

THE LETTERS 1923–1925



January 1923

To Marcelline Hemingway Sanford, 2 January 1923

MONTREUX JAN 2 1923 MRS STIRLING SANFORD¹ 600 NORTH KENILWORTH AVE OAKPARK (ILL) BEST LOVE AND CONGRATULATIONS HADLEY ERNIE 934A

phJFK, Cable; Western Union destination receipt stamp: OAK PARK, ILL.

1 Marcelline met Sterling Skillman Sanford (1893–1990) at Bay View, Michigan, in the summer of 1917, when he was a senior at the University of Michigan. They were engaged in August 1922 and married in Oak Park, Illinois, on the day EH sent this wire (Sanford, 152, 213). Sterling Sanford was an engineer with Detroit Edison 1919–1958. Copies of all EH letters to Marcelline at JFK were donated by her son John E. Sanford.

To Grace Hall Hemingway, 10 January 1923

January 10 1923 Chamby Sur Montreux Suisse

Dear Mother—;

Thank you ever so much for your lovely Christmas letter and the box. The box hasnt come yet—but we're looking forward to getting it and it is probably in paris now. I cant wait for some of your fruit cake again. It used to be the most appreciated thing in [K]ansas City.¹

I dont quite know where we are going from here. Perhaps up to see the French march into the Rhur and down to Rapallo. I dont know— Depends what I hear from the Star.² I have a lot of my own work to do. Hadley is very well and has been having a corking time skiing. She is getting very good. She and Issy Simmons have been pal-ling around together and like each other tremendously.³ I'm so anxious to hear from you how the wedding went off and to get the clippings about it. I wrote you a long letter about two months ago from Lausanne and never could find it to mail it. If I dont mail a letter as soon as I write it is quite hopeless.



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Last year seems pretty full. In Paris, Switzerland, Paris, Genoa, Switzerland, Italy again, The Black Forest, The Rhineland, down to the Vendee to see Clemenceau, the Balkans, Constantinople the Near East, home again to Paris, a trip through Burgundy for the wine sale, down to Lausanne; and now here in the Alps where we were this time last year.⁴

This summer we are going to Norway—we plan, wonderful wild country, pine forests and great trout streams. They say it's the finest part of Europe. I think we'll come back to Toronto in the fall perhaps and work there a year or so and then come back here for off and on good.⁵

Dorman-Smith has just gone back to his regiment in Cologne after three weeks with us. He had a great time. You would all like him—he is a wonder.⁶

Write me about Sterling Sanford. I just remember him dimly as being a rather unubtrusive friend of Owen White's. Have you some pictures, snaps, from the wedding? I would love to see them.

Well good night Mother, I hope you had a fine Christmas and have the very happiest sort of New Year.

Best Love, Your loving son Ernie

PSU, ALS

- 1 While a cub reporter for the *Kansas City Star* (October 1917–May 1918), EH shared his mother's mailed packages of baked goods with others on the staff, as he described in his letters to the Hemingway Family of [24 November 1917] and to Grace Hall Hemingway of [2 March 1918] (*Letters* vol. 1, 65, 85).
- 2 In January 1923, French premier Raymond Poincaré (1860–1934) ordered the occupation of the industrial Ruhr region of Germany by French and Belgian troops and engineers in order to enforce Germany's payments of reparations mandated after WWI. EH and Hadley would visit Ezra Pound (1885–1972) in Rapallo, Italy, in February 1923.
- 3 Isabelle Simmons (1901–1964), EH's Oak Park neighbor and friend, spent two weeks with EH and Hadley in Chamby-sur-Montreux, Switzerland, in early January 1923, having taken a year off from her studies at the University of Chicago. She would rejoin them in March in Cortina d'Ampezzo, Italy (Diliberto, 142, 147). Hadley stayed in Cortina from 23 March to 12 April 1923 while EH traveled to Germany (via Paris) to cover the Ruhr occupation as European correspondent for the *Toronto Star*.
- 4 EH is summarizing his travels, personal and professional, since he and Hadley arrived in Paris in late December 1921. They vacationed in Chamby in January 1922, returned there in late May, and in June revisited sites of his WWI service in Italy as a volunteer ambulance

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driver with the American Red Cross (ARC). In August they made a walking tour of the Black Forest and Rhineland with friends Bill and Sally Bird, Lewis Galantière, and his fiancée, Dorothy Butler. EH's 1922 *Toronto Star* assignments included covering the Genoa Economic Conference in April, the Greco-Turkish War in late September–October, and the Lausanne Peace Conference in November–December. In September he interviewed Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929), French statesman and former prime minister (1906–1909 and 1917–1920), at his retreat in the Vendée region of western France. (However, the *Star* did not publish the interview because of Clemenceau's derisive comments regarding Canada's commitment to the war efforts.) In mid-December EH and Hadley returned to Chamby for another winter holiday.

- 5 That summer EH and Hadley would travel not to Norway but to Spain. In fall 1923 they would move to Toronto, where EH worked as a staff writer for the *Star* and Hadley gave birth to their son, but they quickly took a dislike to living in Canada and returned to Europe in January 1924.
- 6 British career military officer Eric Edward "Chink" Dorman-Smith (later Dorman-O'Gowan, 1895–1969) met EH in Milan in November 1918, and they renewed their friendship when EH returned to Europe. In late spring 1922 Chink hiked with EH and Hadley across the St. Bernard Pass from Switzerland to Italy, and in mid-December he rejoined them at the Chalet Chamby, the pension run by the German-born couple Gustav and Marie-Therese Gangwisch (1874–1951; 1880–1973).
- 7 Marcelline had met her husband through mutual friends Owen Sheppard White (1893–1970) and his brother Kenneth Sheldon White (c. 1905–1973). She spent July 1917 as a guest of their family at Bay View, the cottage colony just north of Petoskey on Michigan's Little Traverse Bay, established in 1875 by the Methodist Church as the site of Chautauqua-style summer education programs. The boys' father, Trumbull White (1868–1941), founder (in 1903) of *Red Book* magazine and former editor of *Everybody's Magazine*, managed the 1917 "Summer Assembly" at Bay View (Baker *Life*, 30; Sanford, 151–52).

To Ezra Pound, 23 January [1923]

Chamby Sur Montreux Suisse 23 Janvier

Dear Ezra—:

We have the intention of joining you. How is it? What do you pay? What is the hotel? Can I, like Northcliffe on the Rhine, preserve my incognito among your fascist pals? or are they liable to give Hadley castor oil? Mussolini told me at Lausanne, you know, that I couldn't ever live in Italy again. How the hell are you any way? e sua moglia? How long are you going to stay? Answer any of these that seem important.



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I suppose you heard about the loss of my Juvenilia? I went up to Paris last week to see what was left and found that Hadley had made the job complet by including all carbons, duplicates etc.³ All that remains of my complete works are three pencil drafts of a bum poem which was later scrapped, some correspondence between John McClure and me, and some journalistic carbons.⁴

You, naturally, would say, "Good" etc. But don't say it to me. I aint yet reached that mood. I worked 3 years on the damn stuff. Some like that Paris 1922 I fancied.⁵

Am now working on new stuff. We have 6 to 8 months grub money ahead. I have laid off the barber in order that I wont be able to take a newspaper job no matter how badly St. Anthonied.⁶ The follicles functioning at a high rate of speed. I am on the point of being thrown out from all except the society of outliers like yourself. It is several weeks since I would have dared show at the Anglo-American.⁷

The lire appears to be dropping. Evidently Douglas is a greater man than Mussolini. Dave O'Neil the Celto-Kike has just bought two left boots for 18 francs (a mistake at the factory)—the salesman telling him he wont be able to tell the difference after a few weeks. Dave is jubilious. The boots, of course, are very painful.

Hadley sends you and Dorothy Pound her love—as I do—write me— Immer (as they used to say in the Rhenish Republic)¹⁰

Hem

IndU, ALS; postmark: CHA[MBY] / SUR MONTREUX, 25.1.23

Mailed from Chamby and addressed to "Il Signor Capitano / Ezra Pound / Poste Restante / Rapallo / Italia," the envelope also bears the postmark "RAPALLO / 27.1.23." On the verso of the envelope, EH wrote, "Da Il Presidente di Svizzera / Regio Privat[iv]a / Calabria / Stati Uniti / (Brazil)."

1 Alfred Charles William Harmsworth, Viscount Northcliffe (1865–1922), journalist and publishing magnate who wielded strong political influence as owner of more than a hundred newspapers and periodicals, including the London *Times, Evening News*, and *Daily Mail*. Having served as director of British propaganda during WWI, he was reviled in Germany and therefore traveled incognito during a spring 1922 tour of the Rhineland. Some news reports attributed Northcliffe's ill health during his last year to poisoning; he died in London of heart failure on 14 August 1922. Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), who founded the Italian Fascist Party in 1919, became prime minister in October 1922, and

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would rule Italy until 1943. Two EH articles critical of Mussolini and the Fascisti had been published on 24 June 1922: "Facisti Party Now Half-Million Strong" (*Toronto Daily Star*; *DLT*, 172–73) and "'Pot-Shot Patriots' Unpopular in Italy" (*Toronto Star Weekly*; *DLT*, 172–75). EH's unflattering account of Mussolini's appearance at the Lausanne Conference, "Mussolini, Europe's Prize Bluffer, More Like Bottomley than Napoleon," would appear in the *Daily Star* on 27 January 1923 (*DLT*, 253–6). Fascist squads were known for forcing dissidents to ingest large quantities of castor oil, a laxative.

- 2 E sua moglie?: "And your wife?" (Italian). Pound and Dorothy Shakespear (1886–1973), an English artist, were married in April 1914. She was the daughter of Henry Hope Shakespear, a solicitor, and novelist Olivia Shakespear. The Pounds would spend the first few months of 1923 in Italy, returning to Paris in April.
- 3 Joining EH in Switzerland while he was covering the Lausanne Conference, Hadley brought along all his writings in progress as a surprise so that he could work on them during their holidays in the mountains. The suitcase containing the manuscripts (and carbon copies) was famously stolen from her at the Gare de Lyon in Paris on 2 December 1922. This is the first mention of the theft in EH's surviving letters. Later, in his posthumously published memoirs, he recalled that upon learning of the theft, he took the first train back to Paris in order to assess his loss (*MF*, "Hunger Was Good Discipline"). On the basis of that account, most biographers report EH's immediate return to Paris in December (see Baker *Life*, 103; Reynolds *PY*, 94–95); however, James R. Mellow argues that EH did not return to Paris until mid-January, as this letter to Pound implies (208–10). Paul Smith discusses inconsistencies in accounts of EH's actions following the theft and what survived of his writings in his chapter "1924: Hemingway's Luggage and the Miraculous Year" (Scott Donaldson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Ernest Hemingway* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996], 40–41).
- 4 John McClure (1893–1956), managing editor of the New Orleans magazine *Double Dealer*. In a surviving draft letter to McClure dated [c. September 1922], EH had called him a "son of a bitch" for not having paid for EH's contributions to the magazine's May and June 1922 issues (*Letters* vol. 1, 354). Pound, in his response (postmarked 27 January 1923) to this letter from EH, called the survival of correspondence with McClure "an embitterment" that he could appreciate (JFK).
- 5 "Paris 1922," a series of succinct descriptions of EH's observations during his first months in Paris. These sketches either survived the theft or were rewritten shortly thereafter (JFK, items 647 and 647a; Baker *Life*, 90–91). For further discussion, see Baker *Life*, 578; Reynolds *PY*, 94–95; and Smith, "1924: Hemingway's Luggage," 41.
- 6 St. Anthony of Egypt (c. 251–356 A.D.), considered the founder of Christian monasticism, was known for the severity of asceticism he practiced. His struggles to resist the temptations of the devil are the subject of many works of art, including several paintings by Paul Cézanne (1839–1906) and a novel by Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880), *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (1874).
- 7 The Anglo-American Press Association of Paris was founded in 1907 by correspondents of the *London Chronicle* and the *Chicago Daily News*, who shared offices. Weekly luncheons featuring speeches by public officials were established in 1914.
- 8 The Italian lira had been losing value against the dollar: in 1919 the rate was 8.8 lire to the dollar, in 1920 it was about 20, and in 1923 it was about 23. Clifford Hugh Douglas (1879–1952), English engineer and economic theorist who founded the Social Credit movement. His books included *Economic Democracy* (1920), *Credit-Power and Democracy* (1920), and *Social Credit* (1924). Pound was a great admirer of his work.



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- 9 David N. O'Neil (1874–1947) and Barbara Blackman O'Neil (b. 1880), friends of Hadley from St. Louis, also were vacationing in Chamby, along with their children George (b. 1906), Horton (1907–1997), and Barbara (1910–1980). O'Neil had retired from his lucrative lumber business and in 1922 relocated with his family to Paris to pursue his passion for poetry (Diliberto, 122–23). EH expressed his contempt for O'Neil's artistic aspirations in an unpublished sketch (Baker *Life*, 101). O'Neil had published poems in the November 1917 issue of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse* and in a volume of his own work, *Cabinet of Jade* (Boston: Four Seas Company, 1918). He also co-edited *Today's Poetry*, a paperback anthology in the Ten Cent Pocket Series of Little Blue Books (Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius Company, 1923), which featured work by Pound, John Dos Passos, T. S. Eliot, Ford Madox Ford, Robert Frost, Marianne Moore, Wallace Stevens, William Carlos Williams, and others, including O'Neil himself. O'Neil's boots were a bargain: the French franc was worth 16.44 to the dollar in 1923, so O'Neil's boots would have cost about \$1.09 (at a time when the Lord and Taylor department store in New York City was advertising shoes on sale for \$6.75 and \$8.50).
- 10 Immer: always (German). Control of the Rhineland had been contested between France and Germany since the eighteenth century. Following the German defeat in WWI, separatists in the Rhineland proclaimed an independent Rhenish Republic on 1 June 1919. Its government, seated in Koblenz, soon collapsed when Allied troops occupied the region by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, signed on 28 June 1919. An independent Rhenish Republic led by Joseph Matthes (1886–1943) would again be proclaimed in October 1923, with Aachen as its capital, but internal conflict led to its collapse by the end of November 1923 ("Separatists Split; Matthes is Ousted," New York Times, 29 November 1923, 1).

To Ezra Pound, 29 January [1923]

January 29.

Carino-

Left Footed Dave is now taking two French lessons a day. He asked his concierge if this woman he has wasn't a good French teacher and the concierge says, "Oh Yes. But she doesn't know French very well. She's a German."

Dave likes her however. He is also writing a number of new poems. His system is to write a few words about something he doesn't understand. Anything he doesn't understand. The less he understands it the more 'magic' the better the poem. He has re-acted sufficiently from your aroma, I think you were an aroma to him, a 'magic' aroma to tell me that the words in a poem, i.e. cliches, Byronic phrases, Mathew Arnoldania; don't matter. It is the 'magic' that matters. He also says that Rose O'Neil, who draws the cupies,



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no Kewpies, has written much better poetry than Yeats. It is the O'Neil blood. I suggested that he meant she had drawn better Kewpies than Yeats. This was not well received.

What the hell do you mean you will stay a fortnight longer? Yes I know. Fortnight—two weeks. Lift—elevator. Tram—street car. A shilling in London a quarter here. But why this bloody fortnight? We'd planned to hit there the last of February. According to that you will be gone. I thought you were staying the hentire hiver.²

And Calabria. I would much rather go to Calabria. It is so easy to get to Sicily from. But are you, as it appears, going to Calabria with Nancy.³ Drop this unbecoming delicacy. I understand you having a gutfull of Rapallo but are you going somewheres else where we would be unobjectionable.? Or are you running down the road? The conventional spring running down the road? I aims to cramp no mans stride on the Road but at the same temporal I hates the thought of hitting Rapallo at the Mercy of the Straters. Strater is all right. I like Strater.⁴

If you all were going somehwre where we wouldn't interfere we'd stay here till along the last part or middle of Feb. and then shake along to where you were. We thought of sticking around Italy till about May. Moving North through the Abbruzz or something making wide detours to avoid Rome and other cultural centers and moving sideways through the hills with the Veneto as our final objective. Hadley has never seen Venetzia except with her family and the last time we were at Mestre we didn't have the fare across the viaduct.

If you are shoving off and Dorothy staying at Rapallo for a while we could park down there and get in some tennis and maybe meet up with you later on somewhere.

This high altitude has made me practically sexless. I don't mean that it has removed the sexual superiority of the male but that it has checked the activity of the glands. I would like to discuss the matter with Burman. It could make an interesting contribution to a monograph on the increasing scarcity of prostitutes above 2000 meters u/s and a strange exception to the movement in the Engadine Valley where an annual winter concentration of prostitutes is effected at St. Moritz altitude 2001 meters u/s. I daresay it all



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could be worked out to the accompaniment of graphs and temperature density charts.

Shoot me the dope. We yearn to see youall. We can't leave here before the fourteenth of February. How can this be co-ordinated?

Love to yourself and Dorothy—
HEM

I thank you for your advice to a young man on the occassion of the loss by stealing of his complete works. It is very sound. I thank you again. I repeat, I thank you. I will foller your advice.⁷

Regards to Straterses.

IndU, TL with typewritten signature

- 1 In his mockery of David O'Neil's literary efforts and judgment, EH refers to English poets George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788–1824) and Matthew Arnold (1822–1888), and Irish poet and dramatist William Butler Yeats (1865–1939), who would be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in December 1923. Rose Cecil O'Neill (1874–1944) was best known for her illustrations of "Kewpies," cupid-like winged infants, which first appeared in the *Ladies' Home Journal* in 1909. The figures inspired an array of enormously successful products, including Kewpie dolls, and by 1914 she was America's highest-paid female illustrator. She also exhibited fine art drawings and sculptures in Paris and New York in 1921 and 1922, and in 1922 she published an illustrated edition of poems, *The Master-Mistress* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf).
- 2 EH is responding to a letter from Pound postmarked 27 January 1923 (itself a response to EH's letter of 23 January), in which Pound wrote that he would be in Rapallo another fortnight and urged EH to "C'mon down now" (JFK). "Hentire hiver," i.e., "entire winter" in EH's playful mix of English and French.
- 3 Calabria, region in southern Italy, located in the "toe" of the boot-shaped country and separated by a narrow strait from the island of Sicily. Nancy Clara Cunard (1896–1965), English shipping heiress, poet, social activist, and patron of the arts. She and Pound met in 1915 and began a love affair in 1921. In 1928 she would purchase the Three Mountains Press and rename it the Hours Press, publishing Pound's *A Draft of XXX Cantos* in 1930.
- 4 Reynolds notes that, in addition to suggesting that Pound might be planning to leave his wife in Rapallo to travel with Cunard, EH is jokingly alluding to Pound's "Paris Letter" in the January 1923 issue of the *Dial*. Complaining about the paucity of new fiction, Pound wrote, "I am a little tired of heroes and heroines who work off their Freudian complexes by running down roads" (as quoted in Reynolds *PY*, 100). Among the expatriate writers and artists in Rapallo that winter were American painters Henry (Mike) Strater (1896–1987) and his wife Margaret (Maggie) Yarnall Conner Strater (1895–1971). EH and Strater had met at Pound's studio in Paris in the fall of 1922 and soon became friends and boxing partners.
- 5 Dr. Louis Berman (1893–1946), New York City endocrinologist and associate in biochemistry at Columbia University, recently had published the influential book, *The Glands Regulating Personality: A Study of the Glands of Internal Secretion in Relation to the Types of Human Nature* (New York: Macmillan, 1921). Chapter VII is titled "The Rhythms of Sex."



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Pound had corresponded with Berman and reviewed his book in "The New Therapy," *New Age* 30 (16 March 1922): 259–60.

- 6 ü.S., abbreviation for über dem Seespiegel: above sea level (German).
- 7 In his 27 January letter, Pound called the loss of EH's work an "act of Gawd" and advised him to begin rewriting the parts he could remember, as "memory is the best critic" (JFK).

To Gertrude Stein, [18 February 1923]

Rapallo. Hotel Splendide. Sunday.

Dear Miss Stein:-

Enclosed is the review for the Tribune. You can cut out any or all of it and if you don't like it I'll do another one. That's the liberalest offer I know how to make.

Pounds left here three days after we got here. The weather is good today after seven days muggy. We're going up to Cortina for some more ski-ing last of the month. Hadley is in good shape. There is a nice guy here named Mike Strater that I'd planned to box with but he's sprained his ankle. The sea is weak and dull here and doesn't look as though there was much salt in the water. The tide rises and falls about an inch. When the surf breaks it sounds like someone pouring a bucket of ashes over the side of a scow. The place aint much.

I've been working hard and have two things done. I've thought a lot about the things you said about working and am starting that way at the beginning. If you think of anything else I wish you'd write it to me. Am working hard about creating and keep my mind going about it all the time. Mind seems to be working better.

How is Paris? We're coming back in April or thereabouts. Mike is doing a good portrait of Hadley.² I had a wonderful time with the book.

Will you give the review to Doctor Johnson?³

With love to you all from the two of us, Ernest Hemingway

WILL you send me a copy of the review when it comes out?

Yale, TLS

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