

**Revisions, Corrections and Additions to**  
*The Hemingway Log:*  
***A Chronology of His Life and Times***

**Brewster Chamberlin**  
*(University Press of Kansas, 2015)*

**A**ny published chronology, regardless of subject, is out of date on the day it is printed. This is the risk writers of chronologies are well aware of but take that risk anyway. *The Hemingway Log* is no exception, which is the justification for what follows. Indeed, the tremendous amount of new and corrected material which the Hemingway industry created since 2015 is both staggering and for me embarrassing. Thus, despite the fact that the University Press of Kansas is unable to bring out a new edition of the *Log*, I have determined that not making this series of revisions available to the scholarly and general public would be a disservice to both readerships. This of course is particularly true in the case of correcting errors which crept into the 2015 volume.

As a result, I am particularly grateful to Kirk Curnutt and the board of the Hemingway Society for the opportunity to make this text available on the Society's web site.

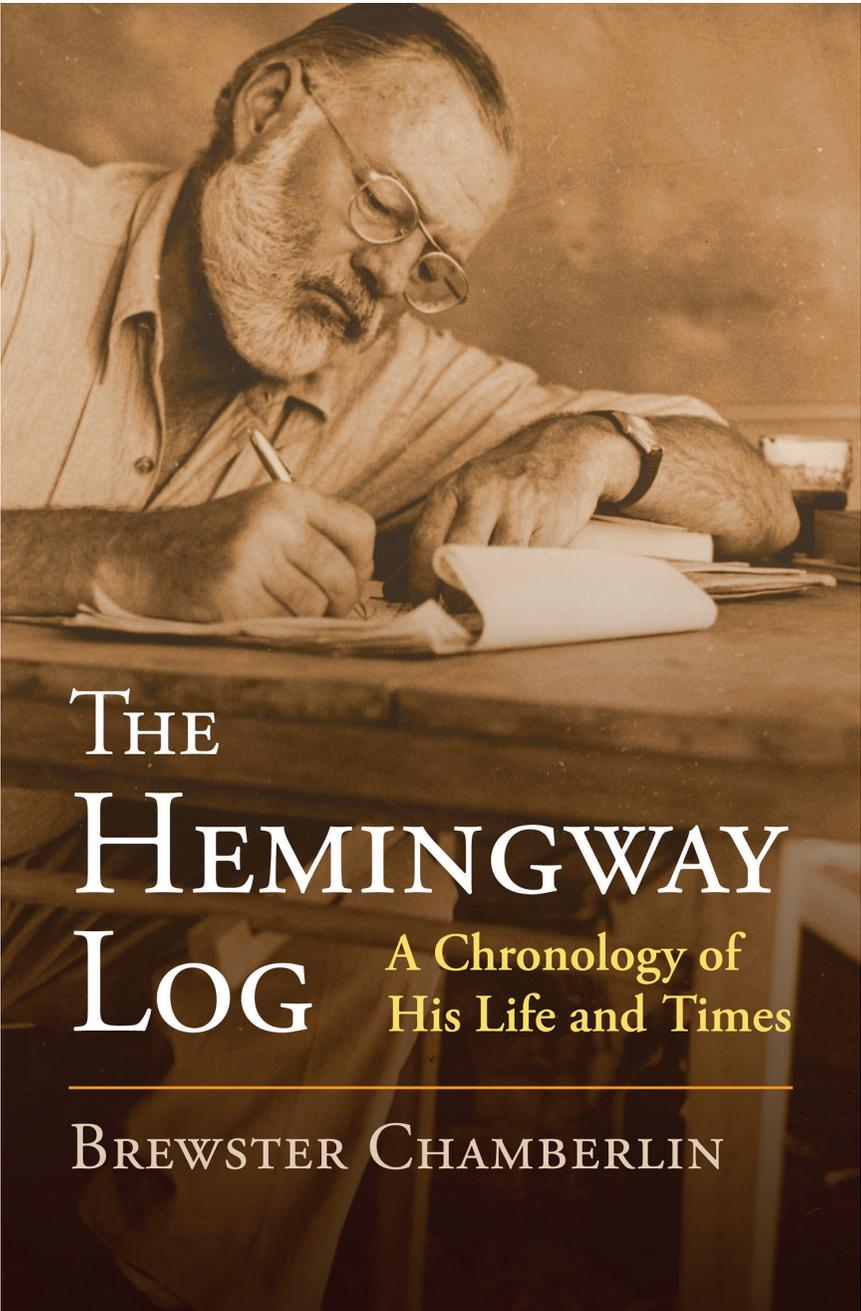
In the future, as the Hemingway Letters Project staff uncovers additional information, this chronology could be extended for years, but that task will have to be accomplished by someone other than this author.

I hope the following notes are reasonably clear and useful. Inevitably the entries below refer to pages and entries in the *Log*; this may be cumbersome but I have not been able to come up with an alternative method.

There are three new appendices that do not appear in the original edition: Appendix VI: The Varieties of the EH-James Joyce Relationship; Appendix VII: The Orson Welles—EH Relationship; and Appendix VIII: The First Meeting of EH and John Dos Passos. Appendix III: EH as a Spy and For Whom? has been significantly expanded to take into account the recent book by Nicholas Reynolds, *Writer, Sailor, Soldier, Spy. Ernest Hemingway's Secret Adventures, 1935-1961* (2017).

If any reader who notices any infelicities and errors which may have crept into the text, please let me know and I shall do my best to correct them.

Avignon, October 2018



THE  
HEMINGWAY  
LOG *A Chronology of  
His Life and Times*

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BREWSTER CHAMBERLIN

### Introductory Note

- p. 1. Change the last sentence on the page to read: “various websites, and the Toby and Betty Bruce Archives in Key West (Benjamin Bruce ...”
- p. 3. Add to end of sentence re Durrell chronology: “a revised and expanded third edition entitled *The Durrell Log* was published in London by Colenso Books in the spring of 2019.”

### 1904

- p. 11. Add sentence just below the reference to Hamsun: EH joins his father’s chapter of the Agassiz Club; at the age of ten the members elect him assistant curator. In the summer of 1910, Clarence gave up his membership in the Club a point at which the young EH had become seriously interested in its activities and his own contributions.
- Attendant footnote: See Reynolds, *The Young Hemingway*, 30-31, 39, 101, and 112 for details.

### 1906

- p. 11. 1906: Paul Lawrence Dunbar should be “Laurence”—same in index entry, p. 377.
- p. 12. Add in 1909: September 9: In what may be EH’s first extended piece of fiction, at the age of 10 he writes a travelogue of a trip to Scotland and Ireland, noting that on this date he sailed on the *Mauretania* on which “William Holden and I are going to have a state-room together ...” and “We expect to be gone a year”. He describes the voyage and the places visited in a sloppy, childish hand, interspersing excerpts from various poems by Wordsworth and others and definitions of phrases he obtained from maps and published travelogues. This is clearly a school exercise, but of interest nonetheless as his first such work. The school notebook in which he wrote the piece is in the Toby and Betty Bruce Archives in Key West. See also the Robert K. Elder article, “Tale in Hemingway’s Hand, From When He Was a Boy” in *The New York Times* (September 30, 2017).

Add 1910 entry: August 29: EH and his mother leave Windemere travelling by boat and train to Nantucket to visit relatives where they spent a month by the ocean; on the return trip they visit sites in Boston, Cambridge, Lexington and Concord.

## 1912

- p. 13. March 30 entry: Add quotation marks around the word American.

## 1918

- p.20. Add to entry for May 13: The *Star* prints a note about EH and Brumback leaving the paper to join the American Red Cross as volunteers.
- p. 21. Shift text from footnote 12 to Appendix VIII The First EH-John Dos Passos Meeting and add to the footnote: "See Appendix VIII The First EH-John Dos Passos Meeting." Delete the last line of the footnote for Appendix VIII.
- p. 22. Add footnote to entry July 17: "Owen, 26, has this happening on July 15." Add to footnote 13: See also Andrew Farah, *Hemingway's Brain*. (Columbia SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2017), 28-29, for a discussion of the wounding about which there are widely differing accounts, including those told by EH at various points during his life. One of Farah's important points in the book is that the physicians at the Mayo Clinic seriously misdiagnosed EH's medical problems and consequently did not treat the real cause of EH's mental failures.
- p. 23. Add to entry for September 24: He wrote to his father on September 26, "We can see Switzerland from here. Convalescing with some awfully nice Italian People." *Letters I*, 144.

Change October 24-November 4 entry to October 18-November 4 and shift to between October 15 and October 23 entries. Add "Veneto" between "Bassano" and "close to the front".

## 1919

- p. 25. January 21 entry should read, "EH arrives in the Jersey City harbor ...."

Add to March 3 entry: "I'm so homesick for Italy that when I write about it it has something about it that you only get in a love letter".

Attendant footnote: *Letters I*, 169.

- p. 26. Add footnote to April 16 entry: See Scott Donaldson, "Ernest, Hadley, and Italy" in Mark Cirino & Mark P. Ott (eds.), *Hemingway and Italy. Twenty-First-Century Perspectives* (Gainesville FL: Univer-

sity Press of Florida, 2017), 30-32, for a detailed discussion of the EH-Gamble relationship.

## 1921

p. 33. Add footnote to August 7 entry: Hadley chose her good friend Helen's husband George to handle her investments and by 1923 he had embezzled a good deal of her money. Scott Donaldson, *The Paris Husband. How It Really Was Between Ernest and Hadley Hemingway* (New York: Simply Charly, 2018), quoting Gioia Diliberto, *Hadley* (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1992; republished as *Paris Without End: The True Story of Hemingway's First Wife* (2011).

p. 35. Add footnote to October 2 entry: Donaldson, *Paris Husband*, 10, declares Kate Smith was in love with EH and rather bitter about his relationship with and marriage to Hadley.

Add footnote to December 22 entry: It is not clear when and if EH had a letter from Anderson to James Joyce, but Anderson wrote to Joyce about EH on December 3, 1921, including the sentence, "Mr. Hemingway is an American writer instinctively in touch with everything worth while [sic] going on here and I know you will find both Mr. and Mrs. Hemingway delightful people to know." The full text of Anderson's letter is printed in Richard Ellmann (ed.), *Letters of James Joyce*, Vol. III (New York: The Viking Press, 1966), 54-55. See Appendix VI below for a fuller discussion of the Joyce-EH relationship. Anderson's letter to Galantière is printed in Mark Lurie, *Galantière. The Lost Generation's Forgotten Man* (West Palm Beach FL: Overlook Press LLC, 2017), 1-2.

p. 35-36. Add a footnote to ca. December 24 entry: See Lurie, 3-4, for a detailed description of this ridiculous event.

1922: "Herman Melville's Billy Budd, Sailor (posthumously)" reference and footnote should be at 1924 with footnote (p. 56), not 1922

## 1922

p. 39. Owen, 75, has Pound introducing EH to Joyce, "with whom Hemingway enjoyed many an 'alcoholic spree.'" This is an unnecessary piece of exaggeration.

- p. 41. At the end of footnote 63, delete the word “mistakenly”.
- p. 45. December 2 entry: replace suitcase with valise.

The December 3 entry should read: Hadley arrives in Lausanne to tearfully tell her husband about the loss. What happens next is the subject of some speculation. In *A Moveable Feast*. The Restored Edition, 70, EH claims he took the next train to Paris to see if he could find the trunk and see if any carbons of the stories remained at the apartment. Mellow, 209, and Farah, 141, state that Lincoln Steffens and Guy Hickok were leaving on the next train and said they would look into the matter at the Gare de Lyon. Farah bluntly writes, “All biographical evidence suggests he stayed in Lausanne with his wife.” Mellow states that EH did not go to Paris until mid-January based on a letter to Pound dated January 23, 1923: “I went up to Paris last week to see what was left and found that Hadley had made the job complete ...” (*Letters*, 2, 6) Baker, *A Life*, 103, on the basis of letters to him from EH (April 1, 1951) and Hadley (April 7, 1962), has EH lunching with Stein and Toklas on December 4 and taking the late afternoon train back to Lausanne. Reynolds, *The Paris Years*, 89 notes correctly that Stein and Toklas were in Saint Remy, Provence, at this time. However, to add to the confusion, Mary V. Dearborn, *Ernest Hemingway. A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 2017), 131, points out that EH’s passport indicates that he did in fact take the train to Paris on December 3 (the passport presumably at JFK), but what he did there remains shrouded in the mists of fragile memory, biographical and fictional obfuscation. Dearborn (132) notes he returned to Switzerland six days later. In the end EH seemed to believe that the advantage to losing the manuscripts was that he had to re-write the stories as a more experienced author. Although they continued their vacation skiing at Chamby-sur-Montreux, Hadley’s loss preyed on his mind from time to time for the rest of his life.

Attendant footnote to end of entry: “It was probably good for me to lose early work ...” *A Moveable Feast*, 70. See also Marc Seals, “Trauma Theory and Hemingway’s Lost Paris Manuscripts,” *Hemingway Review* 24.2 (Spring 2005), 62-72, for a relevant discussion of the matter. Baker, 103, writes, “Whatever it was he did that December night remained his secret for the rest of his life.”

Scott Donaldson, *Paris Husband*, esp. 57-68, discusses the variety of portrayals of the incident and its effect on EH and the marriage, as well as the possible contents of the lost valise.

Attendant footnote at end of sentence “fictional obfuscation”: The trashy novel by Clancy Carlile, *The Paris Pilgrims* (1999) is an example. For a better novel see Dan Simmons, *The Crook Factory. A Novel of Suspense* (New York: Avon Books, 1999).

Delete December 4 entry and attendant footnote (72).

### 1923

- p. 55. Add entry for October 13: EH writes to Pound bragging about his having got copies of *Ulysses* into the States from Toronto.

Attendant footnote: “Someday someone will live here and be able to appreciate the feeling with which I launched *Ulysses* on the States (not a copy lost) from this city.” *Letters* 2, 59.

### 1924

- p. 59. Add to footnote 102: See Appendix VIII for a discussion of the EH-Dos Passos’s meeting again in the summer of 1924, at which time their friendship solidified.

Add footnote to July 6 entry at “she insists on),”:

Ross earned a master’s degree in literature at Columbia University and was in Strasbourg studying for a doctorate in comparative literature. Dos Passos was quite taken with this strong-willed attractive woman and proposed an engagement which she eventually rejected and disappeared from his life. For additional details about the relationship, see Morris, *The Ambulance Drivers*, 107-108, 117, 122, 126 and 156.

### 1925

- p. 64. The April 26 entry should read “German voters elect the aged and eventually senile, but now popular former general Paul von Hindenburg as the Republic’s second president.”

- p. 65. Foot note 116: add after the line “in Europe in 1925”: “and had nev-

er met Hemingway (cited by Lynn, p. 280)". Add after "gives the late April date": "See Leslie M.M. Blume, *Everybody Behaves Badly. The True Story Behind Hemingway's Masterpiece The Sun Also Rises* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016), 95 and 278-279, for a detailed discussion of the various sources of the various versions of the story."

- p. 66. Add to footnote 122: In an interview after EH's death, Henry Strater claimed EH "learned the technical part of [painting] from Miró and me." Interview with Emily Stipes Watts, August 1968, cited in her *Ernest Hemingway and the Arts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 20. Her chapter on EH and color is particularly interesting but the writer was not a friend of Matisse's as she claims (147).
- p. 70. Add footnote to October 2 entry: The October 2015 issue of the *Smithsonian Magazine* published an excerpt from A.E. Hotchner's book *Hemingway in Love. His Own Story* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2015) in which EH allegedly told Hotchner about dancing in Le Jockey nightclub with Baker just before she opened in *La Revue Nègre*, she naked under a fur coat; and spending the night at her apartment baring their souls to each other. A different earlier version of the alleged incident Hotchner retailed in his 1966 book *Papa Hemingway. A Personal Memoir* (New York: Random House), 52-53. There are good reasons why none of the reputable and well-researched biographies mention this.
- p. 71. Add: November 26: Sylvia Beach hosts a Thanksgiving dinner attended by Lewis and Dorothy Galantière, James and Nora Joyce, the Hemingways and others including Paul Robeson. EH had expressed his contempt for Dorothy Butler in a letter to her prior to her marriage to Galantière and had publically savaged Galantière (under his literary nom-de-plume Lewis Gay) in the May 1924 issue of *The Transatlantic Review* so there may have been some frosty demeanors at this meal. See Lurie, 9-18.

## 1926

- p.73. Add to end of entry for February 9: "and during his stay in New York meets with Samuel Roth whose publication *Two Worlds Monthly* pirated sections of *Ulysses* which at the time was not protected by copyright in the USA. EH and the pirate did not reach an agreement, but,

despite what EH wrote, Roth never published any of his stories without payment anyway.”

Attendant footnote: See Kevin Birmingham, *The Most Dangerous Book. The Battle for James Joyce's Ulysses* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2014), 279-280 whose source is an unpublished MS by Roth, “Count Me Among the Missing”. EH wrote to Maxwell Perkins on November 16, 1926, “Everything I publish over here is stolen by Samuel Roth who has never had my permission to publish one word and pirates everything that appears here as fast as it comes out and has never paid me a cent. I've seen the advertisements in the Nation and New Republic of his Two Worlds Monthly.” (*Letters* 3, 147) The advertisements noted EH would be published but this did not happen. EH did write in the same letter, “I feel badly about his stealing my stories— but that is a small matter compared to his theft of Joyce's entire book.” (*Letters* 3, 148) Joyce wrote to his patron Harriet Shaw Weaver on March 18, 1926, “... the latest report about Mr. Roth does not encourage me to carry out my plan of giving him the four watches [of Shaun] complete in exchange for a lump sum of dollars. He told Hemingway that he had used my name and pieces as a draw, that he had drawn 10,000 subscribers all over the states and that he did not think he wanted me anymore as his readers (the 10,000) wanted amusing matter of a different kind. I should have an agent over there, I think ...” (Stuart Gilbert (ed.), *Letters of James Joyce*. Vol I. [New York: The Viking Press, 1957/1966], 240.)

p. 74. April 20 entry, add after EH: “with his friend “Chink” Dorman-Smith”

## 1927

p. 82. Add to footnote 168: Farah, 83, incorrectly has Harry Crosby on this Spanish excursion, and identifies Crosby's wife as Polly (as she was known early in her life) rather than the name more commonly associated with her, Caresse. See also Scott Donaldson, “Don Ernesto en Pamplona: 1924 and 1927” in *The Hemingway Review* (Fall 2016), 15-30.

p. 84. Add to footnote 175: See also Silke Kettelhake, *Renée Sintenis. Berlin, Boheme und Ringelnatz* (Berlin: Osburg Verlag, 2010), 249.

**1928**

- p. 86. March 4 entry: Following “nine stitches” add footnote: Later in life EH claimed a Dr. Carl Weiss stitched his wound thus associating himself with the man who assaulted and perhaps shot and killed Louisiana governor Huey Long in 1935. The problem here is that Weiss did not begin to practice at the American Hospital until June 1929, some sixteen months after EH suffered the skylight accident. Farah, 171n11. See also MacLeish’s version of the story in which he responds to the question of Dr. Weiss by saying, “I don’t remember anything about the doctor except that he was young.” Bernard A. Drabeck & Helen Ellis (eds.), *Archibald MacLeish: Reflections* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), 44-45.

April 2 entry: Add between “ferry” and “to Key West”: (*Governor Cobb*)

- p. 87. Last line *Key West Citizens* should be: “Key West citizens”
- p. 88. Add to end of footnote 186: I have seen no evidence that Dos Passos ever specifically recommended to EH that Key West would be a place to visit or reside.

**1929**

- p. 93. February 1-8 should be February 1-9; February 8 with the book should be February 9.

Add February 27: After a day of fishing, EH and Peirce (and probably Bra Saunders and Charles Thompson) attend the Jack Sharkey-William “Young” Stribling boxing match at Miami’s Flamingo Park, along with Al Capone who had been subpoenaed that day for possible violation of the Prohibition Act. Sharkey won by a decision.

- p. 95. Add June 19 to entry re: banning of *Scribner’s Magazine* in Boston.

- July 6: Add: “future” husband of Maud [not Maude] “Cabot”;

Footnote 205 add: Callaghan evidently told Edmund Wilson a much more detailed version. See Wilson’s *Upstate. Records and Recollections of Northern New York* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1971), 125-128. See also Farah, 46, discussing EH’s consumption of alcohol in general and specifically before this event based on a probably hyperbolic EH letter to Max Perkins of August 28, 1929 printed in Sandra

Spanier and Miriam B. Mandel (eds.), *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, vol. 4, 1929-1931 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 75-77 (hereafter *Letters 4*). See also EH to Scott Fitzgerald (December 12, 1929, *Letters 4*, 198-200) in which he explains the matter in plaintive tones noting that Callaghan and McAlmon (“a couple of shits”) spread spurious stories about the match but he (EH) never did and apologizes to Fitzgerald saying he never doubted the extended round was inadvertent, not deliberate. EH clearly did not want to lose Fitzgerald’s friendship over the matter despite the latter’s behavior when drunk which he all too often was in those days. “Am damned fond of Scott and would do anything for him but he’s been a little trying lately.” EH to Max Perkins, December 15, 1929 (*Letters 4*, 201). See also EH to Callaghan, January 4, 1930 which exonerates Fitzgerald from the charge he alone sent a wire to Callaghan demanding a retraction of a mendacious story about the fight saying Fitzgerald did not want to send the wire but did so only after EH insisted. (*Letters 4*, 210-211) This entire matter became confusing to the actors involved as it remains for today’s readers of the various correspondence and tellings.

Add September 9: From Madrid, EH writes to Perkins about his pocket being picked getting on a street car at night and losing his passport, driver’s license, “Carte d’Identité, all papers of the car etc. all taken ... Lost no money— Had money in an inner pocket ...” After a Madrid taurine critic wrote about the incident in a newspaper, the thief returned the papers as well as those he’d stolen from three other people. *Letters 4*, 90.

- p. 97-98. Add footnote to entry October 8: *Letters 4*, 105, prints the inscription to Joyce by EH dating it “c. late September 1929” and page 209 of FTA with EH’s insertions filling in the blanks (106).

The October 23 entry should be dated November 27. Add to the footnote before the Larson reference: See *Letters 4*, 166, EH to Scott Fitzgerald (c. November 24, 1929) noting he’d seen Stein “the other evening” when she expressed the desire to see Fitzgerald. Add to end of Larson reference: Larson follows Baker’s (*SL*, 308) incorrect dating of the event.

- p. 99. “Ca. November 10” should read “November 10”.

Add November 11: In London, Jonathan Cape publishes *A Farewell to Arms*.

Add to November 15 entry: After the meetings, EH and Hickok return to Paris by train and arrive the following morning; Gus Pfeiffer travels on as planned to the Soviet Union.

Delete November 17 entry.

Add November 18: In Paris, EH makes a further payment on the Klee work at Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler's Galerie Simon with which Flechtheim has a business arrangement.

Attendant footnote: EH bought the Paul Klee *Monument in Arbeit* whilst visiting Flechtheim's gallery in Berlin.

Add November 19: EH writes to Charles Thompson that he is in the process of setting up a trust fund to support his mother, \$20,000 of his money from the sales of *A Farewell to Arms* and \$30,000 from Gus Pfeiffer.

Attendant footnote: *Letters 4*, 160. EH said many times how he hated his mother, but at this point in his life he ensured she would be financially solvent despite the drain on his own resources.

December 10 entry: add "Bigelow" after "Josephine Rotch" and add "after several hours" after "follows suit". Add to the footnote: Geoffrey Wolff in his *Black Sun: The Brief Transit and Violent Eclipse of Harry Crosby* (1976) mentions a tour EH, MacLeish and Crosby took in Switzerland, to which MacLeish responded, "Wolff is mixed up ... If he [Crosby] remembers a tour, he remembers a dream." (Drabek & Ellis, 58.)

p. 100. Change Mid-December: Dos Passos ... to December 16.

Attendant footnote: EH to Perkins, December 15, notes "Dos Passos and wife are due tomorrow." *Letters 4*, 203.

Add to entry December 20-31: Donald Ogdon "and Beatrice" Stewart, and at the end of the entry "Murphys, whose tubercular son Patrick was a patient in a sanatorium there."

## 1930

p. 101. In January 10, 1930 entry add "Lechner" after Henriette.

February 2 entry should read: "They arrive in Key West to move into a large rental house at 1301 Whitehead Street near the Coral Island

Casino and the Athletic Club at the southeastern end of Duval Street, which Lorine Thompson has found for them.” Add footnote: “The Athletic Club was demolished in 1935 as a part of a program to put some of the local unemployed to work.”

Footnote 229 should read: Elinor Langer, *Josephine Herbst: The Story She Could Never Tell* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984), 106-108, has them at 1425 Pearl Street. Langer cites a letter Herbst wrote to Katherine Ann Porter with the Pearl Street address at its head that can be dated 1930. Baker, 219, incorrectly has Herbst and Herrmann staying at the Curry house on the corner of Whitehead and United Streets in 1930 and the following biographies repeat the error. Only recently (2016) has the Hemingway Letters Project found evidence that the Hemingways stayed at the Whitehead Street address in 1930, not 1931. Furthermore, there is a reference in Langer, 111, to Herbst complaining about the Hemingways having taken over her house, meaning the Pearl Street house in 1931, and having to find a different house to rent, possibly the Curry house.

- p.102. The mid-March entry should read: Late February: While arranging to divorce his current wife, Ivy Troutman, Waldo Peirce sent his very young pregnant girlfriend and future wife, Alzira Boehm, to Key West to await his continually delayed arrival. In a small town her presence does not go unnoticed, and the Hemingways are not particularly happy about it, or her requests for financial help, which EH does supply and Peirce later repays.

Delete footnote 231.

March 17-30 entry should read March 17-c. April 5: Luther Pinder's 32-foot boat, not Bra's boat. Add “*Caroline*” between “white yacht” and “arrives”. Add Archibald MacLeish to the group and change Berge Saunders as captain, not mate.

Attendant footnote 232 should read: “EH to Mike Strater, February 18, 1930, gives the costs of running the boat, etc. (*Letters* 4, 236) Unfortunately, there are no extant fishing logs for 1930 except the account of the sojourn in Wyoming, July 13 to the end of October.”

Add entry April: The trust fund EH and Pauline set up to finance his mother and several siblings comes into effect. For an explanation of the details, see EH to Grace Hall Hemingway, January 27, 1930. (*Letters 4*, 218-221)

Mid-April should read April 15.

Add to footnote 233 “and *Letters 4*, 294-296”.

Add May 4: Not fully recovered from a goring suffered on March 16 in Madrid, Sidney Franklin performs in a minor bullring, but the wound effectively ends his career as a matador.

Add entry May 9: Expressing his and Pauline’s dismay and discomfort about the continued presence of Alzira Boehm and her two younger sisters in Key West and Peirce’s continued absence, EH writes to Peirce that the locals are not as sophisticated as those in big cities and Alzira has become the subject of mean gossip. If Peirce had thought of living with her unwed in Key West he should put the thought out of his head. “But I tell you if you’re planning to stay somewhere and have a baby K.W. is too small a place now that you know or anyway are known by so many local merchants.”

Attendant footnote: *Letters 4*, 284-286.

- p. 103. Add May 20: Alzira and her sisters leave Key West and she moves on to Paris to join Peirce.

Add May 31: Happy Saunders with his wife Nettie and son Broward aboard his cabin cruiser *Pureta* runs aground on the way to the Bahamas; they escape in a dingy to Grand Bahama. EH loses a shotgun he loaned Saunders; EH and Bra planned to join Happy on the “Wild Hog shooting and Scientific Exposition.” EH to Peirce, June 2, 1930, *Letters 4*, 304 and the June 2 edition of the *Key West Citizen* with the headline “‘Happy’ Saunders, Wife, and Son Are All But Drowned”.

July 13: The London publisher Jonathan Cape writes to EH “Australia has judged your book [*FTA*] improper and its sale, publication and importation into that country is prohibited.”

Attendant footnote: *Letters 4*, 360.

July 13-end October should read July 14-end October.

- p. 104. Add to October 24 entry “with an introduction by Edmund Wilson.

November 1 entry: text after “sends EH to” should read “St. Vincent’s Hospital in Billings with a severely ...”

- p. 105. Add to footnote 240: For another account of his trip to see EH, see Drabek & Ellis, 63.

Add November 5: The Swedish Academy awards Sinclair Lewis the Nobel Prize in Literature.

Add: December 5: From his hospital bed in Billings, EH dictates to Pauline a letter to Hickok in which, among other things, he bemoans the recent Swedish Academy awarding the Nobel Prize for Literature to Sinclair Lewis when others are more deserving. “It is certainly a filthy business for them to give the Nobel prize to Mr. Lewis when they could have given it to Ezra or to the author of *Ulysses*.”

Attendant footnote: *Letters*, vol. 4, 426.

The December 24/25 entry should read: December 24: They arrive in Piggott.

## 1931

- p.106. January 3 entry should read “In Key West, EH, Pauline, Virginia, and Patrick move into a large wood two story rental “old house” at 1425 Pearl Street at \$45 per month. January and February are unusually cold and rainy, adding to EH’s discomfort and frustration.

Add February 9: In New York, Harrison Smith publishes William Faulkner’s *Sanctuary*. On April 10, EH writes to Laurence Stallings, “If I hadn’t been plenty cockeyed would not have sent the Faulkner wire ... He’s lousy with talent; but a steak of phony that you can push a pencil into if it really exists you can drive a horse and carriage through in two years ...” (*Letters* 4, 486, where the editors note that the wire EH refers to is unlocated.)

Footnote 242 should read: Reynolds, *The 1930s*, 60, has it renting for \$25 per month, but EH wrote to Peirce on January 17, 1931 giving the \$45 figure. *Letters* 4, 459.

Add to footnote 244: EH to Perkins (February 5, 1931), Dos Passos (c. February 5, 1931), and Henry Stater (c. February 14, 1931) gives the seven foot one-inch figure. (*Letters* 4, 466, 468 and 472)

Add entry for February 12: On January 28, EH wrote to Pauline's parents, "Henriette is to land in NY February 12" returning from France where she delivered Bumby to Hadley. *Letters 4*, 461.

Add entry for February 16: EH writes to Evan Shipman, "First writing with right hand. Still very difficult." Attendant footnote: *Letters 4*, 474.

Delete text from footnote 246 and replace with: The Hemingway Letters Project has identified Happy as Appleton "Happy" John Saunders (c. 1880-1948) the brother of Bra and Berge Saunders. On June 12, 1930 EH writes to Strater: "Happy lost his boat in a storm at Bahamys. Later reports he's recovered her though sunk. I had a shot gun aboard (20 ga.). Sad end of Saunders Scientific wild hog and pigeon shooting Expedition." *Letters 4*, 238 and 314.

- P 107. Footnote 247 should read March 19, not 14. Delete reference to Reynolds, *The 1930s*, 64, and the following sentence.

Footnote 248: Should be Maud, not Maude.

- p. 108. Change March 12 to March 19; entry should read: *The Key West Citizen*, "Visitor Nearly Drowned in City Park Pool", reports Pauline saved Mrs. W.D. (Elaine) Sidley from drowning in the Bayview Park pool "this forenoon".

Attendant footnote 252: Delete "This is ... confusion of dates."

March 31 entry should read "EH sails to the Dry Tortugas with Pauline, the honeymoon couple Maud and Pat Morgan, Carol Hemingway, John Herrmann, Berge, Chubb Weaver and Bra."

To the attendant footnote (254) should be added: Maud (not Maude as most EH biographies have it) Cabot Morgan (1903-1999) had by the late 1930s become a well-known, admired and successful abstract expressionist painter whose work is in the collections of major museums including the Museum of Modern Art (New York), the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Whitney Museum. Patrick Morgan, also a painter, who after they met in Paris influenced her to take up the brush. They divorced in 1970. For examples of her work, see [www.maudmorganarts.org](http://www.maudmorganarts.org) and her autobiography, *Maud Morgan. A Life From Art* (Berkeley CA: New Earth Publications, 1995).

May 2 entry should read: EH departs Key West for Havana on the *Governor Cobb* ferry. (See also April 2, 1928 entry.)

Add May 4: EH sails on the Dutch liner *Volendam* from Havana to Spain, where he will spend the summer finishing the bull fight book and gathering photographs as illustrations.

Add May 15: In Vigo EH leaves the *Volendam* and takes the train to Madrid.

Retitle May entry to Mid to late May.

- p. 109. At Early June entry delete “Pauline hires ... return to the States”.

June 26 entry: Replace Gabrielle with Henriette.

- p. 110. Add July 28: EH writes to MacLeish, “My german publisher gone broke owing me 4-5 thousand bucks.” Rowohlt announced its bankruptcy and entered into negotiations in June, eventually saving the company. On August 1 he writes to Perkins that the sum was 40,000 marks.

Attendant footnote: *Letters* 4, 547 and 548.

Add August 15: EH, Pauline and Bumby depart Hendaye for Madrid.

Attendant footnote: EH to Caresse Crosby, August 25, 1931 (*Letters* 4, 559)

Add September 1: A dramatization of *Farewell to Arms* by Carl Zuckmayer and Heinz Hilpert opens in Berlin at the Deutsche Theater with Käthe Dorsch as Catherine and Gustav Fröhlich as Frederic Henry; the play runs until September 30; EH is in Berlin to attend the premiere.

Attendant footnote: In his memoir *Als wär's ein Stück von mir. Horen der Freundschaft. Erinnerungen* (1966), 449, Zuckmayer writes that EH came to Berlin from Paris for the premier performance of the play, drunk, drinking from a whiskey flask, and understanding not a word of German. Ernst Rowohlt's son, Heinrich Maria Ledig-Rowohlt later wrote that “After the first act, he spent this premiere of his in the theater bar.” *Meeting Two American Giants: Marginal Notes* (Rowohlt Verlag, 1962), 34. See also Wayne Kvam, “Zuckmayer, Hilpert, and Hemingway” in *PMLA*, Vol. 91, No. 2 (Mar., 1976), 194-205

September 23 Add following Gabrielle “Jacquout, who Pauline hired to replace Henriette who had become ill and did not wish to travel to

the States. EH later described, tongue in cheek presumably, the nanny as “french speaking-English 210lb Pariggot who expertizes in care of children, veterinary surgery, cooking and brewing ... a glutton for work and a good cook.”

Attendant footnote: EH to Guy Hickok, December 12, 1931 in *Letters* 4, 623.

Add October 21: The *Kansas City Star* publishes an interview with EH in which he states he is looking for an imposter who has been impersonating him for a year in places like New York, St. Louis and Paris, signing books and making and breaking appointments.

Attendant footnote: The interview (“The Ghost of a Writer / Ernest Hemingway Seeks his ‘Double’ in Several Places” is reprinted in Robert W. Trogdon (ed.), *Ernest Hemingway: A Literary Reference* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1999), 118-120.

## 1932

- p. 115. Add footnote to “stranded at Fort Jefferson”: “On April 15, 1932, EH wrote to Peirce, “... Planned to spend the first night at Sou’west Key ... and about three o’clock in the morning it started to blow like hell from the northwest and we had to go in the long beach channel for shelter and were stuck there three days before we could cross the Tortugas. It was very rough going over the quicksands.” *Letters*, vol. 5 (forthcoming). For MacLeish’s version, see Drabeck & Ellis, 62.

Add to footnote 273: See also *Log* entry for May 18-19, 1934 for an-other MacLeish visit to Key West during which he and EH quarrel with some bitterness.

- p. 117. Add entry: June: Following Kay Boyle’s advice, Caresse Crosby republishes *In Our Time* as *In Our Time, Stories* in her Crosby Continental Editions launched in December 1931 with the republication of *Torrents of Spring*, which Boyle thought horrible.
- p. 118. Add: July 9: EH and Pauline are at The Lincoln Hotel in Scottsbluff, Nebraska.

Attendant footnote: EH letter of this date to Jane Mason on hotel letterhead. Present whereabouts unknown, but listed on the Swann Galleries website.

- p. 119. Add footnote to the September 23 entry: In retrospect, the book, a radical for its time stylistic experiment, is much better than the critics realized at the time. It is perhaps unfortunate that EH did not have the opportunity to read Manuel Chaves Nogales's *Juan Belmonte, matador de toros; su vida y sus hazañas* published in Madrid in 1935, reputed to be one of the best written books on bullfighting. In 1939, Norton published an English translation by Leslie Charteris (*Juan Belmonte, Killer of Bulls*), better known as the novelist who created the character Simon Templar, even better known as The Saint.

### 1933

- p. 124. The reference to Thomas Mann in the May 10 entry should read "(but not his fiction)"
- p. 125. May 16 entry should be "Russell and Carlos sleep" not "slept"
- p. 128. The August entry should be October and read: "The initial issue of *Esquire*, which began as a quarterly, contains EH's first contribution, "Marlin off the Morro: A Cuban Letter", in which he credits Joe Russell with bringing "the first load of liquor that ever came into that place [Key West] from Cuba" during the official duration of Prohibition."

### 1934

- p. 138. Footnote 353: *The Letters of Archibald MacLeish* should be cursive.
- p. 139. Entry for May 28: add a footnote: *SL*, 407-409. It seems rather a bit of irony that EH criticizes Fitzgerald for using real people in a novel when EH notoriously did the same in *The Sun Also Rises* and elsewhere.
- p. 142. Add: Ca. August 10-12: Cadwalader and Fowler return to Philadelphia. As a gesture of gratitude for his help, Fowler later names a newly discovered fish species after EH (*Neorithe hemingwayi*).
- p. 143. Delete entry "Autumn" re the guidebook and its attendant footnote. This information should appear under "December" (p. 148)
- p. 144. Add to footnote 368 following 1930-1934: "has the problem as a ruptured appendix."
- p. 148. Add to footnote 382: See also *The Fourteenth Chronicle*, 453-457, for Dos Passos's letters to Malcolm Cowley, Theodore Dreiser and Edmund Wilson about the Quintanilla exhibition.

December entry should read “The city of Key West administration publishes a guide booklet for tourists listing among other things EH’s house with a photograph on p. 25, enraging the writer. Footnote 366 on p. 143 should be attached to this entry.

### 1935

p. 158. The Early May entry: add “Thompson” between “the” and “submachine gun”. Add footnote: See Ashley Oliphant, *Hemingway and Bimini. The Birth of Sport Fishing at “The End of the World”* (Sarasota, Pineapple Press 2017), 100ff., for details of the transaction.

p. 159. Footnote 423 should read: Oliphant, 54-55.

Add entry May 21: EH catches the first unmutilated tuna ever brought on board in Bimini waters.

The May 26 (Sunday) entry should read: Joseph Knapp, the publisher and philanthropist, drunk, challenges EH to a fight on the Bimini dock, in which EH knocks the fool out.

Add to the attendant footnote: Oliphant, 96, has the complete text and a detail description of the fisticuffs.

### 1936

p. 166. Add to footnote 444: To confuse matters even further, Morris, 122-123, has Dos, Kate and Sara leaving the north by car on May 10 to drive to Miami whence they flew to Havana to meet EH.

p. 171. Add: October 6: According to Lance Nixon in a magazine article published in 2016, EH made a “secret” trip with a group of friends by train to Wentworth, South Dakota on this date to stay at the Girton Hunting Lodge where he’d been invited to help prop up the place as a locus of pheasant shooting. According to Nixon, EH insisted the visit be secret thus defeating the purpose of the trip. The article notes that EH stayed ten days, had a “black chauffeur” and a “Chinese cook out of Chicago”, and that Pauline and Gregory came for several days at the end of the visit during which time EH would “always tell his kid to get the cigarettes for Papa”. EH did not smoke at this time. The article is illustrated with photographs of EH and Martha Gellhorn, whom

he didn't meet until the end of December that year. Nixon gives no sources for the article's mendacious narrative.

Attendant footnote: "Ernest Hemingway's Secret South Dakota Pheasant Hunt" in *Pheasants Forever. Journal of Upland Conservation* (Spring 2016), 89-93.

## 1937

- p. 175. Add to first undated entry after "Waldo Peirce" "and the introduction to S. Kip Farrington's *Atlantic Game Fishing* in which he characterizes big game fishing as "a contest of strength and endurance between a man or a woman and an oversized fish." Including women in this way goes against the grain of the attitude of most of the big game fishermen at the time.

Attendant footnote: See Oliphant, 136ff., for a commentary on the subject.

- p. 176. Add: January 15: The Passport Division of the State Department rejects EH's application for a new passport because apparently someone there feared EH would engage in "activity in Spanish Civil War."

Attendant footnote: See Daniel Robinson, "My True Occupation is That of a Writer: Hemingway's Passport Correspondence" in *The Hemingway Review* 24, no. 2 (2005), 87-94.

- p. 178. February entry should read "February 20" and be shifted down the page accordingly.

To the attendant footnote (485) should be added, "The deed was never filed in court. See Kirk Curnutt, *Reading Hemingway's To Have and Have Not. Glossary and Commentary* (2017), 88, for the details. Upon Pauline's death in 1951 the place became the property of EH, Patrick and Gregory."

Ca. February 17 should read "Ca. February 21"

Add footnote after "Fernhout on the filming." "Nicholas Reynolds, *Writer, Sailor, Soldier, Spy. Ernest Hemingway's Secret Adventures, 1935-1961* (New York: William Morrow, 2017), 33 and 296-297, convincingly shows that Ivens wrote the original script that EH then edited; it is not clear how much of it is the work of either of them.

- p. 179. Add February 24: After EH travelled to Washington to meet with the head of the Passport Division at State, Ruth Shipley, to produce a NANA contract “to do regular reporting in Spain” and, according to a Division memo, assure her that he had “no intention of participating in the Spanish conflict,” his application was accepted and expedited.

Attendant footnote: Robinson, “My True Occupation ...” and Nicholas Reynolds, 19.

- p. 181. March 21 entry add to footnote 499: “Kahle has been variously referred to as a colonel (e.g., Vaill, *Hotel Florida*, xix) and a general (e.g., Baker, 303). Given his commands during the Spanish Civil War, his rank was most probably that of colonel.

- p. 182. Add to Mid-April entry: “... Hemingway does not like the smart, independent Taro, whom he sees as a dangerous man-killer, a femme fatale.”

Attendant footnote: Marc Aronson & Marina Budhos, *Eyes of the World. Robert Capa, Gerda Taro, and the Invention of Modern Photojournalism* (New York: Henry Holt, 2017), 136-137, although Taro only met EH once briefly, the authors note that this reaction is what it was like to be a serious (and young and attractive) woman journalist who spent much time at the front during the war, a man's world.

- p. 184. May 1 entry add before the Dos Passos section: EH, Gustav Regler, Dr. Werner Heilbron (head physician of the 12th International Brigade who died later on the Aragon front), Kurt Stern (then political commissar of the 11th Brigade, later a writer of films scripts in the German Democratic Republic) and Alfred Kantorowicz (with his wife Friedel held various positions with the International Brigades, including political commissar of the 11th Chapaiev Brigade, later an editor and writer in East and West Germany) celebrate the European Labor Day at a party organized for the wounded in the field hospital of the 12th International Brigade in the Moraleja castle about 20 kilometers outside Madrid.

Attendant footnote: See Kantorowicz's *Spanisches Tagebuch* (Berlin [East]: Aufbau Verlag, 1948) 109-111 and his *Exil in Frankreich. Merkwürdigkeiten und Denkwürdigkeiten* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1971/1986), 14-16, for two

somewhat fanciful retellings of his meetings with EH in Spain. EH refers to the May 1 party in his article “The Heat and the Cold” (*Verve*, 1 [Spring, 1938]) reprinted in Trogdon, *A Literary Reference*, 190. For an interesting if rarely cited overview of EH and Gellhorn in Spain, see Guy Stern’s “Waffengefährten und wechselseitige Urbilder der Dichtung: Hemingway und die Exilanten aus Nazideutschland im Spanisch-en Bürgerkrieg” (1989), reprinted in Stern, *Literatur im Exil. Gesammelte Aufsätze 1959-1989* (Ismaning: Max Hueber Verlag, 1989), 403-423, and its English version, “Comrades in-Arms: Models for Fiction. Hemingway and the Exiles from Nazi Germany” in Luis Costa, et al. (eds.), *German and International Perspectives on the Spanish Civil War: The Aesthetics of Partisanship* (Columbia SC: Camden House, 1992), 108-125. Stern interviewed Gellhorn in 1986 in London and quotes from EH’s 1937 radio address beamed into Germany, “Appeal to the Germans” (translated as “An das wirkliche Deutsch-land”). See entry below for “November” 1937 (p. 193).

Perpignon should be Perpignan.

Add to footnote 510: See also Morris, 234-240 and 242-243, for another detailed description and analysis of the old friendship’s vitriolic end. Nicholas Reynolds, 250, cites the opinion of the playwright and Hollywood script writer, John Lawson, an old friend of Dos Passos’s, from an unpublished memoir: “Dos Passos and I were, I think, typical of certain young intellectuals. Hemingway was different ... Hemingway’s found an emotional meaning in the war. But for many of us it was senseless.”

- p. 185. Add to footnote 517: One can honestly feel sympathy for Dos Passos in this situation. See for example his ringing defense of EH in a letter to Malcolm Cowley from Key West on December 1, 1934. “... nobody can handle the damn language like he can. I don’t think it’s entirely because he’s a good friend of mine that I’m beginning to get thoroughly sick of every little inkshitter who can get his stuff in a pink magazine shying bricks at him. If you are working in a trade it seems Natural to admire and respect the craftsmen who in that trade who really know their business.” *The Fourteenth Chronicle*, 456. See also Ludington Townsend’s introduction to the year 1937, *ibid.*, 495-496,

which deals with the rupture of the friendship. Earlier (1933) EH had written to MacLeish that he (MacLeish) and Dos Passos were the only two literary friends he could trust. Nicholas Reynolds, 20 and 293, citing a letter in the MacLeish papers at the Library of Congress. In my opinion Reynolds's title is misleading, EH was never a "spy" in any accepted definition of that word. See Appendix III for a detailed discussion of the matter. EH continued to disparage Dos Passos in public; see for instance his introduction to *Men at War* which he edited (New York: Berkley Medallion Books edition, 1960), 9, originally published by Crown Publishers in 1942.

p. 188. Add to footnote 525: See Appendix VII below for the details of the Welles-EH relationship over the years.

p. 189. July 13: Delete "Scott Fitzgerald sends EH a congratulatory telegram about his speech the night before" and add it to the beginning of the July 14 entry.

Add: July 17/18: In Brunete, Spain, Evan Shipman is wounded whilst serving with the Lincoln-Washington Brigade.

July 19 entry: Add after "to cover expenses" a footnote as follows: "Nicholas Reynolds, 33 and 296, has EH borrowing \$2,500 to support the work on the film, citing an EH letter to Ralph Ingersoll (editor of the left-leaning newspaper *PM*) of July 18, 1938 in the MacLeish Papers at the Library of Congress.

p. 190. Add to footnote 531: See also François Maspero, *L'ombre d'une photographe, Gerda Taro* (Paris: Le Seuil, 2006); Fernando Olmeda, *Gerda Taro, fotógrafa de guerra: el periodismo como testigo de la historia* (Barcelona: Editorial Debate, 2007); Jane Rogoyska, *Gerda Taro - Inventing Robert Capa* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2013); Irme Schaber, (2007), *Gerda Taro: una fotógrafa revolucionaria nella guerra civile spagnola* (Rome: DeriveApprodi, 2007); and Irme Schaber, *Gerta Taro: Foto-reporterim im spanischen Bürgerkrieg: eine Biografie* (Marburg: Jonas, 1994). Today (2018), Taro is honored for being the first woman journalist who worked on the front lines in a war, and the first killed whilst doing so.

p. 192. Add as footnote: October 27: EH receives a safe conduct pass valid for 30 days to visit the front lines from two very high-ranking military officers.

Add: October 27/28: EH and his chauffeur leave Madrid ostensibly for Alicante where the front line isn't, but actually on a second visit to Alfabra, this one a secret trip to learn about how the guerilla group would blow up a bridge, knowledge he would use profitably in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

Add as attendant footnote: The trip is exhaustively described by William B. Watson in the articles published in the *North Dakota Quarterly*, "Investigating Hemingway: The Story", 59, no. 1 (Winter 1991, 38-68); "Investigating Hemingway: The Trip", 59, no. 3 (Summer 1991), 79-95; and "Investigating Hemingway: The Novel", 60, no. 1 (Winter 1991), 1-39.

- p. 193. Add to the November 8 entry: Katy Dos Passos writes from Provincetown to Edmund Wilson, "... Do you think Archie MacLeish is really going to China to make a picture with Joris Ivens? Pauline Hemingway was here for a few days and she says Joris is a member of the Secret Council and gets his orders from Moscow and has Ernest in his web."

Attendant footnote: Quoted in Reuel K. Wilson, *To the Life of the Silver Harbor. Edmund Wilson and Mary McCarthy on Cape Cod* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2008), 48. Reuel is the son of Wilson and McCarthy.

## 1938

- p. 196. Add to footnote 547: See Appendix VI below for a consideration of the EH-Joyce relationship.
- p. 201. June 16 entry should read: "June 30: EH publishes a piece in *Ken* called "Treachery in Aragon", in which he sneeringly and mendaciously attacks but does not name Dos Passos."

Add: June 21: Having recovered from his wounds and escaping from a French jail sentence for entering the country illegally from Spain, Evan Shipman sails for New York on the *Ile de France*.

- p. 203. Add to footnote 571: In 1939, the James Lardner Memorial Fund published a pamphlet *Somebody Had to Do Something* (Los Angeles: Platin Press) with contributions by Jay Allen, Ring Lardner Jr., and others including EH's "On the American Dead in Spain" originally published

in *New Masses* (February 1938). The Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives website has Lardner killed in action on September 22 during the Ebro offensive, for the Loyalist side a disastrous battle that took place July 25— November 16, 1938, effectively ending the defenders of the Republic's military effectiveness.

- p. 205. Add entry: November: EH apparently reads a script he wrote in Spain 1937 "An das wirkliche Deutschland" on the German Freedom Broadcasting Station, an excerpt from his "Appeal to the German People." It is not clear that he read the text himself in English, which would have met with little understanding in Germany should anyone have listened to it on the short wave transmission.

Attendant footnote: See Audre Hanneman, *Ernest Hemingway. A Comprehensive Bibliography* (Princeton University Press, 1967), 163, no. 344. The speech has apparently never been published in English. Guy Stern, "Comrades in Arms ...", 110, prints an English translation from the German of a paragraph from the speech. Josie McLellan, *Antifascism and Memory in East Germany. Remembering the International Brigades 1945-1989* (Oxford University Press, 2004), 27-28, prints a few sentences translated from the German.

November 5 entry: General Hans Kahle should be Colonel.

Add footnote to Henry Buckley: "Buckley, a British journalist, wrote one of the more interesting and one of the best books about the war, *The Life and Death of the Spanish Republic. A Witness to the Spanish Civil War* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1940; reissued by I.B. Tauris in 2013)."

November 7 entry: Perpignon should be Perpignan

Footnote 576: add "Gellhorn" between "in" and "SL, 222".

- p. 206. Footnote 578: Add between "this is incorrect" and "Fitch": "Stein had stopped visiting the bookshop years before because she viewed James Joyce as her one rival in the modernist literary movement and Sylvia Beach had published *Ulysses* in 1922."

## 1939

- p. 208. January 26 entry: Perpignon should be Perpignan.

- p. 213. July Dos Passos entry should read: July 19: *The New Republic* publishes Dos Passos' letter responding to Cowley's diatribe about the murder of José Robles Pazos and the cover up; he does not mention EH or Herbst. Add to the attendant foot note: and in Dos Passos, *Travel Books and Other Writings 1916-1941* (New York: Library of America, 2003), 623-625.

## 1940

- p. 223. Add: October: One of the first sympathetic appreciations of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* based on a reading of the galley proofs appears in a letter his good friend and former room-mate at Harvard, Alfred Eisner, in Hollywood working as a script writer wrote to Leonard Bernstein: "I ... am still a little breathless ... a book of insight and agony and the soul of a man hovering halo fashion over the brow of his body while he kills with cold savagery. Writing that positively *gooses* you! Hemingway saw Spain cameo-clear; and his book is just two years—two? Four!— too late and its anger will cause not a ripple in the hysteria of warmaking. 'Twill just be a good novel by Hemingway about something out of ancient history. The people who will realize what it is he is saying will already know, and there it will end."

Attendant footnote: "It is not clear how Eisner, who died on January 4, 1941 in his early twenties, got the proofs, but he noted in the letter "A master stroke managing to get hold of those proofs, involving larceny of some proportion." Nigel Simone (ed.), *The Leonard Bernstein Letters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 55.

- p. 224. Add entry for November 17: Sinclair Lewis writes to EH a letter praising *For Whom the Bell Tolls*: "But you damned near killed me, waiting for Would he blow up the bridge and get away with it ... It is as 'realistic' as Zola, or as 'romantic' as Kipling."

Attendant footnote: Heather Richie re: EH Collection in JFK, in *The Hemingway Newsletter*, no. 69 (2017), 17-18.

## 1941

- p. 226. Entry January: add "NKVD, later" to parentheses before KGB.

Add to footnote 641: See also Nicholas Reynolds and Appendix III below.

p.227. January 26 entry: should read Secretary of the Treasury; delete comma after Treasury

p. 229. In March 25 entry, “Villa Bel Aire” should read “Villa Air Bel”.

p. 230. In April 14 entry, “mischievously tell the Hemingways” should read “tells”.

p. 233. Move June 27 entry to previous page where appropriate.

Add entry: September: At some point during the latter part of the year EH receives a telegram from the Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov inviting him to the Soviet Union where he could spend the large amount of un-exchangeable rubles of his royalties. This makes no sense given the military situation in the USSR where the German army was on the way to Moscow and one must wonder why the foreign ministry sent it (and how it reached EH).

Attendant footnote: Nicholas Reynolds (115 and 311n12) found a reference to the cable in the Robert Joyce papers at the Yale University Beinecke Library, which EH apparently showed Joyce. Reynolds, 121ff., gives a detailed description of Joyce, a Yale-educated, unconventional official at the Havana US Embassy who cultivated a friendship with EH and protected him whenever he could from the malevolent attentions of the FBI agents at the Embassy. He also provided the introduction to the Ambassador, Spruille Braden, which led to the establishment of the Crook Factory and EH’s process of reporting to Joyce, made chief of intelligence at the Embassy, which unfortunately for the young man meant he maneuvered in the crossfire of competing agencies within the Embassy (the Army, Navy, FBI).

## 1942

p. 237. Footnote 674 should end “See appendix IV for a detailed discussion of the 1941/1942 calendar” not appendix III.

p. 239. October entry should read October 8 and be shifted to space between Early October and October 11; footnote numbers to be changed accordingly.

Footnote 678: add Farah, 65-66 between “61”, and “and the FBI”

### 1943

- p. 241. Add: “February: Jean-Paul Sartre publishes an essay, “Explication de *L’Étranger*” in which he denies the current opinion that Camus’ novel was “Kafka written by Hemingway.”

Footnote to this entry: “Sartre’s essay appeared in the February issue of *Cahiers du Sud* published in Marseille; an English translation by Chris Turner, “*The Stranger Explained*” is in Roland Aronson and Adrian Van Den Hoen (eds.), *We Have Only This Life to Live: The Selected Essays of Jean-Paul Sartre* (New York: New York Review Books, 2013). See also Alice Kaplan, *Looking for The Stranger: Albert Camus and the Life of a Literary Classic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

### 1944

- p. 246: Add entry March 16: Following up previous correspondence at Gellhorn’s urging, Robert Joyce, now with the OSS in Bari (Italy), writes again to his boss about the possibility of using EH in some capacity in the war. In the end, the OSS leadership decided against the employment.

Attendant footnote: See Nicholas Reynolds, 154-156, who had access to the Joyce papers at Yale and the some of the CIA records at NARA in College Park, Maryland.

- p. 248. Add to footnote 703: Ironically, Gellhorn had initiated EH’s connection with the writer Roald Dahl then serving as Assistant Air Attaché at the British Embassy in Washington, who arranged for EH to fly in an RAF machine to London. See Nicholas Reynolds, 156ff., for the relevant details.
- p. 249. Should read “with the RAF” not “with RAF”.
- p. 250. Add entry for August 5: “Down the road from the village St. Pois in Normandy, a German anti-tank blast knocks EH’s “liberated” German motorcycle with sidecar over and tosses EH into a ditch where he lies for two hours under fire with machine gun bullets splattering the earth above his helmeted head before he finally was able to run back to his friend the photographer Robert Capa, his driver Archie “Red” Pelkey

and two American soldiers around the curve in the road and safety.

Add attendant footnote: Robert Capa, *Slightly Out of Focus* (New York: Henry Holt, 1947), 166-168, and Reynolds, *Final Years*, 102-103.

- p. 251. Footnote 709: Add: There is also the story that EH and Picasso had dinner one night in 1945 before the writer left for Cuba in early March during which EH showed the painter a piece of an SS-officer's uniform claiming he had killed the German. Later Picasso is alleged to have said, "Maybe he had killed plenty of wild animals, but he never killed a man. If he had killed one, he wouldn't have needed to pass around souvenirs." Jeffrey Meyers, "Picasso and Hemingway: A Dud Poem and a Live Grenade" in *Michigan Quarterly Review* (Summer 2006).

September 18. Add footnote to Cowley: In 1957, the prolific writer and political activist Kay Boyle, who refused to meet EH because of what she thought to be unspeakable behavior in his affair with Pauline whilst still married to Hadley, wrote to Cowley that she had finally read his introduction to *The Portable Hemingway* and praised his "beautiful and moving piece of writing" that "... these fifteen small pages of yours have restored Hemingway to me ..." Kay Boyle, *A Twentieth Century Life in Letters*. Edited with an introduction by Sandra Spanier (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), xxxiv, 525 and 709 ("I always refused to meet Hemingway for personal reasons, and was never at any time influenced by his work." June 29, 1987.)

Footnote 710 *Men without Women* should be *Men Without Women*

## 1945

- p. 259. Add: November: The novelist Dawn Powell drives with a friend, Margaret De Silver, from Manhattan to Miami; Esther Andrews Chambers comes up from Key West to meet them and accompanies them to the island where Powell stayed first with Esther and her husband Canby, then in Pauline Hemingway's guest cottage (Hemingway's former studio) where she works on the manuscript of what would become *The Locusts Have No King* (1948). She writes to her life partner, Joseph Gousha on November 14 about the drive to Miami: "Expensive due to five overnights, but very instructive since I realized how cheap and

well-fed the rest of the U.S. is and how much better the service and quality and prices ... We haven't realized how steep New York has been getting."

Attendant footnote: Quoted in Tim Page, *Dawn Powell. A Biography* (New York, 1998), 202.

## 1946

- p. 259. Add to para on books published in 1946 after *Delta Wedding*: Albert Camus, *The Outsider*, and footnote "In London, Hamish Hamilton published the Stuart Gilbert translation of *L'Étranger* as *The Outsider* with a five-page introduction by Cyril Connolly in which he notes, among other prescient things, that the character of Meursault was closer to a poor white man living in Hemingway's Key West or a "neo-pagan" in the deep south of Faulkner or Erskine Caldwell, not to any French literary ancestor. For a discussion of the possible antecedents to Camus' novel including EH, see Kaplan, *Looking for The Stranger*, *passim*.
- p. 261. Add to footnote 734: As noted above, the ladies opened the shop in December 1946 and called it the Caroline Shop; an undated photograph of Pauline and Stevens on the porch of the shop is in Megan Marshall, *Elizabeth Bishop. A Miracle for Breakfast* (Boston, 2017), 71. Marshall, 71, repeats the incorrect story of opening the shop before or just after the American involvement in the war. Hawkins, 307n16, states that, "Later Pauline moved the store to the back, on Ann Street, and renamed it the Bahama Shop, with the apartment moving to the front."

## 1948

- p. 268. Add: March 29: On Bimini, EH's friend and fellow fishing obsessive, Michael Lerner, dedicates his Lerner Marine Laboratory, which he will eventually donate to the American Museum of Natural History with a plentiful endowment.
- p. 270. Add October 10: Fernanda Pivano, translator of *A Farewell to Arms*, arrives at the Hotel Concordia in Cortina to talk with EH who wants to know about her arrest by the Nazis in late 1944 when her brother's contract with Einaudi to do the translation was discovered. They become friends and spend much time together traveling around the region

during EH and Mary's sojourn in the Veneto over the next months.

Add attendant footnote: See Gianni Moriani (ed.), *Il Veneto di Hemingway/Hemingway's Veneto*. Exh. cat. (Crocetta del Montello, Treviso: Antiga Edizioni, 2011), 50-123 with its many photographs of Pivano and EH, many taken by Pivano's fiancé, Ettore Sottsass. See also Andrea di Robilant, *Autumn in Venice. Ernest Hemingway and His Last Muse* (New York: Knopf, 2018), passim. Anyone interested in the full and all the details of EH's obsessive sad relationship with Adriana Ivancich will want to read this book.

Add: October 24: The Hemingways are at Count Frederico Kechler's estate in Fraforeano with the Count's brother Alberto and his wife Constanza shooting fowl. EH writes in the guest book to thank them "for a lovely visit and a good shoot." Mary writes "et sa femme Mary." Footnote: Owen, 121.

November 1 entry: Locando should be Locanda.

Add to footnote 759: ", as does Rosella Mamoli Zorzi, "Torcello. From John Ruskin and Henry James to Ernest Hemingway" in Cirino & Ott, 58.

- p. 271. Footnote at the end of November 1 entry: Owen, 4, has Orson Welles unlikely "... duck shooting with him near Venice" with no source given. (See Appendix VII below for the Welles-EH relationship.) Owen (5) also makes an elementary mistake when he writes that in Venice EH "developed and honed the spare, clear, uncluttered style of carefully chosen word and phrases for which he became famous." This happened not in Venice but in Paris.

## 1949

- p. 272. Delete first 1949 sentence "The Swedish Academy awards ..." Replace with: Due to internal wrangling over the 1949 literature prize award in the Swedish Academy, the members make the decision to give the award to William Faulkner (United States) too late for this year's ceremony; the award is given to Faulkner during the December 1950 ceremony.
- p. 273. Delete "Early March" entry and footnote 767. In footnote 768, delete "which Trogdon, 235, identifies as erysipelas".

Add to Mid-March entry: Mary writes that, “When I had read the first few pages I said, ‘Please don’t let it be ducks and marshes. Please put in Venice too.’” This he did very well. (*How It Was*, 275.)

March 25 entry: add comma following “right-wing organizations”; Americans for Intellectual Freedom should be American Committee for Cultural Freedom.

March 28 entry should read: “EH is in the Padua hospital Casa di Curia Morgagni for ten days with eyes infected with erysipelas requiring massive doses of penicillin. Whilst he is there, Sinclair Lewis arrives at the Gritti Palace and bends Mary’s ear for several hours along the lines of “I love Ernest, but ...” The Hemingways have an uncomfortable meal with Lewis who is in terrible physical shape.

Footnote this with “For the details, see Mary Hemingway, *How It Was* (Book Club edition), 269-270, Baker, 471, Owen, 132 and Robilant, 84-86 (who cites *How It Was*, 234).”

- p. 274. June 19: Delete entire entry and replace with “EH, Patrick, Gregory, Buck Lanham, Nanuk Franchetti, and the mate Gregorio sail on the *Pilar* to Cay Sal Bank in the Bahamas to fish, but after a few days various problems including Gregory’s appendicitis (necessitating a US Navy cutter speeding him back to Key West), Gregorio’s bad chest cold, engine trouble and rough seas force the return of the group to Key West.

Add footnote to June 19th entry: See Robilant, 100. Oliphant, 162ff., has a discussion of the biographies which state EH never returned to the Bahamas after 1937 and speculation that he was there in 1957.

Entry August 27: Replace text with “Jean-Paul Sartre and his new lover, the French journalist in New York, Dolores Vanetti, who Mary describes as “freshly abloom and attentive”, visit the Finca and stay for supper. Simone de Beauvoir remains in Paris for the publication of her seminal book, *Le Deuxième Sexe*.

## 1950

- p. 276. Add after “The Swedish ... for Literature”: The Academy belatedly awards the 1949 prize to William Faulkner at the December ceremony.

Add January 26: EH inscribes his short story “The Faithful Bull” “For Adriana with love from Mr. Papa. Venezia 26/1/1950”.

Attendant footnote: For an understandably protective account of Adriana and EH’s relationship, see Giacomo Ivancich, “Address to the Hemingway Society Congress, Venice, June 22, 2014” in Mark Cirino & Mark P. Ott (eds.), *Hemingway and Italy. Twenty-First-Century Perspectives* (Gainesville FL: University Press of Florida, 2017), 11-20.

p. 277. Add: March 18: Adriana arrives in Paris without her mother to stay with a family near the Bois de Boulogne. An overjoyed EH introduces her to his publisher Charles Scribner, also staying at the Ritz, to convince him to use one of her drawings for the cover of *Across the River*.

Entry March 21: The Hemingways leave Paris for Le Havre and the *Île de France* with the chauffeur Georges driving a Packard limousine with Adriana and a girlfriend whom EH had persuaded to accompany them.

March 22: Replace with: “After an argument with the harbor police who at first refuse to allow Adriana and her friend on board, EH wears down the officials with vigorous persistence and the group tours the ship before it sets sail and Georges drives the young women back to Paris.”

March 27-April 6: Insert after “where”: a hoard of visitors crowd in and out of the suite such as Marlene Dietrich, Chink Dorman-Smith (now Dorman O’Gowan), Hotchner, Colonel Charles Sweeney, and Lillian Ross, including Patrick who introduces Henrietta F. Broyles whom he will soon marry;”

Add entry for Late April: Pauline visits the Finca to meet Patrick’s fiancée, adding to the hectic confusion surrounding EH and Mary’s attempt to settle into a workable rhythm.

p. 279. Late September/early October entry: (September 19, 1950) should be (September 9, 1950)

Begin October 14 entry with: This day’s issue of *The New Yorker* contains E.B. White’s now famous parody of *Across the River* entitled “Across the Street and into the Grill.”

Attendant footnote: See Kirk Curnutt’s cogent and lengthy essay “Across the Associate Editorship of the Harvard *Lampoon* and

onto the Wall above the Urinal. The Reach and Legacy of E.B. White's 'Across the Street and into the Grill'" in Cirino and Ott, 195-213.

- p. 280: after December 24 add the entry: During the holidays Patrick and Henrietta, Gregory and a 17-year old girlfriend briefly visit the Finca; Gregory is not well; a few days later his father wrote to Harvey Breit that he looked like "a fucked out dish rag" and the girl would look good "in any salami place in the land." Gary Cooper and Winston Guest arrive at the Finca for a few days of pigeon shooting during which Adriana takes Cooper on the town in Havana; EH's friend from the Bimini fishing days, Tommy Shevlin, also visits.

Attendant footnote: EH to Breit, January 1, 1951, cited by Robilant, 209.

## 1951

- p. 282. Add entry: Mid-January: EH has written about 6,000 words of what will become *The Old Man and the Sea*.

Add footnote to February 17 entry: Adriana later claimed she inspired him to finish writing the book. "I am proud to say that I led him to write *The Old Man and the Sea* ... He said words flowed out of him easily thanks to me. I simply uncorked the bottle." But she also said, "Naturally he wrote it for me, thinking of me, but I didn't like the book and told him so." Owen, 151. In an unsuccessful attempt to protect Adriana and her family's privacy, EH withholds the Italian publication of *Across the River* for several years and it is not published there until 1965.

- p. 283. Add to footnote 798: See Jeffrey Meyers, "Hemingway and Salinger" in *The Hemingway Review* (Spring 2018) for a discussion of the two writers's relationship.

## 1952

- p. 288. Add entry for September 27: After being asked by EH for a blurb, Bernard Berenson sends him the following lines: "Hemingway's 'Old man and the Sea' is an idyll of the sea as sea, as un-Byronic and un-Melvilian as Homer himself, and communicated in a prose as calm and compelling as Homer's verse. No real artist symbolizes or allegorizes— and

Hemingway is a real artist— but every real work of art exhales symbols and allegories. So does this short but not small masterpiece.”

Attendant footnote: Cited in Robilant, 247.

### 1953

p. 290. June 30 entry: Add “the Kechlers’ driver” between “and” and “Adamo”.

p. 291. Add July 26: Fidel and Raúl Castro lead an attack on the Moncada military barracks in Santiago de Cuba. The Castro brothers and other surviving rebels are sentenced to prison terms.

End July entry should read: Adamo drives the Hemingways to Paris; while there EH meets George Plimpton, an editor of *The Paris Review*, and agrees to an interview, the text of which does not appear in the magazine until spring 1958.

Attendant footnote: Denis Brian, *The True Gen. An Intimate Portrait of Hemingway by Those Who Knew Him* (New York, 1988), 216. EH spent a great deal of time and effort re-writing and editing his answers to Plimpton’s questions which he apparently did not send to EH until February 1957. See EH to Plimpton, March 4, 1957, in *SL*, 874.

### 1954

p. 293. Add “for the Novel” to the Award of Merit reference.

Add between March 24 and April 2: “April 14: Adamo Simon drives Frederico Kechler and EH to Udine for an event in honor of the author attended by local writers and artists at the Hotel Friuli.”

April 15: The group drives to Latisana and a favorite EH restaurant La Bella Venezia before moving on 15 kilometers south to Lignano, a beach being developed by Alberto Kechler as a tourist resort.

Attendant footnote: Owen, 158, notes that EH “only stayed in Lignano for two hours, but it was enough for the resort to later inaugurate a ten-acre “Hemingway Park ...with a bust of the writer, unveiled by his glamorous granddaughter, the actress Margaux Hemingway.” The resort also awards an annual Hemingway Prize to fortunate writers.

Add to Mid-April between EH and plans: “remains at the Gritti in Venice to recover further visiting Adriana’s home, Harry’s Bar and making ...”

May 5: Entry should read: “EH and Hotchner spend the evening at the Ivancich’s palazzo where they make a supper of American beef burgers. Afterward EH, Adriana, Hotchner and a group of friends repair to EH’s room at the Gritti where they drink whiskey, listen to music and smash one of the hotel’s windows”.

Attendant footnote: See Robilant, 284, for details.

- p. 294. Entry ca. May 14 should read: “Mary arrives in Madrid from London and Sevilla.”

Add entry for ca. May 16: The Hemingways, Hotchner and Peter Viertel, who has known her since the 1940s in Hollywood, visit Ava Gardner in the hospital with gall stones which she passes during the night.

Attendant footnote: Viertel, *Dangerous Friends*, 225. Viertel would write the screenplay for *The Old Man and the Sea*, a not entirely successful film adaptation of the book.

June 6: Begin the sentence with “After a farewell with Adriana the previous night,”

June 20: add to in the “less than felicitous” West German Rowohlt translation “by Annamaria Horschitz-Horst”.

And add footnote to this: “In 2010, Rowohlt published a more accurate translation by Werner Schmitz.”

- p. 295. Add to October 28 entry: When he finally receives the gold Nobel Prize medallion he donates it to the national saint of Cuba, the Virgen del Cobre at her shrine in Santiago de Cuba and dedicates it to the Cuban people.

Attendant footnote: Joel Whitney, Finks. *How the CIA Tricked the World’s Best Writers* (New York, 2016), 184, erroneously writes “... he donated his Nobel Prize to Castro.”

## 1956

- p. 299. Add entry for February 7: Adriana writes to EH that she has met a

man (unidentified) whom she will marry; later her brother identifies the man as the Greek businessman, Spiros Monas, who abandons her on one of his farms in Tanganyika whence she flees to her family

### 1958

- p. 308. Add: October 29: Under increasingly intense and cruel government pressure, Boris Pasternak sends a telegram to the Swedish Academy refusing the Nobel Prize in Literature, which he had previously said he would accept. “In view of the meaning given the award by the society in which I live, I must renounce this undeserved distinction which had been conferred upon me. Please do not take my voluntary renunciation amiss ...”

Attendant footnote: The text of the telegram appears in Olga Ivinskaya, *A Captive of Time*. Trans. by Max Hayward (Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1978), 232. Ivinskaya was Pasternak’s last lover. She also cites a series of responses to the Pasternak scandal by Western writers including Camus, Moravia, Henri Troyat, Halldór Laxness, and EH, who she quotes (in Hayward’s translation from the Russian, 276) as saying “I shall give him a house to make his life in the West easier. I want to create for him the conditions he needs to carry on with his writing. I can understand how divided Boris must be in his own mind just now. I know how deeply, with all his heart, he is attached to Russia. For a genius such as Pasternak, separation from his country would be a tragedy. But if he comes to us, we shall not disappoint him. I shall do everything in my modest power to save this genius for the world. I think of Pasternak every day.” I have found no original source for this citation. Moreover, as translated, EH could not have said or written these sentences so far from his writing and speaking style.

### 1959

- p. 311. Add entry: Early to mid-April: When EH hears of Castro’s planned trip to the USA, he asks his friend José Luis Herrera, a committed Castroite, to arrange a meeting so he could advise the Cuban about how

to deal with American journalists. Castro sends Vazquez Candela, the assistant editor of the newspaper *Revolución* whom EH meets at the door to the Finca with a revolver in his pocket. In essence, speaking from notes he's prepared, EH advises Castro to be calm and cool despite possibly vicious heckling.

Attendant footnote: The briefing notes are in the EH collection at the JFK Library, cited in Nicholas Reynolds, 243-244, and Reynolds, *The Final Years*, 322-323, both based in part on Yuri Paporov, *Hemingway en Cuba* (Moscow, 1979, Spanish trans. by Partida T. Armando, Mexico City & Madrid: Siglo Veinituno Editores, 1993), 397-398.

- p. 312. Add to footnote 863: George Plimpton notes that he was present at this meeting, though he doesn't mention Tynan. Brian, *The True Gen*, 217. Joel Whitney, 158, follows Plimpton about his presence at the meeting. Whitney adds that the trials and executions of several hundred Batista functionaries, to which EH "had taken" him (174), "made an impression on the young George Plimpton." There seems to be several versions of this story, including one involving Tennessee Williams as a witness to the executions. (Whitney, 174-179) It is not clear that EH commented on these events, though he may have in private correspondence. The basic source for the meeting at the Floridita Bar is Kenneth Tynan, "Papa and the Playwright," *Playboy*, vol. 11 (May 1964), which doesn't mention Plimpton. Baker, *Life*, 545, quotes from the Tynan piece.
- p. 314. Add to footnote 869: Welles told Peter Bogdanovich (*This is Orson Welles*, 251) that he met EH in Paris after the Nobel Prize when he mentioned the fact that EH had earlier told a reporter the prize should have gone to Isak Dinesen. "He flew into a rage. It seems he hated her. The old Baron Blixen— her husband— was Hemingway's great pal out of Africa, and she'd left him for another man. Finch-Hatton, wasn't it? The white hunter." Welles might have been referring to his meeting with EH in October 1959 as noted above, though Valerie Hemingway doesn't mention that incident. One might consider that both EH and Welles were known for embellishing incidents in their past. And Welles incorrectly has EH "in Scandinavia" to accept the prize. And it was Denys Finch-Hatton, who died in a plane crash in March 1931 in

Africa. A photograph with EH and Welles in a restaurant dated October 2, 1959 does exist on the Internet credited to Getty Images; if this date is correct it is the day they met in the Loire restaurant.

- p. 315. Ca. October 19 entry should read “EH, Valerie, and Bill and Annie Davis drive to Paris for the last time, where EH buys an expensive trinket for Mary whom he rather dreads meeting again in Cuba, and books for Valerie at George Whitman’s bookstore, Librairie le Mistral (renamed Shakespeare and Company in the late spring of 1964 after Sylvia Beach’s original establishment.)”

Add attendant footnote: For an idiosyncratic history of the now famous bookstore, see Krista Halverson (ed.), *Shakespeare and Company, Paris: A History of the Rag and Bone Shop of the Heart* (Paris: Shakespeare and Company, 2016). EH’s visit is not mentioned in the book.

Add to the end of the October 26 entry: “on the *Liberté* with the Ordóñez couple”

Delete the October 27 entry.

Add footnote to the October 31 entry: See Baker, *A Life Story*, 550, for additional details of the meeting.

- p. 316. In the November 25 entry add the word “actor” between “incredible” and “Gérard”

## 1960

- p. 317. Add to the beginning of the January-May entry” Back at the Finca,”
- p. 318. Add: February: The Soviet Union’s Minister for Trade, Anastas Mikoyan, in Cuba to charm Fidel Castro, visits the Finca with copies of EH’s work in Russian translation. EH rejected the offer of royalties previously frozen in the USSR unless all other American authors whose royalties remained frozen would be paid for their work.

Attendant footnote: The most extensive treatment of this visit is in Valerie Hemingway, 113-115, who mistakenly has the meeting in March (Mary wrote a letter at the end of February describing the visit which unexpectedly included about 20 in the entourage rather than the three or four anticipated), but see also Farah, 68.

Curiously for an author attempting to associate EH with the Soviet espionage apparatus, Morris does not mention the visit; nor do Reynolds, Lynn and Dearborn; Baker, 552 notes it briefly in passing with no details.

Add footnote to May 15 entry: In his autobiography, Castro states he met EH “twice, quite briefly” in “the first year of the revolution.” Castro and Ignacio Ramonet, *Fidel Castro: My Life: A Spoken Autobiography* (New York: Scribner, 2008), 592.

- p. 319. Add after May 30: The Summer/Fall issue of *The Paris Review* carries an interview with Boris Pasternak conducted by Olga Carlyle during which the Russian writer says: “The greatness of a writer has nothing to do with subject matter itself, only with how much the subject matter touches the author. It is the density of style which counts. Through Hemingway’s style you feel matter, iron, wood.” He was punctuating his words with his hands, pressing them against the wood of the table. “I admire Hemingway but I prefer what I know of Faulkner. *Light in August* is a marvelous book. The character of the little pregnant woman is unforgettable. As she walks from Alabama to Tennessee something of the immensity of the South of the United States, of its essence, is captured for us who have never been there.”
- p. 320. November 30 entry: Add a footnote after “the intended result”: For an exhaustive, radical re-interpretation of EH’s health at this point in his life, see Farah (a psychiatrist), esp. the chapter “Mayo”, 98-117.

## 1961

- p.323. Delete entry April 15.

Add at the beginning of April 17 entry: “The Bay of Pigs disaster occurs. The Hemingways are horrified at such stupidity and fear even more for their home in Cuba.”

April 25 entry; following “in Rapid City” should read “Most biographers have EH searching the hanger and automobiles for a gun and walking toward a taxiing airplane, whose pilot cuts the engines before EH can walk into the propeller. Saviers, who stood next to EH during the stop disputes this as does EH’s friend Lloyd Arnold, also a friend of Saviers and Anderson.

Attendant footnote: Tillie Arnold, *The Idaho Hemingway* (Buhl ID: Beacon, 1999), 227, and Lloyd Arnold, *High on the Wild with Hemingway* (Caldwell ID: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1968), 335-336.

Mid-May entry: Add at the end of the entry: “Decades later the psychiatrist Andrew Farah will write a book, *Hemingway’s Brain*, in which he reaches the same conclusion.”

## 1964

- p. 329. Add to footnote 913: See also Seán Hemingway’s newly edited *A Moveable Feast. The Restored Edition* (New York: Scribner, 2009).

Add an entry for May 28: Hadley Mowrer writes a warm letter to Lewis Galantière thanking him for his review of *A Moveable Feast* in the *New York Times* entitled “There is Never Any End to Paris”. The letter is printed in Lurie, 18-19.

## 1975

- p. 334. Add: April 12: Josephine Baker dies in Paris at the age of 68 and is buried in the Cimetière de Monaco, the first American woman to receive full French military honors at her funeral.

## 1978

- p. 335. Add April 16: EH’s friend and fishing companion on Bimini, Michael Lerner, dies at the age of 86 from cancer in Miami.

Delete note of Lanham’ death at beginning of the year and replace with: July 20: In Chevy Chase, Maryland, Major General (Ret.) Charles “Buck” Lanham dies of cancer at the age of 76 and is buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

## 1980

- p. 335. Add July 18: Patrick Hemingway and Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis formally open the EH Room at the JFK Presidential Library in Boston.

**1983**

- p. 336. Add: February 7: EH's fishing friend from the Bimini period, S. Kip Farrington, dies at the age of 78 in Southampton, NY.
- p. 337. March 23 should read March 24. Begin first sentence with "Suffering from severe depression, after two suicide attempts," Add to end of the entry: "and is buried in the Porto Ercole cemetery where her grave stone reads "Adriana Gräfin von Rex Ivancich-Biaggini". In 1964 she married the German businessman Rudolf von Rex, with whom she bore two sons."
- p. 337. Add entry for December 25: Joan Miró dies of heart failure at the age of 90 in Palma, Majorca, and is buried in the Montjuïc cemetery in his native Barcelona.

**1985**

- p. 337. Revise October 9 entry to read: "October 10: In the early morning hours typing a script, Orson Welles dies of heart failure at the age of 70 in Los Angeles; his youngest daughter Beatrice buries his ashes in a dry well on Antonio Ordóñez's ranch at Ronda, Spain." Add a footnote: "On September 5, 2015, the city of Ronda unveiled two 8 foot tall monuments to Welles and EH by the sculptor Paco Seville Parra outside the city's bullring. One of the city streets is named Paseo de Orson Welles."

**1989**

- p. 338. Add: June 28: Joris Ivens dies in Paris at the age of 90 and is buried in the Montparnasse cemetery.

**2003**

- p. 340. The entry for July 15-17 should read: Brian Gordon Sinclair acts in the first part of his *The Hemingway Monologues. An Epic Drama of Love, Genius and Eternity: Sunrise*, sponsored by the Key West Art and Historical Society (KWAHS) at the Waterfront Playhouse.

**2004**

- p. 340. The entry for July 20-23 should read: At the Waterfront Playhouse in Key West, Brian Gordon Sinclair presents the second part of his one-man show, *The Hemingway Monologues: The Lost Generation*, sponsored by the Key West Art and Historical Society.

Add: September 20: In the small town of Ponta do Sol on the Portuguese island of Madeira, officials open the John Dos Passos Centro Cultural, devoted to the works and life of the author whose grandfather immigrated from this town to Chicago in 1830, and other cultural themes and subjects. Dos Passos is reputed to have visited the island three times, the last in 1960.

**2005**

- p. 341. The entry for July 18 [2005] should read: In Key West, Brian Gordon Sinclair begins a four-day run of the third part of his one-man dramatic presentation *The Hemingway Monologues: Death in the Afternoon* at the Waterfront Playhouse sponsored by KWAHS.

**2006**

- p. 341-342. Change entry for January 14 [2006] to read “which also killed the hotel owner, Julian Brown, as he tried to evacuate the hotel’s customers,”

**2007**

- p. 342. Delete entry for July [2007].

**2009**

- p. 343. Entry for July 21 should read: Brian Gordon Sinclair returns to Key West to present the fifth in his series of one-man plays about EH, *The Hemingway Monologues: The Death Factory*, at the Waterfront Playhouse sponsored by KWAHS.

**2012**

Add entry: July: Brian Gordon Sinclair performs the sixth episode of *The Hemingway Monologues: Sunset* in Key West.

Add:

**2015**

- p. 344 (Currently blank). Add: Cambridge University Press publishes the third volume of the EH letters (1926-1929) edited by Rena Sanderson, Sandra Spanier and Robert Trogdon.

Add:

**2017**

Cambridge University Press publishes the fourth volume of the EH letters (1929-1931) edited by Sandra Spanier and Miriam B. Mandel.

## Appendices

- p. 348. Add the following paragraph after “and he quotes the entire letter” (line 17)

In the most recent biographical entry on Stevens, Paul Mariani, *The Whole Harmonium. The Life of Wallace Stevens* (New York, 2016), pp. 206-210, has the story in some detail, occasionally embellished with speculative images (“Ursula left the party and hurried through the wet streets in the evening twilight”; “So it began with Stevens swinging at the bespectacled Hemingway, who seemed to weave like a shark”). Mariani’s telling of the incident reads smoothly, but one should approach it with a modicum of skepticism regarding those details that seem to belong to a novel about the incident.

- p. 355. Add para after “the gregarious EH”: A decade later, the great American composer-conductor Leonard Bernstein wrote to Gellhorn, with whom he had become an epistolary friend, about a meeting with EH in early January 1959 in Sun Valley, noting EH’s “charm, and ... beauty. God, what goes on under his eyes? What’s that lovely adolescent tenderness? ... We spoke tenderly of you: he said you were brave.” [FN: Nigel Simeone (ed.), *The Leonard Bernstein Letters* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2013), 410.] Gellhorn responded on January 14 with a rare, candid series of opinions about EH and their relationship, denying the tenderness, noting that by the time they married, she no longer wanted to, secretly wept on her wedding night, feeling “trapped”. All the love she had felt for him in Spain had disap-

peared by 1940 when they married. She ends this confession with “I am very glad he now speaks pleasantly of me. I never speak of him one way or the other with anyone. The whole thing is a distant dream, not very true and curiously embarrassing. It has nothing to do with me,” [FN: *Bernstein Letters*, 412.]

p. 357. See the new Appendix on the subject of EH as a spy below.

### **Selected Bibliography**

p. 368. Add after EH letters vol. 2: *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*. Vol. 3, 1926-1929. Edited by Rena Sanderson, Sandra Spanier and Robert Trogdon (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

*Green Hills of Africa*. The Hemingway Library Edition. Edited with an Introduction by Seán Hemingway (2015).

And *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway, 1929-1931*. Vol. 4. Edited by Sandra Spanier and Miriam B. Mandel. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

p. 368. Secondary Sources should read: Other Sources.

Add after Blount: Blume, Leslie M.M. *Everybody Behaves Badly. The True Story Behind Hemingway's Masterpiece The Sun Also Rises*. Boston: An Eamon Dolan Book. Mariner Books. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016.

Add after Chamberlin: Cirino, Mark and Mark P. Ott (eds.), *Hemingway and Italy. Twenty-First-Century Perspectives*. Gainesville FL: University Press of Florida, 2017.

Add after *The True Gen*:

*An Intimate Portrait of Ernst Hemingway by Those Who Knew Him*.

Add after *Key West Hemingway*:

Curnutt, Kirk. *Reading Hemingway's To Have and Have Not. Glossary and Commentary*. Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 2017.

p. 369. Add: Dearborn, Mary V. *Ernest Hemingway. A Biography*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017.

Add: Farah, Andrew. *Hemingway's Brain*. Columbia SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2017.

p. 370. Add: Morris, James McGrath. *The Ambulance Drivers. Hemingway, Dos Passos, and a Friendship Made and Lost in War*. Boston: Da Capo Press, 2017.

Add: Oliphant, Ashley. *Hemingway and Bimini. The Birth of Sport fishing at "The End of the World"*. Sarasota FL: Pineapple Press, 2017.

Add: Owen, Richard. *Hemingway in Italy*. London: Armchair Traveller at the bookHaus, 2017.

p. 371. Add: Reynolds, Nicholas. *Writer, Sailor, Soldier, Spy. Ernest Hemingway's Secret Adventures, 1935-1961*. New York: William Morrow, 2017.

Delete the two volumes of EH letters already listed under Works by Ernest Hemingway.

## Index

p. 373. Add to the index: American Committee for Cultural Freedom, 273 and American Hospital in Paris, 86

p. 377. Entry for Kate Smith should read (sister ...) not brother. Dunbar, Paul Lawrence should be Laurence

p. 379. Reference to Giacometti should read "Giacometti, Alberto, 190, 236"

p. 382: In the reference to Henriette, replace 102 with 101 and move entire reference to Lechner, Henriette.

p. 386. Morgan, should be Maud, not Maude

p. 388. Add: Nobel Prize for Literature, 295

Add: *Paris Review* interview, 294, 302, 306

p. 390. Rosenberg, Ethen should be Ethel.

p. 393. Delete 236 from Marjorie Stevens entry.

### Appendix III

#### EH a Spy, and for Whom?

I see no reason to change the text originally published in the *Log* on this subject, but post-*Log* publication information has been published which should be taken into account, particularly Nicholas Reynolds's fascinating and well-researched book *Writer, Sailor, Soldier, Spy. Ernest Hemingway's Secret Adventures, 1935-1961* (New York, 2017) raises many questions and makes efforts to resolve them, but in the end does not convince one that his title is other than misleading and, in my judgement, the book does not prove EH was a "spy" in any generally acceptable definition of that word.

In writing of EH and Gellhorn's trip to China, Reynolds notes (105), "Strictly speaking, Hemingway was not spying in China. There were no secret meetings. No one gave up, stole or bought any state secrets." My thought exactly except I would not have used the qualifier "strictly". What EH and Gellhorn did in China was journalism.

Reynolds correctly describes EH as an amateur at politics whose ideas on the subject of the Soviet Union varied from silence (as when the Soviets invaded Finland, where Gellhorn was covering the war) to muted praise, but was he a true "true believer"? The answer is obviously no though he acted like one during the Spanish war. The only reason he did not condemn the USSR was due to its involvement on the Republic side of the war, a commitment EH deeply believed in to the point where he accepted the Communist line about the death of José Robles.

About the matter of EH as a spy, there is clarity when one attends to the definition of "spy" and "spying" neither of which can be attributed to EH. And the use of the word "recruited" in the past tense implies the handler successfully "recruited" the person into Soviet espionage system, which, again, is not the case with EH. That Soviet espionage representatives, including Jacob Golos, met and talked to EH is not in question. To say or imply, however, that they "recruited" EH to become a spy is simply not the case, and despite his admirable deep and wide research, his career as a military historian and CIA officer, Reynolds shows no evidence that, despite what may have been said by EH or others at those meetings, the writer was ever a spy for the Soviet apparatus.

There are far too many qualifiers without substantial evidence. For example, on just one page (79) there appears the following words and phrases: probably, we must rely on conjecture, may have, probably, would have been,

would probably, would have ordered, would have presented, might have talked, might have hinted, would have played, almost certainly would have. Needless to say not every page is thus constituted but this one is indicative of a work attempting to convince the reader that something is true when it either isn't or cannot be proven.

As noted in the Log for June 8, 1948, a Soviet agent in Washington reported about "Argo", the Soviet code word for EH, in a memorandum filled with errors and summarizing the relationship with the writer thusly: "Throughout the period of his connection with us, 'Argo' did not give us any polit. Information, though he repeatedly expressed his desire and willingness to help us." In referring to this memo, Reynolds does not quote or mention the sentence above but quotes from another section of the memo: "... before he left for China, [Hemingway] was recruited for our work on ideological grounds by [Golos]." Reynolds goes on to state that "In the language of intelligence, this meant Hemingway had accepted a proposal to enter into a secret relationship with the Soviets." (81) Once again, we must question the definition of "recruited". Both Golos and the writer of the June 8 memorandum could very well have been feathering their own nests, as it were, by reporting they had captured a bird the size and importance of EH. The writer may well have "repeatedly expressed his desire and willingness", but it is clear that he did not take action and passed no information to the Soviet agents with whom he talked in Havana in 1944 and in New York in 1945.

Another weakness of Reynolds's argument is a stylistic one: He makes statements based on sources without following up with obvious corrections. For example, he quotes Golos in a note to Moscow saying about EH, "I am sure he will cooperate with us and ... do everything he can." (82) But he didn't and that should have been mentioned. Another example from the same page, Reynolds notes that Golos and EH might have discussed EH's meeting with a Soviet agent in China or even the USSR should he travel to China by that route: "Meeting the new recruit [sic] in the Soviet Union or China made good sense ..." without also stating that this did not happen.

When discussing the fragments of documents from the KGB archive that Vassiliev was able to copy, Reynolds writes, "The fact that none of this raw material was ever supposed to be released enhances its [Vassiliev's material] credibility." (85) This is a doubtful proposition given the tendency in reports from the field to the center to be favorable to the writer rather than reality. In this case, Golos, in bad health and worn out, did not want to become a victim

of Stalin's purges, and thus emphasized the positive aspects of his success with EH, despite the fact that nothing came of it in the end, an end Golos did not himself witness because he died on Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1943.

Additionally there appears to be no reference to EH negotiating or meeting with Soviet representatives in his FBI file.

In her recent EH biography, Mary Dearborn, who did not have the opportunity to read Nicholas Reynolds's book but did read his essay "Ernest Hemingway, Wartime Spy",<sup>1</sup> reports flatly that "in the light of recent discoveries that have shown he was at the same time doing intelligence work for the Soviet Union" and to call the NKVD "the Soviet law enforcement agency" is rather fanciful. She cites the book by Haynes, Klehr and Vassiliev as the source for the notion that EH was in fact a Soviet agent, which he wasn't.

In sum, despite the arduous research efforts made by writers, especially by Nicholas Reynolds, none have been able to prove, certainly not by implication and speculation, that EH was ever a spy for either the US government or that of the Soviet Union. Thus, as much as I admire Reynolds's work I cannot agree with his conclusion "that Hemingway's dalliance with the NKVD, and the political attitudes that explain it, made an important difference in his life and art ..." Investigating EH's political opinions and attitudes is one thing, and Reynolds does a fine job of doing so, calling him a spy is quite another. Indeed, Reynolds himself writes (88), "In Hemingway's case there is no evidence of anything beyond a general commitment to fight fascism and keep the relationship secret."

Finally, it might be helpful here to reproduce the entries concerning Argo in the original edition of the Log.

January 1941: In Cuba, before EH and Gellhorn leave for China, the Soviet espionage agent "Sound" [Jacob Golos] contacts EH and allegedly recruits him "for our work on ideological grounds ... Contact was not established with 'Argo' in China." "Argo" was the code-name the Soviet spy service (KGB) gave to EH.<sup>2</sup>

November 27, 1941: Soviet espionage cable traffic from the Center to an agent in New York [probably Golos] contains the instruction relating to the person code-named "Argo": "Look for an opportunity for him to travel abroad to countries of interest to us," Argo is EH, but there is no reported [further] contact with him [at this time].

September 1943: The Soviet espionage agent in Havana talks twice to EH about possible cooperation; nothing results from the discussions.<sup>3</sup>

June 1944: A Soviet espionage agent renews contact with EH [in London], but EH leaves for the Continent before any discussion can be held.

April 1945: A Soviet espionage agent renews contact with EH but is forced to leave Cuba before anything substantial can be discussed.<sup>4</sup>

June 8, 1948: A Soviet espionage agent in the Washington Embassy submits a report on "Argo" filled with errors of fact (including his date and place of birth, and his job as "correspondent in the French and Italian armies' medical units", and summarizing the relationship: "Throughout the period of his connection with us, 'Argo' did not give us any polit. Information, though he repeatedly expressed his desire and willingness to help us."<sup>5</sup>

July 3, 1950: The Soviet Embassy espionage center in Washington issues instructions to "determine the present location of 'Argo,'" with a view toward possibly renewing contact.<sup>6</sup>

October 1, 1950: Soviet espionage office in Washington reports that "'Argo' lives somewhere in California. His new book was published here recently ... It is said that he allegedly supports the Trotskyites and that he has attacked the Sov. Union in his articles and pamphlets...."<sup>7</sup>

#### ENDNOTES

1. In *Studies in Intelligence* 2002 (2012). There is a misprint at her footnote 436 (p. 673) where the source is cited as Michael Reynolds's *Hemingway: The Final Years* where it should be the Nicholas Reynolds essay.
2. "Report on 'Argo,'" June 8, 1948, Woodrow Wilson Center web site, Vassiliev Notebooks, Black Notebook, 89. For an article on the former KGB employee Alexandr Vassiliev's notes on materials he reviewed in the Moscow Center's archives, see David Lehmann, "Spy Wars" in *The New Yorker* (July 27, 2009), 70ff.
3. "Report on 'Argo,'" Vassiliev's Black Notebook, 89.
4. "Report on 'Argo,'" June 8, 1948. Vassiliev's Black Notebook, 89. The Soviets made no serious further attempt at establishing a connection with EH and the June 8 "Report" is a summary of KGB activities relating to him. See Haynes, Klehr and Vassiliev, 154, for a copy of the "Report".
5. "Report on 'Argo,'" Vassiliev's Black Notebook, 89.
6. If this is any indication of the efficiency of the Soviet spying efforts in the USA, it was ludicrously poor: even those who never read a word of EH's writings knew he lived in Cuba at this time.
7. Soviet Embassy Washington to Moscow Center, Vassiliev's Black Notebook, 96. Weinstein and Vassiliev, *The Haunted Wood*, 273, translate this as "He is said to adhere to Trotskyites and has leveled attacks on the Soviet Union." The authors also mistakenly have EH's code-name as "Argot."

## Appendix VI

### The Varieties of the Hemingway-Joyce Relationship

There are a number of versions and stories about EH and James Joyce, about whom EH famously wrote to Sherwood Anderson on March 9, 1922, shortly after Sylvia Beach received several copies of *Ulysses* for sale from the printer in Dijon, “Joyce has a most god-damn wonderful book.”<sup>1</sup> (Interestingly, EH’s copy of the book at the JFK Library shows only the first half and the Molly Bloom soliloquy pages cut.)

Morley Callaghan tells us that EH called Joyce “the greatest writer in the world.”<sup>2</sup> Of interest in this regard is the review of *A Farewell to Arms* by William Curtis in the November 1, 1929 issue of *Town & Country* in which Curtis wrote, “There is a difference between the work of Mr. Joyce and the work of Mr. Hemingway that there is between pure and applied science. Mr. Joyce is the professor in his laboratory, dealing with abstract principles, concerned only with his thesis ... Mr. Hemingway is a salesman— manufacturing for the market.” EH wrote to Max Perkins, “Some man in town and Country has written that I am the one who made Joyce’s integrity saleable and palatable.”<sup>3</sup> EH was rather sensitive, perhaps understandably, about the sales of the book and his financial obligations to his mother, his siblings, Hadley, and Pauline and his children.

Joyce himself spoke in an interview of his opinion of EH and his work: “We were with Hemingway just before he left for Africa; he promised us a living lion, but fortunately we escaped that. We would rather have his book [*Green Hills of Africa*]. He writes well, he writes as he is, we like him. He is large and wonderful and robust like a buffalo, athletic, created to live a life he describes and that he could not describe without his physique, but such giants as he are bashful. Beneath the surface, Hemingway is more intensely ‘Hemingway’ than has been assumed.” This reads as if it were a translation from the Danish, which is a translation from the English, back into English, and so it is.<sup>4</sup>

In the revised edition of his indispensable, magisterial Joyce biography, Richard Ellmann has a slightly different version of this part of the interview: “... But we would like to have the book he has written. He’s a good writer, Hemingway. He writes as he is. We like him. He’s a big, powerful peasant, as strong as a buffalo. A sportsman. And ready to live the life he writes about. He would have never have written it if his body had not allowed him to live it. But giants of his sort are truly modest; there is much more behind Hemingway’s form than people know.”<sup>5</sup>

In *Green Hills of Africa*, EH wrote: “Joyce was of medium height and he wore his eyes out. And that last night, drunk, with Joyce and the thing he kept quoting from Edgar Quinet, ‘Fraîche et rose comme au jour de la bataille.’ I didn’t have it right I knew. And when you saw him he would take up a conversation interrupted three years before. It was nice to see a great writer in our time.”<sup>6</sup>

Later on in the novel, EH writes in a conversation with the guide/hunter Philip Percival, nicknamed Pop: “... That last night Joyce and his wife came to dinner and we had a pheasant and a quarter of the chevreuil [a roebuck he’d shot the day before] with the saddle and Joyce and I got drunk because we were off to Africa the next day. God, we had a night.

“‘That’s a hell of a literary anecdote,’ Pop said. ‘Who’s Joyce?’

“‘A wonderful guy,’ I said. ‘Wrote *Ulysses*.’

“‘Homer wrote *Ulysses*,’ Pop said.”<sup>7</sup>

On November 5, 1956, EH wrote to Harvey Breit: “Going to Africa in January. Am very happy and excited. Fraiche et Rose comme au jour du bataille. (mis-spelled).”<sup>8</sup> Baker comments in a footnote, “Phrase of the nineteenth-century historian Edgar Quinet about the survival of wild flowers through the ages. EH had picked it up from James Joyce in Paris in the fall of 1933 and modified it in his memory. The original words were [are] ‘fraîches et ri-antes comme aux jours des batailles.”<sup>9</sup> (“... fresh and laughing as on the days of battles”), a phrase that would appeal to EH, and one Joyce used in *Finnegans Wake*: “... fresh and made-of-all-smiles as, on the eve of Killallwho.”<sup>10</sup>

As is well-known, Ezra Pound played a role in EH’s early development and they became friends of a sort for several years. About Pound’s relations with Joyce and EH, the latter wrote to MacLeish on August 10, 1943: “I have had no correspondence with him for ten years and the last time I saw him was in 1933 when Joyce asked me to come to make it easier having Ezra at his house. Ezra was moderately whacky then.”<sup>11</sup>

And on August 31, 1943, he wrote to Allen Tate: “When I last saw him [Pound] in 1933 at Joyce’s, Joyce was convinced that he was crazy then and asked me to come around when Pound was present because he was afraid he might do something mad. He certainly made no sense then and talked as utter rot, nonsense and balls as he had made good sense in 1923.”<sup>12</sup> Neither Ellmann nor Bowker make any mention of this and it would seem to be another example of EH’s making up a story for whatever purpose. Farah, 90, repeats the story as if it is true.

In his massive biography of Pound, Humphrey Carpenter states that Pound's last meeting with Joyce took place in 1934 when they had dinner with EH and cites EH's letter to MacLeish, but notes "But this was written after Hemingway had seen a transcript of one of Ezra's wartime broadcasts, when the question of his sanity had begun to be raised, and Hemingway's recollections were probably influenced by this."<sup>13</sup> Given EH's tendency to exaggerate and given that the only sources of this meeting are EH's letters, one might accept the story with some hesitation.<sup>14</sup>

During their visit to the corrida in Zaragoza, MacLeish and EH briefly engaged in what might have been a well-watered discussion of Joyce's qualities as a writer. MacLeish compared Joyce to Picasso in creating new forms of language and structure in *Ulysses* and "Work in Progress". He recommended that EH "should relax a little bit and give Joyce credit" because "there were some aspects of Joyce's work Ernest ought to think about." At this EH, who admired Joyce's short stories and said he admired *Ulysses*, exploded "with an anger more intense than the discussion warranted or MacLeish could understand."<sup>15</sup> EH said (or did he yell?) that *Ulysses* was not nearly as wonderful as the "intellectual tourists" claimed it to be. This made the rest of the night rather awkward because they shared a room in the hotel. The following day EH had put his ire behind him and they carried on as if the discussion had not occurred.<sup>16</sup>

EH was also critical of Joyce's portraits of Stephen Dedalus, Bloom and Molly in *Ulysses*. "That was the weakness of Joyce. Daedalus [sic] in *Ulysses* was Joyce himself, so he was terrible. Joyce was so damn romantic and intellectual about him. He'd made Bloom up. Bloom was wonderful. He'd made Mrs. Bloom up. She was the greatest in the world."<sup>17</sup> EH repeated this criticism in a letter he wrote to Dos Passos having read the second volume (1919) of what became the trilogy *USA*, about the third volume: After praising 1919, he wrote, "Now watch one thing. In the 3rd volume don't let yourself slip and get any perfect characters in— no Stephen Daedaluses [sic]— remember it was Bloom and Mrs. Bloom saved Joyce— that is the only thing could ruin the bastard from being a great piece of literature. If you get a noble communist remember the bastard probably masturbates and is jallous [sic] as a cat. Keep them people, people, people, and don't let them get to be symbols."<sup>18</sup>

With regard to the meal EH, Pauline and possibly Charles Thompson shared with Nora and Joyce on the night before they left on their way to Africa (*Log* entry November 20, 1933), there are differing versions about the lion hunting story, all originating in EH's letters. On October 14, 1952, EH wrote to

Bernard Berenson about Joyce's quiet, uneventful life compared to EH's own, telling Berenson an apocryphal tale. "Once in one of those casual conversations you have when you're drinking, Joyce said to me he was afraid his writing was too suburban and that maybe he should get around a bit and see the world. Nora Joyce said, 'Ah, Jim could do with a spot of that lion hunting.' Joyce replied, 'The thing we must face is that I couldn't see the lion.' His wife was not to be silenced: 'Hemingway'd describe him to you and afterwards you could go up and touch him and smell of him. That's all you'd need.'"<sup>19</sup>

Ellmann cites EH's letter to Berenson, but does not quote exactly what EH wrote. "Did you know Joyce? He was terrible with his admirers; really insupportable. With idolators [sic]: worse. But he was the best companion and finest friend I ever had. I remember one time he was feeling fairly gloomy and he asked me if I didn't think that his books were too suburban. He said that it got him down sometimes. Mrs. Joyce said, 'Ah, Jim could do with a spot of that lion hunting.' Joyce replied, 'The thing we must face is that I couldn't see the lion.' Mrs. Joyce said, 'Hemingway'd describe him to you Jim and afterwards you could go up and touch him and smell of him. That's all you'd need.' It is not at all clear to me, a great admirer of Ellmann's work, why he misquoted the letter."<sup>20</sup>

EH mentioned the story years later in a letter to Charles Scribner, October 4, 1949. "I haven't known a writer who was a good guy since Jim Joyce died. And he was spotty sometimes. But he did say to me one time when he was drunk, 'But Ernest don't you think what I write is really awfully suburban?'

'Yes, Jim. But that's what you know better than anybody.'

'Yes, that's what I know,' he said. 'God pity me.'"<sup>21</sup>

Farah, 84, repeats the story as fact and adds that "These words have kept [sic] Lost Generation scholars busy for decades— with regard not to the superficial understanding of Joyce's ever failing eyesight but to his metaphysical blindness to Hemingway, who wrote as he lived and lived what he wrote about." Had Dr. Farah read even this fiction more carefully, he would have noticed that Joyce said exactly that in the story. Dr. Farah does, however, speculate that the cause for Joyce's gloom probably was his concern for his daughter Lucia who had become an unstable schizophrenic who had to be hospitalized for her own and others' safety.

In her recent EH biography, Mary Dearborn notes correctly that EH had known Joyce "only slightly when he lived in the city" and that "for some elusive reason Ernest told the story of this meeting repeatedly throughout his life."<sup>22</sup>

MacLeish reinforces the former thought when he notes “Ernest also knew Joyce, but Ernest was very human and Joyce was just becoming a great writer, and Ernest wanted very much to be a great, great, great writer and at that moment wasn’t and may not be now. There’s no question about Joyce, I should think. I never saw them together much except when we got them together on various occasions.”<sup>23</sup>

Ellmann quotes the equally apocryphal story from a *Time* article on EH, “An American Storyteller” (December 13, 1954) in which EH said, “We would go out to drink and Joyce would fall into a fight. He couldn’t even see the man so he’d say: ‘Deal with him Hemingway! Deal with him!’”<sup>24</sup>

With regard to Joyce’s severe eye problems (iritis), EH wrote to him, “My little boy, when I picked him up to put him on the pot at night at Montreux coming in here poked his finger in my eye and the nail cut the pupil. For ten days I had a very little taste of how things might be with you. It hurt like hell even with the cocaine wash the doctor gave me to take the pain out, but is all right now.”<sup>25</sup>

EH wrote to Arnold Gingrich about his relationship with the Irishman: “I don’t worship Joyce. I like him very much as a friend and think no one can write better, technically, I learned much from him, from Ezra, in conversation principally, from G. Stein, who was a fine woman until she went professionally patriotically goofily complete lack of judgment and stoppage of all sense lesbian with the old menopause.”<sup>26</sup>

In a letter to Arthur Mizener (April 22, 1950), then working on his pioneering biography of Scott Fitzgerald, EH wrote about the alleged penis-measuring event: “... His sexual organs were perfectly normal. I told him this (the lunch was at Michauds on the rue Jacob.) (He wanted to lunch there because Joyce and I used to eat there.)”<sup>27</sup> Despite the fact that EH exaggerated his and Hadley’s poverty in the early Paris years, the Michaud restaurant was indeed rather expensive and it is unlikely that they ate there as often as the phrase “used to eat there” implies. Michaud’s was at 26, rue Saints Pères, not the rue Jacob, now (2016) called Le Comptoir des Saints Pères. In his March 9, 1922, letter to Anderson, he slyly noted about Joyce, “Meantime the report is that he and his family are starving but you can find the whole celtic crew of them every night in Michaud’s where Binney [Hadley] and I can only afford to go about once a week.”<sup>28</sup>

In another letter to Mizener (June 1, 1950) EH reiterates his opinion of Joyce: “Jim Joyce was the only alive writer that I ever respected. He had his

problems but he could write better than anyone I knew.”<sup>29</sup>

On the other hand, in 1924 EH wrote to Pound from Spain: “The Plaza is the only remaining place where valor and art can combine for success. In all other arts the more meazly [sic] and shitty the guy, I.E. Joyce, the greater success in his art. There is absolutely no comparison in art between Joyce and Maera— Maera by a mile— and then look at the guys. One breeds Georgios [sic] the other gets killed or breeds bulls.”<sup>30</sup>

EH’s opinion of as much as he had read of “Work in Progress” is contained in his letter to Owen Wister dated March 11, 1929: “Joyce is a great man and now he writes stuff that has to be read aloud by the author to have any point— and how he could write . . .” *Letters* 3, 548.

And as noted in the chronology proper above (Ca. January 2, 1938), EH said to Samuel Beckett disdainful about “Work in Progress”: “We mustn’t be too hard on the old man. *Ulysses* tired him out.” Beckett had no desire ever to meet with EH thereafter.<sup>31</sup>

#### ENDNOTES

1. *SL*, 62.
2. *That Summer in Paris. Memories of Tangled Friendships with Hemingway, Fitzgerald, and Some Others* (New York: Coward-McGann, 1963), 28.
3. *Letters* 4, 164 and 162.
4. Ole Vinding interview with Joyce, “James Joyce in Copenhagen” (trans. by Helga Irgens-Moller), in Willard Potts (ed.), *Portraits of the Artist in Exile. Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 148. The Joyces were in Copenhagen in the late summer of 1936 when Vinding spent parts of three days with them. He wrote up his notes and sent them to Joyce asking permission to publish them; presumably these were in English. Joyce telegraphed one word: “No.” Vinding did not publish the Danish texts until after Joyce’s death.
5. Ellmann, 695.
6. The Hemingway Library edition ed. by Seán Hemingway (New York: Scribner, 2015), 50.
7. *Green Hills*, 135.
8. *SL*, 873.
9. *SL*, 874.
10. (New York & London: Penguin Books, 1999), 15.
11. *SL*, 548. Joyce never had a house.
12. *SL* 550.
13. Humphrey Carpenter, *A Serious Character. The Life of Ezra Pound* (London: Faber & Faber, 1988), 503.
14. At this same time Pound expressed his narrow and increasingly obsessive notion of how literature should be created. In a letter dated February 2, 1934 to Robert McAlmon he wrote (in part), “But I think you and Hem have limited yr. work by not recognizing the economic factor.” *Pound/Joyce. The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce with Pound’s Essays on Joyce*. Ed. with commentary by Forrest Read (New York: New Directions Books, 1967), 255.

15. Reynolds, *Hemingway. The American Homecoming*, 70.
16. Bernard A. Drabeck & Helen Ellis (eds.), *Archibald MacLeish: Reflections* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), 29, and 61 for MacLeish's analysis of EH's feelings of competition with Joyce.
17. From a during EH's life unpublished draft of a Nick Adams story, "On Writing" in *The Nick Adams Stories*, ed. by Philip Young (New York: Bantam Books, 1973), 217.
18. *SL*, 354.
19. *SL*, 789.
20. Ellmann, *James Joyce*, 695.
21. *SL*, 678.
22. *Ernest Hemingway. A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017), 331 & 662.
23. Drabeck & Ellis, 44.
24. Ellmann, *James Joyce*, 695. Several authors repeat this tale, for example Lynn, 161, and Kevin Birmingham, *The Most Dangerous Book*, 233.
25. EH in Gstaad to Joyce, January 30, 1928, *Letters* 3, 357.
26. Letter dated April 3, 1933. *SL*, 384.
27. *SL*, 690.
28. *Letters* 2, 331.
29. *SL*, 696.
30. *Letters*, 2, 135. Manuel Garcia Lopez "Maera" (1896-1924) began his professional life as a banderillero for Juan Belmonte whose gored legs did not allow him to do the job. When Belmonte refused to raise his salary, Maera decided to become a matador and show up his former employer. Suffering from terminal tuberculosis he performed radically dangerous moves in the ring gaining fans all over Spain. EH unhesitatingly and thoroughly praises him in *Death in the Afternoon*, 77-83. "He knew he had tuberculosis and took absolutely no care of himself; having no fear of death he preferred to burn out, not as an act of bravado, but from choice." (83) There are several photographs in the book of Maera in the ring.
31. James Knowlson, *Damned to Fame. The Life of Samuel Beckett* (New York: Grove Press, 1996), 254.

## Appendix VII

### The Orson Welles— EH Relationship

As with many of EH's relations with others, his erratic acquaintance (we cannot accurately call it a friendship) with the great director, actor, writer, in the end his life close to tragedy, Orson Welles. We do not know, yet, what EH thought of Welles's cinematic, radio or stage work. Nor do we know, yet, what Welles thought in detail of EH's writings, though he said he admired *The Sun Also Rises*. Nonetheless, their relationship over the years is worth looking at if only because of their occasionally similar arcs of achievement and failure.

Welles gave a version of what might have been a physical tussle with EH in June 1937 at the recording studio over Welles's saying a certain part of the

script for *The Spanish Earth*, that Joris Ivens wrote and EH edited, was unnecessary because the filmed images showed the subject more clearly and dramatically rendering the narration redundant. See Lawrence French, “CLASH OF THE TITANS: When ORSON WELLES met ERNEST HEMINGWAY to narrate THE SPANISH EARTH (May, 1937)” (July 18, 2007) on Wellesnet.com, for a discussion of the various versions of the subject.

In his memoir, *Dangerous Friends. At Large with Huston and Hemingway in the Fifties* (New York, 1992), 45-46, the screen writer and novelist Peter Viertel recounts a conversation at a rather formal cocktail party at John Huston’s suite in the Hotel Nacional in Havana with the US consul and his wife, the Hemingways, the Columbia Pictures representative in Havana and his wife, and several others. At one point Huston asked EH what made him record the narration for the film *This Spanish Earth*. An irritated EH responded that Orson Welles was supposed to do it, but that, “Every time Orson said the word ‘infantry’ it was like a cocksucker swallowing.” The shocked guests departed very soon after this statement. Viertel’s portrayal of EH swerves from admiration for his talent to disdain for his late-life behavior and what Viertel calls his “duplicitous” writing about Luis Dominguín in *The Dangerous Summer*. The other word EH apparently used to demean Welles’ narration was “faggoty”.

Mary Dearborn, 382, writes that when Welles criticized some of EH’s lines as “pompous” to which EH responded “You effeminate boys of the theater, what do you now about real war?” She then notes that Welles put on a lisping homosexual performance, saying “Mister Hemingway, how strong you are and how big you are.” This resulted in a scuffle after which they had a drink from a bottle of whiskey EH had brought with him. In an end note Dearborn (667) mentions that Prudencio de Pereda wrote a letter on June 22, 1967 to Carlos Baker disputing the story.

For a rather fanciful rendition of the dust-up in the New York studio see Joseph Karp, *Orson Welles’s Last Movie* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2015), 7-11; see also, Chuck Berg, Tom /Erskine, et al. (eds.) *The Encyclopedia of Orson Welles* (New York: Facts on File, 2003), 351. Peter Conrad, *Orson Welles: The Stories of His Life* (Faber & Faber, 2003), 114-115, has a balanced account of why EH vehemently rejected Welles’s suggested revisions of the script passages. Despite EH’s treatment, Welles said later in his life, “... I’m very fond of Hemingway ...” One must wonder about the veracity of this statement, but Welles was a highly complex person (as was EH) and his house contained many mansions.

The version of the film finally distributed has long been associated with EH's own spoken narration but as originally shown before the general distribution it contained Welles's voice. When EH, Ivens and Pauline went to Los Angeles to show the film at fundraising events, it contained the Welles narration. Several sympathizers such as Frederic March, Florence Eldridge, Lillian Hellman and Jean Renoir expressed the opinion that Welles's narration sounded too polished for the images and message of the film. As result EH recorded the narration and this version was released to the public.

Today one can watch and listen to the film *The Spanish Earth* with Welles's spoken narrative at [www.youtube.com/watch?v=nXORseyGO7g](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nXORseyGO7g).

One cannot take everything Welles himself said about EH at face value. For example he told Bogdanovich about a meeting he had with Hemingway during the fifties in Paris. "I saw Hemingway after he got the Nobel Prize (for literature in 1954), which Ordoñez, the bullfighter, used to call "the Swedish prize." I don't know why that always struck me as a funny name for it. Well, when Ernest got the Swedish Prize—not in his official speech, but to the press when he arrived—he said, 'You shouldn't have given it to me—you should have given it to Isak Dinesen.' There he was in Scandinavia, so it was very nice for her. I didn't know how nice until I mentioned it to him one day in Paris. He flew into a rage. It seems he hated her. The old Baron [Bror] Blixen—her husband—was Hemingway's great pal out of Africa, and (Dinesen) had left him for another man. [Denys] Finch Hatton, wasn't it? The white hunter." (Orson Welles & Peter Bogdanovich, *This Is Orson Welles* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 291-292). EH of course was not in Scandinavia at the time but in Cuba too ill to travel to Stockholm to accept the award.

Toward the end of his life, John Huston played a character accorded several similarities with EH in Welles's last unfinished film *The Other Side of the Wind*, which has been released on Netflix in a version edited by several Welles' supporters and fans. Welles's revenge? The date of the film's plot is July 2, the date EH shot himself to death; not a coincidence I think. Indeed, the writer Joseph McBride, who was involved in the production of the film as an actor from the beginning, wrote about the Huston character Jake Hannaford, "Despite being a movie director with traces of John Ford, Howard Hawks, and Huston himself recognizable in his personality (not to mention Welles, who named the character Jake because Frank Sinatra used to call him that), Hannaford, Welles says, is really based on Ernest Hemingway, with whom he had an edgy acquaintance ..."<sup>1</sup> There is also the notion that Welles named the character after Jake Barnes in *The Sun Also Rises*.

Welles eventually became critical of the phenomenon of bull “fighting” which tortured the animal to the macho applause of certain Americans in the 20th century including EH. As Matthew Asprey Gear points out, Welles continued until his death in 1985 to plan films “set in either a nostalgic Spanish past or a political Spanish present.” Welles’s and Kodar’s film script for *The Big Brass Ring* Gear describes as “the tender and strange adventure of two desperate men in a memory-haunted modern-day Madrid” seems to be the culmination of Welles’s fascination with Spain.<sup>2</sup> In 1972-73, Welles and Kodar drafted a film script called *Crazy Weather*, “a scathing attack on he-men, American ignorance, and cultural appropriation” and an American expatriate in Spain who was “well-grounded in Hemingway.”<sup>3</sup>

Though Welles claimed in his later years that EH had been “a very close friend of mine”, he also sarcastically noted about Hemingway and the corrida, “He thought he invented it.”<sup>4</sup> In 1966, Welles explained to Albert and David Maysles in an interview they filmed in Madrid, speaking of a project that became *The Other Side of the Wind*, the project is about “the people who go to bullfights not occasionally as tourists do but who are passionately addicted to it as fashion aficionados. That part of the aficionados who have the Hemingway mystique, who got hooked through Hemingway. And our story is about a pseudo-Hemingway. A movie director who belongs to that league that in Spain they call the macho ... a fellow that you can hardly see through the bush of hair on his chest.”<sup>5</sup>

Welles did read *Death in the Afternoon* in the mid-1930s and thereafter claimed that he attended a corrida in Madrid during which he baited a bull with padded horns in the arena. In the first volume of his Welles biography, Simon Callow notes that “Even if he did it only once, it betrays a degree of physical courage and nimbleness, from someone noted for neither.”<sup>6</sup> Yes, but what if he did not do it at all? Like EH, Welles became known for embellishing and making up stories about his life from time to time.

There is a photograph of Welles and a man who looks very much like EH in a restaurant with others, which might have been the occasion Valerie Hemingway mentions as occurring on the way back from touring Provence to check the accuracy of parts of *Garden of Eden* in September 1959, not just after EH won the Nobel Prize as some writers have stated.<sup>7</sup> In the image, EH looks subdued and rather lost as if he wonders what he is doing there.

In June 2017 the Hollywood Fringe Theater presented a play called *The Sacred Beasts* about the EH-Welles relationship over the years, which the writer-

director Chris Wollman said is a “comedy” (why not?). The title comes from an unproduced Welles script about a bullfighter. See *www.welles.net* for details.

#### ENDNOTES

1. “The Other Side of Orson Welles” (American Film, July-August 1976), quoted in James Naremore, *The Magic World of Orson Welles* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 302.
2. *At the End of the Street in the Shadow. Orson Welles and the City* (London & New York: Wallflower Press, an imprint of Columbia University Press, 2016), 11. The script was published in 1987 by the Santa Teresa Press and a second edition in 1991 by the Black Spring Press. A film allegedly based on Welles’ and Oja Kodar’s script was released in January 2000, directed by George Hickenlooper featuring William Hurt, Nigel Hawthorne, Miranda Richardson, and Irène Jacob. Gear’s description of the script, “the tender and strange adventure of two desperate men in memory-haunted modern-day Madrid” does not at all seem to be that of the film which involves the race for governor of Missouri and the Hurt character’s past. Hickenlooper and another writer substantively changed much of the original screenplay.
3. See Gear, 271-272 and Jonathan Rosenbaum’s Afterword to Orson Welles with Oja Kodar, *The Big Brass Ring* (Santa Barbara: Santa Teresa Press, 1987) for an examination of the until then unproduced script.
4. Gear, 263. Gear, 268, also states that Hemingway’s suicide “had a profound effect on Welles’s subsequent work”, and cites the fact that Welles used EH’s death date for the day he had Jake Hanaford die at 70 in *The Other Side of the Wind*.
5. The ten-minute interview has never been commercially released but is available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z3gcp9-\\_bfl](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z3gcp9-_bfl) (accessed August 18, 2018). See also the interview with Albert Maysles on filming Welles and Jean-Luc Godard at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kmZOT5TMcQ> (accessed August 18, 2018).
6. *Orson Welles. The Road to Xanadu* (New York: Viking, 1995), 136-137.
7. *Running with the Bulls*, 75-76.

## Appendix VIII

### The First Meeting of EH and John Dos Passos

There have long been questions with regard to the first time and where EH and his sometime friend Dos Passos actually met. Both the men recalled meeting for a couple of hours in Dolo. Carlos Baker, 42, says the location was Dolo, citing an April 1962 interview with Dos Passos; but Dos Passos remembered the meeting in his *The Best of Times*, 141, as taking place in Schio in what “must have been May,” which is not possible because EH did not arrive at Schio until ca. June 10. Mellow, 59, asserts that Dos Passos left northern Italy on May 30, before EH arrived there. In his Dos Passos biography, Townsend,

159, acknowledges the impossibility of the meeting as recalled by Dos Passos, Hemingway and Sidney Fairbanks, another ambulance driver, but suggests that “someone’s recording of the dates was inexact.” Virginia Spencer Carr, Dos Passos. *A Life* (Evanston IL, 1984) does not mention a meeting in Italy.

Richard Owen, *Hemingway in Italy* (London: Armchair Traveller at the bookHaus, 2017), 20, qualifies his statement that the two met in Schio with the phrase, “... at least according to both writers’ later accounts.” Owen apparently based his thoughts about the meeting on Giovanni Cecchin’s *Con Hemingway e Dos Passos sui campi di battaglia italiani della grande guerra* (Milan: Mursia, 1980). Though well researched, Owen’s book falls into the unfortunate trap of taking EH’s fictional characters’ thoughts for his own. He also refers to EH and Dos Passos as “Chicago natives” and EH’s family living in Chicago (42); Oak Park might be considered a suburb of Chicago but not the city itself. Owen also speculates in what has become almost de rigueur for biographers using phrases such as “most probably”, “must have”, and the like. He misidentifies the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library as the generic US National Archives (to which all presidential libraries belong). (61). He describes Pauline as being “near death ... in childbirth” (62) which doesn’t fit other more reliable sources. For example, Hawkins (136) writes that after Gregory’s birth the doctor told Pauline another pregnancy might kill her. He also misidentifies Martha Gellhorn as Pauline (145). Owen (146) has EH writing to Marlene Dietrich from the Gritti Hotel on July 1, 1950 that he had just put “the final touches to the novel”, but he finished it in Paris on December 10 the previous year and on July 1, 1950 EH was on the *Pilar* off Cuba where he suffered a concussion falling to the deck from the flying bridge. Owen repeats the story of Adriana designing the cover for the USA edition of the book which is partially true: Scribner’s had her design radically redrawn for the original publication; later editions used her original drawing. Furthermore, Owen, 162, erroneously states that “The Finca, however, was expropriated by the new regime ...” And why on the same page does he denigrate Valerie Danby-Smith as “an Irish would-be reporter”?

With regard to the first meeting of EH and Dos Passos, the editors of EH’s *Letters* 3, 561, note that “Dos Passos had met EH in Schio in June 1918, while serving with the American Red Cross Service in Italy.” Mary Dearborn, 164, avoids the question by noting that “Ernest had actually met Dos Passos briefly in 1918 in Italy, and perhaps again (according to Dos Passos) in 1922, but they didn’t form a friendship until 1924.” The chronology attached to the

Library of America edition of Dos Passos's *Travel Books and Other Writings 1916-1941* (New York, 2003) is not helpful here noting only that they met in 1918. There is no mention of EH in any of Dos Passos's letters and diary entries printed in this volume.

This leaves us with James McGrath Morris, *The Ambulance Drivers. Hemingway, Dos Passos, and a Friendship Made and Lost in War* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2017) where he attests that EH and Dos Passos did in fact meet in Schio in 1918. "Hemingway had only been at work for a few days in June 1918 when a pair of drivers from the other section, both Harvard men, sat down by his side in the mess hall and introduced themselves. The taller of the two said his name was John Dos Passos." (41) The other man was the Englishman Sidney van Kleeck Fairbanks. Their unreliable Fiat ambulance had broken down and was being repaired. Dos Passos and EH found they had much in common and chattered away whilst eating. Fairbanks felt left out, but as soon as the meal ended the Fiat being fixed the two said farewell and drove off. Morris notes that "Soon both men forgot the other's name, and the moment took up residence in the dimmest portions of their memories until years later." (43)

In an endnote, Morris (269) explains that he consulted the diaries of Captain Robert Bates, which previous biographers did not, which "reveal that Dos Passos's unit was kept past the end of its service, such that the two men were in the same place at the same time." Morris seems to qualify his own assertion when he writes in the same endnote, "Dos Passos's own letters and diaries don't prove that he was in Hemingway's unit nor do they prove he could not have been there. Thus the late-in-life remembrances of Dos Passos, along with those of Sidney Fairbanks,, who was present in Schio, cannot be dismissed as wishful thinking on the part of aging men."

One might reasonably ask, "Who was Robert Bates?" Morris answers this question as well. Dos Passos well knew that his and his colleagues' letters fell under the censor's baleful eye, yet he continued to rage in his against "the war, politicians, capitalists, and his superiors." One such letter he wrote in French to a Spanish friend and a translation of this the censor placed on the desk of Captain Robert W. Bates, commanding the ambulances and rolling kitchens, and rather a fanatic about security and America-Italy relations. Bates determined to make an example of Dos Passos and wrote his superior officer requesting Dos be dishonorably discharged. The problem was that experienced ambulance drivers were at a premium and could not easily be gotten rid of before a new group had arrived and been trained. Thus the plan to make an example

of Dos Passos had to be postponed. Morris writes, “In extending the service of the volunteers into June, he made it possible for Hemingway and Dos Passos to break bread together in the midst of the war.” (48)

With regard to EH and Hadley meeting Dos Passos in the summer of 1924 which began the serious friendship between the two writers, Morris, 1-4, has them drinking at La Closerie des Lilas with a dictionary and a copy of the Old Testament out of which they took turns reading aloud in “the early summer of 1924” but later has them doing this in the summer of 1925 (115). On p. 112, he correctly has the Hemingways and Dos Passos having lunch at the Brasserie Lipp in the summer of 1924, after which their friendship developed firmly and lasted until 1937 in Spain when EH broke it at least temporarily, though they never again became as close as they had been before Spain.<sup>1</sup>

#### ENDNOTES

1. They continued to occasionally write to each other but never met again after Dos Passos came for a visit to the Finca Vigía and saw the Hemingways off to Italy on September 6, 1948. For example, see EH in Italy to Dos Passos, May 29, 1949 (JFK)