HEMINGWAY'S LIBRARY
A Composite Record

James D. Brasch
Joseph Sigman

"... he could invent from knowledge"
Hemingway on Tolstoy
1981 James D. Brasch and Joseph Sigman


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ILLUSTRATIONS

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Note: Illustrations have not been scanned
Hemingway's writing has usually been seen as essentially a journalistic account of how it was. In the last few years, however, considerable interest has developed in the literary sources of his work. In spite of this interest, little concrete information has been available about the books Hemingway owned. The information that has appeared is to be found primarily in accounts by visitors to Hemingway's home in Cuba. In the present volume the authors have attempted to provide a comprehensive survey of available information about Hemingway's library and a complete, indexed bibliography.

By "Hemingway's library" we mean all the books that Hemingway is known to have owned. We have not attempted to identify the other books that Hemingway may have read or known about, but only those books which can be proved to have been in his possession. Therefore, the books he borrowed from Shakespeare and Company have not been included; these books were not owned by him. Neither have we included books mentioned in Hemingway's published works or in his letters unless there is independent information that he actually owned copies of these works. Our focus has been solely on his private library.

The library as it appears in our bibliography is an ideal entity in the sense that it was never physically collected in any one place at any one time. A great many books were acquired by Hemingway during the years in Paris and during the 1930's in Key West. After Hemingway moved to Cuba at the end of 1939 some of these books were transported to his new home, the Finca Vigía in San Francisco de Paula, a small town about 20 kilometers southeast of Havana. Others remained in Key West. Although many of the volumes originally housed in Key West have now been lost or stolen, a large collection still exists in Cuba, and other books are widely scattered across the United States. Only a few of these volumes are readily accessible to students of Hemingway's work.

In the process of collecting information for this study, the authors have personally catalogued some of the collections. For the most part, however, the information has been drawn from various lists compiled by others. These are discussed in detail in Section IV of the introduction. We have attempted to contact everyone who might have relevant information about Hemingway's library and have tape-recorded many hours of interviews. Inevitably, there are shortcomings in our bibliography as there must be in any attempt to reconstruct the past. The titles of some lost or stolen books may never be recovered. In other cases the precise edition of a book that was in Hemingway's possession cannot be determined from the information available at present.

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NOTES


INTRODUCTION

I. Hemingway as a Reader

A. Early Environment

Hemingway's reading habits and his general orientation toward literature were originally shaped by a family environment that placed a high value on culture and reading. His sister Madelaine has spoken specifically of this: "Our parents tried to give us each an appreciation of the arts. Dad read aloud to us from Dickens and magazines such as St. Nicholas and Youth's Companion. We all looked forward to such evenings as a family group sitting around the fireplace." (1) Since Madelaine was five years younger than her brother, we must turn to Marcelline, who differed in age from Hemingway by only one year, for a more detailed picture. Her account shows that Hemingway's later collection of his own private library and his lifelong custom of subscribing to numerous periodicals were continuations of his family's practice. When the Hemingways built their house at the corner of Kenilworth Avenue and Iowa Street in Oak Park, it included a library:

My father, of course, had an office in the new house, and the library doubled as his waiting room. To entertain his patients while they waited, Dr. Hemingway arranged his collection of stuffed owls, squirrels, chipmunks and a small raccoon on top of the built-in oak bookcases that lined two sides of the library. Volumes of natural history filled with colored plates of birds, animals and flowers were ranged beside the current novels and sets of the classics in the bookcases, but the works of Jack London were conspicuously absent. My parents disapproved of the violence and coarseness of his writing. They liked John Halifax, Gentleman, much better.

The family library provided the basic supply of books for the children:

Ernest and I did a lot of reading. Sets of the classics, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Stevenson and Shakespeare filled many of the shelves in our family library. I don't think we skipped any of them. Only the fact that I was out of school with mumps one spring and had run out of all other reading matter provided time for me to read all the tragedies of Shakespeare as well as rereading the comedies. Ernie's attack of mumps followed mine, and I know the same volumes were available to him. We both devoured Stevenson, especially one of his lesser known volumes, The Suicide Club, as well as Treasure Island. Thackeray wasn't as easy reading as Kipling or Stevenson or Dickens, but the green cloth volume of Vanity Fair we read from cover to cover. We both read Horatio Alger books in third and fourth grade, and Ernest took them seriously.

In addition to the books in the library, a variety of periodical arrived regularly:

The Youth's Companion, St. Nicholas Magazine, the National Geographic, the Outlook, the Ladies Home Journal, Harper's World's Work, the Atlantic Monthly and Good Housekeeping we grabbed the minute they arrived: we even paged through Dad's Medical Association magazine. (2)

Leicester Hemingway has provided some details that complement Marcelline's account. Since he was sixteen years younger than his brother, he based his report on conversations with family and friends:

St. Nicholas and Harper's magazines were early favorites. The family had made a practice of saving and having them bound as volumes to be kept at Windemere. In them, Ernest read Richard Harding Davis and Stephen Crane. He particularly enjoyed reading Kipling, Mark Twain, and R.L. Stevenson. When the Book of Knowledge was first published, Father bought a set for Ernest and Marcelline. Those blue volumes did not have full color illustrations. The more startling drawings were colored orange and green. But the books contained a mass of information on many subjects. (3)

While the family's values and the supply of books and periodicals in the family home were undoubtedly crucial to Hemingway's early development, the Oak Park Library was also important. According to Marcelline, she and her
brother used the library at a very early period:

We learned to read by the "sounding out" method, and we learned quickly. Our rented house stood right next to the public library, called Scoville Institute, and by Christmastime we were both able to read books in the children's room of the library. When school was over, we would sit at the low tables in our small chairs devouring the simple stories available to us until the librarian sent us home at suppertime. Usually we took 4 books home to read at night before we went to bed.(4)

In later years the library continued to play an important role in Hemingway's life. Leicester Hemingway has given this account of the period after the family moved to their permanent residence at the corner of Kenilworth and Iowa:

The new house was only five pleasant, elm-shaded blocks from the Scoville Institute, as the Oak Park Public Library was called .... Visits to the library were frequent and valuable. Ernest loved adventure fiction and, next to that, science.(5)

Late in his life, Hemingway acknowledged his debt to the Oak Park Library in a letter written on the occasion of its anniversary in 1953. In this letter he wrote warmly of how much he owed the library and of what it had meant to him.(6)

The Hemingway family's summer vacations at Windemere on Walloon Lake were also occasions for reading. The family transported many books to the summer home, having received extended borrowing privileges from the Oak Park Library. (7) This was the beginning of Hemingway's later habit of always carrying books with him when he travelled. Madelaine writes: "Before leaving Oak Park, we would each take on vacation some books from the Oak Park Library. And each of us who brought books was responsible for them and took that responsibility seriously. Ernie took the most books.(8)

Marcelline also describes these vacations:

We used to get a lot of reading done in the summer. There was one summer when Ernest couldn't get enough of Horatio Alger, and St. Nicholas used to be forwarded to us. We loved the Ralph Henry Barbour stories in it. And I can still remember the time in 1913 when Harold Sampson was visiting Ernest and we had started to read Dracula aloud in front of the fireplace ....

Marcelline's description of the summers Hemingway spent in a tent while the cottage was being enlarged gives some further indication of the amount of reading he did on these vacations:

Ernest liked to read at night, just as I did, but he had to drape a mosquito netting over his cot, because his lantern attracted the flying creatures that edged in around the tent flaps. We often used candles to augment our kerosene lamps, but they were not allowed in the tent. (9)

Leicester's account of Hemingway's summer labors at Longfield Farm, which his father had purchased across the lake, also helps to fill in the picture:

Ernest loved to "make hay" because it gave him a chance to develop his muscles and to compete with the other pitchfork wielders. But the other tasks were painfully monotonous. Early in his farming career, he was caught several times sprawled in the shade of a big tree, lost in the fiction of far places and great adventures. "After that, all I was allowed to take to the other side were copies of Father's Journal of the American medical Association," he recalled.(10)

Striking confirmation of the Hemingway family's literary orientation is found in a private collection of Hemingway materials that includes twelve inscribed volumes given to Hemingway by members of his family between his sixth and eighteenth birthdays (see Part IV, Section 5: PC, below). Some were Christmas gifts. Lasalle Corbell Pickett's The Bugles of Gettysburg, for example, is inscribed to "Ernest with Christmas Greetings from Grandfather and Aunt Grace and Grandmother" and is dated 1914. A. Henry Savage Landor's An Explorer's Adventures in Tibet is inscribed to Hemingway "with love from Mother" and is dated Christmas, 1917. Other volumes were birthday presents. Paul Selby's Stories and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln was presented to Hemingway by his father on July 21, 1910, and Mary Mapes Dodge's Hans Brinker, or, The Silver
Skates is inscribed to Hemingway "from his mother on his birthday" and is dated 1908 at Windemere, Walloon Lake. Other books seem to have been given as gifts without reference to any special occasion. Longfellow's Hiawatha, for example, is inscribed "From Mother" and dated August 1, 1905. Similarly, Richard Markham's Colonial Days is simply inscribed "Uncle Leicester." At some point these volumes were sent to Hemingway in Key West, perhaps in 1936 when, after the suicide of his father, Hemingway's mother moved to a smaller house. In all, these books with their inscriptions give some further indication of the literary values and tastes of the Hemingway family and provide some concrete information about books that Hemingway owned before he left for Italy in 1918.

B. Reading Habits

"I'm always reading books--as many as there are. I ration myself on them so that I'll always be in supply."(12) The words are Hemingway's, but friends and relatives have also testified to the extent of his reading. "He was always reading. When he wasn't working, he was reading.(13) "He read all the time.(14)"I think Ernest read just about everything. He was a terrific reader."(15) "He read everything... He would have a whole group of books going at one time, eight or ten... He would put one down and pick up another."(16) "... Ernest read everything."(17)

Hemingway's sister Marcelline gives this account of the period immediately following Hemingway's return from Europe in 1919:

... he read for hours at a time in bed. He read everything around the house--all the books, all the magazines, even the A.M.A. Journals from Dad's office downstairs. Ernie also took out great numbers of books from the public library.(18)

A similar description of Hemingway's avid consumption of printed material was conveyed by his first wife, Hadley, to her biographer:

He was a voracious reader, and though Hadley tried she could never keep up with the rate at which he devoured books, magazines, newspapers--everything in print. He was able to read anytime, any place. Sometimes when he had his arms around her and she would snuggle down against his shoulder, she would suddenly sense something, turn her head and find that he was reading a folded-up newspaper held behind her back.(19)

In 1953 Hemingway wrote to Bernard Berenson that he usually read three or four books at once and that over the course of a year he probably averaged about a book and a half a day.(20)

In addition to books, Hemingway read an extraordinary number of newspapers and periodicals. He told Berenson that he read The New York Times and the Herald Tribune every day as well as the Cuban daily Diario de la Marina. He also said that he read Time and Newsweek and the illustrated Italian papers. However, this letter greatly understates the number of periodicals that Hemingway regularly purchased. An invoice from the Scribner Book Store in 1936 lists copies of the following periodicals sent to Hemingway: Vogue, Story, Harper's, Reader's Digest, Town and Country, Harper's Bazaar, Atlantic, The Sportsman, The New Yorker and Scribner's Magazine. In 1949 an invoice lists copies of these periodicals: Atlantic, Harper's, Cosmopolitan, New Republic, Nation, Field and Stream, Yachting, Motor Boating, Outdoor Life, Ring, The New Yorker, Vogue, Harper's Bazaar, Town and Country, Life, Horizon Magazine and John O'London. A more vivid picture is Mary Hemingway's account of Hemingway's recovery from hepatitis in 1955:

More to give me freedom from his clutter and to use my desk than because his own bed was more comfortable, he moved to his own room after our quiet Thanksgiving, taking with him half a dozen mounds of newspapers, magazines and books. Checking one day I noted that he had several Cuban newspapers in Spanish, The Times and the Herald Tribune from New York and the two Miami papers in one pile. That was his morning reading. His hump of magazines included Time and Newsweek and Collier's and The Saturday Evening Post, also The Saturday Review, U.S. News and World Report and a couple of weeklies each from London, Paris and Italy. A half dozen books were scattered over the counterpane.(21)

Hemingway mentioned in the Paris Review interview that he had to "ration" books so that they would
always be "in supply." When he ran short, he was forced to read whatever was at hand, even his father's A.M.A. journals. In 1948 Hemingway wrote to General C.T. Lanham from Italy, bitterly complaining about a dock strike that had cut off his supply of magazines, newspapers and American books. As a result, he wrote Lanham, he was forced to read all sorts of inferior material, a situation which led him to observe gloomily that most people were awful writers.(22) In 1952 Hemingway condemned William Faulkner's Sanctuary because he was unable to re-read it on board the Pilar even when all other reading material had run out. (23) Such books that could not be read even when nothing else was available were a significant critical category for Hemingway:

I had never been able to read a novel by Ouida, not even at some skiing place in Switzerland where reading matter had run out when the wet south wind had come and there were only the left-behind Tauchnitz editions of before the war.... you can't read Dostoyevsky over and over. I had Crime and Punishment on a trip when we ran out of books down at Schruns, and I couldn't read it again when we had nothing to read. I read the Austrian papers and studied German until we found some Trollope in Tauchnitz.(24)

Sun Valley presented the same danger. In a 1941 letter to Toby Bruce, Hemingway worried if reading material would be as scarce there as it sometimes was.(25) As might be expected, therefore, Hemingway never travelled without a supply of books. In a 1925 letter to Sylvia Beach from the Hotel Taube in Austria he reported that he had read all the books from her library and would mail them back if she wanted him to.(26) A book, like Paris, was a moveable feast. The relation between hunting and reading in Green Hills of Africa is well-known:

P.O.M. got the books out of one of the musettes and she and Pop read while I followed down the ravine down to the little stream that came out of the mountain side, and found a fresh lion track and many rhino tunnels in the tall grass that came higher than your head. Itwas very hot climbing back up the sandy ravine and I was glad to lean my back against the tree trunk and read Tolstoi's Sevastopol.(27)

Later, when Toby Bruce began to chauffeur Hemingway, the custom continued: We'd move books everywhere he'd go. If we were headed cross-country, he'd have a duffle-bag, later on one of those old Abercrombie and Fitch duffle bags, that'd be loaded with books.(28) Mary Hemingway has described the same habit: We always traveled with a book bag. A sizable bag.(29) When she and Hemingway departed for his second African safari, they had one big canvas bag bulging with books on their luggage. (30) Furthermore, as he traveled, Hemingway always acquired more books. Betty and Toby Bruce recall one of the trips on which Toby drove Hemingway from Key West to Idaho. At every stop, Hemingway bought fresh newspapers, magazines, and paperbacks until on their arrival the car was filled to capacity. (31) Shorter trips were no exception: Every time we'd go say to the airport, why here he'd be browsing through the pocket book libraries.(32) Mary Hemingway recalls that books were acquired in a similar way on trips to Europe: Every time we went to Spain he was forever picking up books and bringing them back. French paperbound novels such as those of Georges Simenon were the kind of thing we used to pick up in Paris and take with us to Spain or Africa. (33) In addition, arrangements were sometimes made to have books mailed to Hemingway on his travels.(34)

When he was at home Hemingway generally wrote in the morning and read in the afternoon and evening. According to Lorine Thompson, He read an awful lot in bed at night. She recalls dining occasionally with the Hemingways in their bedroom in the house on Whitehead Street in Key West: Whenever you'd go up there...the bed, all around the bed was covered with papers and books. (35) Toby Bruce, who lived at the Finca Vigía during Hemingway's first years in Cuba, remembers that He'd go to bed and read between dinner and going to sleep... Many the time I'd be sitting there listening to the phonograph or whatever and I'd look in and here he'd be dead asleep with his glasses on. (36) Mary Hemingway describes a normal quiet day at the Finca when no guests were present in this way. Hemingway would, of course, write in the morning.

After lunch as a rule we had a siesta, especially in the hot weather in the summer, and then wake up and read in the sitting room unless we had guests. I used to lie on the sofa and read, and he had his chair. And then, of course, we also took books to bed...We always took books to bed...He used to love to be read aloud to. I used to do that in bed and also in the sitting room. (37)

In her autobiography Mrs. Hemingway describes reading to Hemingway during his recovery from hepatitis in the mid 1950's: "I bought a reading lamp to put behind the chair at the foot of his bed and many evenings read aloud all
sorts of people, from Shakespeare (the sonnets) to T.E. Lawrence to Jim Corbett to Anne Morrow Lindbergh to The Oxford Book of English Verse." (38) As he got older, Hemingway was sometimes plagued by sleeplessness and read much of the night. Letters to Charles Scribner in 1949, 1950 and 1951 mention waking up at night and nightmares. (39) In 1952 he wrote to Edmund Wilson that he had read Shores of Light until three o'clock in the morning. He went on to say that although these midnight hours had often haunted Fitzgerald, they seemed to him the best hours of the night for reading once one had accepted insomnia and no longer worried about one's sins. He added that he had about three good nights' reading left on Wilson's book. (40) Reading, for Hemingway, was important in many ways. The first of these was as a response to a deep need to see his own work in relation to the larger realm of letters, both present and past. He needed to know what his contemporaries were doing. "I like to see what they are writing," he tells Gertrude Stein in A Moveable Feast. (41) But he also needed to see his work in relation to the landmarks of the past. In other words, he needed to cultivate what T.S. Eliot called the "historical sense": "to write not merely with his own generation in his bones, but with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it the whole of the literature of his own country [had] a simultaneous existence and [composed] a simultaneous order. (42) It is this need which may lie behind the many barbed comments on contemporary writers that are scattered through Hemingway's letters.

It is also behind the comments on American literature in Green Hills of Africa, which begin with a condemnation of "all our early classics who did not know that a new classic does not bear any resemblance to the classics that have preceded it" and move to the assertion that "the good writers are Henry James, Stephen Crane and Mark Twain." (43) The need for a context may also be behind the braggadocio of his later assertions that he was in the process of putting Melville, Cervantes, Turgenev, etc. down for the count. As he once admitted to Charles Scribner he knew that he was bragging, but he needed confidence. (44)

On a different level, reading played an important role in Hemingway's almost ritualistic organization of his life around the act of writing. He explained his problem in the Paris Review interview:

You write until you come to a place where you still have your juice and know what will happen next and you stop and try to live through until the next day when you hit it again. You have started at six in the morning, say, and may go on until noon or be through before that. When you stop you are empty, and at the same time never empty but filling, as when you have made love to some one you love. Nothing can hurt you, nothing can happen, nothing means anything until the next day when you do it again. It is the wait until the next day that is hard to get through. (45)

At the time Hemingway said this he was working on A Moveable Feast. A closely related passage in that work explicitly links reading and the wait for the next day:

When I was writing, it was necessary for me to read after I had written. If you kept thinking about it, you would lose the thing that you were writing before you could go on with it the next day. It was necessary to get exercise, to be tired in the body, and it was very good to make love with whom you loved. That was better than anything. But afterwards, when you were empty, it was necessary to read in order not to think or worry about your work until you could do it again. (46)

Gertrude Stein recommended to Hemingway that he read Marie Belloc Lowndes on such occasions:

I had never heard of her, and Miss Stein loaned me The Lodger that marvelous story of Jack the Ripper and another book about murder at a place outside Paris that could only be Enghien les Bains. They were both splendid after-work books, the people credible and the action and the terror never false. They were perfect for reading after you had worked and I read all the Mrs. Belloc Lowndes that there was. But there was only so much and none so good as the first two and I never found anything as good for that empty time of day or night until the first fine Simenon books came out. (47)

In a letter to Charles Scribner, while he was working on Across the River and into the Trees, Hemingway described a variant on this custom. He informed Scribner that he was going to take his boat, Pilar, down the Cuban coast to Varadero. It would be an easy trip and he would read a great deal to take his mind off the book until he got back. (48) On yet another level, Hemingway's reading was the activity of a mind profoundly curious about the world and eager for factual information of every sort. Lorine Thompson recalls the Hemingway she knew in Key West in
the 1930's:

He wanted to know everything. Didn't make any difference what it was. He wanted to know how the fisherman cut the bait and everything. He was greatly interested in everything that went on.... He was terrifically curious about everything. Gregory once said that if someone committed the perfect murder, Papa would have a fit until he found out how he did it. (49)

Mary Hemingway says much the same thing: "Ernest's interests were wide-spread, encyclopedic.... He was indefatigable in his search for information of every sort." (50) It is in this context that the following description by Lloyd Arnold should be seen: "He'd gone to sleep on my Idaho Encyclopedia and had been absorbing it since first light. 'A hell of a lot of state, this Idaho, that I didn't know about.'" (51) It is not surprising, therefore, that the composite record reveals that Hemingway owned vast numbers of nonfiction books on many subjects. In a letter to Bernard Berenson in answer to his friend's queries, Hemingway wrote that he liked best true books about campaigns and voyages. Undoubtedly, the Homeric allusion was not lost on Berenson. Hemingway went on to write that he liked novels and continued to read new ones, hopefully, but found most of them worthless. In addition, he added, he liked to read technical books, biographies and memoirs. (52) This is a good, brief description of the basic contents of Hemingway's library. However, as he did in the case of the description of his periodical reading, Hemingway understated to Berenson the range of topics covered by the nonfiction works in his library, which includes matters as diverse as criminal investigation, taxidermy and Italian Renaissance painting. In 1945, writing to Malcolm Cowley about his self-education, Hemingway summed up his continuing effort to learn about the world. He told Cowley that he continued to study and to read. Every year he studied something new in order to keep learning. Learning, he went on, was fun, and he didn't see why he couldn't keep it up all his life. (53) It was this passion for information that Hemingway admired in Tolstoy. It was not experience that excited Hemingway, but knowledge. He wanted to know. His novels had to be supported by knowledge.

C. Literary Pronouncements

Hemingway's letters contain many comments on his reading and on literature in general, but most of these are naturally topical and very limited in their scope. Occasionally, however, Hemingway made larger pronouncements on literature in an attempt to articulate his sense of literary context and to acknowledge the writers who he felt had most influenced him. Typically, these pronouncements took the form of lists of books or authors. Sometimes they were explicitly presented as guides for young writers. More often they were simply lists of what he considered the high points of literature or of works that he felt had been particularly important to him. These lists provide some general insight into the books that Hemingway considered the core of his library, and a brief discussion of them will add an important dimension to the topic under consideration. (54)

Hemingway's most famous pronouncement on literature occurs in Green Hills of Africa, where, as he later told George Plimpton, "I was sounding off about American literature with a humorless Austrian character.... I wrote an accurate account of the conversation. Not to make deathless pronouncements. A fair per cent of the pronouncements are good enough." (55) What Hemingway tells the humorless Austrian is this: "The good writers are Henry James, Stephen Crane and Mark Twain. That's not the order they're good in. There is no order for good writers." (56) Hemingway's relation to James will be discussed in Part II. In the case of Crane, two stories are singled out: "The Open Boat" and "The Blue Hotel." However, it is Clemens who receives the greatest praise: "All modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called Huckleberry Finn.... All American writing comes from that. There was nothing before. There has been nothing as good since." (57) Even when allowing for hyperbole and the dramatic context the statement does not conflict with other pronouncements he made about the same time.

Hemingway finished Green Hills of Africa in the fall of 1934. In 1935 he published two articles in Esquire that contain lists of books that place his comments on American literature in a larger context. The first list appeared in "Remembering Shooting-Flying: A Key West Letter" and is cast in hyperbolic manner similar to that of the pronouncement in Green Hills of Africa:

... I would rather read again for the first time Anna Karenina, Far Away and Long Ago, Buddenbrooks, Wuthering Heights, Madame Bovary, War and Peace, A Sportsman's Sketches, The Brothers Karamazov,
Hail and Farewell, Huckleberry Finn, Winesburg, Ohio, La Reine Margot, La Maison Tellier, Le Rouge et le Noir, La Chartreuse de Parme, Dubliners, Yeats' Autobiographies and a few others than have an assured income of a million dollars a year. (58)

The article is ostensibly about hunting reminiscences, but Hemingway seems unable to focus on his topic, apparently because some of the best shooting he can remember is in Tolstoy. As he reminisces he finds difficulty in distinguishing between the pleasure he has received from hunting, shooting and reading. The three activities blend into one experience.

The second list followed only eight months later and is significant both for what it repeats from and for what it adds to the former list. It is cast in the form of advice to a young writer. It is necessary to have read these works, Hemingway advised the young man, so that one will know what (not whom) one "has to beat":

... War and Peace and Anna Karenina by Tolstoi, Midshipman Easy, Frank Mildmay and Peter Simple by Captain Marryat, Madame Bovary and L'Education Sentimentale by Flaubert, Buddenbrooks by Thomas Mann, Joyce's Dubliners, Portrait of the Artist and Ulysses, Tom Jones and Joseph Andrews by Fielding, Le Rouge et Le Noir and La Chartreuse de Parme by Stendhal, The Brothers Karamazoff and any two other Dostoevskis, Huckleberry Finn by Mark Twain, The Open Boat and The Blue Hotel by Stephen Crane, Hail and Farewell by George Moore, Yeats' Autobiographies, all the good de Maupassant, all the good Kipling, all of Turgenieff, Far Away and Long Ago by W.H. Hudson, Henry James' short stories, especially Madame de Mauves and The Turn of the Screw, The Portrait of a Lady, The American.... (59)

At this point his interrogator complains that the list is coming too fast. Hemingway stops listing but remarks that "about three times that many" should be added to the list. There is some additional banter with the apprentice-writer about observing people closely and especially their manner of speech and their relative physical positions in an argument, but the expected celebration of experience is noticeably absent. In order to be a good writer, Hemingway tells the young man to read.

Perhaps Hemingway's most significant pronouncement on literature was recorded by George Plimpton in the Paris Review interview published in 1958. Having noticed the volumes that were on Hemingway's writing stand/bookcase "opposite his knee,"(60) Plimpton was prompted to ask Hemingway to list his literary forebears--those he had learned most from. The reply sums up much of Hemingway's reading and expands the artistic context to include painting and music:

Mark Twain, Flaubert, Stendhal, Bach, Turgenev, Tolstoi, Dostoevski, Chekov, Andrew Marvell, John Donne, Maupassant the good Kipling, Thoreau, Captain Marryat, Shakespeare, Mozart, Quevedo, Dante, Virgil, Tintoretto, Hieronymus Bosch, Breughel, Patinier, Goya, Giotto, Cezanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin, San Juan de la Cruz, Góngora--it would take a day to remember everyone.

Hemingway goes on to say that he doesn't want to sound presumptuous, and he doesn't want to claim an erudition that he really does not have. "This isn't an old dull question," he continues. "It is a very good but solemn question and requires an examination of conscience. I put in painters, or started to, because I learn as much from painters about how to write as from writers." (61) Significantly, his library contains many volumes of reproductions, works on individual artists, catalogues of exhibitions and many books on art by writers as diverse as Giorgi Vasari, Susanne Langer, Andre' Malraux and Bernard Berenson.

The relationship between painting and literature was also a significant part of the interview recorded by Lillian Ross for The New Yorker. During the interview Hemingway told her about "making landscapes" like Paul Cezanne. Years later when she republished this interview in a hard-cover volume, she added the list of writers Hemingway had sent to her as advice for a young writer. Hemingway, Ross insisted, was a great authority on other writers and their writing: "He knew when a writer was worthless or a fraud, no matter how great the writer's reputation or his sales or his advances from movie companies.... Writing and literature he took seriously." She recorded his list:

"Boule de Suif" and "La Maison Tellier"--de Maupassant
"The Red and the Black"--Stendhal
"Les Fleurs du Mal"--Baudelaire
"Madame Bovary"--Flaubert
"Remembrance of Things Past"--Proust
"Buddenbrooks"--Mann
"Taras Bulba"--Gogol
"The Brothers Karamazov"--Dostoevski
"Anna Karenina" and "War and Peace"--Tolstoy
"Huckleberry Finn"--Twain
"Moby Dick"--Melville
"The Scarlet Letter"--Hawthorne
"The Red Badge of Courage"--Crane

Although this list contains many of the works that were basic to Hemingway's literary pronouncements, it is notable for its inclusion of *Moby Dick* and *The Scarlet Letter*, which are not mentioned elsewhere.

Hemingway's most reflective and discursive comments on literature are found in his posthumously published *A Movable Feast* (1964). This collection of somewhat nostalgic and at times cruel reminiscences of the Twenties in Paris presents this period of his life in the way in which Hemingway himself wanted it to be remembered. The writers that he chooses to emphasize are the Russians. His first borrowings from the lending library at Sylvia Beach's Shakespeare and Company are carefully detailed:

I started with Turgenev and took the two volumes of *A Sportsman's Sketches* and an early book by D.H. Lawrence, I think it was *Sons and Lovers*, and Sylvia told me to take more books if I wanted. I chose the Constance Garnett edition of *War and Peace*, and *The Gambler and Other Stories* by Dostoyevsky. (63)

Later, the Russian writers are commented on at length and the shortcomings of two authors writing in English are emphasized:

From the day I had found Sylvia Beach's library I had read all of Turgenev, what had been published in English of Gogol, the Constance Garnett translations of Tolstoi and the English translations of Chekov. In Toronto, before we had ever come to Paris, I had been told Katherine Mansfield was a good short-story writer, even a great short-story writer, but trying to read her after Chekov was like hearing the carefully artificial tales of a young old-maid compared to those of an articulate and knowing physician who was a good and simple writer. Mansfield was like near-beer. It was better to drink water. But Chekov was not water except for the clarity. There were some stories that seemed to be only journalism. But there were wonderful ones too. In Dostoyevsky there were things believable and not to be believed, but some so true they changed you as you read them; frailty and madness, wickedness and saintliness and the insanity of gambling were there to know as you knew the landscape and the roads in Turgenev and the movement of troops, the terrain and the officers and the men and the fighting in Tolstoi. Tolstoi made the writing of Stephen Crane seem like the brilliant imagining of a sick boy. (64)

Finally, it is the Russians who are central to the idylls in the mountains of Austria:

... there were always the books, so that you lived in the new world you had found, the snow and the forests and the glaciers and their winter problems and your high shelter in the Hotel Taube in the village in the day time, and at night you could live in the other wonderful world the Russian writers were giving you. At first there were the Russians; then there were all the others. But for a long time there were the Russians. (65)

When, back in Paris, Hemingway mentions Dostoyevsky to Ezra Pound, Pound admits that he has never read the Rooshians@Hemingway's confidence in his tutor is shaken: "It was a straight answer ... but I felt very bad ....(66)

Two more lists appear in reminiscences by members of Hemingway's family. Both lists are intended for prospective writers. Shortly after Hemingway's death, his brother Leicester, published a volume of reminiscences in which he described the time when he was considering a writing career. He asked his brother for advice. Hemingway replied by insisting that Leicester would have to prepare himself by reading *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Kipling, Crane, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Joyce, Henry James (the short stories), Guy de Maupassant, Flaubert
(especially Madame Bovary), Stendhal and Thomas Mann (Buddenbrooks). Understandably, Hemingway advised his brother, journalism would provide a good training ground, but first the reading was necessary to shape Leicester's power of observation. Hemingway's son Gregory describes a similar episode in his book on his father. Gregory asked Hemingway for reading suggestions at a time when he was contemplating becoming a writer. In response Hemingway named some of his favorites: Guy de Maupassant, Chekhov, War and Peace, Madame Bovary, The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, and Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. Although his lists did not usually include contemporary writers other than Joyce and Mann, Gregory reports that Hemingway also suggested he read The Great Gatsby, Norman Mailer's The Naked and the Dead, From Here to Eternity by James Jones and The Young Lions by Irwin Shaw. According to Gregory, Hemingway went on to suggest that if Mailer could maintain his momentum, he might take his place beside Dostoyevsky. Again, it would seem, Russian literature provided the point of reference.

These pronouncements, although delivered over a long period of time, show a remarkable degree of consistency. Certain works were clearly Hemingway's touchstones. These, together with Cézanne's paintings, seem to have embodied Hemingway's relationship to the past. Central to this perception were Huckleberry Finn, War and Peace, Buddenbrooks, The Brothers Karamazov, Madame Bovary and Le Rouge et le Noir. In general, the pronouncements make it possible, in the area of literature at least, to go beneath the surface of Hemingway's library and to understand some of the significance of individual volumes.

II. The Critical Context

Carlos Baker's biography, Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story (1969), signaled the high water mark of the biographical examination of Hemingway's life. Crowning as it capably does the probing works of Edmund Wilson, Malcolm Cowley, Lillian Ross, Philip Young, Harold Loeb, Morley Callaghan, and A.E. Hotchner—to name only some of the most important and obvious biographical commentators—Baker's monumental assemblage of facts constituted an achievement that it seemed impossible to surpass. In the same year that Baker published his work, Richard B. Hovey's Hemingway: The Inward Terrain (1977) subjected Hemingway's works to examination in the light of psychoanalytic insights that strained the boundaries of biographical criticism to their limits. Together these two works appeared to have exhausted the explorations of the inner and the outer man.

In the same year, however, Jackson J. Benson's first major study signalled a critical shift away from biography toward Hemingway's craft. Hemingway: The Writer's Art of Self-Defense (1978) was by no means an isolated work, but it serves as a useful landmark. That the momentum for such a change in emphasis had been growing for some years was demonstrated by Linda Welshimer Wagner's anthology of critical articles, Ernest Hemingway: Five Decades of Criticism. Since nine of the fourteen articles in this collection focused on technical matters, it was possible to recognize that the shift of focus away from biography had been gradual, but inevitable. Essentially, these articles revealed a movement away from what Hemingway wrote to how he wrote. As our previous section shows, Hemingway advised seekers after the key to his style and success to read what he had read. If readers wanted to know how he wrote, they would have to study his models. Accordingly, Wagner's collection underlined the necessity of studying Hemingway as the descendant of Henry James as well as of Mark Twain. Hemingway's use of Ezra Pound and Gertrude Stein, the corrida and the esthetics of sport, style and linguistic experiments, Dante and Zen dominated the overall discussion and showed that Hemingway's relation to the world of literature had been to an alarming degree ignored.

Jackson Benson's Hemingway: The Writer's Art of Self-Defense was the first major study to emphasize Hemingway's library and his relation to earlier writers. Beginning with Hemingway's origins and early development in and around Oak Park, Benson outlined the writer's early rejection of the romantic and sentimental posture which characterized the family experience and his early years in high school. Although Benson made some use of biography, he went on to debunk the customary fallacious labels ("narrowness," "simplemindedness") and the myths that had grown up in much Hemingway criticism because earlier critics failed to recognize Hemingway as "an intelligent, knowledgeable, and clever craftsman." Grounded as the early critics were in nineteenth-century authors and criticism, they failed to discover the often ironic detachment (after the rather crude Torrents of Spring) with which Hemingway dramatized his characters. Although Benson did not labor the comparison between Hemingway and James, his own critical categories and language betrayed the Jamesian approach. He noted that earlier critics had usually neglected Hemingway's use of dramatization to portray ideas and attitudes which he did not necessarily hold himself. Reading Hemingway in the manner of Henry James, therefore, was fundamental to the shift
of critical emphasis. What Benson established more thoroughly than those who wrote before him was Hemingway's ability to confront "the bankruptcy of our language and the growing superficiality of our literature" with Jamesian concern and technique and his ability to dramatize that loss with linguistic courage and accuracy.

Benson's early work was complemented by The Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: Critical Essays, which he edited and to which he contributed a perceptive analysis of Hemingway's short stories. In this essay, he not only summarized the technical impact of the other essays but outlined Hemingway's sophisticated craftsmanship in language that is again dependent upon Henry James. Together with Wagner's introduction to Five Decades, Benson's analyses suggested a hypothetical volume entitled "The Method of Ernest Hemingway." Chapters for this prospective critical work are still being generated, but a number of studies focusing on the new technical literary analysis published during the 1970's clearly documented a distinct movement in this direction.

One of the most significant contributions to this hypothetical volume was Sheldon Norman Grebstein's Hemingway's Craft. Grebstein's work with original manuscripts in the John F. Kennedy Library produced one of the firmest links in the chain between James and Hemingway. In an appendix to his study, he described a typed page quoting Henry James which he found between the manuscript pages of A Farewell to Arms. In addition to some working notes for the novel, the typed passage read:

on the debasement of words by war: One finds it in the midst of all this as hard to apply one's words as to endure one's thoughts. The war has used up words; they have weakened, they have deteriorated like motor car tires ...... and we are now confronted with a depreciation of all our terms, or, otherwise speaking, with a loss of expression through increase of limpness, that may well make us wonder what ghosts will be left to walk.(82)

Grebstein is reluctant to comment on a possible direct influence, but at the very least a confluence is unmistakable. As a result Hemingway's key passage in A Farewell to Arms appears to stem from a literary forebear as much as from his own experience.

Thoroughly grounded in a concept of Hemingway as a descendant of Henry James, therefore, Grebstein analysed the novels and short stories with the method of the Hamesian critics. He discussed structure, narrative perspective, narrative voice, dialogue, style, and the general manner of a work in a way that blended a close reading of text with a substantial recognition of the problems faced by an artist attempting to confront form and the American perspective, narrative voice, dialogue, style, and the general manner of a work in a way that blended a close reading with the method of the Hamesian critics. He discussed structure, narrative perspective, narrative voice, dialogue, style, and the general manner of a work in a way that blended a close reading of text with a substantial recognition of the problems faced by an artist attempting to confront form and the American experience in a new era. Grebstein's study was another landmark in the new assessment of Hemingway. He demonstrated that Hemingway's work will endure through his art, not his ideas or his ability to communicate experience. As Hemingway's pronouncements indicated over and over, an understanding of his work would emerge from studying how others before him wrote, not from the probing of his own life.

Perhaps the most significant study of Hemingway's craft to date is Michael S. Reynolds Hemingway's First War: The Making of A Farewell to Arms. Reynolds' work took its point of departure from Malcolm Cowley's generally ignored statement that Hemingway had not been at Caporetto. Reynolds also drew attention to Hemingway's statement about the relationship of fact to fiction and his assertion that he needed to use someone else's experiences of the war front. Reynolds then demonstrated how Hemingway recreated the experience of the retreat from maps, books, first-hand descriptions by others and Red Cross reports. He went on to show how this material was adapted by Hemingway in order to focus on the effect of the war experience on language. His conclusion was that Hemingway used his sources to produce a lament for the worn-out language of the past, dramatizing the impossibility of conventional abstract solutions in the face of the only reality: That was what you did. You died. Reynolds' exploration of Hemingway's literary sources was a particularly significant aspect of his work. So far as we can discover, his was the first critical acknowledgment that Hemingway was a voracious reader. Reynolds demonstrated that the parallels between Lieutenant Henry and Fabrizio in Stendhal's The Charterhouse of Parma reveal as much about Hemingway's novel as do the biographical facts of Hemingway's own experience during the First World War. In Reynolds' book we are a long way from the earlier view of Hemingway's fiction as a therapy for psychological adjustment. In assessing his own method, Reynolds comments:

Now that the first half of the twentieth century is no longer the "modern age," but an historical period of its own, it is time for critics to relearn the use of old tools. The vein of psychoanalytic exegesis has been over-worked. The misleading thesis that Hemingway is always his own protagonist has littered the critical landscape with so much debris that it will take another generation of critics to restore the ecology. Letters, manuscripts, source reading, social milieu, and literary biography must all be brought to bear on the
published text. Hemingway's reading is as important to his art as that of Coleridge; his textual revisions are as significant as those of Keats. With Hemingway it is time to question constructively all of the explications we have inherited. We must begin the difficult and frequently tedious search for the hard data that will support, modify, or disprove our inheritance.\(^{(84)}\)

Reynolds' work, therefore, not only provided a new reading of *A Farewell to Arms* and an understanding of how it emerged as a work of art from the artist's knowledge, but it also contributed to the understanding of any work of art. Two particular areas of Hemingway criticism related to a study of his library must be added to this general context. The world of art in the broadest sense has generally not been the context of Hemingway criticism. A beginning, however, was made by Emily Stipes Watts in her provocative *Ernest Hemingway and the Arts*.\(^{(85)}\) Her analysis of Hemingway's works in the context of art revealed an artist devoted to a new way of seeing in the manner of Goya, Cézanne and Picasso. After placing Hemingway in Paris in the midst of a group of artists devoted to "a single art," she examined passages in which Hemingway constructed a scene in the same way as Cézanne constructed a painting, using form and color as representations of an order beyond Impressionism.\(^{(86)}\) She analyzed the ordered visual dimensions of Hemingway's lyric imagism, a paradox perhaps, but one which we may now have to accept in such a way that serious doubts must be expressed about those who locate Hemingway among the existentialists. Watts' subsequent discussions of Goya, El Greco and Picasso, to name only the most obvious influences or parallels, revealed a dimension of Hemingway usually reserved for Henry James and his circle.\(^{(87)}\) More recently Meyly Chin Hagemann has added detailed information on Hemingway's contacts with forty-three Cézanne paintings, shown his relation to Cézanne's technique and analyzed short stories in terms that demonstrated Hemingway's appreciation of Cézanne's concept of space and form.\(^{(88)}\) Hemingway's library, as might be expected, abounded in books on many subjects of art.\(^{(89)}\)

A second study which focuses attention on a relatively neglected but crucial aspect of American studies is Linda Welshimer Wagner's *Hemingway and Faulkner: Inventors/Masters*.\(^{(90)}\) Although there have been many individual studies of their work, few critics have braved the terrain where the concerns and methods of these two writers overlap. Wagner's often perceptive study of Hemingway and Faulkner made an important contribution to this vital topic. Faulkner's library has been catalogued,\(^{(91)}\) and this catalogue indicates that one of the most significant differences that separated the two men may lie in the use of their sources and their libraries.\(^{(92)}\) As Wagner discussed their similar beginnings in poetry and traced their development through apprenticeship, maturity and decline, she recognized some significant parallels, which will no doubt serve as a stimulus to studies of their combined contribution to American literature. Both writers, she observed, discovered that "the craft of writing became the means to understand their confusing worlds." In Faulkner studies, craft has long been the focus of criticism. With the emergence of a concern for craft in Hemingway criticism the canons of the two writers may be subjected to some searching cross studies. Fundamental to future study will be their methods and techniques. It was a problem that interested Hemingway all of his life and that critics, especially those whose work surrounds and supports the work of Benson, Grebstein and Reynolds, are now continuing to explore. Hemingway, of course, had recognized and understood the problem before anyone. That was why his recommendations for reading and his literary pronouncements always included Tolstoy. Even if he didn't appreciate Tolstoy's theories about history, he admired the Russian's ability to translate fact into fiction. As he wrote Charles Poore: "Dr. Tolstoi was at Sevastopol. But not at Borodino .... But he could invent from knowledge."\(^{(93)}\)

III. The History of the Library

A. Paris

Little is known of Hemingway's book acquisitions in the years between his return from World War I in 1919 and his arrival in Paris in 1921. Only one book definitely acquired in this period has survived, a copy of O. Henry's *Rolling Stones* inscribed "Lieut. Ernest Hemingway" and dated 1919 (see item 5273). After he arrived in Paris, however, it is clear that Hemingway soon began to accumulate books. In 1945 he wrote to Malcolm Cowley that he started his education in Paris at the same time that he was learning to write.\(^{(94)}\) At first money was short:

In those days there was no money to buy books. I borrowed books from the rental library of Shakespeare and Company, which was the library and bookstore of Sylvia Beach at 12 rue de l'Odeon. On a cold
windswenst street, this was a warm cheerful place with a stove in winter, tables and shelves of books, new books in the window, and the photographs on the wall of famous writers both dead and living.(95)

Hemingway always retained very fond memories of Shakespeare and Company. He wrote Malcolm Cowley that his education was based on books from Sylvia Beach's until he learned French and later Spanish.(96) In 1951 he wrote to Carlos Baker about all the wonderful books from Sylvia Beach's and added that it was the place he loved best. It was from there, he continued that he read Tolstoy, Turgenev, Gogol, Chekhov, and Dostoyevsky.(97) In turn, Sylvia Beach wrote of Hemingway:

A customer we liked, one who gave us no trouble, was that young man you saw almost every morning over there in a corner at Shakespeare and Company, reading the magazines or Captain Marryat or some other book. This was Ernest Hemingway, who turned up in Paris, as I remember, later in 1921. My "best customer," he called himself, a title that no one disputed with him. Great was our esteem for a customer who was not only a regular visitor, but spent money on books, a trait very pleasing to the proprietor of a small book business.(98)

Like the Oak Park Library, Shakespeare and Company allowed Hemingway to take books along on vacation trips. "We're going to have all the books in the world to read and when we go on trips we can take them," the young Hemingway enthusiastically reports to his wife, Hadley, in A Moveable Feast.(99) That he in fact take Sylvia Beach's books with him on trips is confirmed by the note he wrote to her from the Hotel Taube in Austria in 1925, telling her that they had read all of her books and would mail them to Paris if she wished.(100) Many years later, Hemingway reminisced to Carlos Baker about how such fun it had been to go to the Austrian Voralberg where there were only villagers and no Paris café characters and to spend the winter reading Stendhal, Flaubert and de Maupassant.(101) Sylvia Beach's bookstore was not, however, Hemingway's only source of books in Paris. Soon after his arrival in Paris, he learned where to find inexpensive second-hand copies of American books:

In the bookstalls along the quais you could sometimes find American books that had just been published for sale very cheap. The Tour D'Argent restaurant had a few rooms above the restaurant that they rented in those days, giving the people who lived there a discount in the restaurant, and if the people who lived there left any books behind there was a bookstall not far along the quai where the valet de chambre sold them and you could buy them from the proprietress for a very few francs. She had no confidence in books written in English, paid almost nothing for them, and sold them for a small quick profit .... After that bookstall near the Tour D'Argent there were no others that sold American and English books until the quai des Grands Augustins. There were several from there on to beyond the quai Voltaire that sold books they bought from employees of the left bank hotels and especially the Hotel Voltaire which had a wealthier clientele than most .... sometimes, if the day was bright, I would buy a liter of wine and a piece of bread and some sausage and sit in the sun and read one of the books I had bought and watch the fishing.(102)

By the time that Hemingway's marriage to Hadley broke up in 1926, and he transported her possessions to her new apartment in a hand-cart, it is certain that he had acquired a small library.

B. Key West

In the spring of 1928 Hemingway and his second wife, Pauline arrived in Key West, Florida. Whether or not Hemingway brought books with him from Paris on this trip is not known. It is clear, however, that Hemingway retained books he had purchased in Europe in the 1920's. In the Finca Vigía today, there is an insect- and humidity-damaged copy of Don Pio's Ki ki ri ki! (item 5156) that is inscribed "Ernest Hemingway, Madrid 1923." When this and similar volumes were brought from Paris is unknown, but when Pauline shipped her Spanish furniture from Paris to Key West in 1931, books were included in the shipment. Lorine Thompson, a close friend of the Hemingways in Key West, recalls that she and Pauline's sister, Jinny Pfeiffer, unpacked the shipment in the big house on Whitehead Street, which the Hemingways had just purchased: "The furniture and things arrive from Paris and Jinny and I put up the bed and the furniture, but we didn't open the books; we left that for Ernest to do.... He brought quite a lot of books with him. There were quite a number of cartons of books and things that came."(103)

During his years in Key West Hemingway was a regular customer at Valladares' Bookstore, which had been
opened by Leonte Valladares in 1927. "There was only one other one," Valladares recalls, "but he was advanced in age--Mr. Crane. He had it right there on Greene Street .... I was the only one that was starting that business .... Mr. Crane was getting out of it. I was on Fleming Street."(104) Valladares still remembers when Hemingway first came to the store wearing "cut-off shorts and rope for a belt." At that time the bookstore was little more than a newstand, and it was Hemingway who suggested that Valladares carry hard-cover books, saying, "I'll fix it up for you." Valladares acknowledges that "he opened up the book business for me." Soon he was carrying hard-cover books from six major publishers, including Scribners. Hemingway probably bought some books from Valladares, and he was certainly dependent on the bookstore for his supply of newspapers and also, probably, for some of his magazines. Valladares had acquired the franchise to sell the Cuban newspapers in Key West: "We had a large colony of [Cuban] cigar-makers, and in the factory they set a reader, and they contributed a quarter or a half-dollar a week. He'd read to them while they were doing their work." Later, Valladares secured the franchises for the chief New York newspapers: "Ernest would buy a Cuban newspaper once in a while to read Spanish, and he had a subscription with me for The New York Times and the New York Tribune. He took two papers a day from me." In Key West Hemingway continued his old habit of borrowing books from circulating libraries. Here again Valladares' Bookstore was important: "I had a circulating library. You came in and you had a book. You brought it back, and I charged you five cents a day. Three days: fifteen cents." According to Valladares, Hemingway was one of the users of the library: "He used books from here. Read them and take them back." The other circulating library in Key West was the Women's Club Library, which was located on Duval Street. Betty Bruce, an expert on the history of Key West, thinks that Hemingway very probably used this library on occasion, although no further information is available on the subject.(105)

Once settled in Key West, Hemingway, now more financially secure than he had been in the early days in Paris, began rapidly acquiring books. While Valladares' Bookstore did provide some opportunity for Hemingway to buy books in Key West, the majority of Hemingway's purchases were made by mail from the Scribner Book Store in New York City. It is not clear at what time precisely Hemingway initiated this arrangement. As early as 1926, Maxwell Perkins was sending Hemingway complimentary copies of Scribner publications. A letter in 1926 mentions Trelawney's Adventures of a Younger Son, one in 1928 mentions Morley Callaghan's Strange Fugitive, and one in 1929 F.S. Smythe's The Re-discovery of America.(106) The earliest invoice from the Scribner Book Store in the Kennedy Library is dated 1933, but it does not record Hemingway's first purchases since it carries over an unpaid balance from a previous invoice. Probably, Hemingway began ordering books from the Scribner Book Store shortly after he settled in Key West. For the rest of his life, the Book Store would continue to fill his orders by mail. In addition to the mail orders, Hemingway inevitably went to the Book Store when he visited New York. Mary Hemingway has described his practice in later years: "When we used to come up here, at the occasional times when we came to New York, Ernest would spend an hour or two at Scribners and then they would ship great cartons of books down to Cuba."(107) By the time that Toby Bruce arrived in Key West in 1935, Hemingway had already collected a considerable number of books. As Toby says, "They had books scattered in every direction." It was to remedy this state of affairs that Toby built the very large, floor-to-ceiling bookcase that still stands in the second-floor hall at the top of the stairs in the Big House on Whitehead Street. In addition, there was a bookcase in the living room and several more bookcases in the room on the second floor of the Pool House where Hemingway withdrew in order to write.(108) By the end of the 1930s Hemingway had collected a large library in Key West. There followed a series of events that broke up this collection and rendered the task of compiling an accurate record of Hemingway's library far more difficult than it might otherwise have been.

C. The Move to Cuba

By the end of 1939, Hemingway's marriage to Pauline had broken up. On December 26th he drove onto the car ferry that ran between Key West and Havana. From this point on, his official residence would be the Finca Vigía, an estate outside of Havana that Hemingway had been renting since May of that year. This disruption of Hemingway's domestic arrangements in Key West is the source of most of the major problems involved in the reconstruction of his library. Some books were moved to Hemingway's new residence in Cuba; others were stored at Sloppy Joe's, the Key West bar owned by Hemingway's friend Joe Russell; still others remained in the Big House and the Pool House on Whitehead Street. Our principal source of information about the movement of books at this time is Toby Bruce. Toby was for many years Hemingway's friend, chauffeur and all-around handyman. He was particularly close to Hemingway during the last years in Key West and the first years in Cuba. At the time of the
break up with Pauline, Hemingway was somewhat alienated from Lorine and Charles Thompson, who had been his closest friends in Key West, but who now sympathized with Pauline. As a result, he came to depend heavily on Toby.

At some time after Hemingway left Key West in the final days of 1939, Toby went to Whitehead Street and moved Hemingway's possessions out of the house to Sloppy Joe's Bar. Hemingway had instructed him to "get everything Pauline did not want." (109) The material that was moved included trunks, suitcases, animal heads and "books galore." In order to hold the books, Toby built wooden crates. "Pauline was there at the time, and she was directing what to take .... Anything that Pauline wanted to get out of the house I packed up." At that time Pauline and Toby were not on very good terms: "I decided I'd work with Ernest rather than with her." Toby packed the crates in the "back-yard" of the house and then moved everything to the upper floor of a building in the back of Sloppy Joe's Bar. (110) "Most everything was boxed or wrapped. And I covered the whole--when it was first put up--I covered it with cellophane which was a brand new piece of merchandise that you never heard of, and I threw in all this powder to keep the wood-worms out, to keep termites out." Somewhere along the line, a rough inventory was made, and at various times in the following years individual items were moved to Cuba at Hemingway's request. (111) At another time, Toby and Hemingway loaded some crates of books aboard the Pilar and took them across to Cuba. It is not clear exactly how many crates were moved on this trip: "I really don't remember. On the one trip we took on the Pilar, I think we had eight crates of books." (112)

We had a hell of a storm. We got into one of those real nasties .... We left here about 7 o'clock in the afternoon.... his boat, it only travelled at full bore about nine miles an hour, so a ten hour trip would have been ordinary.... Well, it was 5:30 the next afternoon before we saw Morro Castle.... This was what we called the triple bell-ringer. Fortunately, the wind was coming right from the direction we wanted to be going, out of the south southwest. We'd hit a wave and it would ring the bell, get on top of the wave and tilt and ring the bell, hit the bottom of the wave and ring the bell. So it's a triple bell-ringer.... We were just out there flying backward for hours. We weren't making any headway; we were just keeping the bow into the waves. I had to go below and tie the crates down to keep them from banging.... these crates were jumping that high off the deck and slamming down. We had one hell of a time getting them through customs because he had a bunch of guns in some of these crates. We had to call the mayor of Havana to get them sprung loose. I'd just declared them as all books ... and they found the guns .... They didn't like the idea of bringing in guns, but the mayor of Havana came to our rescue. (113)

At the time of this trip, Hemingway had already rented the Finca Vigía, and the books were taken directly out to the house. There were no bookshelves in the Finca when Hemingway moved in. The books that had been brought over on the Pilar were placed in the big front room with the crates in which they had been packed acting as bookcases: "We used them as bookshelves. You take the top off them and set them up, and we lined the living room with these boxes I'd made. And they were the bookshelves .... They were cheap lumber, and they weren't very nice because I just banged them together right quickly. Hadn't expected them to become bookshelves, but they did. (114)

The second major movement of books to Cuba occurred in 1941 while Hemingway and Martha Gellhorn were in China where Martha was reporting on the Sino-Japanese War. In February, during a stop in Hawaii, Hemingway wrote to Toby Bruce, who was acting as caretaker at the Finca, and instructed him to make a trip to Key West, move all the books he could to Cuba, build shelves and put out the books. (115) At the end of April, in Hong Kong after visiting China, Hemingway wrote again. Evidently he had received a progress report from Toby on work done at the Finca since he told Toby that the pool furniture and the bookcases sounded very good. (116) By June, Martha Gellhorn and Hemingway were back in Cuba, and Martha wrote Toby in Key West that Hemingway was delighted with the books and the manner in which they had been set out. (117) In July Hemingway himself wrote to Toby to tell him that the books and bookcases were fine. (118) This shipment completed the major movements of books to Cuba. It is exceedingly fortunate that Toby Bruce, with his usual careful and devoted attention to Hemingway's interests, took the trouble to make a record of the books that he shipped to Cuba at this time. This list provides a key picture of Hemingway's reading in the 1930's (see Part IV, Section 7: kwfv).

D. Key West after Hemingway's Departure

After Hemingway moved to Cuba in 1939, the Big House on Whitehead Street in Key West continued to be
the residence of Pauline Hemingway and their two sons, Patrick and Gregory. During the 1940's many new books joined those already on the bookshelves of the house. The contents of the bookcases took on, therefore, a miscellaneous character. There were books that had belonged to Hemingway, books purchased by Pauline for herself, gift books for the boys, schoolbooks and, later, books purchased by the boys themselves. When the boys left for college, Pauline decided that the Big House was too large for her, and she had an apartment constructed on the ground floor of the Pool House, which had earlier been used only for storage. The studio on the upper floor, where Hemingway had worked, served as a bedroom. She also had an apartment constructed over the garage so that Patrick and Gregory would have somewhere to stay when they visited Key West. When this was accomplished, she moved into the Pool House and rented the Big House. When Pauline moved she took with her most of the books from the Big House and placed them in large bookcases on the ground floor of the smaller building. The Big House was rented furnished, however, and some books were left to fill the bookcases in the front room. These books were eventually recorded, probably by a realtor as part of the inventory of the furnishings (See Part IV, Section 1: KWH). In October 1951, on a visit to California, Pauline Hemingway died suddenly. As a result of the various legal settlements, Hemingway and his two sons, Patrick and Gregory, became the joint owners of the Whitehead Street property. They decided that the buildings on the property should be rented separately. In October 1952, about a year after Pauline's death, Hemingway wrote to Toby Bruce that the Pool House was unrentable until possessions belonging to the boys were stored and repairs made. Hemingway added that he had asked Patrick's wife, Henrietta ("Henny"), to make an inventory of those things that still belonged to him at Key West. She, however, had not done as he had requested.(120) Presumably, it was some time after this letter that Mary Hemingway arranged to have Ann Geise make a record of the books. Mrs. Geise and her husband were at that time renting the Garage Apartment. At Mrs. Hemingway's direction she made an alphabetical list of the books in the two small buildings on the property (see Part IV, Section 2: KW). In conjunction with the earlier list of the books left in the Big House (KWH), Mrs. Geise's record gives a complete picture of the books in Key West at this time. Early in 1953, Hemingway wrote to Patrick describing the situation in Key West. The apartment over the garage, he explained, was rented as one unit and the lower floor of the Pool House with the pool was rented as another unit. The tenants in the Pool House were to leave on April 15th.(121) Two months later, in June of 1953, the Hemingways, on their way to Africa, stopped at Key West to check on the property. Mary writes:

Although the children had removed their favorite things among Pauline's possessions and all of the table silver, her sitting room looked intact with its small antique furniture, the floor tiles with pink roses which years before I had helped her find in Cuba, a few good oil paintings and prints, sculpture and lamps that were both pretty and functional. But except for sleeping we lived on the spacious secluded terrace which stretched from the doorstep to the rim of the pool. Pauline had left two or three thousand books on the shelves which had lined the staircase of the main house facing Whitehead Street. We had one big canvas bag bulging with books among our luggage. Only inertia restrained me from filling another one.(122)

Two years later, in 1955, A.E. Hotchner visited the Hemingways, now back from the African safari and living temporarily in Key West:

The address I had been given was that of the pool house, but when I knocked on the screen door, no one responded. I carried my bag in and called out but no one was around. It was a two-story house, the downstairs consisting of a kitchen, through which I had entered, a small bedroom with a single bed, and a large, high-ceilinged living room that had been furnished with imagination and taste. Crammed bookshelves ran from floor to ceiling. The floor was a beautifully designed tile, and the front of the room opened onto a charming terrace, beyond which was the pool, surrounded by verdant, extravagantly colored tropical plants and trees.(123)

At some point after Hotchner's visit, the Pool House was rented again. There were rumors of a break-in. The books in the Pool House vanished. At present their location is unknown. The books in the Big House, however, remained. Today the Whitehead Street property is a privately owned museum, and some of these books may still be viewed in the front room. In the fall of 1961, Mary Hemingway returned to Key West and removed from Sloppy Joe's Bar what remained of the possessions Hemingway had stored there some twenty-one years earlier:

Betty Bruce and I worked six or seven hours a day for a month, sifting papers, coming upon the skeletons of
mice, rats and many cockroaches which apparently died from starvation, their flesh having been nibbled away by ants. We also found scores of family letters, perhaps worth saving we agreed, original drafts of Ernest's early short stories, and an early draft of *A Farewell to Arms*, together with his hand-corrected galley proofs of the glossary of *Death in the Afternoon*. At the end of it, I shipped a half-dozen numbered boxes of papers to New York, and put in my purse lists of their respective contents. (124)

Some books were included among these papers, and these eventually found their way with the manuscript material into the Kennedy Library (see Part IV, Section 4: KL). A great many of the books that Hemingway owned in Key West survive either in Finca Vigía or some other collection or were recorded on one of the various lists. Is it possible, however, that a considerable number of books disappeared without a trace? A partial answer to this question may be provided by a remarkable photograph in the Patrick Hemingway Grant at the Princeton University Library. This photograph is a close-up of a bookcase in Key West. The date when it was taken is readily ascertainable. No identifiable volume in the photograph was published later than 1938. In addition, a box of cartridges and several loose cartridges are clearly visible on one shelf. The time, therefore, is 1938 or 1939—shortly before Hemingway's departure for Cuba. Twenty-five books are identifiable in the photograph. Twenty-three of these are recorded elsewhere in our sources. Two are not elsewhere recorded (see items 2699, 3802). In other words, we have some other source of information for 92% of the identifiable volumes. The sample provided by this single photograph is, of course, too small to be statistically significant, but it does suggest that while some books have undoubtedly been lost, we do have a record of a surprisingly high percentage of Hemingway's Key West books.

E. The Library at Finca Vigía

By the summer of 1941 the original bookshelves in the Finca Vigía, made from Toby Bruce's crates, had been replaced by finished bookcases. These bookcases were primarily in the large front room. Later, Toby added more shelves in Hemingway's bedroom and study. "Well, there was books piled up and the cases just had to be built .... As the library increased, why more cases were built.(125) And as the years passed, the library did increase. More and more books and periodicals were crowded into the Finca. This was particularly the case since Hemingway, as Mary has observed, "never threw away anything. Once in a while I could get him to throw away the wrappers in which magazines arrived, otherwise absolutely nothing, not a scratch pad, not a laundry list, nothing.(126) Eventually, in 1949, Mary Hemingway directed the final series of renovations that produced the interior that one finds in the house today:

Seeing the Finca with a fresh eye after eight months away from it, I found challenges to a summer-long program of repairs and rehabilitations. The ancient red tiles of the terrace were crumbling and calling for replacements. We needed more bookshelves and I perceived that the White Room, a sweetly proportioned, high-ceilinged area between the living room and the back terrace, was space wasted as a guest bedroom since it had no bath of its own and only an eight-foot-wide arch instead of a door for privacy. The hinged screen we used in the doorway failed to block out sitting room noises. The former Cat Room, now cleaned, repainted and refurnished would provide sufficient guest sleeping space when the Little House was occupied. We could make a wonderful library in the White Room. I persuaded Ernest, and drew plans for bookshelves, an enormous writing table, a sofa equally spacious, tables, clam-shell sconces for its wall lights, and clam-shell drawer pulls of cast bronze for the chests of drawers which would support our bookshelves rising all the way to the five- or six-meter ceiling.(127)

The result of this long process was, as anyone who has visited the Finca realizes, a house dominated by books. There are bookcases in every room, except the kitchen and dining room, and in the two out-buildings--the Little House (Casita) and the Tower. Through the years, Hemingway acquired books from a variety of sources. He continued to order books from the Scribner Book Store and to purchase books on his travels. He also frequented La Moderna, a bookstore in downtown Havana, and patronized various mail order book dealers. Catalogues from the English bookseller Frank Hammond advertising "Interesting and Rare Books" survive on the shelves of the Finca while a catalogue from the Sporting Book Service in New Jersey, listing nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century hunting and fishing books, some checked for order by Hemingway, is in the Kennedy Library. The Finca came to contain, therefore, not only a large number of contemporary volumes ranging from paperback

25
westerns to expensive art books, but also an impressive collection of older works, especially on the corrida and on Africa and hunting in general. Hemingway's passion for acquiring books extended to some surprisingly rare and esoteric works (see items 2304, 2835, 5514, for example). He also had two volumes specifically on the subject of book-collecting (items 4795, 6376). In addition to the books that Hemingway acquired deliberately, writers from all over the world sent autographed copies of their works, and guests sometimes left books in appreciation for Mary's hospitality. The hundreds of books that came to line the shelves were in many languages, the great majority, of course, in those Hemingway could read: English, French, Spanish and Italian. But there was also a smattering of other languages, some of which were exotic, especially in the case of complimentary copies of his own works in translation sent to him by publishers in distant lands. The library was subjected to various dangers over the years. For example, friends often borrowed books. In a letter to Bernard Berenson in 1955, Hemingway wrote that he envied Berenson's library because his own, in contrast, had been pillaged and looted. In Cuba, he explained, he had friends who lived on sugar plantations and had nothing to read. So they took fifteen books out to the plantation and brought back perhaps five, the others having been loaned to other planters. Fortunately, the picture that Hemingway paints in this letter is an exaggeration. Mary Hemingway has significantly qualified it:

People were forever borrowing books from us. I used to keep lists of the titles, the authors, and to whom they were lent, and then got onto them. I'm thinking now of Cuban friends of ours who read English. And then I used to--after six months or a year or something--I'd call them up and say, "Hey, bring back our books."  

In general, Mary Hemingway does not believe that many books were borrowed and not returned while she was at the Finca. She does, however, recall that there were instances when guests stole books: "Ernest was a student of the Civil War, one reason being that one of his grandfathers had fought in it, and I remember how furious he was when he discovered somebody had pinched... one of a set of four books on the war." Similarly, in regard to the possibility that books were stolen from the Finca after she left Cuba in 1961, she has remarked, "They pinched books when we were there, so I assume they pinched them when we weren't there." Nevertheless, when she visited Cuba in the summer of 1977, she reported that the library at Finca Vigía appeared to be "intact." There is, however, no doubt that some books vanished without any record of their existence being preserved. Some insight into this problem can be gained through a comparison of the list of books shipped to Cuba that Toby Bruce made in 1941 (kwfv), with the inventory made by the Cuban government in 1966 (FV). If one excludes books by Hemingway, periodicals and uncertain items, kwfv contains 783 positively identified volumes. Of these, 623 are on the Cuban inventory. In other words, 20.43% of the total, were lost or stolen between 1941 and 1966. However, it appears that losses of this sort were largely confined to the years before 1945. Photographs of the interior of the Finca, now in the Kennedy Library, indicate that after this date only a few books escaped being recorded in one fashion or another. One of these photographs shows Mary Hemingway's bedroom (KL EB3994P). There are no identifiable volumes in the photograph with publication dates later than 1948. In this photograph, sixteen books can be identified and all sixteen were recorded from other sources. A second photograph shows Hemingway standing before a bookcase as he receives the Nobel Prize from the Swedish Ambassador (KL EH3987P). The time, therefore, is late 1954. In this photograph, sixty-six volumes are identifiable, and sixty-four of these were recorded from our other sources. A final photograph shows Hemingway before a bookcase with an unidentified naval officer (KL EH2751P). In this photograph, thirty-one volumes are identifiable and all thirty-one of them were already recorded. All the evidence suggests, therefore, that Mary Hemingway's impression that the library is intact is correct.

In the summer of 1961 Mary Hemingway returned to Cuba in order to make preparations for turning the Finca over to the Cuban government, which was in the process of nationalizing all American holdings on the island. She spent about a month cleaning out the Finca. In her autobiography, she describes the clean-up:

In twenty-two years of accumulating correspondence and printed materials, Ernest, who never discarded anything but magazine wrappers and three-year-old newspapers, had managed to stuff to its brim almost every drawer of the Finca. The two big desks on the ground floor of the Little House were crammed with papers and grocery lists and charts of the Gulf Stream, many of them concerning his months of German submarine-chasing off Cuba's north coast. Twelve big drawers beneath the bookcases in the library were stuffed with ancient, mostly unanswered correspondence and thousands of photographs. His bedroom and study held piles and drawerfuls of papers. So did our storeroom, intended chiefly for luggage, in the tower.
and his four-viewed workroom and retreat on the tower's top floor.(134)

In addition to putting the Finca in order, she gathered together unpublished materials and personal possessions. When she left, she took with her manuscripts, letters, other papers that she felt were worth preserving, a number of valuable paintings and some books. The books that she removed were collected hurriedly: "This was totally hap-hazard on my part. I took books that I was quite sure were out of print and dealt mostly with Africa .... I did this in five minutes."(135) In addition to the fine old volumes of Africana (items 164, 331, 2945 and 4789, for example) she also took a number of books about Cuba, which she had purchased shortly after her arrival on the island sixteen years earlier in order to familiarize herself with her new home (for example, items 1327, 3765, 5481). All of these volumes are now in Mary Hemingway's private library (see Part IV, Section 6: MH). After Mary left Cuba, the government took possession of the Finca Vigía and turned it into a Hemingway Museum. After some preparatory work, it was opened to the public in 1962.(136)

IV. The Sources

Hemingway's library, as we have assembled it, is a composite record of book collections in six locations:

1. The Big House at 907 Whitehead Street, Key West, Florida.
2. The Pool House and Garage Apartment at 907 Whitehead Street, Key West, Florida.
3. The Finca Vigía, San Francisco de Paula, Cuba.
4. The Hemingway Collection at the John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Massachusetts.
6. Mary Hemingway's personal library.

Additional publication information and about 225 titles were added from several other sources. The most important of these are:

7. The list made by Toby Bruce in 1941 of books shipped to Cuba.
8. The invoices from the Scribner Book Store listing purchases by Hemingway.

1. KWH: Big House at 907 Whitehead Street, Key West, Florida

This list of precisely 200 numbered entries typed on eight pages was given to us by Mary Hemingway. Handwritten across the top of the first page are the words, "Books in Big House, Key West." The compiler and date are unknown, although it seems probably that it is the work of a realtor inventorying furnishings in the Big House when it was being prepared for rental. The list is very well typed, contains only minor errors, and causes few serious problems of interpretation.(137) It provides, however, no publication information, giving only the title and author of a work. We have provided publication details only when these are available from another source such as the Scribner invoices (see, for example, items 696, 1256, 6932). KWH contains some books published after Hemingway left Key West: for example, Martha Gellhorn's Liana (1941) and John Hersey's Into the Valley (1943). We have excluded from our record all books on this list published after 1939, the year Hemingway left Key West, although there was undoubtedly some movement of books between Key West and Cuba as the children and their parents travelled back and forth. KWH also contains a good many children's books. A few of these, such as Willard F. Baker's Western Stories for Boys, Laura A. Large's Little Stories of Well-known Americans and Howard R. Garis' Buddy on Mystery Mountain, could not have belonged to Hemingway when he was a child. They too have been excluded from our record. In those cases, however, where a children's book was published early enough to have belonged to Hemingway it has been included (see item 3293).

2. KW: The Pool House and Garage Apartment, 907 Whitehead Street, Key West, 1955.

This thirty-four-page list of 1,298 alphabetically arranged entries is now in the Kennedy Library. The first page bears the inscription, "List of Books in the Pool House and Garage Apartment, December 1955." The words
"Key West" are written beneath in large letters. The second page is a note:

Dear Mary:

The actual listing of the books was finished in December. It is just the alphabetizing and typing that has been done since then.

Ann

ESTIMATED, 3,000

This note was written by Ann Geise, who made the list for Mary Hemingway. Like KWH, this list gives no publication details. We have provided such information only if it was available from another source, such as the Scribner invoices. Once more the list includes not only books belonging to Hemingway, but also children's books, schoolbooks and books purchased after Hemingway left Key West. As in the case of KWH, children's books and schoolbooks have been excluded from our record unless (in the case of the children's books) the original publication date was early enough to make it possible that Hemingway owned the book as a child (see item 63). Similarly, all books on this list published after 1939 have been excluded, although there may again have been some movement of books back and forth in the family visits. In the case of books published before 1939, we have not attempted to make any distinction between books that were Pauline's and those that were Hemingway's. Lorine Thompson, who knew Pauline well, has expressed doubt that any such distinction is possible.

KW is well typed and presents few problems of interpretation. One entry, however, simply reads "Shelley." Another entry records, "Keats--The Poetical Works of." In comparison, the Shelley entry does not provide sufficient information for us to determine either the character or the date of the work in question. Therefore, the Keats entry is included; the Shelley entry is not. A more significant problem is presented by a series of entries evidently recording books containing reproductions of the work of various painters. In these cases, Ann Geise provided only the name of the painter. Her complete entries are: "Cezanne," "Derian," "Gris, Juan (2 diff. pubs.)," "Goya," "Modigliani," "Picasso," "Quintanilla, Luis," "Renoir," "Rousseau, Henri (2 books)," "Van Gogh, Vincent (2 copies)." In addition, there is a work entitled "Masterpieces of the National Gallery," but it has not been possible to determine whether the institution referred to is in Washington or London. Most other problems on KW occur in the final miscellaneous section in which Ann Geise grouped items that appeared to lack an author's name. Some of these entries created difficulties. For example, Colette's *Envers du music-hall* appears without the author's name. Another entry, "Abyssinia and Italy," is too brief to permit certain identification.

3. FV: Catalogo de la biblioteca del museo Hemingway, 1966

This unalphabetized "shelf list" was prepared by staff members of the Biblioteca Nacional Jose Marti, Havana, Cuba, in 1966. It records the contents of the bookshelves, desks and tables in the three buildings which constitute Finca Vigia: the Main House, the Little House (La Casita) and the Tower. The list consists of 1,076 pages with about eight entries per page. It provided almost 6,000 items for our record. The entries are divided into nine volumes, one for each room in the house plus one volume for the Tower and one volume for the Little House:

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<td>I</td>
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<td>III</td>
<td>Biblioteca--2</td>
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<td>IV</td>
<td>Cuarto visita</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>Cuarto estudio</td>
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<td>VI</td>
<td>Dormitorio Hemingway</td>
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<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Dormitorio Sra Hemingway</td>
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<td>VIII</td>
<td>La Casita</td>
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<td>IX</td>
<td>La Torre</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The bibliographers from the Biblioteca Nacional included publication information and those dedications that they were able to decipher. Since the tables and bookcases often contained such materials as periodicals, pamphlets and brochures these were also included in the list. We are indebted to Sra Marta Arhona for making the original of this list available to us during our examination of the library at Finca Vigía.
in January 1977. At that time, we were able to ascertain that the books in 1977 were essentially as they had been in 1966.

For our composite record, we used a microfilm of the Cuban inventory that Dr. Hans-Joachim Kann had earlier obtained from the Biblioteca Nacional. Because this microfilm was made from a carbon copy of the original inventory and because of apparent voltage fluctuations during the filming, this microfilm is barely legible. In addition, it is an imperfect copy of the original: eight pages are copied twice, six pages are missing and three pages are blank. Fortunately, three of the missing pages and all of the blank pages listed periodicals. Only three pages of books are missing. One of these pages is from the Library, one from Hemingway's Study and one from the Tower. Efforts to acquire copies of the missing pages have not been successful, but some of the books recorded on these pages have been restored from other sources (see, for example, items 6557 and 6655).

Although the inventory is basically accurate and dependable, its size and the fact that it contains books in many languages resulted in numerous small errors and confusions. In the case of authors' names, these range from simple misspellings to the surprising assertion that a volume entitled "Shooting" had been authored by "Moor (and others). The work is, in fact, Eric Parker's Shooting by Moor, Field, and Shore. Occasionally, titles are inaccurately transcribed. Thomas Mann's Buddenbrooks appears as "Budden rooks books" while Delbert Clark's Again the Goose Step: The Lost Fruits of Victory is rendered as "Again the goose fruits of victory." Although dates are naturally subject to typographical error, for the most part they are accurate.

The many paperback books published in the United States constitute an area in which particular difficulties occur because frequently the date of publication is not ascertainable from the volume itself. In such cases the Cuban librarians naturally fell into error. For example, the date given on FV for the Dell edition of Mary Webb's Gone to Earth is 1928. If a copy of the Dell edition is examined, it is found that no date of publication for that edition is given, only the dates of the original copyrights: "MCMXVII, MCMXXXVIII." The Cuban librarians used the second date, but the Dell edition was published in 1950. These errors are corrected in our record.

Since the Finca Vigía was Hemingway's principal residence from 1939 to 1960, we have considered its library a family library and have presented it in its entirety, including in our composite record children's books (for example, items 3056 and 5812) and schoolbooks (for example, items 4540, 6176 and 6211), as well as books that would seem to have belonged essentially to Mary Hemingway (for example, items 6495, 7126 and 7284). However, four categories of material have for the most part been omitted from the record:

a. 278 books written by Hemingway himself. Works edited or introduced by Hemingway have been included. For these items, see the index.

b. Almost 2,000 periodicals which the inventory describes as scattered throughout the Main House and the other buildings. These, it should be remembered, are only the survivors of Mary Hemingway's "tremendous clean-up" in 1961: "René and the gardeners ... wheel-barrowed load after load of five-and-ten-year old copies of Ruedo, the Spanish bullfight magazine, of the London Economist and other British weeklies, of French and a dozen United States publications to a bonfire below the tennis court."

c. 166 pieces of trivia. Many of these entries describe pamphlets or brochures that lack publication information and are not books in the normal sense. They were included by the Cuban librarians because it was their task to produce a complete inventory. A few examples may best define this category: "The New Waring Blender ... Serves Everyone," "Cuba Tourist Commission," "Your Steuben Glass and How to Care for It," "The Art of Gift Wrapping," the American Automobile Association Western Emergency Service Directory for 1958, Abercrombie and Fitch catalogues, Union Pacific Railroad Time Tables, "Plan-guide de Paris" and catalogues of long-playing records.

d. Nine incoherent or unverifiable entries. The Cuban entries in this category are:

Rhinos Eros. (s.l.) 1960.
Erico Glassi. (s.l., s.a.).
Strids. (s.l., s.a.).
Picasso party. (s.l.) 1960.
Asambles humana. Venesuela (s.a.).
Truth in religion. (India, s.a.).
O.P. Gobierno Revolucionario. Habana, Harcourt, Brace
/s.a./

That the Cuban inventory usually provides complete and reliable information was made clear by a comparison of it with the Scribner invoices and with the tapes that the authors made in the Finca Vigía in 1977. We have, therefore, included in our composite record all entries except those listed above, although in some cases it was not possible to verify them. We have identified these unverified entries by an asterisk (*) and have reproduced in our item the information provided by the Cuban inventory.

4. KL: The Hemingway Collection at the John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Massachusetts

The abbreviation KL designates the collection of Hemingway materials in the Kennedy Library in Boston. There are sixty-two volumes in this collection. They range from a World War I soldier's manual (see item 6920) and a Shakespeare and Company unbound press copy of James Joyce's Ulysses to A. Lafont's Toreros d'aujourd'hui (1959) and the page proofs of John Brown's Hemingway (1961). This collection was gathered by Mary Hemingway from various locations. Some appear to have been brought from Cuba in 1961, but most were part of the materials stored at Sloppy Joe's Bar in Key West. According to A.E. Hotchner, Hemingway believed that the materials at Sloppy Joe's had deteriorated as had some first editions and manuscripts stored in a closet in the Pool House: "Ernest opened the covers of a book, all the pages of which, he discovered, had been totally consumed by literary beetles. 'Well,' he said, 'I've got a lot of other stuff stored in the back of Sloppy Joe's--must be in the same shape.'(148) However, it proved that those possessions were in far better condition, probably because of the precautions taken by Toby Bruce: "I'd just go down every six or eight months and throw some chlorodine around so the wood-worms wouldn't chew them up."(149)

The collection at the Kennedy Library was catalogued by James D. Brasch with the assistance of Jo August, Curator of the Hemingway Collection.

5. PC: Private Collection

The letters "PC" designate a collection of books and periodicals in private hands. The authors were allowed to catalogue the collection with the stipulation that its location not be disclosed. The collection consists of eighty-nine books and a considerable number of periodicals. There is no doubt that all of these items were owned by Hemingway. By far the most significant elements among the periodicals are a large number of issues of the Spanish bullfight periodical La Lidia and a large collection of The Youth's Companion, both dating from the last years of the nineteenth century. The books in this collection are varied: for example, a 1916 edition of Ezra Pound's Gaudier-Brzeska, Ramon Jose Sender's Counter-attack in Spain (1937), a set of inscribed gift books which date from Hemingway's youth (see note 11), O. Henry's Rolling Stones signed "Lieut. Ernest Hemingway" and dated 1919, and a copy of Leverett S. Lyons' Elements of Debating inscribed "Ernest Hemingway, 202, Miss Dixon, English teacher," which has a drawing by Hemingway of a tree and a snake on the title page.

This collection was catalogued by Daniella and Joseph Sigman.

6. MH: Mary Hemingway's Personal Library

217 of Hemingway's books remain in the possession of Mrs. Hemingway. For the most part these are books that were in the house in Ketchum, Idaho, at the time of Hemingway's death. The remainder were removed from Cuba by Mrs. Hemingway in 1961. This collection was catalogued by James D. Brasch and Joseph Sigman with the assistance of Daniella Sigman and Tillie Arnold.
7. kwfv: List of books shipped from Key West to the Finca Vigía in 1941.

This list, which is made up of 876 entries representing over 1,100 books and periodicals, is now in the Kennedy Library. It consists of twenty-seven typewritten pages plus a coveringsheet on which appear the words, "List of Books shipped from Key West to Havana" in the handwriting of Toby Bruce. All the pages have "Havana" written on them, and some are marked "OK." Evidently, the shipment was checked when it arrived. Each page is labelled with a crate number; crate number 6 required two pages. The enumeration proceeds unbroken to crate 24. The next page is devoted to crate 44. Toby Bruce maintains that the crates at Sloppy Joe's were numbered, and this list may reflect that numbering. Perhaps the missing twenty crates were those remaining at Sloppy Joe's plus those moved separately to Cuba on the Pilar. The typist has divided each page into two columns. The left-hand column gives the title of a book or periodical, while the right-hand column gives the name of an author or, in the case of a few periodicals, a date. As in the case of KWH and KW, no publication information is given. Most of the list is typed completely in capital letters, but on four pages normal capitalization is used.

The list gives some indications of the circumstances of its compilation and of the personality of Toby Bruce, who compiled it. Apparently, the list was hurriedly made. There are many typographical errors. Apostrophes and most other marks of punctuation are left out. Many abbreviations are used. Often only the last name of an author is given. Near the end, it seems evident that Toby Bruce was increasingly pressed for time since a number of collective entries appear: "73 VOLS. ASSORTED FRENCH PAPER BOUND BOOKS," "12 COPIES INT. LIT.," "27 COPIES ON SPAIN AND BULL FIGHTING," "10 NOVELS IN FRENCH." Occasionally, Toby engaged in private jokes to relieve the tedium of typing. In crate 15 it is suggested that the author of "BOOK OF SAINTS" is "MAYBE JESUS???" In crate 7 the title "DON'T CALL ME STUPID" elicits the response, "O.K. I WON'T."

Although the great majority of the entries are clear, this list contains many more problems of interpretation than either KWH or KW. Not only was the list hurriedly prepared, but Toby Bruce was unfamiliar with bibliographic conventions and had no knowledge of some of the language involved. "ROMAN" is said to be the author of "VOYAGE AU BOUT DE LA NUIT." "KUNST" is said to be the author of a book on "JUAN GRIS," and "Gli Alberghi" is identified as the author of "In Italy in 1936." George Teasdale-Buckell, the author of "THE COMPLETE SHOT," is denominated only as "BUCHELL." The author of "HISTORY OF CHAS XII" is given as "TOD HUNTER," but the work is, in fact, Voltaire's *History of Charles XII* translated by Winifred Tod Hunter. The entry "2 Trilogia Taurina" is a good example of the more severe difficulties that the list sometimes presents. The "2" could refer either to two volumes or to the second volume of a work whose title indicates that it was published in three volumes. The Spanish writer, Pascual Millan, published a work with this title in 1905. The Cuban inventory of the Finca lists, among other works by Millan, volumes one and three of his *Trilogia Taurina*. Clearly, these were the volumes moved by Toby Bruce in 1941. Although most of the problems posed by this list have been satisfactorily solved, nineteen items have resisted identification(150)

This list is especially significant because of the vivid picture it gives of the books Hemingway owned in Key West, and because it establishes a date before which Hemingway acquired particular volumes. It demonstrates Hemingway's early interest in the work of his contemporaries. There are many works by T.S. Eliot, James Joyce and Ezra Pound as well as works by Louis Aragon, Henri Barbusse, Jean Cocteau, John Dos Passos, William Faulkner, Andre Gide, Aldous Huxley, Ludwig Lewisohn, Marcel Proust, Gertrude Stein, Allan Tate, Ernest Walsh, Edmund Wilson, Virginia Woolf, W.B. Yeats and others. In addition, there is an impressive collection of works by nineteenth-century writers: Charles Baudelaire, Joseph Conrad, Gustave Flaubert, J.K. Huysmans, Henrik Ibsen, Henry James, Rudyard Kipling, Richard Le Gallienne, Guy de Maupassant, George Moore, Algernon Swinburne, R.L. Stevenson, Leo Tolstoy and Owen Wister.

8. s [date]: Invoices from the Scribner Book Store, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Thirty-three invoices survive from the period May 1933 to January 1961. They are now in the Hemingway Collection at the J.F. Kennedy Library. Mary Hemingway has indicated that books were ordered continuously from Scribner's; it appears, therefore, that a great many invoices have not survived.(151) The Scribner Book Store retains invoices for only ten years. The invoices are bills from the Book Store listing Hemingway's purchases of books and periodicals and giving the amount of each purchase and the total owed to the Book Store. Not only do the invoices add sixty-eight titles to the composite record of Hemingway's library, they also identify the approximate date on which he acquired many books. s36 indicates that the volume appeared on an invoice from Scribner's in 1936. In
addition, the recorded purchase price frequently makes it possible to identify the precise edition.

9. b [date]: Invoices from Brentano's, 37, Avenue de l'Opera, Paris

In the Kennedy Library there are four invoices from Brentano's Book Store in Paris. Two of these do not add to our information about Hemingway's library. One records a periodical subscription in December 1927 when Hemingway and his second wife, Pauline, were living on the Rue Ferou, while the other merely indicates a payment received in December 1931 after Hemingway had stopped in Paris in September after a summer spent following the bullfights in Spain. However, the remaining two invoices itemize book purchases. The first lists two books purchased in the Fall of 1933 when Hemingway stopped briefly in Paris on his way to Africa. The second lists eleven books purchased in October 1938 when Hemingway spent about a month in Paris before travelling on to Barcelona for a final survey of the Spanish Civil War. As might be expected, his purchases at that time included a number of books on Spain and on modern warfare in general.

The Brentano's invoices added five items to the library and provided information about the dates on which Hemingway acquired six other volumes. Because the invoices list only titles, identification of the volumes was sometimes a problem. The price of the volumes is given in French francs, so it is not possible, as it was with the Scribner invoices, to use the price to determine the particular edition that Hemingway purchased. Therefore, two entries, "Escape" on the 1933 invoice and "Game Birds" on the 1938 invoice, are not included in our record because precise identification is not possible. It is also clear that Hemingway purchased books from Brentano's for which we have no invoices. The invoice dated December 1931 indicates that books costing 819 francs were purchased when Hemingway was in Paris in September, but no invoice itemizing these purchases has survived.

For the books on the Brentano's invoices, see the following: items 327, 478, 760a, 3364a, 3881, 5648, 6021, 6252a, 6373a, 6398, 6557a.

10. b/s tape: Tapes made at the Finca Vigía by James D. Brasch and Joseph Sigman in January 1977

The primary purpose of these tapes was to verify that the collection recorded in the Cuban inventory of 1966 was still intact. They also supplement the inventory in various ways and supply some of the books listed on the pages missing from the microfilm used in our composite record (see, for example, item 6655).

11. ph photo: A photograph in the Patrick Hemingway Grant at Princeton University Library

This is a close-up of a bookcase in Key West taken in 1938 or 1939. It is one of a series of apparently random shots of the house and garden. This photograph added two items to the composite record (items 2699, 3802) as well as providing publication details for other entries.

12. kl photo: Photographs in the Hemingway Collection at the John F. Kennedy Library

This photograph collection was examined for evidence of books not recorded elsewhere. Two items were added to the record from photo no. EH 3987P (items 4517, 5967a). One item was added from no. EH 8432P(b) (item 4896) and another from no. EH 3568P (item 6100).

13. Miscellaneous entries

A number of individual volumes that once belonged to Hemingway are scattered across the United States. An old schoolbook is in the University of Virginia Library (item 4754). Another volume is in the possession of Tillie Arnold in Idaho (item 2089). A third volume is owned by Max Tecza in Utah (item 2354a) and a fourth by Forrest Macmullen in Las Vegas (item 6263). In addition, a volume that Hemingway gave to his son Patrick was destroyed in a fire in San Francisco (item 4217).
V. Methods and Procedures

Cards were prepared for each item in the sources described in Section IV. The items were alphabetized, numbered and verified or corrected by reference to standard bibliographies. After the deletions described below, this process produced 7,363 items for our composite record, representing about 7,700 books.

The following guidelines were used:
1. All works written by Hemingway (including translations) were excluded. Volumes edited or introduced by him were retained (see Index: Hemingway).
2. Periodicals were excluded except for La Lidia and a few other items that seemed exceptional (for example, items 6227, 6606).
3. Trivial items were excluded (see Part IV, Section 3: c).
4. Most volumes published after 1960 were excluded.
5. Items that resisted identification were recorded (see notes 137 and 150 and Part IV, Section 3: d).
6. Items that could not be verified by reference to standard bibliographies, but which appeared to be legitimate entries, were included and identified by an asterisk (*). We welcome relevant details about such items.
7. As the history of the library (Part 111) makes clear, the composite record must be considered a family library. We have made only the most obvious deletions.

The possibility that some books were moved between Key West and the Finca Vigía on the various visits made by members of the family has governed our procedure in cases where a title appears on both KW and FV. (152) These titles are annotated KW FV. This should not be taken as an assertion that the copy in the Finca Vigía is the same one referred to on KW. Nevertheless it is possible that the KW volume was moved to Cuba (FV) after the KW inventory was made. Since KW does not provide publication information, there is no way to be certain about this. Our annotation in these cases indicates that the title is on both lists, and there is some possibility that both refer to the same volume.

The form of the entries was governed by A Manual of Style for Authors, Editors, and Copywriters (Twelfth Edition, Revised) published by the University of Chicago Press, 1969. The National Union Catalogue: Pre-1956 Imprints and the 1958 supplement provided the standard authority for the content, spelling, author names and alphabetization of the entries. One exception to this alphabetization was made for the many French guide books in Hemingway's library. It seemed advisable to group these in one place. A practice similar to that used in Biblio was adopted and these works were alphabetized under Guides.

The standard bibliographic works used for the verification of the entries were:


Books in Print: An Author-Title-Series Index to the "Publishers' Trade List Annual. New York: Bowker, 1948-.


Catalogo general de la libreria espanola e hispanoamericana, 1901-1930. Nendeln, Liechtenstein:
Kraus Reprint, 1967.


NOTES

Some notes use the following abbreviations: JDB for James D. Brasch and D & JS for Daniella and Joseph Sigman. "Tape" indicates a taped interview. In the case of Hemingway's letters, we have, when a letter is available to the public, noted its location.


6. EH to Mr. Wezeman. June 10, 1953. We are indebted to Barbara Ballinger, Head Librarian of the Oak Park Library, for providing us with a copy of this letter.


9. *At the Hemingways*, pp. 84 and 99-100.

10. *My Brother, Ernest Hemingway*, p. 34.

11. For the complete list of gift books in the collection, see the following items: 1144, 1691, 1795, 2664, 2900, 3057, 3701, 3850, 3902, 3959, 5206, 6349, 6527. The collection also includes nine other schoolbooks and children's books: items 77, 2510, 2511, 4035, 4256, 4732, 6587, 6930, 7251. Another gift book is in the Kennedy Library; see item 4526.


17. Morley Callaghan, *That Summer in Paris: Memories of Tangled Friendships with Hemingway, Fitzgerald, and Some Others* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1963), p. 103. The full passage is: "To this day someone will say 'Hemingway didn't seem to have much of an education.' By this, I suppose, the academic critic means Ernest hadn't taken his own formal academic drill. But as the philosophers themselves are aware, the artist kind of knowing, call it intuition if you will, could yield a different kind of knowledge beyond rational speculation. Anyway, Ernest read everything."
18. *At the Hemingways*, p. 179.


25. EH to Toby Bruce. Sept. 12, 1941.

26. EH to Sylvia Beach. [1925.] Princeton.


42. T.S. Eliot, "Tradition and the Individual Talent," The Sacred Wood (London: Faber, 1972), p. 49. Although Hemingway's public comments on Eliot were scathing, the number of works by Eliot in his library is striking.


45. Wagner, Five Decades, pp. 24-25.


47. A Moveable Feast, p. 27.


52. EH to Bernard Berenson. May 27, 1953. "i Tatti."

53. EH to Malcolm Cowley. Oct. 17, 1945. Kennedy Library. Morley Callaghan recognized this side of Hemingway's personality: "He spoke so casually, but with such tremendous authority, that I suddenly couldn't doubt him. Without knowing it, I was in the presence of that authority he evidently had to have to hold his life together. He had to believe he knew, as I found out later, or he was lost. Whether it was in the field of boxing, or soldiering, or bullfighting, or painting, he had to believe he was the one who knew." That Summer in Paris, pp. 29-30.

54. We have benefited from John Blair Hemstock's "Hemingway's Awareness of Other Writers," unpublished M.A. thesis, McMaster University, 1979. See also Leicester Hemingway, "Ernest Hemingway's Boyhood Reading," Mark Twain Journal 12 (Winter 1964): 4-5.

55. Wagner, Five Decades, p. 34.


61. Plimpton in Five Decades, p. 29. The "good" Kipling may have been defined in a letter to a young author who had asked a similar question of Hemingway in 1953. Hemingway advised the young writer to read


63. A Moveable Feast, p. 36. In a telephone conversation with the authors on May 1-6, 1979, Patrick Hemingway emphasized the importance of Turgenev to his father. He also commented on his father's affection for Longfellow's translation of Dante's Divine Comedy. Some of Patrick Hemingway's remembrances including comments on literature, can be found in "My Papa, Papa," Playboy 15 (Dec. 1968): 197-200 and 263-68.


66. A Moveable Feast, p. 134. Hemingway's friendship with Ezra Pound has long been a subject for biographical reflection, but more recently emphasis has been placed on Pound's influence as a teacher determined to alert his student to the necessity of linguistic purity. See Harold M. Hurwitz, "Hemingway's Tutor, Ezra Pound" and Richard Hasbany, "The Shock of Vision: An Imagist Reading of In Our Time." Both articles are in Wagner, Five Decades.

67. My Brother, Ernest Hemingway, p. 156.

68. Gregory Hemingway, Papa: A Personal Memoir (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), pp. 102-4. Another rare suggestion of contemporary writers was recorded by Valerie Danby-Smith, who was Hemingway's secretary and who later married Gregory Hemingway. She asked for some reading suggestions and Hemingway obliged: J.D. Salinger's The Catcher in the Rye; Nelson Algren's The Man with the Golden Arm; John O'Hara's From the Terrace; Ezra Pound's Cantos; and Lawrence Durrell's Bitter Lemons. "Reminiscences of Hemingway," Saturday Review 47 (May 9, 1964): 31.


71. "How Do You Like It Now, Gentlemen?" The New Yorker 26 (May 13, 1950). This "profile" was revised and enlarged in Portrait of Hemingway (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1961).


75. *That Summer in Paris*.


79. Univ. of Michigan Press, 1974. This collection, with its useful introduction and index, is an indispensable resource for the study of Hemingway as a literary craftsman.


83. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976. Some of Reynolds' insights are given a more thorough explication in W.B. Lewis's as yet unpublished paper, "Hemingway in Italy: Making It Up." Professor Lewis provides a detailed discussion of Hemingway's use of C.M. Trevelyan's *Scenes from Italy's War* (1919). This volume no longer survives in Hemingway's library. We are indebted to Professor Lewis for providing us with a copy of his paper. See also George Dekker and Joseph Harris, "Supernaturalism and the Vernacular Style in A Farewell to Arms," *PMLA* 94 (March 1979): 311-18, which examines Hemingway's use of European literature and *The Oxford Book of English Verse* (Clarendon, 1900). On the matter of Stendhal, see also Alberto Moravia (note 1 to the Preface, above) and *Men at War* (New York: Crown, 1942), p. xx.


86. As early as September 1924 Hemingway wrote to Edmund O'Brien that he focused on what was absolutely solid in his early stories. He wrote O'Brien that he wanted to provide hard clear images so that after his stories had been read the country, not the language, would remain. EH to EO, Sept. 12, 1924. The authors are indebted to Dr. Robert L. Beare of the McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, for permission to examine this letter.


89. See Index: Art, France, Individual artists, New York City, etc.


95. A Moveable Feast, p. 35.


100. EH to Sylvia Beach. [1925.] Princeton.


102. A Moveable Feast, pp. 41-44.


104. Leonte Valladares to D & JS. Tape, Sept. 16, 1978. The other quotations in this paragraph are from the same interview. In 1929 Valladares' Bookstore moved to Duval Street and in 1953 to its present location at 1200 Duval St.

105. In the Kennedy Library there is a photograph of Hemingway (EH 3963P) holding a book with the legend "Circulating Library" clearly visible on the jacket.


109. Toby Bruce to D & JS. Tape, Feb. 17, 1979. All of the quotations in this paragraph are from this interview.
110. Later this building was sold and Hemingway's possessions were moved to a room on the first floor of the bar itself. According to James McLendon, after Hemingway and Martha Gellhorn were married by a justice of the peace in Cheyenne, Wyoming, Hemingway "sheepishly presented himself at his house with Sloppy Joe Russell, Joe's Negro bartender, Skinner, and a pickup truck, and hauled most of his belongings off to the back room of Russell's bar...." See Papa: Hemingway in Key West (Miami: Seemann 1972), p. 206. Toby Bruce has explicitly rejected the account: "I did that. I hauled all the stuff." For confirmation of Toby Bruce's account, see EH to Waldo Peirce. July 14, 1941. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

111. One particularly difficult item was the water-buffalo head which is now on the wall in Hemingway's study at Finca Vigía. The head was too large to check as luggage on the airplane, and Toby Bruce was obliged to buy a ticket for it and ride with it in the seat beside him.


115. EH to Toby Bruce. Feb. 16, 1941.

116. EH to Toby Bruce. April 29, 1941.

117. Martha Gellhorn to Toby Bruce. June 1941.

118. EH to Toby Bruce. July 9, 1941.

119. The information in this paragraph is derived from the following taped interviews. Toby Bruce to D & JS. Sept. 14, 1978; Lorine Thompson to D & JS. Sept. 12, 1978; Bernice Dickson to D & JS. Sept. 13, 1978; Zulena Reckley to D & JS. Sept. 15, 1978. Patrick Hemingway has agreed that there is a strong possibility that KWH was made as a realtor's inventory. Telephone conversation with JDB & JS. May 16, 1979. See also EH to Patrick Hemingway. Nov. 26, 1952. Princeton.

120. EH to Toby Bruce. Oct. 15, 1952.

121. EH to Patrick Hemingway. April 10, 1953. Princeton.

122. How It Was, p. 322.


124. How It Was, p. 512. Also see McLendon, Papa: Hemingway in Key West, p. 211. McLendon's assertion that Hemingway's effects "had gone untouched and virtually unnoticed in the barroom as the property changed hands three times" is inaccurate on one count and questionable on another. Actually, Hemingway's possessions were moved from a building behind Sloppy Joe's to a room behind the bar itself. Also, stories circulate in Key West that various people went through the boxes in search of items that could be sold for a quick profit.


127. How It Was, p. 240.


131. Mary Hemingway to JDB & JS. Tape, Jan. 22, 1977. Hemingway wrote to Harvey Breit that the last time the people from the American embassy were at the Finca, the first volume of any set of four that Hemingway had worked hard to find and had annotated was missing. EH to Harvey Breit. Nov. 10, 1952. Harvard.


137. Only two items have resisted identification: "Mosbach" by "Sin Fubrer" and *A Son Vinder Blaser* by AR. Wernlund.


139. Mary Hemingway has agreed that some movement of books took place. Mary Hemingway to D & JS. Tape, Dec. 11, 1979. Gerald Brenan's *Spanish Labyrinth* is an example of a book about which some question exists. In a letter to Edmund Wilson, Hemingway said that Brenan's book was the best work ever written on the political situation in Spain (EH to Edmund Wilson. Nov. 8, 1952. Kennedy Library). Also, Mary Hemingway recalls that she read the book while travelling in Spain (Mary Hemingway to JDB & JS. Tape, Jan. 22, 1977). However, Brenan's volume is not at the Finca Vigía, although two other works by him are. A copy does appear on KW.

140. Lorine Thompson to D & J,S. Tape, Sept. 12, 1978: "I don't think they had any this is yours and this is mine."

141. The entry "Abyssinia and Italy" could refer either to a volume by Emily Burns published in London in 1935 or a volume from the Information Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs published by Oxford University Press in New York in 1935.

142. In our record, multi-volumed works and collected editions are considered one item. On Dec. 13, 1954, *Time* reported that the Finca held 4,859 volumes (p. 71).


144. We are indebted to Prof. Matthew J. Bruccoli for providing us with a Xerox of his copy of the inventory and to Mary Hemingway for giving us her copy. We also examined a copy in the Kennedy Library. These
three copies were made from Dr. Kann's microfilm. A legible and usable copy of the microfilm was finally obtained only through the use of a 3M Model 500 reader/printer.

145. The following pages are missing:
   Tomo III, Estante No. 7, p. 19, and Estante No. 9, p. 28.
   Tomo V, Estante 2, p. 1.
   Tomo IX, Mesa Blanca, p. 12, and Paquete De Revistas Numeros 1-2-3-4, pp. 8 and 10.
   The following pages are blank:
   Tomo IX, Paquete De Revistas Numeros 5-6-7, pp. 16, 18 and 22.


147. Mary Hemingway to JDB & JS. Tape, Jan. 22, 1977, and How It Was, p. 506. As Mrs. Hemingway explained to us, "It was just a matter... of leaving it a little bit neater and knowing who wanted to read a ten-year-old copy of The Economist." Mary Hemingway to JDB & JS. Tape, Jan. 22, 1977.

148. Papa Hemingway, p. 16


150. The following items have resisted satisfactory identification:

"Pout Diviner" by "Tully"
"IMMIGRANTS" by "CHAS. BONE"
"FLA. SALT WATER FISHERMANS GUIDE"
"2 Vol. La Habana 1546"
ABiscayne Bay, 1887-1937"
"LES GOLFS DE FRANCE@"
DON QUIJOTE DE HOLLYWOOD 1936"
ACOMMERCE@"
"FRENCH GOVERNMENT"
"GERMAN SHORT STORIES"
"2 VOL. RECORDS (BRANISH)"
"LA COSCENZI DI ZENO" by "ROMANZO"
"Numancia" by "Raphael Alberti"
"LIBRO DE GALLITO" by "Querrita"
"Fiestas de totos"
"PROGRAMA D.C. DE EST."
"2 VOL. LEDGERS DE TOROS"
"TORERIAS 1925"
"SANGRE Y ARENA" [The context suggests the periodical on the corrida.]


152. Mary Hemingway has agreed that books may have been moved: "There may have been, but I don't remember specific incidents." Mary Hemingway to D & JS. Tape, Dec. 11, 1978.
USING THE COMPOSITE RECORD

When the composite record is consulted for an author, both the alphabetical list and the index must be checked. The index includes both subject matter and the authors of introductions, forewords, etc. Each item in the record has been annotated to indicate the source or sources in which it appears. In the case of items that appear in more than one source, the annotations provide a capsule history of the item. For example:

Forester, C.S. *The General*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1936. s36 kwfv FV

Hemingway purchased this volume from the Scribner Book Store in 1936, the year that it appeared on a Scribner invoice. In 1941, Toby Bruce shipped the volume to Cuba and recorded it on the shipping list (kwfv). In 1966, the volume was still at the Finca Vigía, and was included in the Cuban inventory (FV). The following example illustrates a variation:


Since this item is on the 1941 shipping list (kwfv), it was acquired by Hemingway at some time before he left Key West in 1939. After being moved to Cuba by Toby Bruce, it remained in the Finca Vigía until 1961. At that time it was one of the volumes of Africana that Mary Hemingway removed from Cuba. It is now in her personal library. The following symbols have been used to identify locations and other sources of information:

Locations
1. KWH Big House, Key West
2. KW Pool House and Garage Apartment, Key West
3. FV Finca Vigía, San Francisco de Paula, Cuba
5. PC Private Collection
6. MH Mary Hemingway's personal library

Other Sources of information
7. kwfv Key West/Finca Vigía shipping list
8. s [date] Scribner invoices
9. b [date] Brentano invoices
10. b/s tape Brasch/Sigman tape
11. ph photo Photograph in Patrick Hemingway Grant, Princeton
12. kl photo Photographs in the Kennedy Library
13. Miscellaneous items individually identified

Note: Items not verified in a standard bibliography are identified by an asterisk
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2045. Euripides. *Alcestis*. kwfv

Evans, Bergen, joint author. See Bishop, Herman.

Evans, Evan, pseud. See Faust, Frederick.

Evans, Walker, joint author. See Agee, James.
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2051. -----. Another copy. KW

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2167. Fernández Martínez, Fidel. *Sierra Nevada*. KW
2169. -----. *Cabeza rapada*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1958. FV
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2187. -----. Another copy? KW


Finnegan, Robert, pseud. See Ryan, Paul William.


Fisher, Clay, pseud. See Allen, Henry


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Forsythe, Robert, pseud. See Crichton, Kyle Samuel.


2311. -----. Another copy. FV

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2312. -----. *View from the Air*. New York: Scribner, 1953. FV


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2327. -----. *Sailor Town*. KW


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Frank, Gerold, joint author. See Barrymore, Diana. Also see Graham, Sheilah.


2343. -----. *Virgin Spain: Scenes from the Spiritual Drama of a Great People.* KW


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   Gorkin, Julian, joint author. See González, Valentín R.
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<td>New York: Viking</td>
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<td>New York: Heritage</td>
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<td>Chicago: Fullerton</td>
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<td>How to Catch Trout</td>
<td>Osborn, Robert Chesley.</td>
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<td>Sterne, Laurence.</td>
<td>New York: Boni &amp; Liveright</td>
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<td>A Sentimental Journey.</td>
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<td>Stevens, Austin.</td>
<td>London: Cape</td>
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<td>The Man with the Blue Guitar and other Poems.</td>
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<td>A Child's Garden of Verses.</td>
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