The Letters of Gertrude Stein and Thornton Wilder

Edited by Edward Burns and Ulla E. Dydo with William Rice

"It's going to take a lot of letters to tell you what a good nourishing galvanizing time I had over to your house."

Wilder and Stein photographed on 15–16 August 1937 by William or Mildred Rogers before he left for Zurich

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Appendix IX.

Gertrude Stein: September 1942 to September 1944

At the beginning of the war, on 18 September 1939, Stein described to Wilder their forty-eight-hour “run to Paris to get our winter clothing and arrange our affairs and then we were back for the winter.” They had ignored a notice given on 24 August 1939 by the American ambassador, William C. Bullitt, urging American citizens to return to the United States, and they would ignore a second advisement on 14 May 1940 to proceed home by way of Bordeaux.

In “The Winner Loses: A Picture Of Occupied France,” which tells of life during the “phony war,” from September 1939 to June 1940, Stein writes of a trip to Lyon, where they consulted the American consul, who advised them to return home: “[W]e were stopped every few minutes by the military; they were preparing to blow up bridges and were placing anti-aircraft guns and it all seemed very near and less than ever did I want to go on the road” (Selected Writings, 624). Returning to Bilignin, they met their friends Doctor Gaston and Madame Charlotte Chaboux. After a discussion, Doctor Chaboux advised them:

“I had friends who in the last war stayed in their homes all through the German occupation, and they saved their homes and those who left lost theirs. No... I think unless your house is actually destroyed by a bombardment, I always think the best thing to do is to stay. . . . Everybody knows you here; everybody likes you; we all would help you in every way. Why risk yourself among strangers?”

“Thank you,” we said, “that is all we need. We stay.” (Selected Writings, 624)

Stein had finished Paris France in December 1939 and completed Ida A Novel in May–June 1940. On 16 May she wrote to Robert Bartlett Haas, who was preparing part of the catalogue for the Yale University library exhibition of her
books and manuscripts, “I have just begun and almost done a children’s book “To Do. A Book of Alphabets and Birthdays’” (see Stein to Wilder, 31 September 1942, n. 2). On 11 July, she advised William Rogers that she was beginning a “short thing that I call Sundays and Tuesdays, do you think some magazine would like to pay me a thousand dollars.” Under the title, “The Winner Loses,” it was published in the Atlantic Monthly in November.

On the same day that she wrote Rogers, she replied to bibliographical questions from Haas. His letter is not among her papers, and he did not keep a copy. His inquiry about description led her to one of her rare commentaries on her work and on the situation she faced in the war:

My dear Bobolink,

Yours was the very first letter that came through after everything and with it the photos of you, was that after measles, the toile is lovely and what is that other background, the chintz the sitting one, and you look a little thin, are you a little thin, but they'll soon fatten you up, and you did have the measles not the whooping cough in To Do but that you probably have seen now, and now the questions. Yes Carl has all the ms. and you ask him and he will probably arrange something for you, he has everything except a few things that were printed as soon as written. I think his collection is practically complete except for a few small latest things, by the way I have begun a new novel called Mrs. Reynolds, and a short thing about our experiences here called Sundays and Tuesdays. Now the other questions, about the description, yes it is funny about that, I am always wondering about it myself, in a way it is always direct description and yet the description the more you describe the more it is at once outside and inside, description is awfully bothersome, you see just at present I am awfully interested in predictions, wars do make you interested in predictions and that throws a whole lot of light upon the question of description, in a way a prediction, astrological or otherwise is a description, but, and really since my Acquaintance with Description, I have not read that in years does it say anything about description, and Phenomena of Nature and How to Write, seemed to me to say something about Description, but all that you know better than I do as your acquaintance with all that is much more recent, that is the reason I cannot really advise you about what to choose to illustrate you know all that better than I do now, you see in these two things I am doing now I am very much interested in the relation of predictions to descriptions, I have attacked that subject from so many angles, I think To Do has another thing to say about Description, the relation of Description to Imagination, there is no real separation of course not, even in dreams of course not, and war is very interesting from the stand point of description, that is one of the things I want to do in the novel, it is all very clear and confused, but you know and lots of love

Always,

Gtde.

The war dominated the news and conversation. It entered her writing as it entered her life. In October 1939 she had spoken to Wilder of her aversion to the radio, which threatened her perception of reality. Yet now it became a necessary part of everyone’s daily routine throughout the war: General de Gaulle’s speeches from London, which began on 18 June 1940; the German-controlled Radio-Paris; Swiss radio from Geneva and Berne; occasional wireless broadcasts from America, and beginning in November 1942 the NBC French Service. These nightly fifteen-minute broadcasts, The French Speak to the French, gave hope to the French during the darkest days of World War II. The programs, directed by Maurice Schumann, a journalist and spokesman for de Gaulle’s Free French Forces headquartered in London, faded in and out as the Germans tried to jam them, gave important war news and through codes information to the Resistance (see War I Have Seen, 121–24, 125, 141, 145, 155–56).

Under the stress of war, Stein returned to writing the daily life in Mrs. Reynolds, a narrative of “a perfectly ordinary couple living an ordinary life and having ordinary conversations and really not suffering personally from everything that is happening.” But “all over them is the shadow of two men,” Angel Harper and Joseph Lane—Hitler and Stalin. The “Epilogue” to the novel concludes, “then the shadow of one of the two men gets bigger and then blows away and there is no other. There is nothing historical about this book except the state of mind” (187). However, throughout the novel there are echoes of conversations with friends, the interest in prophecies, and the worry about food in a time of privation. Toklas in her cookbook speaks of the hopeless monotony of their diet.

Thérèse Bonney, an American freelance photojournalist covering the war, except for fleeting trips back to America, visited Stein in May 1941. “Gertrude Stein in France,” her article about that visit with photographs of Stein and Toklas at their house, was not published until 1 July 1942 in Vogue (60–61, 70). In her report Bonney quotes briefly from a Stein letter of January 1942 about the importance of mail and work as a part of the daily life.

Throughout 1941 Stein worked steadily on Mrs. Reynolds. Efforts to publish and produce other books also continued. Her correspondences with Carl Van Vechten shows her persistent attempts to publish “To Do” even though they were unsuccessful. John McCullough, her editor for The World Is Round, suggested a book more directly written for children, and Van Vechten enthusiastically supported the idea, offering the title The Gertrude Stein First Reader. Stein began the book in March 1941 and finished it in less than two months. That summer, Stein wrote “La langue française” for Patrie, which was published in August (see Wilder to Stein, 12 November 1941, n. 8) and in September May d’Aiguy’s translation of Paris France was published in Algeria by Editions Charlot.

In the summer of 1942, Mrs. Reynolds was completed and arrangements were somehow made with Thérèse Bonney to receive the typescript. A letter from Stockholm dated only “Le 18,” probably written in August 1942, speaks of her having received a letter from Stein and asks Stein to let her know if there is anything she can do for her, as letters get to Sweden in three to four days. On 16 December, still in Stockholm, Bonney wrote Stein, “Miracle des Miracles, Mme. Reynolds est arrivée sans aucune difficulté.” We do not know how Stein,
with the Germans occupying all of France since 11 November 1942, managed to get the typescript to Bonneuil.

*Time* magazine on 3 May 1943 (55) reported that the typescript had reached Bennett Cerf via Sweden, but that Cerf “could make nothing of it” and felt it “could probably be read from either end.” However, he had “decided to publish it.” Cerf, whose enthusiasm for Stein extended only to her public works, never did, and it was not printed until 1952 in the Yale Edition.

The saga of *Mrs. Reynolds* continued, however. By the following year, in the unsigned “Talk of the Town” for the 19 February issue of *The New Yorker* appeared a report produced by two staff writers, Russell Maloney and Mendez Marks, Jr. The piece indicated that because of wartime paper shortage Cerf did not plan to publish *Mrs. Reynolds* until after the war, as is confirmed in Cerf’s *Try and Stop Me* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1944, 130–31). It is likely that Harold Ross obtained the typescript of *Mrs. Reynolds* from Cerf, his close friend, and assigned it for coverage in the “Talk of the Town”:

> There are four people in New York who have read the manuscript of Gertrude Stein’s new novel. Three of the people do not matter at all well hardly at all but the fourth is us and that is a good thing because we can tell you all about Gertrude’s new novel. The name of the novel is *Mrs. Reynolds* but it would do you no good to go into Brentano’s and ask for *Mrs. Reynolds* until after the war. While the war is going on Random House wants to print Quentin Reynolds, alas. Bennett B. Toklas the editor of Random House may not know much but he knows that much. He knows that Quentin Reynolds will sell better than *Mrs. Reynolds* not *Mrs. Quentin Reynolds* but Gertrude’s *Mrs. Reynolds*. Paper is scarce but there are still plenty of pigeons.

*Mrs. Reynolds* is not all about roses, it is more about Tuesdays than about roses. *Mrs. Reynolds* had many kinds of Tuesdays. That’s what Gertrude says in her book, and she also says, “Mrs. Reynolds was very well-born. She was born on Tuesday. And the next day was Wednesday.” Quentin Reynolds looked three days old last Wednesday, probably something he ate in the Stork Club but Gertrude does not say that at least not in *Mrs. Reynolds*. She tells about a lot of people named Roger and Joseph Lane and Lydia and Eph Ell, and especially about Angel Harper. Angel Harper is a character who will make the critics sit up and take notice when *Mrs. Reynolds* is published alas. “When a little dog sticks himself on a needle on the floor he cries right away. When a little child falls down he does not cry until he is picked up. This has a great deal to do with Angel Harper. A great deal.” That’s what Gertrude says about Angel Harper. She also says that *Mrs. Reynolds’* brother could not remember what Angel Harper looked like, and that Claudia thought she was married to Angel Harper but that she was mistaken because Angel Harper was never married did not even have a brother.

Gertrude filled up two hundred and sixty-nine pages of typewriter paper writing *Mrs. Reynolds*. She wrote it in France so it had to be smuggled out, it could have gone by pigeon if it hadn’t been so heavy, alas. A friend of hers smuggled it out in the front of her dress. She had trouble getting it through the customs because the customs men thought it was in code but she told them no, it was a novel by Gertrude Stein and they all said oh. (18–19)

When she visited Paris in September 1939, Stein almost certainly entrusted her art collection to Bernard Fay, who may have been her single most important French friend of the last fifteen years. On 22 December 1941, Stein wrote to William Rogers that after not seeing Fay for two years, she had just spent an evening with him in Lyon (Fay, *Les Précieux*). Fay was in Lyon to lecture, possibly on the same topic as the one for his talk in Clermont-Ferrand of 15 December, “Qu’est-ce que la Franc-Maçonnerie?” [What Is Freemasonry?]. It was a question of central importance for the political events in Vichy-France and for Fay.

Freemasons, where not prohibited, form the largest, most powerful secret organization in the world, with decentralized, autonomous, national grand lodges that observe elaborate rituals and degrees. Originating in the apprenticeship system of early stonemasons, Freemasons subscribe to liberal, democratic principles with allegiance to a local but not central authority, hold to a belief in a Supreme Being, and rely on secret ceremonies. The Catholic Church always opposed Masonic anticlericalism, forbidding Catholics to join lodges. Fearful of religious toleration, political compromise, loyalty to local authority, and the power of secrecy, totalitarian states—from Nazi Germany and Austria, Fascist Italy, Spain, and Portugal to the Soviet Union and Communist China—banned Freemasonry. In France, many, including Pétain, held Freemasonry in part responsible for the Dreyfus Affair and blamed it for the Third Republic, the decline of France under Léon Blum, and the defeat in 1940. Many wealthy and powerful men were Masons and came to be seen as a danger to the state, as were Jews. Both were thought to open the danger of Bolshevism. By an edict of 13 August 1940, Pétain outlawed all secret societies and revoked their membership privileges. To execute his order, he appointed Fay, who had done extensive research on Freemasonry going back to the Revolutionary War and beyond as director of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Fay gave the Germans documentation on Freemasons. He edited the monthly *Les Documents maçonniques* (October 1941–June 1944). From July 1940 until June 1944, Fay was also an editor of the only journal financed by the Germans, the anti-Jewish *La Gerbe*.

It is possible that at the meeting in Lyon Fay proposed that Stein translate for Americans the speeches of Marshall Pétain, *Paroles aux Français. Messages et écrits, 1939–1941*, published by Librairie H. Lardanchet in Lyon on 30 September 1941 with an introduction by Gabriel-Louis Jaray, the executive director of the Comité France-Amérique, under whose auspices the volume appeared. Pétain had been president of the comité, an organization going back to World War I, until his appointment as ambassador to Spain (1939), a post from which he was recalled in 1940 to back French morale.

Vichy-France at this time still maintained diplomatic relations with the
United States, whose support he wished to secure for the marshall; his approval of the project and the translator appeared likely. Stein apparently went to work and between Christmas 1941 and late January 1942 drafted an introduction to the speeches for an American audience. Her copy of the book, her handwritten introduction, a typed transcription of it and a typed carbon copy of a translation into French by Paul Genin, “Projet d’introduction à un édition américaine des ‘Paroles aux Français’,” are among her papers. Transcribed from the manuscript, her introduction reads,

Introduction to Pétain’s Paroles aux français

I want to present to my compatriots the words that Maréchal Pétain has spoken directly to the French people, Maréchal Pétain who in the last war saved France by a great victory and in this war has saved them throughout their great defeat.

I am well aware that until just now it would have been quite impossible to interest my fellow countrymen in these words which tell so convincingly and so moving a story.

We in the United States until just now have been spoiled children. Since the civil war until today, when the action of Japan has made us realize the misery the grief and the terror of war all this time we have tender hearts we have always felt for others and helped them all we could, but we did not understand defeat enough to sympathize with the French people and with their Maréchal Pétain, who like George Washington, and he is very like George Washington because he too is first in war first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen, who like George Washington has given them courage in their darkest moment held them together through their times of desperation and has always told them the truth and in telling them the truth has made them realize the truth would set them free.

We have not all of us and I too have been of that number over here in France always had faith in the Maréchal but in the end we have all come to have faith, and now I will tell a little more what he has done and how he has done it and why I want everybody in America to realize it.

In the last war we waited day after day and Verdun did not fall, that was when we first knew about Pétain, and Verdun did not fall. Then for a long time there was nothing about him, and then he was sent to Spain as ambassador after the Spanish civil war, and then everybody remembered him and everybody said that it was interesting. Then there was this war and week by week things were getting more and more terrible, and then they said Pétain was to be at the head of the army and we felt a little hope. To be sure there was the old prediction that when the enemy had gotten to Lyons the country that is France would be saved by an old man on a white horse and Pétain had always ridden a white horse, his name was Monastir, and as a matter of fact he did make the armistice in front of Lyons.

And now he had to defend his armistice as he had defended Verdun, and he did. In the days immediately following the armistice when the Germans had left the Zone Libre, and in the other zone the French were accepting their life as it was everybody began to talk again and the thing they talked about most at first was the age of the Maréchal. He had become not Pétain not Maréchal Pétain but the Maréchal.

Everybody worried about his age, was he too old to last and they realized that being as old as he was and not having a family, he had no future, he had only the future of France, and as French people without people who have a future they could just then trust in the Maréchal because he being as old as he was and without a family had only France’s future and so they did pretty well all of them did trust him. Longevity is always respected in France and this longevity of the Maréchal was a very special thing and so they did trust him and when he told them anything he told them the truth and very often he did not tell them anything.

Then came the time when the French people practically came to feel what they did feel, what they always do feel that they do not at all think alike all of them about anything. As a Frenchman explained it to me it is not only that they do not think alike with their neighbors but they do not think alike within themselves. As he said, You take any one French one, that one French one has quite logically perhaps four points of view. Supposing he has a son a prisoner, well he wants the war over as quickly as possible so that his son will come home, so he wants the Germans to win as that would finish the quickest, at the same time he is a businessman and he wants business to go on, and that would only happen if the Germans were defeated and England won, then he wants the maréchal and as the English are opposed to him they would insist on bringing back into France all the people who helped to ruin France so that they do not want England to win and then there is Russia, and that is even more complicating. You see, said this Frenchman no Frenchman can feel simple about this thing.

And then gradually the Maréchal either did what any one and every one thought he ought to do or he did not, and whether he did or whether he did not and really nobody really knew there was one thing that was certain and that was that like Benjamin Franklin he never defended himself, he never explained himself, he never explained himself, in short his character did not need any defense.

And so there came this considerable period when everybody had feelings about the Maréchal about one thing they were all agreed and that is that he had achieved a miracle, without arms without any means of defense, he had succeeded in making the Germans more or less keep their word with him. Gradually this miracle impressed itself upon every one.

Always there were rumors and more rumors and sometimes everybody believed them, that the Maréchal had yielded this or he had yielded that to the Germans, and gradually in spite of all the feeling of bitterness that was around everybody in their hearts knew that it was not true, [word] that he had not. Nice stories began to be told. The Germans wanted to take something in the Zone Libre which they had no right to take, the percentage of material. The Maréchal said, I
do not wish it. The Germans and the people around the Maréchal said what can you do about it. I can do nothing about it said the Maréchal but I do not wish it. And it ended in their not doing it.

We used to all sit and on the country roads and discuss, this time the Maréchal has given in, and we almost were sure that he had given in; but actually he never has given in. Gradually they began to tell that when he was asked who was going to win the English or the Germans, he did not answer and when he was pressed he touched his breast and answered Moi.

I cannot tell you how many times in this long difficult year we thought many of us that he had gone under, under one thing or under another, and we all talked and talked but no, the miracle which is a miracle, and his defense of his armistice has been a miracle, and here it still is.

A nice story was told me the other day about him: which has nothing to do with this but which is a story that I like. He was at that time a colonel it was before the last war and he belonged to a military club. All the young officers were talking about the possible coming war and they were excited and laughing and shouting and slowly there was a silence and Colonel Pétain said and so you think war is always funny, toujours drôle.

And so we in France having seen France governed, having seen everybody pretty well fed having seen everybody slowly regain their health and strength, felt every one gradually recovering their liberty and their activity, and having seen every time that all being lost actually everything was being held together, I must say little by little the most critical and the most violent of us have come gradually to do what the Maréchal asks all French people to do, to have faith in him and in the fact that France will live. And this is to introduce the actual words said by the Maréchal when it was necessary for him to say something and it is a convincing and moving story.

By 7 February 1942, Fay wrote about the marshall's response to the plan, "Pour la traduction je n’ai point encore eu l’occasion d’en parler en détail avec le Maréchal, mais en gros, l’idée lui plait." The next day, 8 February, he acknowledged receipt of her introduction. Some of her analogies and stories for American readers appear also in Wars I Have Seen (80–87). Fay thought the text should be published but wanted to make sure of Pétain's approval, "[j]e crois que ce serait très bien de la publier mais peut-être vaudrait-il mieux... que je parle au Maréchal." Fay not only hoped that Stein’s name would add to American support of Pétain but also expected that a translation by a distinguished writer and long-time resident in France might for Americans add luster to the marshall’s book and personality. No doubt Fay hoped in turn it would help to assure Stein’s safety in wartime France—the Germans had not yet occupied the free zone. Both Fay and Stein appear to have entered the project of the translation in good faith.

In a letter of 7 August 1942 to Paul Genin, a Monsieur Cusset of the Comité France-Amérique refers to an earlier letter of 20 February from Genin (not preserved) announcing his interest in cooperating with Stein and him on the project and asks why he has heard nothing for six months. This letter also informs Genin that a second volume with Pétain speeches is in preparation. Genin’s draft for an answer, dated 20 August, acknowledges the information and confirms their readiness to work on the project. It also indicates that Stein, working with American editors, would select speeches of particular interest to an American readership, emphasizing that her great literary and philosophical authority among her compatriots would facilitate the selection if she was in principle given the liberty to choose. We do not know whether this letter was further revised or when it was sent (Genin correspondence courtesy of Paul Genin and Joan Chapman).

On 1 September 1942, Stein wrote to Rogers that it was almost decided that she was to do the translation. The next document is a brief note dated 14 September from Jaray to Stein, who had apparently invited him when he was traveling and could not respond. On 23 October Jaray answered a 19 October letter from Stein and a 15 October letter from Genin (neither preserved) enclosing a contract, with copy to Genin, to be signed by Stein and forwarded by registered mail. Though no copy of the contract is preserved, it appears that Stein signed it, for the correspondence continues with a letter of 8 December from Jaray to Genin about proofs for the second volume to be sent for a brief period for her examination and possibly selection.

We do not know exactly when Stein began or stopped the translations, but she may have prepared some of them even before she wrote to Rogers, between February and September. Her notebooks give evidence of immense labor, with extensive revisions and editorial participation of Toklas, especially in rendering French political terminology and idiom. Not all the speeches are translated, but nothing is known about whether those translated are a selection and whether it is hers or was made in consultation with others. Only a few typed leaves are among the papers; they do not tell us whether a typescript was completed or submitted. The last text translated, a routine speech for Christmas 1940, stops at the end of her manuscript notebook in mid-speech, midsentence, a procedure quite unlike Stein, who was orderly and finished what she started: was there another notebook, not preserved, which might have gone beyond and revealed what happened to make her stop? The texts and letters preserved do not give us enough facts for interpretation.

In November 1942 the Germans occupied all of France, but by that fall they had also begun to lose ground. The Allies had taken North Africa in September and November, and the Russian victory of 2 February 1943 at Stalingrad became a forecast of German defeat. Pétain himself had gradually lost power and prestige even earlier in 1942.

On 30 December 1942 Cusset asked Stein to confirm arrangements for the proofs, and on 15 January 1943, he sent the 164 pages for volume 2 of Paroles aux Français for Stein to review within two weeks. On 15 January 1943, Fay wrote that he hoped to see her about the translations. By February Stein moved to Culze. At some point, Maurice Sivan, the Sous-préfet, a local official, and Paul Genin
supposedly prevailed upon her to abandon the project because it drew excessive attention to her in an already risky situation under the occupation. By the time she stopped, she had translated approximately three-fifths of the French printed text. (In *Wars I Have Seen* Stein misprints Sivan as Sivian, corrected to Sivan by Joan Chapman.)

Stein had known Bernard Faÿ, a specialist in American intellectual history, since the early twenties, and from 1927 on a warm personal friendship had developed. Faÿ came from a family of bankers and lawyers with Royalist and Catholic ties and was well connected in the world of power and the world of the arts. He had known Pétain since World War I, when, as a political victim with a limp, he had worked for the French ambulance service (Faÿ, *Les Précieux*, 38–42). He had written a dissertation on the American Revolution in the French press and in 1927 published *The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America*, followed by biographies of Franklin (1929) and Washington (1930), a study of American novelists, as well as essays, lectures, and further books on a great variety of subjects, including Freemasonry. Stein introduced him to Bravig Imbs, who translated the biographies into English; she herself had critically read them and checked the translations. Faÿ said he learned from Stein to think in English.

His first academic appointment was at the University of Clermont-Ferrand. He did research and published widely in France and the United States and lectured regularly at major American universities. By 1932, competing against the senior economist André Siegfried, he won an appointment to a professorship at the Collège de France in Paris. Stein shared her interest in the working of power and supported him through years of efforts cultivating ministers and people of influence to obtain the coveted position. The appointment gave him access to further power, for example, as consultant on American publications for Éditions Stock, publisher of the French translation of an abbreviated version of *The Making Of Americans*. His academic position was important to Stein, who respected universities, responded to prestige, and had faith in students as makers of the new. During her American lecture tour, Faÿ, experienced in lecturing on the college circuit, helped pave her way, arranged talks, and spoke to her, and planned his lectures to coincide with hers in New York and Chicago. He advised her through all phases of the tour.

In 1930, with the poet Grace-Ives de Longevelle, Faÿ translated “Melanchtha” and in 1933 the *Autobiography*. He wrote about Stein in French and lectured about her in France and in America. In 1932 and 1933, with Louis Bromfield, he planned articles and publicity promoting her. He supervised the translation by Renée de Seille of the short *The Making Of Americans* published by Éditions Stock in 1933. The same selection, which Faÿ had helped prepare, was published in English by Harcourt Brace with a preface by him even though Stein had always insisted that prefaces were redundant; *Lectures In America* also was dedicated to Faÿ, whose experience with speaking had sustained her during their writing. The only other friend to receive such devoted dedication was Carl Van Vechten.

From early years in their relationship, Faÿ helped Stein with practical problems in France, as did Georges Maratier, another friend experienced in French ways. She consulted both on working permits for foreign servants and problems with the country house. Faÿ, who came from a family of lawyers, helped her, through a local solicitor in Belley whom he knew, obtain a lease for the house she wanted once the officer who occupied it was transferred to a post elsewhere. As a result, his friendship was always associated with the house in Bilignin.

In 1937, he negotiated with Jean Pouhalan for publication in *La Nouvelle Revue Française* of his translation of “What Are Masterpieces.” In 1937–38, the war in sight, he was looking for safe passage to the United States with guarantee of speedy reentry into France for Stein and Toklas.

The key to Faÿ’s activities in the war was his relationship with Pétain, whose eyes and ears he became and who in turn protected him. He had admired Pétain, the hero of Verdun, since World War I and offered his services to him when on 16 June 1940 he succeed Paul Reynaud as premier. When Pierre Laval offered him a ministry in the late summer, he declined but accepted instead the directorship of the Bibliothèque Nationale. A year later, on 18 August 1941, he wrote to Fanny Butcher of the *Chicago Tribune*, “I am very happy as a historian because we are living in a very historical time and it is very stimulating to dream of our time while living it. . . . The Marshall is very nice to me and they say he will appoint me as a minister soon. I know they are wrong, the Marshall would not like to dismiss me and he always dismisses all his ministers, so there is no danger in fact for me” (Texas). Through the Vichy years, he was stationed in Paris but spent a week every month in Vichy as advisor to Pétain. Early in the war, he saw to it that Stein received driving privileges; throughout the months he also sent her extra rations. More important, under his initiative, the marshall authorized a direct telephone contact number to his office from the office of Maurice Sivan, in case Stein needed protection or ran short of essential supplies (Faÿ, *Les Précieux*, 162, interview Burns, 1969).

Early in the war, Stein apparently executed a document empowering Faÿ to watch over and preserve her art collection. Notes for a power of attorney, dated 10 September 1940, are scribbled on an envelope. Periodically Faÿ reported to Stein on the safety of her collection. He apparently also discussed legal problems about the document with Georges Maratier.

When the Germans entered her Paris apartment in the last days of the occupation, Faÿ was alerted by Picasso. Through Count Metternich, with whom he had collaborated documenting monuments, he managed to stop the Germans from removing paintings, apparently by reclassifying the collection and creating confusion among German bureaucrats (see also Katherine Dudley to Stein, 14 November 1944). Stein had reason to feel that she owed to him the preservation of her collection and probably her life.

Faÿ was arrested at the Bibliothèque Nationale on 19 August 1944 and held in various prisons until his trial as a collaborator, from 29–30 November to 6 December 1946. Stein and, after her death, Toklas made efforts to lend support to his
defense though as foreigners they could not testify in court. Among her papers is a typed letter of 14 March 1946 from Stein to Maitre Chresteil, Avocat de la Cour, identified by Toklas as her testimony in support of Faj. She cites his saving her collection, witnessed by Picasso; his devotion to French-American relations; his pride in his former American research assistant, who joined the U.S. Army; his wish for Allied victory, voiced upon a two-day visit to Stein, September 1943; his care for the Bibliothèque Nationale; his dislike of Germans. It is not a powerful testimony.

Faj was sentenced to hard labor for life, a sentence later reduced to twenty years in prison. On 30 September 1931, with the help of friends, he escaped from prison, first to Spain and then to Fribourg, Switzerland, where he lived and worked under an assumed name, Philippe Conant. By means of the sale of one or more works on paper by Picasso, Toklas helped to finance the escape. In 1938 Faj was pardoned by the then minister of justice, François Mitterrand, and allowed to return to France.

This account of Faj goes well beyond Stein's daily life in the war. It supercedes the information given in our letter to The Nation (5 December 1987, 666), in response to the article by Natalie Robins, "The Defiling of Writers: The F.B.I. and American Lit" (10 October 1987, 367–72). The very full details are necessary for an understanding of Stein's situation, her survival, her trust, and her loyalty.

On 25 October 1946 Toklas wrote to Boby Goodspeed in Chicago to ask for her help in alleviating Faj's suffering. It had become a sacred trust of friendship for Toklas, as it had for Stein, to work for his liberation. She carefully describes the relationship: "You know that Gertrude had a long and intimate friendship—it had its moments of more or less intensity but since we came back from the U.S. in '35 it never varied. Gertrude completely disagreed with his political ideas—fairly left for U.S. and royalist for France—she didn't agree with a number of other ideas of his. I tell you this to show you she knew—understood—appreciated and finally became very fond of him—and she never had any doubt of his complete loyalty to his friends and his two countries. He made many enemies—he once said he collected them" (Staying on Alone, 24–26).

It is not difficult to understand that in 1941, after Pearl Harbor, of which she speaks in her introduction, Stein began the translation project in support of Pétain, as Faj had suggested. Like many French people going back to World War I, she had faith in Pétain as a savior of France. Even in the late play Yes Is For A Very Young Man echoes of his voice return: "France is a country that can be beaten but not conquered" (Last Odesus, 15). One can also understand her wish at that time to gain American support for France by publishing the translations in America. In her biography, Everybody Who Was Anybody (1975), Janet Hobhouse claims, without documentation, that Stein attempted to interest the Atlantic Monthly in publishing her versions of Pétain (218), a step for which we have been unable to find evidence.

What is difficult to understand, however, is how Stein continued with the project once edicts against Jews were issued and deportations begun, and how she persisted into January 1943, even after Pétain by November 1942 had lost control. It is as if in 1942–43 she was insulated from understanding what was happening. She had always been conservative, reactionary, and fearful of communism, and in the Spanish Civil War she had been anti-Loyalist. We do not know to what extent she continued to rely on Faj's judgment and what she understood of his political activities, his active anti-Semitism, his hatred of Bolshevism, his collaboration. Even her own conservatism might have kept her from examining the implications of what was happening. When warned about the Pétain project by William Rogers, who in his book quotes extensively from her letters and his responses, she aggressively defended the translation and her political views, perhaps to mask her uneasiness. In Wars I Have Seen, filled with astute observation of daily life, a reactionary tone sometimes creates discomfort. What she understood about Faj and how she saw the situation remains a troublesome puzzle.

An astonishing conclusion to the Pétain project appears in the Random House/Bennett Cerf Papers at Columbia University in one more undated letter of Stein to Cerf, her publisher, from Biligrin, written almost certainly at the beginning of 1942. For Christmas 1941, at her request, Cerf had sent her a number of books, including The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire:

My dear Bennett,

We are reading every day a chapter of the Decline and Fall. I can't tell you how exciting it is to hear that everything is as it is, I like it to be and that is one thing. Now another. I am giving a letter of introduction to Robert Alkan, Hotel Seville, 29th Street and Madison Avenue, that is to say I am giving him a letter to you. He is a very interesting man, an inventor, a co-[word] [word], a frenchman and he will make you understand things as they are which I think you over there do not quite see, I am beginning at the same time the translation of the Pétain to his people, I found the book convincing and moving to an extraordinary degree and my idea was to write an introduction telling you how my feelings have changed about him, I have had strong ups and downs and I think it would all do a lot of good, we all now over here can begin to understand that life with its reverses, are not what they were when all went alright. Now please Bennett if this idea interests you let me know as soon as possible because I would naturally prefer you but if not someone else but please do see Alkan as soon as possible, I know you will find him extremely interesting, so much love, always Gide.

Cerf did not receive this letter at his office until early February 1946. Not realizing when it had been written, he answered right away, on 7 February, with a firm no, describing Pétain as an "appeaser, collaborator, Fascist." "Don't go upsetting the apple cart [i.e., of new, profitable, and promising publications—Wars I Have Seen and Browar And Willie] with that Pétain idea of yours." Of course Robert Alkan, a brilliant engineer, inventor, and friend of Paul Gerin, who worked for the United States armaments through the war but returned to France after the war, no longer needed to be contacted. On 23 February 1946 Gertrude cabled Cerf,
"KEEP YOUR SHIRT ON BENNETT DEAR LETTER RE PETAIN WAS WRITTEN IN 1941."

About Stein's politics many questions have been raised, especially since World War II. In her thinking about political, social, and economic matters, she was a conservative Republican with what William Rogers called the mentality of a "rentier," a person of property. She opposed Roosevelt and the New Deal and was more afraid of communism than of fascism. In 1937, during the Spanish Civil War, she did not oppose the dictatorship of General Franco, "for the majority does want a dictator," as she wrote to Rogers (217).

Stein's habit of making provocative statements, which always came out of the context of her thought, has led to many interpretations and misinterpretations. An example is an interview with Lansing Warren conducted in Paris and published in the New York Times Magazine (6 May 1934, 9, 23). It begins with a sampling of outrageous "sillyline" Stein statements taken out of context. Then follows a description of her studio as a place of "order and sanity," and of Stein herself as "striking, self-possessed and energetic" with an "impish expression." One of the initial shocking utterances is then amplified: "I say that Hitler ought to have the peace prize, because he is removing all elements of contest and struggle from Germany. By driving out the Jews and the democratic and Left elements, he is driving out everything that conduces to activity. That means peace."

Later, however, she is quoted as asserting that what matters in a country is "competition, struggle, interest, activity that keep the people alive and excited"—the very opposition that Hitler wishes to remove. The proposal about the peace prize, then, is ironic, a point of black humor. Taken literally and out of context, the statement about Hitler is easily misread. See, for example, the accusation that Stein in 1938, with other intellectuals, proposed Hitler for the Nobel Peace Prize, used in 1905 to underscore Jews' failing to support their own interests, in Nativ, an Israeli journal of politics and the arts for September 1955, 67-68, and quoted in the English language edition of the Forward, 2 February 1956, 4. This information has been denied by the office of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee in Oslo. Also, on 31 January 1937, Hitler had decreed that no German could ever receive the Nobel Prize in any category.

By November 1942, with the free zone of France occupied by the Germans, correspondence with friends abroad virtually ceased, and Stein and Toklas were increasingly cut off from the world and at the same time more exposed. In Wars I Have Seen, Stein asks whether it is worse to be scared than to be bored (83). Toklas speaks about more than cooking when she comments on "the hopeless monotony of the menus" (Cook Book, 227). Their days became drab. War narrowed the world. What new writing she did—much of her work was preparing older pieces for translation into French or recasting earlier writing—focused on a restricted and tense life, but her writer's discipline endured, keeping her perceptions sharp and her mind open. René Tavernier, writing from Lyon, described life in wartime, without pungent anecdotes or charming diversions, without even a laugh at a publisher or editor, and without a chance to restore himself as often as he wished in conversation with Stein in the beautiful Bugey: "Ce temps est traitement dépourvu de piquantes anecdotes, de charmantes escoqueries, de divertissements, . . . On n'a pas tous les jours un Sorlot pour s'indigner et un Bouteille pour rire. Pas tous les jours surtout, ce ravissant Bugey, votre terrasse si admirablement encadrée de verdure, et votre conversation qui est tonique pour l'esprit" (Tavernier to Stein, 23 June 1945; his ellipsis).

Because Monsieur and Madame Putz, the owners of the house in Bilignin that they had leased since 1929, wanted it for their own use, Stein and Toklas were forced to move. In February 1943 they rented Le Colomber, also referred to as Propriété Poncelet, a well-equipped house with servants just outside of Culoz, a railroad junction some ten kilometers from Bilignin. Though a railroad junction appears more exposed than their former remote hamlet, it offered some protection because the Germans, who depended on cooperative local labor for a functioning railroad, behaved well (Rogers, When This You See, 193). Stein recounts events that led to the move in Wars I Have Seen (48-49), begun soon after they settled in the new house.

Just before the move, they went to see their lawyer in Belley, who at the behest of Maurice Sivan urged them to flee immediately to Switzerland, "tomorrow if possible otherwise they will be put into a concentration camp" (Wars I Have Seen, 50-51). Stein recounts the exchanges about what to do: cross the Swiss border illegally, to which she claimed to object though she surely knew it was going on; hide in a safe house they were offered high in the mountains, or stick to the planned move to Culoz, their final choice. Echoes of the decision return in Yes Is For A Very Young Man: "in time of danger stay where you are, there if you are killed . . . there where you are. Try to get away from danger is useless . . . I stayed" (Last Operas, 13). In Wars I Have Seen, these and other debates are largely conducted by Stein alone, with Toklas only as the faithful listener. While this method keeps the narrator's voice steady and confident, it sometimes sounds engaged in denial of danger that was real indeed.

In her writing, Stein often makes broad statements about national character—American, English, Italian, German, and French. She rarely, however, categorized people by group or class, and she did not identify herself and Toklas as Jews. In a letter to Rogers, who took her to task for her reactionary politics, she quoted herself speaking to students: "For me gens [people] were just gens, and really they arouse a different kind of interest if you like one class or another class, like dull or not dull but really otherwise they were just what they were that is people" (Rogers, When This You See, 219). Perception of people is central to the power and freedom of her writing. Stein herself, however, coming from a bourgeois background and living on a fixed income, had become increasingly class-conscious as she became famous. The chateau at Culoz must have seemed more appropriate than a remote house in the mountains. She liked contact with mem-
bers of the upper classes—Elisabeth de Gramont, the Duchesse de Clermont-Tonnerre, who had translated her lectures, Sir Robert and Lady Diana Abdy, and Lord Berners in England. She was devoted to the Baroness Pierlot and the d’Aiguy in Béon, some of whom were members of the conservative, pro-Vichy Croix de Feu.

The two women were accepted by the local community and not considered outsiders. A good listener, Stein was a friend to farmers and their families as well as to those who had permanent summer residences. Toklas shared the interests of people in the village. Both were helpful to others. They were lucky not to be counted when local officials, under orders to report foreign residents, looked the other way and disregarded the presence of the two Americans. Eric Severeid, who saw Stein on 1 September 1944, reported in his memoir that Justin Rey, the mayor of Culoz, always protected her secret from the Germans as had all the people of the village.

Stein was also close to some members of the maquis, especially Romain Godet, a neighbor who later was posted to the United Nations. He reported that he and his friends were aware of her and had plans to protect her if need arose (Burns, interview, 1959). She wrote about “the mountain boys” in Wars I Have Seen.

But even the good will of friends could not fully protect them. According to a list of events in Culoz under the occupation, written in a French hand and preserved among the Stein papers, twice enemy soldiers were billeted to Le Colombier—Germans from 7 to 14 August and Italians from 18 to 29 August 1943. The list documents what Toklas remembered:

Suddenly we had Germans billeted upon us, two officers and their orderlies. Hastily rooms were prepared for them in a wing of the house far removed from our bedrooms. Provisions were hidden, but there was not enough time to gather together and put away the many English books scattered throughout the rooms. In the best guest room there was a charming coloured English engraving of Benjamin Franklin demonstrating one of his discoveries on a lake in an English park. The Germans did not notice it but one of the Italian officers billeted upon us later spoke of it appreciatively.

Just when the communiqués were getting almost unbearably exciting, two officers and thirty soldiers of the Italian army were billeted upon us; the officers in the house naturally and the soldiers in the garages and chauffeur’s quarters—worrionsonely near the vegetable garden and fruit trees. Would they respect what was missing from their army rations? Their captain said they would and surprisingly they did... Presently the soldiers were selling me on the black market such cigarettes as they could spare, a most welcome relief from my tobaccoless state.

(Cook Book, 212, 217)

With local children, Stein read Shakespeare plays filled with crisis, war, ghosts, and ominous predictions that recalled readings of her youth after the Civil War (Wars I Have Seen, 13–14). Of the three plays she had written for children,
to William Rogers, dated by him about 15 September 1941 and quoted in his book, she contrasts Hemingway's success with *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and her own scant income from writing: "Paris France brought me less than a thousand and [T]he Winner Loses $250 and yet it was read all over the world and Ida which seems much loved only $30, it is sad" (Rogers, *When This You See*, 227). In July 1941 she was still able to lend some six thousand French francs to John and Ruth Selby-Bigge before they left for England. Their letters detail the difficulties of repayment. After November 1942, when the Germans occupied the free zone, Stein and Toklas could no longer draw on American funds and were left with insufficient means. Paul Genin, who as a businessman was able to shift funds, offered to tide her over with a monthly allowance in the amount she required and with no immediate obligation to repay. Stein speaks of his offer as that of "a young man interested in literature" (*Wars I Have Seen*, 112; see also Rogers, *When This You See*, 189); she had supported his efforts at publication by sending his book to Thornton Wilder in America and to Jean Denoël, coeditor with Max-Pol Fouche of *Fontaine* and Editions Charlot in Algiers. After six months of drawing on the loan from Genin, Stein apparently decided that she could not continue to become indebted. She made the only decision open to her: "I sold a picture I had with me quite quietly to someone who came to see me and I thanked Paul Genin and paid him back" (*Wars I Have Seen*, 112). On 1 January 1944, the dealer César M. de Hauke, whom Stein had met in 1941 when he returned to Paris from New York, wrote her from Paris: "Serious, dazzling, Madame Cézanne on my wall. . . ." [Solem, dazzling, Madame Cézanne on my wall. . . .] In 1952 the painting was sold, presumably by de Hauke, to Emile Bührle, the Czech industrialist in Zurich, in whose collection it remains. Stein retained the other painting she had with her, the Picasso portrait of herself. The note about the sale of the Cézanne that follows the letter from Toklas of 25 December 1946 to Carl and Fania Van Vechten (*Staying on Alone*, 40–43) was based on word-of-mouth information by a friend of Toklas that has since proved to be in error.

The journal that regularly published her in the second half of the war was *Confluences*, edited at first, numbers 1–3, July–September 1941, by Jacques Aubélinque, then by René Taverrier. How Stein and Taverrier met is unclear, though it may have been through Bernard Fay. As a young man, in October 1926, in Grenoble, Taverrier had introduced Stein for the lecture "La France Est Mon Chez-Moi" ("An American And France") (see Stein to Wilder, 10 October 1936, n. 3). There is no evidence that this early contact continued.

By December 1942, when the preserved correspondence with Taverrier begins, the July issue (no. 12) of *Confluences* had already published her "Ballade," an eerie poem that can be read with political overtones, about big birds threatening little birds; it is section 18 of the Gertrude Stein *First Reader*, in a French translation by May d'Aiguy, who may have been the contact for publication. Taverrier's letters show an admiring, gifted poet, who submitted his work to Stein for critical review, dedicated a poem to her ("Les Arbres/A Gertrude Stein,"

Signes (Lyon: Confluences, 1943): 13–14), and gave her inscribed volumes of his earlier poems *De Vous La Merveille* (Editions Deneb, 1937) and *Sens de la Solitude* (Librairie Dagny, 1938); he was also an editor of intelligence and wide interests and a friend who with his wife, mother, and children shared a warm family relationship with her and Toklas and watched out for them.

As editor, Taverrier was in a difficult position. Censorship put constraints upon publishing, and paper shortage was a constant worry. He did not distribute *Confluences* in the north so as not to run into trouble with the occupying power. Even in the free zone *Confluences* was watched by the Vichy censors, who knew that some work appeared under pseudonyms and some political pieces were called reprints but were not. The journal was suspended on 16 August 1942 for publishing Louis Aragon's poem "Nymphéas." In March 1943, threatened with arrest, Taverrier went into hiding for some weeks. Yet throughout these years he planned new issues and wrote reviews and cultural reports for each number.

Under the title "Autobiographies," starting with the February 1943 issue (no. 17) and continuing in March (no. 18), Taverrier published in French two sections (from chapters 1 and 2) of *Everybody's Autobiography*, preceded by a brief introduction made up of passages from the lecture "Poetry And Grammar" (Stein, *Lectures*, 214–17), rewritten in the third person and signed by the translator May (La Baronne) d'Aiguy; in no. 25, for September–October 1943, and no. 27, December 1943, he added two further installments (from chapter 3 to page 124). These sections are edited perhaps by Stein and Toklas or Stein and May d'Aiguy. Isolated single sentences are left out. Also omitted are some stories about living local people and some American references, such as the one to e. cummings, confined to a French camp in World War I. Comments on the Germans as a warlike nation are deleted with care. We do not know whether she consulted with Fay regarding the deletions.

The fact that Taverrier twice published selections from *Everybody's Autobiography*, in both cases marking the second "fin," suggests that he may already have planned to issue *Everybody's Autobiography* as a book, a project not realized until after the war, when, his firm, renamed Editions Confluences, moved to Paris and began issuing books. Taverrier signed his dedication to Stein of Signes, his volume of poems (1943), as "son futur éditeur," her publisher-to-be, suggesting perhaps that he planned to print books of hers. If books were in his mind in 1943, the project was stopped by May, when the third list of proscriptions, List "8770," went into effect. The first list had been published in October 1940, the second on 8 July 1942. These two lists had included German émigrés opposed to the Nazis and French and other translated writers that were unacceptable. The third list, issued by French publishers in response to the demand of the Germans, targeted Jewish writers by particular works published in France. Stein was on the list for *Picasso*, published in 1938 by Librairie Floury, the only work that had been issued recently in Paris by a French publisher and in print, as the French *Making Of Americans* (1933) presumably no longer was. Authors of works published in Algeria, which was not occupied, were not on the list.
On 7 August 1943, Tavernier informed Stein that her work had been included on the German list "Otto" of proscription, which also prevented him from publishing her. He wondered whether the list was instigated by Fernand Sorlot, the collaborating publisher, and whether Bernard Faÿ might intercede: "En vous remerciant de votre mot, je vous annonce hélas! une mauvaise nouvelle: j'apprends que vos ouvrages viennent d'être mis sur la récente liste "Otto" qui est une liste allemande de proscription. Cette honneur m'empêche malheureusement de vous publier. Faut-il voir là un manœuvre de Sorlot? En signalant immédiatement le fait à M. Faÿ, peut-être pourra-t-il obtenir votre grâce." [Thank you for your letter. Alas, I must give you bad news. I hear that your works have been put on the recent list "Otto," a German list of proscription. This honor prevents me unfortunately from publishing you. Are we to consider it a maneuver on the part of Sorlot? If you inform Mr. Faÿ right away, perhaps he may be able to do something.] The phrasing suggests that Tavernier had received word of the list but had not seen it. Her name on the list implied total proscription. We do not know whether she contacted Faÿ, though it appears likely; nor do we know whether Faÿ undertook anything, or what he could do—what "grace" might have meant. We do know that even after the list appeared, Confluences in September–October and December printed further sections of Everybody's Autobiography. Being on the list constituted an indictment against sale and translation of any and all books by the authors named. It is not clear whether it left open the possibility of magazine publication, especially reprints of old work. Perhaps Tavernier's comment that he could not publish her implied that Everybody's Autobiography could not be printed as planned. (It finally appeared in 1946 with a preface by Léonie Villard of the University of Lyon; other volumes were devoted to St. Exupéry [1947], the Jews [1947], Communism [1947].)

When Tavernier on 23 May 1943 asked Stein to contribute to the special issue on the novel, she apparently responded immediately: a postcard of 11 June 1943 thanked her for the "roman" text. She wrote "Realism In The Novel," not published complete in English until it was included in Gertrude Stein and the Making of Modernism, edited by Shirley Neuman and Ira Nadel (1988). Contrary to Neuman's assertion, however, it was translated into French by May d'Aiguy as "Le réalisme dans les romans," printed in the special issue of Confluences, nos. 21–24 (July–August 1943): 324–5, and reprinted in Problèmes du roman, edited by Jean Prevost (Lyons and Brussels: Le Carrefour, 1945), 625–63.

In Wars I Have Seen, Stein speaks of "prisoners prisoners everywhere" and "you would imagine that with all that I would no longer read mystery stories and spy stories and all that but not all I want to read them more than ever, to change one reality for another" (46). By the next page, in May or June 1943, she began drafting "Realism in Novels":

"Realism.

"After all there has to be realism realism in romance and in novels and the reason why this. Novels have to resemble something and in order that they do there must be realism" (48).

The context of Culoz in 1943 places the issue of realism perfectly between the terrible reality of daily life and the need to exchange that reality for relief with another: Tavernier also asked her to contribute to a number on painting, and she again responded, sending him by March 1944 "Tableaux," a translation of her lecture, "Pictures," omitting the quotations from Portraits And Prayers that were in the original lecture. This piece also appeared later in book form in Les Problèmes de la Peinture, edited by Gaston Diehl (Paris: Éditions Confluences, 1945), 443–53. (Stein's letters to Tavernier are in the collection of the Institut Mémoires de l'Édition Contemporaine, Paris.)

In a section for February 1944 in Wars I Have Seen (153), Stein speaks repeatedly of frightening things that were happening: "everything is a little frightening, enough said, they are a little frightening, especially if the dog stays with them, well they really are, they have just given us a passport of protection." The "Passeport de Protection," preserved among the Stein papers, was issued to Stein with the indication "résida temporairement en France" (resides temporarily in France) and with the date 12 February 1944, by the Swiss Legation in Vichy through François Lachenal, who was also a friend of René Tavernier.

After the liberation in August 1944, Stein finished Wars I Have Seen, and Toklas typed it as quickly as possible for forwarding to Bennett Cerf. The typescript was entrusted to the journalist Frank Gervasi, who was returning to the United States, and while in Caserta, Italy, by a "miraculous chance" Wilder read it, certified its authenticity and saw to it that it was not held up by censors (see Isabel Wilder to Stein, 8 September 1944, n. 1; Wilder to Stein [76–30 September 1944, n. 1]).

Once the Allied journalists had reached her and she had given her broadcast at Voiron (Wars I Have Seen, 246), Stein was no longer cut off but could speak and be heard. Letters also could at last be written and received. One of the very first must have been Isabel Wilder's letter of 8 September 1944, from Nantucket, responding to the newspaper announcement of a September of Stein's liberation. That letter was followed by countless others that opened the world. Except for Wilder's brief note of September 1944, it would be ten months before she would receive a letter from him.

A month before Stein returned to Paris on 15 December, at René Tavernier's invitation she spoke at Lyon on 3 November, repeating her lecture of 1936, "La France Est Mon Chez-Moi" at the Centre de Documentation de la Delegation Régionale de l'Information. Soon thereafter Tavernier moved to Paris. So did Stein, never to return to the Bugey.