

Extended Source Notes

This document lists all sources used in *The Planter of Modern Life*. As discussed in “A Note on Sources” (p. 291), I tried to provide citations in the book for all facts and quotations taken from books, letters, interviews and unpublished manuscripts. Yet space constraints made it impossible to cite individually all the newspaper and magazine articles that I referenced. Those missing citations are included below in addition to the original source notes.

I have tried to be exhaustive, but if I have failed to credit a source or if any matter of sourcing remains unclear, please write to me at forsteveheyman@icloud.com. I am also compiling a (hopefully short) list of corrections to be made in e-book and future editions, as well as suggestions for further reading which I will post online in the coming weeks.

A few other notes on sourcing: In several cases, particularly with botanical names, I have for the sake of clarity corrected the spelling and capitalization used in original letters. For the epigraph that opens the book, I consulted Jonathan Mayne and P. E. Charvet’s translations of “The Painter of Modern Life” before rendering my own version of the quotation from Baudelaire’s essay. The portraits of each season at Malabar in Chapter 13 were drawn not only from Bromfield’s own farm journals, many of which were never published, but also from Ellen Bromfield Geld’s “Malabar Notebook,” a regular newspaper column that ran in the *News Journal* between 1951 and 1953.

The books by and about Bromfield that I quote most often are referred to using the abbreviations that appear below in bold.

Farm *The Farm* (New York: Harper, 1933)

FME *From My Experience* (Harper, 1955)

GBT *The Green Bay Tree* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1924)

MF *Malabar Farm* (Harper, 1948)

PV *Pleasant Valley* (Harper, 1945)

TRC *The Rains Came: A Novel of Modern India* (Harper, 1937)

Forgotten Ivan Scott, *Louis Bromfield, Novelist and Agrarian Reformer: The Forgotten Author* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1998)

Heritage Ellen Bromfield Geld, *The Heritage: A Daughter’s Memories of Louis Bromfield* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999)

Yrs, Ever *Yrs, Ever Affly: The Correspondence of Edith Wharton and Louis Bromfield*, ed. Daniel Bratton (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000)

I quote from the following archives most frequently, and in these source notes, they are referred to using the abbreviations below in bold.

Duke David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University
MF Papers Bromfield papers and ephemera archived at Malabar Farm State Park, Richland County, Ohio
NYPL Manuscripts and Archives, New York Public Library
OSU Louis Bromfield collection, Rare Books and Manuscript Library, the Ohio State University
UVA Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia
Yale Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University

In these source notes I use the abbreviations below to make reference to the following people and publications.

DD Doris Duke
EBG Ellen Bromfield Geld
EH Ernest Hemingway
ER Eleanor Roosevelt
EW Edith Wharton
FSF F. Scott Fitzgerald
GS Gertrude Stein
LB Louis Bromfield
LL Louis André Lamoreux
MB Mary Bromfield

NYER *The New Yorker*
NYT *New York Times*
NYHT *New York Herald Tribune*
LAT *Los Angeles Times*
MNJ *Mansfield News*, renamed the *Mansfield News Journal* after 1932
PARHT *New York Herald Tribune*, Paris edition

Introduction

- 1 **Vogue photographed the interiors:** MB, “Settling in Senlis,” *Vogue*, November 1, 1931, 62–63.
- 2 **“the shirt of a gangster”:** Jean-Paul Normand, “Sous la Lampe: Louis Bromfield,” *Marianne*, September 19, 1934, 5.
- 2 **“old-fashioned French”:** Janet Flanner, untitled typescript, c. 1941, OSU, Box 123.
- 2 **“genius for living”:** *Forgotten*, 257.
- 3 **“the most important thing in life”:** Lucius Beebe, “Louis Bromfield Embraces the Drama,” February 24, 1935, NYHT, sec. D.
- 4 **“Most of our citizens”:** LB, “A Primer of Conservation,” pamphlet, Garden Club of America (1942), OSU, Box 42.
- 5 **“foolish idea” and “new race of pioneers”:** *PV*, 48.
- 5 **one of the best-selling nonfiction books of 1945:** Alice Payne Hackett, *60 Years of Bestsellers, 1895–1955* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1956), 182.
- 6 **“the best-known farm in America”:** Stanley Walker, “Mr. Bromfield Fights the Good Fight,” NYHT, June 19, 1955, sec. E.
- 6 **“nightclubs and manure piles”:** LB, “A Piece of Land,” *The Land Letter* 1, no. 3 (1941): 20.
- 6 **“It is possible that to some”:** *FME*, “Apologia,” vii.

1: Foreign Soil

- 9 **à la demi lune, “rat cheese,” and “gastronomic memories”**: LB, unpublished memoir, “Before It’s Too Late,” OSU, Box 3.
- 10 **151 pounds and “hard and wiry”**: LB’s army service record, National Archives and Records Administration, St. Louis, MO. He was assigned to Section 577 of the US Army Ambulance Corps.
- 10 **“the gayest of the gay”**: *The Annual of the Mansfield High School*, 1914, OSU, Box 124.
- 10 **homespun clothes**: Farm, 176–77.
- 10 **sixteen days at sea**: LB left New York on December 26, 1917, on the *Pastores*, a United Fruit Company banana boat converted by the navy into a troop carrier. “Synopsis of Voyage 5, December 26, 1917, through February 8, 1918, of the USS PASTORES,” Record Group 45, Records of the Naval Library Subject File, 1911–1917, Entry 520, US Naval Vessels, National Archives, Washington, DC.
- 10 **born on December 27, 1896**: LB’s birth certificate, Richland County Public Health Office.
- 10 **“strange, new vitality”**: LB, untitled typescript (“He was born during a violent thunderstorm”), OSU, Box 53.
- 11 **“The country is zig-zagged” and “more than any of the apparatuses”**: Arlen J. Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers: The Story of the American Ambulance Drivers in the First World War August 1914–September 1918* (New York: Arcade, 1996), 92.
- 11 **“The trees were green” and “The sky was a special and ineffable blue”**: Malcolm Cowley, *Exile’s Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (New York: Penguin, 1976), 42.
- 11 **“I can’t let a show like this go on”**: Carlos Baker, *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story* (New York: Scribner, 1969), 60.
- 11 **“It is better to be killed”**: Farm, 344.
- 11 **“college extension”**: Cowley, *Exile’s Return*, 38.
- 12 **“the great generalissima,” “unimaginable,” and “just one long senseless slaughter”**: Hermione Lee, *Edith Wharton* (New York: Knopf, 2007), 454, 493.
- 12 **“Auntie” and “behaved admirably in emergencies”**: GS, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933), 212.

- 12 **Michelin Guide:** James Mellow, *Charmed Circle: Gertrude Stein & Company* (New York: Avon, 1976), 277.
- 12 **“with delicacy and distinction” and “an artist”:** Alice B. Toklas, *The Alice B. Toklas Cook Book* (New York: Harper, 2010), 57–59.
- 13 **lied about his age:** LB’s army enlistment paper, June 6, 1917, LB’s army service record, National Archives.
- 13 **minimum age:** “Men younger than 21 must have the written consent of their parents or guardians.” American Ambulance Field Service recruitment notice (c. 1916), Samuel V. Chamberlain Papers, Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum.
- 13 **Rue de la Paix:** James McGrath Morris, *The Ambulance Drivers: Hemingway, Dos Passos, and a Friendship Made and Lost in War* (Boston: Da Capo, 2017), 23.
- 13 **“incredible assortment of men”:** “Before It’s Too Late,” OSU.
- 13 **Mrs. Gibbons, “Madame Foch,” and “Marquis de Paltz”:** *Forgotten*, 48.
- 14 **“I have a chance to gain”:** LB to Edith Braun, December 28, 1917, UVA. This letter was likely written at sea and sent upon his arrival in France.
- 14 **“How much more worth knowing”:** LB to Braun, October 15, 1918, UVA.
- 15 **the ambulance could fit:** Hansen, Gentlemen, 110.
- 15 **a raspberry:** “Before It’s Too Late,” OSU.
- 15 **“I can’t tell you the genuine affection”:** LB to Braun, August 8, 1918, UVA.
- 15 **singe:** Hansen, Gentlemen, 84.
- 15 **“possessed no subtle bouquet” and “heartening”:** Samuel Chamberlain, *Etched in Sunlight: Fifty Years in the Graphic Arts* (Boston Public Library, 1968), 7.
- 15 **“Those who envied [us]”:** Larry Barretto, *Horses in the Sky* (New York: John Day, 1929), 109–10. Barretto served with LB and dedicated this autobiographical novel: “For Louis Bromfield, who shares with me memories of 1918 and the Aisne.”
- 16 **“the dead literally piled”:** *Forgotten*, 49.
- 16 **thirteen of the twenty cars:** John R. Smucker, “The History of the United States Army Ambulance Service,” Appendix C, SSU 577. Accessed May 25, 2019, <http://www.ourstory.info/library/2-ww1/Smucker/usaac08.html>.

- 16 **“I’ve been so tired and nerve-worn”**: LB to Braun, August 8, 1918.
- 16 **“decaying leaf mold” . . . “they turned out very well”**: *FME*, 145–67.
- 17 **“Fritz captured all my clothes”**: photograph dated July 1918, MF papers.
- 17 **“The Germans had been” . . . “in a neat row”**: LB to family, June 8, 1918, in MNJ, July 20, 1918.
- 17 **“nervous state of expectation” . . . “spread out before our eyes”**: LB to family, August 31, 1918, in MNJ, September 25, 1918, 7.
- 18 **“a great explosion” . . . “simply dust”**: LB to Braun, August 8, 1918.
- 19 **“They cry out”**: LB to family, August 31, 1918.
- 19 **“so long as the men were not left lying”**: Barretto, *Horses*, 175.
- 19 **“The innumerable nationalities”**: LB to family, August 31, 18.
- 19 **“blue evening light”**: LB, *The Man Who Had Everything* (New York: Harper, 1935), 129.
- 20 **“This is really a letter from the front”**: LB to family, June 27, 1918, in *Mansfield Shield*, August 16, 1918, 2.

2: Invasive Species

- 21 **“Every man of talent”**: Honoré de Balzac, “La Muse du Département,” *Œuvres complètes de H. de Balzac*, Volume 6 (Paris: Houssiaux, 1855), 377, quoted in *Paris and Its People: An Illustrated History*, ed. Robert Laffont (New York: Doubleday, 1958), 180.
- 21 **“Ladies’ Home Urinal” and “Vanity Puke”**: Ezra Pound, *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound* (New York: New Directions, 1971), 186. Pound’s only letter to Bromfield, sent in the late 1920s, seemed to urge him to take creative risks with his newfound literary fame: “Dear Bromfield, I see you are a member of ‘the body’[.] [W]hat about waking it up a bit, worrying the old bastards who have never been born but died young, and forcing the god damn thing to function?” Ezra Pound to LB, u.d. letter, OSU, Box 1 (correspondence collection).
- 21 **The dollar had recently doubled**: Frederick J. Hoffman, *The Twenties: American Writing in the Postwar Decade* (New York: Viking, 1955), 27. The dollar bought 16 francs in July 1923 and 36 francs in July 1926.
- 21 **“Neanderthals”**: Harvey Levenstein, *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 240.
- 22 **“distinguished Roman empress”**: LB, “Ford Madox Ford,” OSU, Box 17.
- 22 **small oil stove**: MB, “A la Recherche du Temps Perdu,” *Town and Country*, January 1943, 28, 58–61.
- 22 **fancy liqueurs and French brandies**: *Jimmie Charters, This Must Be the Place: Memoirs of Jimmie, the Barman as Told to Morrill Cody* (New York: Lee Furman, 1937), 66.
- 22 **“My Melancholy Baby”**: Herbert Gorman, “Ford Madox Ford: The Personal Side,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, April 1948, 119.
- 22 **“the materialism of America”**: LB, “The Last of Montparnasse,” *Cosmopolitan*, June 1948, 104.
- 23 **“hearty alcoholic laughter”**: George Slocombe, *The Tumult and the Shouting* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), 226.
- 23 **“seething with literary impulse”**: Hoffman, *Twenties*, 30.
- 23 **“wafted him away”**: Alice B. Toklas, *What Is Remembered* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), 114.

- 23 **“Young man,” he said:** GS, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933), 270.
- 23 **“the most promising of all the young American authors”:** John Carter, “Louis Bromfield Satirizes a Hypocritical Woman,” NYT, Book Review, July 31 1927, 5.
- 24 **discharged from the army:** LB’s army discharge papers, OSU, Box 124.
- 24 **“vast difficulties”:** Herbert Corey, “Manhattan Days and Nights,” *The Courier-Journal* (Louisville, Kentucky), 6.
- 24 **“white collar slave,” “glowing in the gutters,” and “heaped up in the pier sheds”:** *Forgotten*, 63, 68.
- 24 **“Sit in the corner of any club”:** LB, “Indifference in College,” NYT, August 29, 1920, sec. 2.
- 25 **“He was moving fast”:** Frieda Inescort, “Louis Bromfield of Mansfield,” *Saturday Review of Literature*, April 14, 1934, 629.
- 26 **“We fancy that”:** LB, “The New Yorker,” *The Bookman*, July 1925, 581–82.
- 26 **“Jazz will eventually become”:** “Jazz Will Eventually Be United States Folk Music,” *Central New Jersey Home News*, November 14, 1929, 1.
- 26 **“should give satisfaction”:** LB, “The New Yorker,” *The Bookman*, August 1925, 685.
- 26 **“clever but empty”:** LB, “The New Yorker,” *The Bookman*, March 1925, 77.
- 26 **“on a / Log”:** LB, “The New Yorker,” *The Bookman*, April 1925, 209.
- 26 **“He had time for everything”:** Inescort, “Louis Bromfield.”
- 26 **“Boundless vigor”:** Henry B. Fuller, *The Bookman*, April 1927, 200.
- 26 **“Astonishing vitality”:** Donald Davidson, *Nashville Tennessean*, “Bromfield Man of Astonishing Energy,” October 25, 1925.
- 26 **“Tall, nervous”:** “The Gossip Shop,” *The Bookman*, April 1924, 251.
- 26 **“semi-insolent...fund of native energy”:** Inescort, “Louis Bromfield.”
- 27 **“Somehow it impresses you”:** Karsten Roedder, “Louis Bromfield — Whose First Novel Was a Season’s Best Seller,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Sunday Magazine.

- 27 **“He even props”**: Donald Davidson, *Nashville Tennessean*, “Bromfield Man of Astonishing Energy,” October 25, 1925.
- 27 **“On fair mornings”**: Gladys Brooks, *Boston and Return* (New York: Atheneum, 1962), 225.
- 27 **“The secretaries round and about”**: *The Bookman*, “The Gossip Shop,” November 1925, 361.
- 27 **undecorated**: LB’s army service record, National Archives; *Forgotten*, 76.
- 27 **“He has entered the field”**: Stuart Sherman, “Here Is a Novelist Who Will Please You,” NYHT, October 11, 1925, Books, 1.
- 27 **“richly imagined”**: B.H. Lehman, “Ellen Unexplored,” *Saturday Review of Literature*, December 12, 1925, 403.
- 28 **“Three, sometimes four, dimensions”**: John Farrar, “The Fiction Reader in the New Season,” *The Bookman*, April 1926, 201.
- 28 **“Very old-fashioned”**: “Louis Bromfield’s ‘Possession’ Work of Skilled Writer,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 6, 1926.
- 28 **“His writing is frequently repetitive”**: Ben Ray Redman, “A Novelist in Love with Life,” *The Spur*, October 15, 1927, 54.
- 28 **“We have added a new fixed star”**: *Forgotten*, 86.
- 28 **unconventional heroines**: LB, “My Favorite Character in Fiction,” *The Bookman*, May 1926, 324.
- 28 **“I couldn’t give up all my life to a man”**: GBT, 157.
- 28 **“the young man who knows women”**: Harry Salpeter, “The Boswell of New York,” *The Bookman*, July 1930, 384.
- 29 **Appletons and the Mathers**: *Forgotten*, 66.
- 29 **“either boastfully, to our shame” . . . “Once again”**: MB, “Happy New Year,” *Vogue*, December 21, 1929, 53.
- 29 **“A simple wedding without bridal attendants”**: “Wood, Bromfield Wedding Takes Place in Ipswich,” *The New-York Tribune*, October 13, 1921, 11.

- 30 **“She had been sheltered”**: *Heritage*, 26.
- 30 **“the story of the Divine creation”**: Hoffman, *Twenties*, 275. Clarence Darrow, the famous attorney who defended Scopes in the trial, wrote to the magazine *Forum* after Bromfield’s short story “Justice” appeared in December 1925. The courtroom drama was “done so well and is altogether so idealistic, that I cannot refrain from writing you about it. It must be that Mr. Bromfield has been a juror. He has stated the psychology of jurors in a remarkable way. . . . [His story] might have the effect of making readers somewhat more kindly to their fellow men.”
- 30 **“moral gown,” Ku Klux Klan, and “America”**: Roderick Nash, *Nervous Generation: American Thought 1917–1930* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970), 143–46.
- 30 ***Melting-Pot Mistake* and “a hybrid race”**: *Ibid.*, 72–77.
- 31 **Sylvia Beach**: Noël Riley Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation: A History of Literary Paris in the Twenties and Thirties* (New York: Norton, 1985), 84.
- 31 **“the lunatic fringe”**: LB, “The New Yorker,” *The Bookman*, August 1925, 683.
- 31 **“to the size of an orange”**: Henry James, “The Story-Teller at Large: Mr. Henry Harland,” in *The Fortnightly*, Volume 69: January to June 1898 (New York: Leonard Scott, 1898), 650.
- 31 **a Champagne cocktail at the Ritz**: 10 francs, cited in Arlen J. Hansen, *Expatriate Paris: A Cultural and Literary Guide to Paris of the 1920s* (New York: Arcade, 2012), Kindle edition, chapter 1 “The Grand Hotels.”
- 31 A picturesque Left Bank apartment: 250 francs, cited in Jacqueline Tavernier-Courbin, *Ernest Hemingway’s A Moveable Feast: The Making of a Myth* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991), 227. Present-day prices were calculated by converting to dollars using the 1926 exchange rate cited earlier (\$1 = 36 francs) and then by adjusting for inflation using the U.S. Department of Labor’s inflation calculator: <https://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl>.
- 31 **“Heroes of the Week”**: NYER, October 31, 1925, 6.
- 31 **“fell softly in feathering whirls”**: LB, unpublished memoir, “Before It’s Too Late,” OSU, Box 3.
- 32 **“a typical French maid” . . . “And what”**: Henry Albert Phillips, “In Defense of Our Literary Expatriates,” *The Bookman*, June 1927, 412.
- 32 **“better than anywhere else in the world” and “inexhaustible”**: Introduction to *Nicole’s Guide to Paris* (Paris: Amiot Dumont, 1951), 10–11.

- 32 **“permanent” . . . “Shop windows tempt you”**: MB, “Paris When One Lives There,” *Vogue*, 37–38, 96–106.
- 34 **“At least”**: *Heritage*, 99.
- 34 **“informal, arranged almost at the spur”**: MB, “Paris When One Lives There.”
- 34 **“Is Gatsby dead?”**: FSF to Maxwell Perkins, c. December 1925, *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, ed. Andrew Turnbull (New York: Scribner, 1963), 193.
- 34 **“characterless and almost sordid” . . . “I have the idea”**: LB to Arthur Mizener, c. December 1950, Princeton University Library.
- 36 **“Bloomfield’s next book is about a preacher”**: EH to FSF, March 31, 1927, in *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway, vol. 3: 1926–1929*, eds. Rena Sanderson et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 221.
- 36 **“wild to see” and “She doesn’t believe”**: EH to LB, c. March 1926, *Ernest Hemingway Selected Letters 1917–1961*, ed. Carlos Baker (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003), 194–96.
- 36 **“I went out there to dinner”**: EH to FSF, March 31, 1927.
- 36 **“We shall try”**: EH to FSF (quoting LB’s letter to EH), December 31, 1925, *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway, Volume 2: 1923–1925*, eds. Sandra Spanier et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 459–60.
- 37 **“You and Ford” . . . “seeing a lot of you both”**: EH to LB, c. March 1926.
- 37 **“He is, of all the young American novelists”**: John Carter, NYT, July 31 1927, Book Review, 5.
- 37 **“bushel of sensationalism”**: “Hemingway Seems Out of Focus in ‘The Sun Also Rises,’” *Chicago Tribune*, November 27, 1926.
- 37 **“a hollow or bitter satire”**: EH to Maxwell Perkins, November 19, 1926, in *Letters of Ernest Hemingway, Volume 3*, 158.
- 38 **“Jesus Christ”**: LB to EH, c. December 1926, Ernest Hemingway Collection, JFK Library.
- 38 **“What rubbish people write”**: MB to EH, December 8, 1926, *Ibid.*
- 38 **“It never rains but it pours”**: “Bromfield, Disliking Sensationalism, Will Accept Pulitzer Prize Award,” PARHT, 5 May 1927.

- 38 **“Maybe you would come too”**: EH to Perkins, November 24, 1927, *Letters of Ernest Hemingway, Volume 3*, 221.
- 39 **“gargling French” . . . “my cook Yvonne”**: LB, “The Real French,” *The Boulevardier*, September 1927, 6, 50.
- 40 **“I spent the European war in Spain”**: EH, “The Real Spaniard,” *The Boulevardier*, October 1927, 6, 50.
- 40 **“Did you see how Fanny Butcher”**: EH to FSF, c. September 15, 1927, *Letters of Ernest Hemingway, Volume 3*, 291.
- 40 **“lost all sense of taste”**: EH to Perkins, July 26, 1933, *Ernest Hemingway Selected Letters 1917–1961*, 395.
- 40 **“Secretariat of Agriculture”**: *Conversations with Ernest Hemingway*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986), 52.
- 41 **“I just wanted to tell you”**: Lillian Ross, “Hemingway Told Me Things,” NYER, 73.
- 41 **“Do you remember”**: Malcolm Cowley, “The Return of Henry James,” *The New Republic*, January 22, 1945, 121.
- 41 **Geneveva de Momus . . . “Well, what nationality are these people?”**: FSF, *Tender Is the Night* (New York: Scribner, 1996), 31.
- 41 **“Côte d’Ordure”**: LB, *The World We Live In: Stories* (New York: Harper, 1944), 55.
- 41 **“the lower level of the Grand Central”**: LB to Marian Hall, n.d., UVA.
- 41 **“Those who cherish the future of American literature”**: J. Brooks Atkinson, “The Play,” NYT, October 4 1927.
- 42 **“You should see the flying Bromfields on the ice”**: Isabel Paterson, “Turns with a Bookworm,” *Oakland Tribune*, March 17 1929, Section S.
- 42 **“Very poor sport”**: *Forgotten*, 102.
- 42 **“in the open air” . . . “the latest little cocotte à la mode”**: MB, “St-Jean de Luz,” *Vogue*, September 14, 1929, 170.
- 42 **“capacity for enjoying life” . . . “You’re coming to our house”**: Edna Ferber, *A Peculiar Treasure* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1933), 333–34.
- 42 **“the power of an immense and wealthy nation”**: LB, “Expatriate— Vintage 1927,” *Saturday Review of Literature*, March 19, 1927, 1.

- 44 **“some kind of anti-American plot”**: Levenstein, *Seductive Journey*, 257– 69.
- 44 **“French Spoken Here”**: William G. Bailey, *Americans in Paris, 1900– 1930: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 41.
- 44 **“lifted him out as if he”**: Edwin L. James, “Lindbergh Does It!” NYT, May 22, 1927.
- 44 **“It was a beautiful night”**: LB to Henry Fuller, c. June 1927, Newberry Library.
- 45 **“easily, pleasantly” . . . “you do not belong”**: MB, “Paris When One Lives There.”

3: Hothouse

- 46 **“Let’s go to Senlis”**: EH, *The Sun Also Rises* (New York: Scribner, 2014), 6.
- 46 **the Marché Saint-Pierre**: Samuel Chamberlain, *Clémentine in the Kitchen* (New York: Modern Library, 2001), 13–15.
- 47 **“This old town”**: *Michelin Guide to the Battlefields of the World War*, Volume I (Milltown, NJ: Michelin, 1919), 73.
- 48 **Gerald and Sara Murphy**: Amanda Vaill, *Everybody Was So Young: Gerald and Sara Murphy: A Lost Generation Love Story* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 140, 160.
- 48 **“like a mother about her baby”**: Alice B. Toklas, *The Alice B. Toklas Cook Book* (New York: Harper, 2010), 266.
- 48 **Harry and Caresse Crosby**: Linda Hamalian, *The Cramoisy Queen: A Life of Caresse Crosby* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009), 54–56.
- 48 **Other expatriates moved to Chantilly**: Russell Page, *The Education of a Gardener* (London: Collins, 1983), 22–23.
- 48 **October 29, 1929**: William K. Klingaman, *1929: The Year of the Great Crash* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 278–97.
- 49 **it was small**: “Senlis,” 1931 population, accessed May 26, 2019, http://cassini.ehess.fr/cassini/fr/html/fiche.php?select_resultat=35988.
- 49 **ten minutes from the main line**: MB, “Settling in Senlis,” *Vogue*, November 1, 1931.
- 49 **a pupil of Escoffier**: Samuel Chamberlain, *Bouquet de France* (New York: Gourmet, 1951), 481.
- 49 **“the finest flower garden”**: “Except,” she added, “Mrs. Edith Wharton,” whose garden is discussed in the next chapter. Janet Flanner, *Paris Was Yesterday: 1925–1939*, ed. Irving Drutman (New York: Harvest, 1988), xvi.
- 49 **“a ripe and rich Monet”**: Francis Rose, *Saying Life* (London: Cassell, 1961), 380.
- 49 **“It was the only garden in France”**: Page, *Education*, 23.
- 50 **“manoirs,” “très coquette,” and “If you want a good cook”**: MB, “Settling in Senlis,” 63, 90.
- 50 **“I wanted that particular house”**: LB, “Les Demoiselles,” NYER, May 26, 1945, 22.

- 51 **a shabby, undistinguished pile of limestone:** MB, “Settling in Senlis”; Jean-Marc Popineau, vice president of the Société d’Histoire et d’Archéologie de Senlis, interview with the Author, April 2017.
- 51 **“What would we do with the money?”:** LB, “Les Demoiselles,” 23.
- 53 **“French abuse” and the interior of the Presbytère:** MB, “Settling in Senlis,” 90.
- 54 ***Awake and Rehearse* a best-seller:** “Ten Best Sellers: Compiled for the United Press...” *Columbus Telegram* (Neb.), May 9, 1929.
- 54 ***Twenty-Four Hours*:** The novel was serialized as “Shattered Glass” in 8 parts (beginning March 1930). In a letter to EW, LB claimed the magazine was paying him “upwards of \$20,000” for the serial rights (a bit over \$300,000 in today’s money), which he described as “solid although not extravagant.”
- 54 **“shoddy and even slovenly”:** Eugene Lohrke, “Satirist — and Victim,” *The Nation*, November 5, 1930, 503.
- 54 ***Twenty-Four Hours* a best-seller:** “Best Sellers of the Week,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 27, 1930.
- 54 **“One of the most glittering and opulent”:** Lucius Beebe, “This New York,” *NYHT*, January 26, 1935.
- 54 **“highbrow” talent, “scorned the silent screen”:** Irene Thirer, “And Now Hollywood Goes Highbrow,” *New York Daily News*, January 26, 1930.
- 55 **“spend time on the studio lot”:** “Bromfield to do a Film,” *NYT*, December 29, 1929, sec. 8.
- 55 **weekly salary of \$2,500:** *Heritage*, 7.
- 55 **Punching up *Dracula*:** Florabel Muir, “Silver Hoarders Harvest Crop of Georgia Peaches,” *New York Daily News*, July 5, 1930.
- 55 **“That fellow Bromfield”:** Florabel Muir, “Don’t Mention Bromfield to Sam Goldwyn,” *Ibid*, February 25, 1931.
- 55 **“Why did you hire me?”:** LB often told different versions of this story, which were repeated in gossip columns through the 1940s. See Sheila Graham, *The Garden of Allah* (New York: Crown, 1970), 218.
- 55 **“Provincial little town”:** Alta May Coleman, “Bromfield Coy to Varied Lure of Hollywood,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 30, 1930.

- 55 **Returned to France via Italy and Switzerland:** “Conte Grande Due with Noted List,” PARHT, December 2, 1930, 4; LB to Carolyn F. Ulrich, December 27, 1930, NYPL. The letter is sent from Arosa, Switzerland.
- 55 **“Holed up in his room” and “I’m perfectly capable”:** *Heritage*, 7–9.
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- 60 **“contre la grippe”:** *Heritage*, 58.
- 60 **“He was not very bright”:** *PV*, 203.
- 60 **“ripened like wine” and “He felt no qualms”:** *Heritage*, 54–59.
- 61 **Bromfield chose to plant:** LB, “Gardens” ; Bromfield’s journal (OSU, Box 25) lists many of the flowers he planted during the first spring in Senlis: “Annuals: calendula, marigolds, candytuft, nasturtium, ageratum, godetia, clarkia, *Phlox drummondii*, [unreadable], alyssum, cornflower, Star of [unreadable], nemesia, stocks, *Jacoea*, lupine, larkspur, [unreadable], poppies, nigella. Perennials: delphinium, holly [unreadable], Canterbury bells, foxglove, campanulas, [unreadable]...”
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- 66 **“Because he knows all about gardens”**: GS, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933), 248.
- 66 **“a tramp and a Don Juan”**: *PV*, 203–4.
- 67 **“never seen anything like a poodle before”**: MB, “A la Recherche du Temps Perdu,” *Town and Country*, January 1943, 58.
- 67 **“his beautiful marcelled white coat”**: *PV*, 203–4.
- 68 **“nursed and comforted for the remainder of the day”**: MB, “A la Recherche du Temps Perdu.”
- 68 **“Basket didn’t suffer”**: LB to GS, postmarked December 29, 1931, Yale. 68 **“We are going to plant morning glories”**: GS to LB, u.d. letter, OSU,

Box 1 (correspondence collection).

68 **“Alice”**: GS to LB, summer 1932, OSU, Box 1 (correspondence collection).

4: *“Teched”*

- 69 **“rocks and trees and hay”**: GS to LB, summer 1938, OSU, Box 1 (correspondence collection).
- 69 **“I at heart am only 1/3 gardener”**: GS to LB, summer 1933, OSU, Box 1 (correspondence collection).
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- 71 **“Perceiving that everyone”**: EW to LB, September 18, 1933, in *Yrs, Ever*, 52.
- 71 **“I’ve been at the Crillon”**: EW to LB, June 12, 1933, in *ibid.*, 46.
- 72 **“Horrible”**: Lee, *Wharton*, 622.
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- 81 **“Come & see my Primulinuses!!”:** EW to LB, August 8, 1933, in *ibid.*, 50–51.
- 81 **“If you cd see my peonies”:** EW to LB, April 13, 1934, in *ibid.*, 63.
- 81 **“I want to swank”:** EW to LB, July 30, 1932, in *ibid.*, 28–29.
- 81 **“the best insurance agent”:** LB to EW, c. fall 1931, in *ibid.*, 3.

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5: Tangled Roots

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- 99 **“which had an air of belonging” and “boastful houses”**: Ibid., 120.
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6: Blight

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7: The Rains Came

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- 138 **“my professors”**: Ibid., 88–91. In his book (based on the discovery of Howard’s missing papers), Barton rejects the long-held idea that the Indore Process repackaged “indigenous peasant knowledge for a modern scientific world.” Rather, he argues, Howard’s discovery was the result of rigorous scientific experimentation and owed practically nothing to the methods of peasant farmers whom he only later held up as “my professors.” Barton argues that Howard started writing about the “wisdom of the East” years after he left India in the 1940s, when he sought to capitalize on the emergent organic movement’s interest in traditional farming cultures. Barton also points out that, in his earlier work, Howard expressed no dogmatic “aversion to artificial fertilizers or to pesticides”— a fact that would scandalize many of his disciples today.
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- 138 **“the best book I know on soil”**: *PV*, 148
- 138 **“perhaps the ideal fertilizer,” “prodigious results,” and cheap labor**: Ibid., 197–98.
- 139 **2.2 million people**: Stanley Rice, *Life of Sayaji Rao III, Maharaja of Baroda*, Volume 1 (Oxford University Press, 1931), viii.
- 139 **“a nightmare,” “choking the air,” and “sacred monkeys”**: MB, India memoir.
- 140 **“incalculable harm to our country”**: “Maharajah Urges ‘Decoded’ Religion,” NYT, August 28, 1933.
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- 140 **the monsoon of July 1927 and initial reports suggested**: Gaekwad, *Prince*, 355–56.
- 140 **“a most successful method of irrigation”**: MB, India memoir.
- 141 **“no faith and very little good news”**: *Forgotten*, 208
- 141 **a dinner given in their honor**: MB, India memoir.
- 142 **“the most attractive woman”**: Ibid.
- 142 **“A heap of servants”**: “Bromfield Hunting for a House Here,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 18, 1933.

- 142 **“everyone from old ladies”**: LB to EW, c. February 1933, in *Yrs, Ever*, 34.
- 142 **a bachelors’ trip**: *Forgotten*, 268–69; “India” scrapbooks, OSU, Box 67.
- 142 **“delicate pink nose” . . . “She had tiny brown paws”**: *PV*, 206–7.
- 143 **“than I had ever been in my life”**: LB to GS, u.d., Yale.
- 144 **had begun it in Cooch Behar . . . half a dozen drafts**: *TRC*, 597; OSU, Boxes 43–44.
- 144 **“a useless liberal in a sick world”**: *TRC*, 105.
- 144 **“writhe and thrust” . . . “vegetable ecstasy”**: *Ibid.*, 187
- 144 **“The dam had been in a way a kind of symbol”**: *Ibid.*, 314.
- 145 **“the *accouplement* of two *pie* dogs”**: *Ibid.*, 157.
- 145 **sixty-eight weeks on the bestseller list**: “The Rains Came” publication history, researched by Vandna Gill, “20th Century Bestsellers,” accessed June 9, 2019, <https://bestsellers.lib.virginia.edu/submissions/230>.
- 145 **“It seems to me a magnificent”**: “Not That It Matters,” *MNJ*, October 2, 1937.
- 145 **“accomplished something of a miracle”**: Pearl S. Buck, u.d. typescript (“for *Cosmopolitan Magazine*”), Manuscripts Division, Princeton University Library.
- 145 **“You know how sensitive we Indians”**: Krishnalal Shridharani to LB, June 4, 1938, OSU, Box 93.
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- 146 **400,000 gallons of water**: Robbin Coons, “News-Journal Hollywood Columnist Takes Look at ‘The Rains Came’ Set,” *MNJ*, May 16, 1939.

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8: Seeding

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- 155 **“Beautiful” . . . “tinted with the last pink light”:** *PV*, 10–11.
- 155 **“luminous like the unreal”:** *FME*, 5.
- 155 **“snugness” and “not of wild and overpowering”:** MB, “The Bromfields Live in Ohio,” *Vogue*, September 15, 1941, 75.
- 155 **“knocking at the door” and “the perfumes of Araby”:** *FME*, 2, 5.
- 156 **“warm like the nest”:** *PV*, 37. Bromfield referred to the Herring family in this and other books by the pseudonym “Anson,” likely to protect their privacy.
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- 164 **“All of us, family, architect, carpenters”**: *Ibid.*, 77
- 164 **“more than anything in the house”**. . . **“I’m afraid it’s going to be”**: LL, “Architect’s Story.”
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- 166 **“Those stars represent the Democratic states”**: Jerry Fox, “The Observatory,” *Dayton Herald*, January 21 1941.
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- 168 **“There is no parlor”**: *Ibid.*, 82.

9: Germination

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- 171 **“by ignorance, by greed”:** *FME*, 6.
- 171 **definition of a “good farmer”:** *PV*, 51–53.
- 172 **“a darkly handsome young man”:** *Heritage*, 81.
- 172 **“I got through a couple chapters” . . . a boozy lunch:** “Max Drake Remembers Bromfield,” *Return to Pleasant Valley*, ed. George DeVault (Chillicothe, IL: American Botanist, 1996), 160–62.
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- 173 **a newspaper in Germany and banks close in France:** “Farm Problems I,” *Country Life*, February 1942, 15–16.
- 173 **“thrifty island of security”:** *Heritage*, 81–84.
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- 175 **“the adventure” . . . “pro rata”:** *PV*, 61
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- 177 **“You almost imagined when he entered the Stork Club”:** Louis Sobol, “The voice of New York,” *The Press Democrat* (Santa Rosa, Calif.).
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- 180 **“Louis, I love this place” . . . “You will find the place entirely changed”:** *Ibid.*
- 181 **5 cents a bird:** Max Drake to LB, June 25, 1939, OSU, Box 107.
- 181 **“Things are growing well”:** *Ibid.*
- 181 **“the wastage of soil and moisture resources”:** Soil Conservation Act, April 27, 1935, “74th Congress, Chapter 85,” accessed June 1, 2019, <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/74th-congress/session-1/c74s1ch85.pdf>.
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- 182 **So Drake told him the outlines of the plan:** LB, “A Piece of Land,” *The Land* 1, no. 3 (1941): 204–6.
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- 184 **“faint crackling sound”:** *PV*, 280.
- 185 **“My travel, my experience”:** LB, “A Piece of Land,” 206.

10: Victory Garden

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- 186 **“The choice of war is not ours”**: “U.S. Already in War, Louis Bromfield Says,” *St. Louis Star and Times*, December 6, 1941.
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- 188 **“It was a truly terrifying strike” and “a sense of shame”**: Russell Lord, *The Care of the Earth: A History of Husbandry* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1962), 277. Lord’s book is dedicated “To Louis Bromfield.”
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- 191 **“We are creatures” and “Do we first start a magazine”:** *Ibid.*, 64, 67.
- 192 **“a meeting of extremely long-range visionaries” and “One hundred days after its founding”:** *Ibid.*, 53, 72.
- 192 **“small-fry”:** Eppig, “Lord,” 173.
- 192 **“I think that had we had him with us”:** Lord, *Forever*, 70.
- 192 **five hundred showed up:** Herbert R. Mengert, “Conservation Group Meets for First Annual Convention,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 19, 1941.
- 192 **“the spontaneous co-operation”:** *PV*, 263–64.
- 193 **“For three centuries” and “We can never think again”:** Stuart Chase, “The New Patriotism,” *The Land* 1, no. 3 (1941): 183–85.
- 193 **a picnic that Bromfield was giving:** *PV*, 260–61.
- 194 **“extravagant lawn” . . . “We have sought merely”:** *Ibid.*, 290–96.
- 194 **“evangelists, some very nearly fanatics”:** *Ibid.*, 266.
- 194 **at least sixty speeches:** Lord, *Forever*, 182.
- 194 **“I hope to scare the daylights”:** “Deplores Natural Resource Loss,” *Evening News* (Harrisburg, Pa.), October 20, 1943.
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11: Food Fight

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- 204 **“We need more of your kind of plain talking”**: Mrs. H. L. (Lucile) Stevens to LB, January 23, 1942, OSU, Box 107.
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- 204 **22 million of which were planted**: “Victory Gardens,” *Encyclopedia of War & American Society*, ed. Peter Karsten (New York: MTM, 2005), 874.
- 205 **“had not been harvested” and were now “lost”**: LB to Henry Wallace, December 6, 1942, Henry A. Wallace Papers, University of Iowa Libraries.
- 205 **“frozen by some bureau in Washington”**: Maury Klein, *A Call to Arms: Mobilizing America for World War II* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 579–80.
- 205 **intense four-page, typewritten letter**: LB to Wallace, December 6, 1942.
- 206 **“very thought-provoking” and “I am halfway minded”**: Wallace to LB, December 21, 1942, Iowa.
- 206 **“She was inclined to laugh if off”**: LB to Henry Wallace, December 26, 1942, OSU, Box 108.
- 206 **machinery had been cut by 80 percent . . . 1.5 million farmhands had been drafted**: Klein, *Call to Arms*, 578.
- 206 **“incompetent,” “absurdities,” and “From a Democrat”**: LB, “Food Situation Called Grim,” NYT, February 11, 1943.
- 206 **“My Children and I”**: ER, “My Day,” March 20, 1942, The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), accessed June 3, 2019, https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1942&_f=md056138.
- 207 **“Louie, whom I believe you know quite well”**: Eugene Casey to ER, October 20, 1943, Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, Box 1208, FDR Presidential Library.

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- 207 **“Paul Revere of the harassed farmers”**: Doris Fleeson, “U.S. in Food Crisis, Says Bromfield,” *New York Daily News*, February 19, 1943.
- 207 **“wholeheartedly in accord”**: Mrs. Walter Ferguson, “A Farmer Speaks Out,” *Pittsburgh Press*, March 6, 1943.
- 207 **“intemperate and inaccurate”**: Claude R. Wickard, “Answers Bromfield—Wickard Defends Crop Subsidy to Spur Production,” *Pittsburgh Press*, February 22, 1943.
- 208 **“a two-minute meeting”**: Leonard Lyons, “Bond Sales Set Louie in for New Job,” *Detroit Free Press*, February 15, 1944.
- 208 **“Everywhere the people could see”**: “Caught Short,” *Time*, March 1943, 13.
- 208 **conditions on the home front and a “scrap of useless paper”**: Klein, *Call to Arms*, 581–91.
- 208 **“We are witnessing an extraordinary spectacle”**: “Caught Short.”
- 209 **Hamilton Fish III, the isolationist right-wing senator**: “Farmers Want Fair Prices, Fish Asserts,” *The Ithaca Journal*, April 24, 1943.
- 209 **Herbert Hoover appeared with him**: “March of Time Scheduled,” *The Times-News* (Nephi, Utah).
- 209 **“starvation rations” . . . “By December this year”**: LB, “It’s a Farmer’s War, Too.”
- 209 **“We are already rationed”**: LB, “We Aren’t Going to Have Enough to Eat,” *Reader’s Digest*, August 1943, 111.
- 210 **dairy farmers were setting new highs . . . hogs were going to market**: Klein, *Call to Arms*, 592.
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- 210 **“man of letters posing”**: “We Won’t Starve,” *Daily Times* (Davenport, Iowa).
- 210 **“How you eating, Brommy?”**: “Walter Winchell,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, February 13, 1944.
- 210 **“Some time in April, the month designated by Louis Bromfield”**: Leonard Lyons, “You Can Buy the Dodgers for Million,” *Austin Statesman*, February 22, 1944.

- 210 **“Mr. Bromfield earns the ration”**: *Tampa Tribune*, Sunday March 12, 1944.
- 210 **“I have before me the latest figures”**: “Deflates Food Shortage Wind,” *York Daily Record* (Pa.), January 3, 1944.
- 210 **“Nobody is happier than I”**: “Mr. Bromfield Is Happy,” *St. Louis Star-Times*, February 24, 1944.
- 210 **“strong-arm methods”**: LB, “Bromfield Raps ‘Bungling’ of Food Situation in U.S. By Roosevelt Government,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, August 20, 1944.
- 210 **“You’ll recall that Louis Bromfield”**: “Wickard Cheerful on Food Outlook; Hard Work Needed,” *Elmira Star-Gazette*, May 23, 1944.
- 211 **“We’d have had a famine”**: Leonard Lyons, “Bromfield Explains Absence of Famine,” *Detroit Free Press*, June 22, 1944.
- 211 **“Auxiliary health resort”**: Bob Considine, “On the Line,” *San Francisco*, March 11, 1948.
- 211 **“all the dinner guests went to the barn”**: Louella O. Parsons, “Pasternak’s First Picture for M.-G.-M. Will Be Love Drama Starring Lana Turner,” *Fresno Bee*, October 1, 1941.
- 211 **“warily” and “an attempt at serious interest”**: Alvin L. Krieg, “Rolling Hills of Central Ohio May Become Hollywood, Jr.,” *The Muncie Morning Star*, March 3, 1942.
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- 212 **“One of my mother’s favorite Venetian lamps”**: *Heritage*, 107.
- 212 **“There was no way Bogie and I”**: Lauren Bacall, *By Myself* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 129.
- 212 **“Dear Father Bromberg”**: A. M. Sperber and Eric Lax, *Bogart* (New York: William Morrow, 1997), 301.
- 212 **“You’re God damn right”**: Earl Wilson, “Tough Bogart Tender for Bacall,” *Miami News*, February 4, 1945, sec. C.
- 212 **“The mystery of the week”**: “Week’s Mystery in Hollywood Bogie’s Trip to Ohio Farm,” *Lancaster Eagle-Gazette* (Ohio), January 29, 1945.

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- 213 **“a very tall man” . . . “Malabar was more beautiful”**: Bacall, *By Myself*, 139, 147–48.
- 214 **“buying himself out of the marriage”**: Sperber and Lax, *Bogart*, 302.
- 214 **boarded the *Santa Fe* May 18**: “Bogart Goes East to Wed,” LAT, May 19, 1945.
- 214 **“Great,” Bogart sniffed**: Bacall, *By Myself*, 153–57.
- 214 **“by the hundreds...ceremony they so urgently desire”**: “Guards Ordered at Malabar for Bogart-Bacall Wedding,” MNJ, May 16, 1945.
- 214 **“out of my mind”**: “Bogart-Bacall Wedding Today Has Bromfield Aide All Upset,” LAT, May 21, 1945.
- 214 **“The Plot—matrimony...1,100 acre estate”**: “Bogart-Bacall Wedding Today,” *The Miami News*, May 21, 1945.
- 215 **“Bogie and I were ridiculous...Cameras were whipped out”**: Bacall, *By Myself*, 153–57.
- 216 **“Every photographer in the world was there”**: Sperber and Lax, *Bogart*, 306.
- 217 **“The picture was always complete”**: Bacall, *By Myself*, 148.

12: Erosion

- 218 **“The trouble with the animals on this farm”**: *PV*, 229.
- 219 **“the happiest of men”**: *Ibid.*, 146.
- 219 ***Pleasant Valley* became a best-seller**: “Top Best Sellers: In the Nation,” *LAT*, October 14, 1945, sec. 3.
- 219 **“For a good many years”**: Richardson Wright, “Louis Bromfield’s New Testament of Beauty,” *NYHT*, April 8, 1945, sec. E.
- 219 **“A farm is always in some kind of tizzy”**: E. B. White, “Malabar Farm,” *NYER*, May 8, 1948, 104.
- 220 **“lots of money” and “translated into every language”**: *PV*, 50.
- 220 **“literary tragedy”**: Sinclair Lewis, “The Boxers of M. Voltaire,” *Esquire*, October 1945, 78–79.
- 221 **“trashy stuff”**: H. L. Mencken, “Louis Bromfield,” typescript, NYPL.
- 221 **“abandoned literature for a mess”**: Orville Prescott, “A Handful of Rising Stars,” *NYT*, March 21, 1943, Book Review.
- 221 **“There is no more uneven writer”**: Elrick B. Davis, “Technicolor Confection,” *NYHT*, November 9, 1947.
- 221 **a lengthy vivisection**: Edmund Wilson, “What Became of Louis Bromfield,” *NYER*, April 8, 1944, 80-89.
- 221 **wrote to Bromfield in advance**: Ross to LB, April 3, 1944, *New Yorker Papers*, NYPL.
- 221 **“Don’t worry about Eddie”**: LB to Ross, April 11, 1944, *ibid.*
- 221 **cut Bromfield to the quick**: EBG, interview with the author, January 2019.
- 221 **“simply a way of making a living”**: *FME*, 4.
- 222 **“Your daily newspaper is more exciting than most novels”**: “Big Film Paychecks Blamed for Poor Novels,” *Austin American*, November 25, 1952, sec. B.
- 222 **“Here’s your humus, mucus, retch and vetch” and “dreadful, hogwash-preaching”**: *Heritage*, 153–54.

- 223 **“You, Mr. B.”**: Lord, *Forever the Land: A Country Chronicle and Anthology* (New York: Harper, 1950), 196.
- 223 **“To pry into the privacy” and dead of a heart attack**: *Heritage*, 157–58.
- 223 **banner headline**: “Hawkins, Bromfield’s Aid [sic], Dies,” MNJ, April 10, 1948.
- 223 **One of the owners of the “21” club**: Mac Kriendler to LB, April 19, 1948, OSU, Box 106.
- 224 **“Your telegram late last night”**: Hugh Bennett to LB, April 12, 1948, *ibid.*
- 225 **“They keep him alive”**: MB to LB, u.d. letter, *ibid.*
- 225 **“incomprehensible” . . . “You have no idea”**: *Heritage*, 159.
- 225 **a suitable replacement for Hawkins**: “Bromfield Names New Farm Manager,” *The Sandusky Register*, June 11, 1948.
- 225 **graduated from an agricultural institute in Wales**: 2003 interview with David Rimmer by Joseph M. Ciccone, Doris Duke Oral History Collection, Duke.
- 225 **“There’s no such thing”**: “Don’t Worry About the Dusty Sky,” *Daily Oklahoman*, March 8, 1950.
- 226 **“All the shrubbery”**: LB to EBG, u.d. letter, OSU, Box 105.

13: Four Seasons at Malabar

- 227 **Graham plow and pike-tooth harrows:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: ‘Let Winter Come,’” MNJ, November 11, 1951.
- 227 **the lambs are slaughtered:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Farm Manager Puts Experience to Work,” MNJ, December 2 1951.
- 227 **“people and bustle and sociability”:** *MF*, 102.
- 228 **“We’re not interested in pedigrees”:** *Ibid.*, 28.
- 228 **“they only nuzzle the hay”:** *Ibid.*, 92.
- 228 **moccasins and heavy rugs:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Witness Tells True Story of Communism,” MNJ, December 28, 1952.
- 228 **“One of the most luxurious dog houses”:** Inez Robb, “Better Be a Lover of Dogs If You’re a Guest at Malabar,” MNJ, January 11, 1949.
- 228 **“He is a marvelous cook”:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Hang the Government to the Tune of Brahms,” MNJ, December 23, 1951.
- 228 **“expensive gasoline” and “everything in sight”:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Christmas Is Time of Happy Disorder,” MNJ, January 4, 1953.
- 229 **Christmas arrives:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Oven Blast, Train Make Holiday Hectic,” MNJ, December 30, 1951, 17.
- 229 **winter wheat, silver pussy willows, and maple trees:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Maple Syrup Season Is Exciting Time,” MNJ, March 16, 1952, sec. C.
- 229 **“The sound of life picking up again”:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Signs of Spring Appear at Malabar,” March 9, 1952, MNJ, sec C.
- 229 **field tools are removed from black tarp covers:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Activity of Spring Returns to Farm,” MNJ, April 6, 1952, sec. D.
- 229 **then the corn:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Revolution Starts in the Corn Field,” MNJ, June 8, 1952, sec. D.
- 230 **tree frogs crying out :** LB, *Animals and Other People* (New York: Harper, 1955), 189.
- 230 **“The question of whether there will be a killing frost”:** u.d. journal entry (“Easter Sunday”), OSU, Box 124.

- 230 **By May it is busy in the garden:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Spring Brings Quick Changes in Scenery,” May 11, 1952, sec. C.
- 230 **“When this happens”:** *MF*, 166.
- 231 **“according to its own mood”:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Tells of Baseball Cows and Dairy Cat,” MNJ, December 16, 1951, sec. C.
- 232 **two Surge milkers and Westinghouse cooling system:** *Ibid.*
- 232 **“kind of kindergarten” and Blondy:** *Ibid.*, 34, 200.
- 232 **“as delicate as a Cellini bird”:** LB, u.d. journal entry (“October fifth”), OSU, Box 52.
- 232 **“gaudily painted miniature planes”:** *MF*, 82.
- 233 **the Ferguson Place:** *Ibid.*, 16–17.
- 233 **“Sometimes they brushed my head”:** LB, *Animals and Other People*, 165.
- 233 **“It is the longest, sloppiest”:** “Malabar Notebook: Plum, Peach Butter Flow at Malabar,” August 31, 1952, 3.
- 234 **“Them that works, eats” and “glorified tomato juice”:** *Heritage*, 105.
- 234 **Twenty thousand people visit:** “Louis Bromfield,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 20, 1956.
- 234 **summer is the busiest season:** LB, u.d. journal entry (“August 8”), OSU, Box 124.
- 234 **“quick look around” and “faithful tribe”:** *Heritage*, 130–31.
- 234 **Mount Jeez is not only for sermonizing:** LB, u.d. journal entry (“August first”), OSU, Box 124.
- 235 **“A violation” . . . “diverse selection”:** *MF*, 13.
- 235 **“scarcely loud enough” and “the natural clown”:** *Ibid.*, 12.
- 236 **“deft at catching cray fish”:** LB, u.d. journal entry (“Last year we found . . .”), OSU, Box 52.
- 237 **“fresh, young”:** *MF*, 16.
- 237 **“a great deal of heel stamping”:** EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Ballet Troupe Relaxes At Malabar,” MNJ, October 26, 1952, sec. C.

- 237 **“I am sure the Lord understands”**: Ibid., 35.
- 237 **On Thanksgiving, they take a hard-earned break**: EBG, “Malabar Notebook: Malabar Observes Thanksgiving Day,” MNJ, December 7, 1952, sec. D.
- 238 **“People came to say”** : Ibid., 173–75.

14: On the Hill

- 239 **Some of the first serious congressional hearings:** The House Select Committee to Investigate the Use of Chemicals in Food Products examined the risks of pesticides and chemical food additives during forty-six days of hearings in Washington and other cities in 1950 and 1951 that produced over 2,700 pages of testimony. Christopher J. Bosso, *Pesticides and Politics* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987), 75.
- 239 **birds falling from the sky:** “DDT Found to Harm Birds,” *Tampa Tribune*, June 11, 1949.
- 239 **poisoned fish:** “Farm and AAA News from the County Agent,” *Fort Payne Journal* (Alabama), September 12, 1945.
- 239 **a rosarian with intestinal hemorrhaging:** Malcolm O. Herzog to LB, August 1, 1951, OSU, Box 108.
- 239 **young turkeys:** *Chemicals in Food Products: Hearings Before the House Select Committee to Investigate the Use of Chemicals in Food Products* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1951), 256.
- 240 **the same substance in meat:** *Ibid.*, 251.
- 240 **“I am not interested in rats”:** Rep. Arthur L. Miller said this on a May 10 hearing to L. E. Harris, a professor at the Utah State Agricultural College. *Ibid.*, 252.
- 240 **33 to 106 million pounds:** *Federal Pesticide Control Act of 1971: Hearings Before the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives, Ninety-Second Congress* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1971), 845.
- 240 **“Mr. Bromfield, will you come forward”:** *Chemicals*, 289.
- 240 **Bromfield’s case against margarine:** “Bromfield Opposes Colored Oleo Sales: Fears It Would Encourage Communist Growth,” *NYHT*, March 4, 1949.
- 241 **“I’m not going to give this statement”:** “Farmer Bromfield Deplores Paying Farmers to Farm,” *Austin American*, June 27, 1947.
- 241 **“on a base of lethal poisons” and “boomed as the panacea”:** LB, “Preventative Medicine Need of Industry, Writer Says,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, September 30, 1945. Bromfield was hardly the only one in America who issued stark warnings about DDT long before *Silent Spring*. See Elena Conis, “Beyond Silent Spring: An Alternate History of DDT,” *Distillations*, February 14, 2017, accessed August 13, 2019, <https://www.sciencehistory.org/distillations/beyond-silent-spring-an-alternate-history-of-ddt>.

- 241 **“Put in the simplest terms” and a special “label”:** *Chemicals*, 291–301.
- 243 **“gardener can escape”:** Virgil A. Stanfield, “Down to Earth,” *MNJ*, May 20, 1951, sec. C.
- 243 **“There is simply no basis for such claims”:** “Experts Defend DDT Use,” *Binghamton Press* (N.Y.), May 18, 1951.
- 243 **“choke with rage” and “ex-cathedra pronouncements”:** Clayton S. Ellsworth, “Ceres and the American Men of Letters since 1929,” *Agricultural History* 24, no. 4 (1950): 181.
- 243 **cancer, Parkinson’s, and other diseases:** Katarina Zimmer, “How Toxic Is the World’s Most Popular Weedkiller Roundup?,” *TheScientist.com*, February 7, 2018, accessed June 5, 2019, <https://www.the-scientist.com/news-opinion/how-toxic-is-the-worlds-most-popular-herbicide-roundup-30308>. Debate continues on the health risks of glyphosate. In 2015, a scientific body of the World Health Organization concluded that it is “probably carcinogenic” (adding it to the same category as red meat); other recent studies have found links to Parkinson’s and shortened pregnancy lengths.
- 243 **300 million pounds per year:** Shahid Parvez et al., “Glyphosate Exposure in Pregnancy and Shortened Gestational Length: A Prospective Indiana Birth Cohort Study,” *Environmental Health* 17, no. 1 (2018): 23.
- 243 **“living soils into dead ones”:** LB, *Out of the Earth*, 65.
- 243 **“the organic people have much more evidence”:** LB, “Foundation for Life,” *NYT*, January 19, 1947, Book Review.
- 244 **“any other poison”:** *MF*, 245.
- 244 **adapted form of his composting methods:** *FME*, 326. LB was not in the purist “organic school,” but Albert Howard’s widow, Louise, among other important figures in the British organic farming group the Soil Association, saw him as an ally. “No one has done more for the things we stand for,” Louise told him. L. Howard to LB, September 30, 1950, OSU, Box 93.
- 244 **economically unfeasible:** The influential “beyond organic” farmer Joel Salatin believes that Bromfield only resorted to chemical fertilizer because large-scale organic methods were expensive and impractical in his time. “If he were alive today, I do not doubt that he would become more pure with regards to chemicals.” Salatin, interview with the author, April 2019.
- 244 **“Very often lime and chemical fertilizer”:** LB, “Foundation for Life.”

- 244 **dropping the word “farming”**: Andrew N. Case, *The Organic Profit: Rodale and the Making of Marketplace Environmentalism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018), 39.
- 244 **“He was quite envious”**: Ibid., 34.
- 244 **“shaky credentials” and “excellent and very important”**: Ibid., 19, 37–41.
- 244 **“cultist”**: Carlton Jackson, *J. I. Rodale: Apostle of Nonconformity* (New York: Pyramid, 1974), 76.
- 245 **nearly 1 million**: Gregory A. Barton, *The Global History of Organic Farming* (Oxford University Press, 2018), 171.
- 245 **Sales in excess of \$50 billion**: Kristen Leigh Painter, “U.S. organic sales pass \$50 billion mark for first time,” *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, May 17, 2019, accessed June 5, 2019, <http://www.startribune.com/u-s-organic-sales-pass-50-billion-mark-for-first-time/510082602/>
- 245 **Less than 1 percent**: “Organic Farming Is on the Rise in the U.S.,” Pew Research Center, January 10, 2019, accessed June 5 2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/01/10/organic-farming-is-on-the-rise-in-the-u-s/>. “Key indicators and Top Countries,” *The World of Organic Agriculture 2019*, FIBL, accessed March 15, 2020, <https://www.organic-world.net/yearbook/yearbook-2019/key-data.html>
- 245 **“The old-fashioned farm”**: “Specialized Farmers to Replace ‘Little Man,’ Louis Bromfield Says,” *St. Louis Star and Times*, January 11, 1947.
- 246 **Maybe they could raise apples and “neither in nor out”**: *MF*, 47–48.
- 246 **The advantages of “grass farming”**: Bromfield called grass “the great healer” and was among the first to popularize “grass farming” in the United States (*MF*, 107–58). The method, formalized by the French agronomist André Voisin, has been promoted more recently by Allan Nation and Salatin, among others (Michael Pollan, *The Omnivore’s Dilemma* [New York: Penguin, 2007], 187–91). In addition to the health benefits of grass-fed milk and meat, grass farming, when done properly, conserves soil and sequesters carbon. Paige L. Stanley et al., “Impacts of soil carbon sequestration on life cycle greenhouse gas emissions in Midwestern USA beef finishing systems.” *Agricultural Systems*, 162 (May 2018): 249-258.
- 247 **“All of this money”**: LB, *Out of the Earth*, 171.
- 247 **The “horror” of being poor**: *Farm*, 182.
- 248 **a net loss of nearly \$15,000**: Dick Moser to LB (Schedule of Farm Income and Expenses 1953), May 14, 1954, OSU, Box 100.

- 248 **“A person cultivating”**: Chauncey Belknap to LB, October 17, 1939, OSU, Box 100.
- 248 **“If the farm always runs at a loss”**: Belknap to George Hawkins, May 10, 1945, OSU, Box 100. This letter lists farm losses for the first six years of Malabar: 1939 (\$9,014.10); 1940 (\$9,087.65); 1941 (\$6,495.57); 1942 (\$3,579.29); 1943 (\$10,163.91); and 1944 (\$11,569.31).
- 248 **Texas offshoot of Malabar**: “Author Casts Spell on Texans in Wichita Irrigation Valley,” *El Paso Herald Post*, November 30, 1949.
- 248 **Chamber of Commerce sued**: “Wichita Falls C-C Seeks to Break Farm Contract With Louis Bromfield,” *Brownwood Bulletin*, May 20, 1953.
- 248 **weeds at Wichita Falls Malabar**: “No Second ‘Malabar’ — Bromfield,” *Evening Independent* (Massillon, Ohio), February 12, 1954.
- 249 **Sold to B. Altman**: EBG, “Malabar Notebook,” MNJ, February 3, 1952, sec. C.
- 249 **clearance bin**: Clementine Paddleford, “New Baked Bean Blend by Heinz on the Market,” NHYT, June 3, 1953.
- 249 **Two-ply thermal underwear**: “You won’t mind Cold — in your DUOFOLD,” advertisement, *This Week*, November 27, 1955.
- 249 **“a breeze-tossed field”**: advertisement, *Boston Globe*, January 17, 1952, 32.
- 250 **“I’ll tell you about this refugee”**: “Ferguson, Bromfield Swap Choice Words,” *Fremont News-Messenger* (Ohio), October 25, 1950.

15: Breeding

- 251 **“fat perspiring Jew” . . . “offensive smell”**: *GBT*, 5.
- 251 **“When one went to play”**: *Farm*, 158.
- 252 **“HELP Prevent 4,000,000 People”**: Advertisement, NYT, November 5, 1943.
- 252 **“ACTION—NOT PITY”**: Advertisement, NYT, February 8, 1943.
- 253 **“THE NAZIS ARE RAPIDLY”**: Telegram, LB to ER, June 21, 1943, Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, Box 852, FDR Presidential Library.
- 253 **“I have your telegram”**: ER to LB, June 25, 1943, *Ibid.*
- 253 **War Refugee Board**: Kai Bird, *Crossing the Mandelbaum Gate: Coming of Age Between the Arabs and Israelis 1956–1978* (New York: Scribner, 2010), 356–62.
- 253 **whom many Christian Americans distrusted**: In 1939, *Fortune* magazine wrote that “Americans don't like Jews much better than do Nazis.” According to prewar opinion polls, as much as half the country expressed negative feelings about Jews. Michael B. Oren, “The Rescuer,” *NewRepublic.com*, October 28, 2002, accessed June 4, 2019, <https://newrepublic.com/article/61418/the-rescuer>.
- 254 **Bergsonites shifted their priorities**: Bird, *Crossing*, 356–62 .
- 254 **LB narrates *A Flag Is Born***: Claudia Cassidy, “On the Aisle,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 27, 1946.
- 254 **“handful of backward, miserable, uncivilized people”**: LB, “Oil Seen Behind Palestine Muddle,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, December 1, 1946.
- 254 **“venomous” and “if anyone had written”**: Cecil Hourani, “Arab Reply to Bromfield,” *Decatur Herald* (Ill.), December 24, 1946.
- 254 **“unbending efforts”**: Frank Horward, “Bromfield Honored for Aiding Israel,” *MNJ*, May 8, 1953.
- 254 **“To the great, famous”**: Menachem Begin inscription to *The Revolt* (1950), MF Papers.
- 255 **“The cure for all of these racial differences”**: *MF*, 405.
- 255 **“I should ask the Jew”**: W.W. Anderson, “Brandeis, Retired Justice, Will Join Campaign Against Anti-Semitism,” *Newark Advocate* (Ohio), February 18, 1939.

- 255 **Carson Zachary Geld:** EBG, unpublished essay (provided to the author); Kenneth Geld, interview with the author, May 2019.
- 256 **“With a grinding of steel” . . . “circling him cautiously”:** *Heritage*, 168–69.
- 256 **“Probably no goy in the world” . . . “I do not know”:** LB to EBG, u.d. letter, OSU, Box 105.
- 257 **“tall, gentle, strongly determined” and “It’s a hell of a thing”:** *Heritage*, 167.
- 257 **He planned the wedding:** LB, “Christmas Wedding in the Country,” typescript, OSU, Box 9.
- 257 **Hope wore a white lace gown:** Ann Tracey, “Hope Bromfield and Robert Stevens Jr. Say Vows,” MNJ, December 24, 1950.
- 257 **“with the kind of elegance”:** *Heritage*, 167.
- 257 **a *New York Times* photograph:** “Ellen Bromfield, Carson Geld Wed,” NYT, January 7, 1951.
- 258 **“It would have been very easy”:** Carson Geld to LB, u.d. letter (“Wednesday”), OSU, Box 105.
- 259 **“noxious weed” . . . “Typical of his business”:** *Heritage*, 170–73.
- 259 **“About El”:** MB to LB, March 3 [1952], OSU, Box 106.
- 260 **“as an inheritance that might be”:** *Forgotten*, 550.
- 260 **“I have thought of you”:** Edna Ferber to LB, November 29, 1951, OSU, Box 107.
- 260 **“Are you taking care of yourself?”:** MB to LB, u.d. letter, OSU, Box 106.
- 261 **“peace touched with sadness” . . . “not knowing how”:** *Heritage*, 179–80.
- 262 **“To Mary (still Alice in Wonderland)”:** Handwritten dedication to *The Wild Country* (1948), MF Papers.
- 262 **“as if death had come to her while reading”:** “Heart Attack Ends Life of Mrs. Bromfield,” MNJ, September 15, 1952, 1.
- 262 **“When Louie and I pass on”:** Bob Considine, “On the Line,” *San Francisco Examiner*, January 9, 1948.
- 262 **“selling this way”:** LB to EBG, u.d. letter, OSU, Box 105.

- 262 **“There is no point”**: *FME*, 314–15.
- 264 **“More and more often”**: *Heritage*, 182–83.
- 264 **They left on a boat from New Orleans**: “Aboard the Luxury Liner Del Sud,” MNJ, March 8, 1953.
- 264 **“When I think of you”**: *Heritage*, 182–83, 188.
- 264 **Bob and Hope sold their land**: “Bromfield’s Kin to Move to New Farm in Virginia,” MNJ, April 24, 1953.

16: Unto the Ground

- 265 **It was the Dutch:** John C. Delvin, “Disease Dooming American Elms,” NYT, March 12, 1957.
- 265 **federal quarantines:** “Dutch Elm Quarantine,” NYT, February 22, 1935.
- 265 **trucks spraying fungicides and 100 million trees:** Michelle York, “Man’s Quest to Spare Last Elm of His Youth,” NYT, August 14, 2005, accessed June 9, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/08/14/nyregion/mans-quest-to-spare-last-elm-of-his-youth.html>.
- 266 **formal gardens, nine lakes, heated stables:** Stephanie Mansfield, *The Richest Girl in the World: The Extravagant Life and Fast Times of Doris Duke* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1992), 19–21.
- 266 **“It is very difficult to think”:** LB to DD, u.d. letter, Duke. 266 **“Daddy may have felt”:** Mansfield, *Richest*, 217.
- 266 **“She used to tell people”:** Pony Duke and Jason Thomas, *Too Rich: The Family Secrets of Doris Duke* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), 144.
- 267 **the nature and extent of their bond:** Mansfield, *Richest*, 216–17; interview with Sallie Bingham (author of the 2020 biography of DD, *The Silver Swan*), February 2019.
- 267 **“We met everybody”:** Mansfield, *Richest*, 217.
- 267 **Rimmer eventually would be hired:** 2003 interview with David Rimmer by Joseph M. Ciccone, Doris Duke Oral History Collection, Duke. Rimmer worked for Duke from 1958 to 1967.
- 267 **“perfect health”:** LB, “Louis Bromfield,” NYHT, October 7, 1951, sec. E.
- 267 **“the heart and constitution of an ox”:** LB to DD, postmarked February 1956, Duke.
- 267 **coughing vigorously and “too many cigarettes”:** “Don’t Worry About the Dusty Sky,” *Daily Oklahoman*, March 8, 1950.
- 267 **A few weeks later he fell ill . . . “hollowed-eyed”:** *Forgotten*, 603–4.
- 267 **“I am not a bit surprised”:** EBG to LB, u.d. letter, OSU, Box 105.
- 267 **“The results show I’m in fine shape”:** “Bromfield Is In Hospital For ‘Routine Checkup’,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 19, 1956.

- 268 **“The whole medical profession” . . . “My suggestion is this”**: LB to DD, u.d. letter, Duke.
- 268 **“There’s nothing to it”**: “Rumors Link Bromfield, Doris Duke,” MNJ.
- 268 **“Miss Duke has had hospital training”**: LB to Mrs. Annie Rimmer, u.d. letter (c. December 1955), Mansfield Public Library, Sherman Reading Room.
- 269 **“We are very fond of each other”**: “Bromfield Hints He, Doris Duke To Wed,” MNJ, February 25, 1956.
- 269 **“If I am out of order”**: C. J. Solomon to DD, January 18, 1956, Duke.
- 269 **“I can never be grateful enough”**: LB to DD, February 1956, *ibid.*
- 270 **“The yellow acacia tree”**: EBG to LB, u.d. letter (c. February 1956), OSU, Box 105.
- 270 **an ill-fated George Balanchine ballet**: LB once sketched his vision of the Johnny Appleseed ballet in a letter. This “American folk-tale” would climax with the death of Johnny “in springtime under a flowering apple tree.” The Indians should be “garbed as they were in the absurd plays of Voltaire with ostrich plume headdresses” and Johnny’s “steady companion” should be “a very chic black and white lady skunk (done by Bergdorf Goodman).” LB to Lincoln Kirstein, u.d. letter (c. 1955), NYPL for the Performing Arts.
- 270 **“We are collaborating bar by bar”**: LB to DD, February 1956, Duke.
- 270 **cut down some timber**: Duke later donated money to preserve the trees, which is why a section of forest at Malabar Farm State Park is today called the Doris Duke Woods.
- 271 **“whether drunk or ill”**: *Forgotten*, 631.
- 271 **wired Harper for an advance**: Telegram, LB to Ramona Herdman, Harper & Bros, March 5, 1956, OSU, Box 107.
- 271 **his condition was “satisfactory”**: “Report Issued on Bromfield,” MNJ, March 4, 1956
- 271 **Hope was summoned**: “Diagnosis of Author Due,” MNJ, March 9, 1956.
- 271 **“Gravely ill”**: “Bromfield Gravely Ill,” MNJ, March 17, 1956.
- 271 **died a day later, at 8:32 p.m.**: “Funeral Rites Set Thursday,” MNJ, March 19, 1956.
- 271 **“DO NOT COME”**: Telegram, Hope Bromfield Stevens to EBG, March 21, 1956, OSU, Box 107.

- 271 **“A later generation”**: “Louis Bromfield, Author, Is Dead; Soil Expert Won a Pulitzer Prize,” NYT, March 19, 1956.
- 271 **“Few men of his time”**: “Louis Bromfield,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 20, 1956.
- 271 **“He gave of himself”**: Inez Robb, “The Land Loses a Friend,” *Boston Globe*, March 24, 1956.
- 272 **“A Great Farmer Dies”**: *The Daily Reporter* (Dover, Ohio), March 20, 1956.
- 272 **The funeral was held**: “Author’s Friends Fill Church,” MNJ, March 23, 1956.
- 272 **left in trust to his three children**: LB’s last will and testament, August 9, 1955, Richland County Courthouse.
- 272 **“against a steady zooming noise”**: “Bromfield Ashes Scattered Over Malabar Farms,” *Daily Times* (New Philadelphia, Ohio).
- 273 **The piece has a staccato rhythm**: EBG, “Ellen Recalls Life With ‘Mr. B.’” MNJ, April 1, 1956.

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- 274 **“In the large sense”**: Liberty Hyde Bailey, *Universal Service* (Ithaca, NY: Comstock, 1919), 145.
- 274 **Malabar-do-Brasil and “We had tremendous pride”**: *Heritage*, 185–87.
- 275 **1,700-acre farm, “virtually against [his] wishes,” “*Pusha la vida!*”**: *FME*, 112–13, 142.
- 276 **“Now we saw one another”**: EBG, *Heritage*, 189.
- 277 **“A Somewhat Serious” . . . “direct living”**: *FME*, 336–41.
- 277 **“gigantic scheme” and “that had nothing to do with”**: LB, *Animals and Other People*, 64.
- 278 **“dangling in midair” . . . “the universe and all”**: Albert Schweitzer, *Out of My Life and Thought* (New York: Henry Holt, 2014), 154–57.
- 279 **“It does not permit the artist”**: “Albert Schweitzer, 90, Dies at His Hospital,” NYT, September 6, 1965, 16.
- 279 **“Man has lost the capacity”**: The source of Rachel Carson’s epigraph for *Silent Spring* eluded researchers until the 1980s, when a similar quotation by Schweitzer was found in a 1956 conservation bulletin: “I am aware of some of the tragic repercussions of the chemical fight against insects taking place in France and elsewhere and I deplore them. Modern man no longer knows how to foresee and forestall. He will end by destroying the earth from which he and other living creatures draw their food. Poor bees, poor earth, poor men.” W. Joseph Campbell, “Key to ‘Silent Spring’ mystery found in files,” *Hartford Courant*, June 3, 1987, sec. D.
- 279 **“the bursting of a rocket” . . . “for he lives”**: *FME*, 345–49.
- 280 **Nanny died in the early 1960s . . . Bob died in 2014 and Hope two years later**: Melanie Read (Hope Bromfield Stevens’s daughter), interview with the author, May 2019.
- 280 **Ellen and Carson left Malabar-do-Brasil**: Kenneth Geld, interview with the author, May 2019.
- 281 **Fazenda Malabar and DuLocal**: Felipe Gasko, interview with the author, January 2019.
- 281 **raised \$140,000 to buy the farm**: Anneliese Abbott, “Historic Soil Conservation at Malabar Farm, 1939–1972,” Honors thesis, Ohio State University, 2016. Retrieved from

- <http://hdl.handle.net/1811/76518>. This excellent history covers the murky period between Bromfield's death and Ohio's acquisition of Malabar in 1972.
- 281 **the study of "man's relation to his environment"**: Ibid., 62, 106.
- 282 **Malabar is still a working farm**: Brian Miller, Ohio State Department of Natural Resources, interview with the author, April 2019.
- 283 **"This is for me"**: Roman Popadiuk, *The Leadership of George Bush: An Insider's View of the Forty-First President* (College Station: Texas A&M University, 2013), 10.
- 283 **"No matter how we looked at it"**: Ellie LeBlond Sosa and Kelly Anne Chase, *George & Barbara Bush: A Great American Love Story* (Camden, ME: Down East Books, 2018), 95.
- 283 **"Well, sir, that little book"**: "Organic Apples: The A. P. Thomson Interview," *Mother Earth News*, January/February 1981, accessed June 7, 2019, <https://www.motherearthnews.com/homesteading-and-livestock/organic-apples-zmaz81jfzraw>.
- 283 **J. David Bamberger gave up his position**: Interview with the author, April 2019.
- 283 **Davis Bynum quit his career as a newspaper reporter**: Peg Melnik, "Visionary Sonoma County Viticulturalist Davis Bynum Dies at 92," *Press Democrat* (Santa Rosa, CA), December 3, 2017, accessed June 7, 2019, <https://www.pressdemocrat.com/news/7718891-181/visionary-sonoma-county-viticulturalist-davis>.
- 284 **"I can do this"**: Salatin, interview with the author.
- 284 **"I am still grateful" . . . "economic necessity"**: Wendell Berry, "For the Love of Farming," *Farming*, Summer 2009, 58.
- 285 **"worst element of our agriculture"**: LB, "Misleading Figure," *San Bernardino County Sun*, January 22, 1956.
- 285 **"the best system I know"**: LB, "The Great Corn Illusion Robs Taxpayer and Farmer and the Soil," *Decatur Herald*, October 1, 1949.
- 285 **"vicious and destructive tyrant"**: Ibid.
- 285 **"the most expensive feed"**: LB, *Out of the Earth* (New York: Harper, 1950), 182.
- 285 **less than 3 percent**: "The Healthy Farmland Diet: How Growing Less Corn Would Improve our Health and Help America's Heartland," 2013 report, Union of Concerned Scientists, accessed August 12, 2019, <https://>

www.ucsus.org/sites/default/files/legacy/assets/documents/food_and_agriculture/healthy-farmland-diet.pdf.

- 285 **each year we use more and more of it:** “World Trends and Fertilizer Outlook to 2020: Summary Report,” Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2017, accessed August 13, 2019, <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i6895e.pdf>, 2–3.
- 286 **“ludicrous and a little pathetic”:** *FME*, 6.
- 286 **“always existed for me in two manifestations”:** *PV*, 2.