925, adding that “it means more to a male than anything.” In Europe, Hemingway compensated for the loss of that Michigan landscape by writing the Nick Adams stories and by embracing new passions and places: bobsledding in Switzerland; skiing in Austria; bullfighting in Spain (both as spectator and as participant in amateur events). He resumed old pastimes in different locales, boxing on the boulevard Raspail in Paris and trout fishing in Germany and Spain. In each new place, he reconfigured his expatriate friends into a semblance of his old summer gang.

As Hemingway discovered through his wartime romance with Agnes, however, the beginning of serious relationships with women jeopardized the fraternal intimacy he had known with his male companions. For nearly three years after Hemingway’s marriage to Hadley, his best man Bill Smith refused to answer his letters, apparently unable to forgive Hemingway’s cruel mockery of his former

Chicago housemate, Smith's older brother, Yeremya Kenley, who had been cuckolded by a fellow lodger. A few months after Hemingway drafted "Big Two-Hearted River," turning memories of his 1919 camping trip on the Big and Little Fox rivers with Al Walker and Jack Pentecost into a short story and recasting it as the solitary journey of a shattered Nick Adams, he received an unexpected letter from Smith extending an olive branch. The reconciliation took place barely a month after Hemingway had retracted the too autobiographical ending of "Big Two-Hearted River."

Among those personal "remarks" (as Stein called them), Hemingway had written about Smith: "Bill had never fished before they met. Everyplace they had been together. The Black, the Sturgeon, the Pine Barrens, the Upper Minnie, all the little streams. Most about fishing he and Bill had discovered together." This intimate friendship, which seemed irrevocably lost when he first drafted the story, compels him to add: "Bill forgave him the fishing he had done before they met. He forgave him all the rivers . . . It was like a girl about other girls."⁵ Hemingway's numerous, previously unpublished letters to Smith, his "best male friend,"⁶ comprise a veritable storehouse of new revelations that include his ongoing concern about Smith's masculinity. During his winter holiday in Schruns, Hemingway began urging his friend to visit France, proposing another summer bullfighting excursion that would include drinking and trout fishing.

As Reynolds notes, Smith reciprocated by "unburdening his private problems to Ernest," even confessing his sexual difficulties.⁷ When Smith admitted that he was still a virgin (as he had been identified in "On Writing"), Hemingway played the sexologist, not only advocating "yencing" (fornicating) as a "great conditioner" but also advising Smith to bed his landlady if she appeared receptive. He encouraged Smith to come to Paris and "yence" American college girls. His Valentine's Day letter (as mentioned earlier) moreover veered into a strange rant on homosexuality, implicitly pitched as a cautionary tale to his sexless former sidekick. The key to rescuing Smith, Hemingway believed, was not fishing but bullfighting: he explained in the letter of 17 February how Hadley's "whole idea of life" had been changed when "she got a hold of what courage was" by watching the bullfights; it enabled her to give birth, alone, in a Toronto hospital by remembering what she had seen the bullfighter Maera endure. But the naïve experiment to revive Smith's masculinity went awry and plunged him into further depression; neither the fishing on the Irati River nor the bullfights in Pamplona freed his friend from sexual insecurity. Smith was "only the shell of himself," Hemingway wrote to Jenkins on 15 August, just before Bill sailed home.

Hemingway assumed the job of repairing Smith's manhood in the face of his own flagging passion for Hadley. His unconcealed (and apparently

unconsummated) lust for Duff finally erupted in jealousy: a Pamplona brawl with Harold Loeb, with whom she had had a recent fling. Hemingway's c. 12 July 1925 apology to Loeb exposes the submerged personal material that he packed into the bullfighting novel. The manuscript that soon began to emerge originally flaunted the autobiographical context, with all of the principals identified by name. When he fictionalized the characters, dropped Hadley from the plot, and began to invent, however, the story took off; to his friends he posted almost daily updates, writing Smith on 5 August that he was "going like wild fire." By the end of the year he had not only finished a draft of the novel but had dashed off *Torrents* as a ruse to escape his contract with Boni & Liveright. His 7 December 1925 letter to Horace Liveright represents his malicious "funny book" as a major work of satire, and when Liveright rejected it (as Hemingway knew he must), the author would be free to negotiate with another publisher. Fitzgerald had explained it all in advance to Maxwell Perkins, and Scribner's quickly agreed to publish both the comic novella and the bullfighting novel. Hemingway had turned a corner, professionally and psychologically, but more challenging work remained.

At the heart of this three-year sequence of letters we discern the outlines of a complex rehabilitation to which his first novel bears witness. When Jake Barnes fends off a prostitute's sexual advances by explaining that he "got hurt in the war," Hemingway hints at the persistence of injuries, physical and psychic, from his own wounding in 1918; and Jake's subsequent musing about his sexual mutilation reminds us obliquely of the war's impact on Hemingway's generation and on modern masculinity in general. But apart from the elliptical "A Very Short Story" and two or three vignettes in *In Our Time*, Hemingway had largely concealed his own post-traumatic anxieties; not until 1926, when he wrote the war stories "In Another Country" and "Now I Lay Me," did he begin to probe his own recurrent flashbacks and insomnia. The new letters suggest that, more than any other single influence, the Spanish bullfight provided a catharsis, a release from postwar depression, while also dramatizing the need to confront rather than deny the things that kept him awake at night. Indeed, his 17–18 July 1923 letter to Bill Horne cuts to the crux of this rehabilitation-by-violence when he explains the vicarious liberation provided by the matador's killing of the bull: "It's a great tragedy—and the most beautiful thing I've ever seen and takes more guts and skill and guts again than anything possibly could. It's just like having a ringside seat at the war with nothing going to happen to you." Bullfighting becomes a model of manhood and a symbolic encounter with human mortality—with the advantage of spectatorial immunity. It provides rousing therapy for the traumatic horrors omitted from such stories as "Soldier's Home" and "Big Two-Hearted River." In this important sense, Hemingway could only have written his 1929 war novel *A*

Farewell to Arms—opening the “blast-furnace door” of white-hot memory—after he had completed his novel about bullfighting and masculinity.

In the Austrian mountains in late 1925, Hemingway began thinking about how to tighten *The Sun Also Rises*, but as his letters suggest, he was also pursuing an eclectic course of reading that included Captain Marryat, Turgenev, Trollope, Wilkie Collins, and Thomas Mann. On the verge of literary celebrity, he found himself caught in a bind: he loved Hadley, “Mr. Bumby,” and the good life they had together, but he was falling hard for Pauline. “To really love two women at the same time, truly love them, is the most destructive and terrible thing that can happen to a man,” he later wrote in his memoir.⁸ Without mentioning this domestic conundrum, he composed a 15 December 1925 letter to his father, extending Christmas greetings and offering a revealing appraisal of his development as a writer at the end of an emotionally volatile year:

I know what I'm doing and it doesn't make any difference either way what anybody says about [*Torrents*]. Naturally it is nice to have people like it. But it is inside yourself that you have to judge and nothing anybody says outside can help you anymore than anybody can help you shoot when a partridge flies up. Either you hit them or you dont. Good instruction beforehand teaching you to shoot etc. is fine. But after a while it all depends on yourself and you have to be your own worst critic.

By the end of 1925, his period of literary instruction was at an end; Hemingway had learned to hit the mark, to judge self-critically, and to rely on his own instincts. The “murderous summer” of 1926 lay ahead, but writing had become his bulwark against the complications of his personal life, the hard, daily work that for a very long time saved him from himself.

NOTES

- 1 Archibald MacLeish, “Years of the Dog,” in *Actfive and Other Poems* (New York: Random House, 1948), 53.
- 2 Ernest Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast: The Restored Edition*, ed. Seán Hemingway (New York: Scribner's, 2009), 184–85.
- 3 Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1933), 270.
- 4 Gertrude Stein, review of *Three Stories and Ten Poems*, *Chicago Tribune* (Paris edition), 27 November 1923.
- 5 Ernest Hemingway, *The Nick Adams Stories* (New York: Scribner's, 1972), 242.
- 6 EH to Katharine Foster Smith, 27 January 1922 (UVA; *Letters* vol. 1, 324).
- 7 Michael S. Reynolds, *Hemingway: The Paris Years* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 269.
- 8 *A Moveable Feast: The Restored Edition*, 216.

VOLUME 2 (1923–1925) CHRONOLOGY

- c. 15 December 1922–early February 1923 EH and Hadley vacationing in Chamby-sur-Montreux, Switzerland.
- January 1923 Six poems by EH are published in *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*.
- 2 January 1923 Isabelle Simmons from Oak Park, Illinois, arrives in Chamby for two weeks. EH's sister Marcelline marries in Oak Park.
- c. 10 January 1923 Chink Dorman-Smith, visiting since 16 December, departs Chamby to return to his regiment in Cologne.
- c. 16–18 January 1923 EH returns to Paris and visits the apartment at 74, rue du Cardinal Lemoine, in a working-class neighborhood in the fifth arrondissement, where he and Hadley have lived since January 1922.
- 6 February 1923 Adelaide Edmonds Hemingway, EH's paternal grandmother (born 1841), dies in Oak Park.
- 7 February–early March 1923 EH and Hadley depart for Rapallo, Italy, where they visit Ezra Pound and stay at the Hotel Riviera Splendide. Pound departs for Rome on 12 February. In Rapallo, EH meets Robert McAlmon and Edward O'Brien and spends time with Henry Strater, who is there with his wife Maggie and paints portraits of EH and Hadley.
- Sometime in late February or early March, EH and Hadley join Ezra and Dorothy Pound on a walking tour that includes the town of Orbetello, about 200 miles south of Rapallo.
- 5 March 1923 EH's review of Gertrude Stein's *Geography and Plays* appears in the Paris edition of the *Chicago Tribune*.