Bloom's Literature

Hemingway Ernest

He was born on July 21, 1899, in Oak Park, Illinois, and died on July 2, 1961, at his home in Ketchum, Idaho, of self-inflicted shotgun wounds. From maturity until his death, Ernest Hemingway lived a life of almost constant excitement.

He went to five wars, was wounded badly as an 18-year-old volunteer ambulance driver for the Italian army in World War I, and was among the first Americans to enter Paris during the Allied invasion of Europe in World War II. Between those wars he covered the Greek army's retreat from Constantinople in 1922 for the *Toronto Star* newspapers, the Spanish Civil War (1937–38), for the North American Newspaper Alliance, and the China war with Japan in 1941 for *PM* magazine, seeing frontline action in all five of these wars.

He survived four automobile accidents and two airplane crashes, the airplane accidents occurring in Uganda on consecutive days (January 23 and 24) in 1954, producing obituaries in many of the world's newspapers.

During the approximately 43 years of his maturity, Hemingway wrote 10 novels, four books of nonfiction, more than 100 short stories, nearly 400 articles, a play, and 90 poems. He won the 1954 Nobel Prize in literature and a Pulitzer Prize. He was married four times and had three sons. For a period of about 20 years (1930s and 1940s), he was in the news media almost daily, his experiences covered by reporters and photographers as if he were a Hollywood movie star. He was handsome, active, intelligent, and charismatic. In a Canadian Broadcasting Company interview (May 26, 1970), his friend Archibald MacLeish said of Hemingway that "the only [other] person I have ever known who could exhaust the oxygen in a room the way Ernest could just by coming into it was Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

Education

Ernest was barely a month old when his parents took him and his sister Marcelline, who was one and a half years old, to Windemere Cottage, the family summer home on Walloon Lake in northern Michigan. Ernest would spend most of every July and August at the lake for the next 17 years, until he left with the Red Cross Ambulance Corps for Italy in 1918. There was greater freedom for a young boy in northern Michigan than in Oak Park, and many of his experiences furnished him with ideas for short stories, several of them set in Michigan.

He did not use Oak Park, on the other hand, as a setting for any of his fictional works. A western suburb of Chicago, Oak Park was upper middle class, of predominately British, German, and Scandinavian descent. There were several churches, but only one was Catholic, so it was mostly a Protestant town with church traditions that made it rigidly conformist and no doubt uncomfortable for young people with imaginations. According to Ernest's sister Madelaine (called "Sunny"), there were always prayers before meals at home and often prayers and family Bible study in the mornings; and the Hemingways attended regularly one of the two Congregational Churches in Oak Park. Grace was choir director for a time at the Third Congregational Church. The town's entertainment was centered in the churches, schools, and civic clubs and organizations.

The Hemingways were known in the community. Ernest's father, Clarence (1871–1928), was a doctor; his mother, Grace (1872–1951), gave piano lessons in their home's large music room and had had ambitions before marriage of a career in opera. Clarence and Grace had six children: Marcelline (1898–1963), Ernest (1899–1961), Ursula (1902–66), Madelaine (1904–95), Carol (1911–2002), and Leicester (1915–82).

Frank Lloyd Wright (1869–1959) lived in Oak Park almost 25 years, the last 14 years while Hemingway was growing up there. Wright established his "Prairie Style" school of architecture in Oak Park and built 25 structures in the village between 1889 and 1913. One of his houses is at 334 Kenilworth Avenue; the Hemingways moved into their "new" and permanent home at 600 Kenilworth in 1906.

Ernest's first attempt at story writing came just before his 12th birthday. It is a four-paragraph story titled "My First Sea Vouge," (sic) taken from his uncle Tyler's family story of his first sea voyage, from England around Cape Horn to Australia.

Ernest's story is dated April 17, 1911, and its only publication is in Carlos Baker's biography, *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story* (1969). In the story there is a "big white albatross winging its way across the ocean or following the brig for scraps of food; the sailors caught one on a huge hook bated with a biscuit but they let him go as soon as they had caught him for they are very superstitious about these big birds."

As a freshman at Oak Park High School, his English teachers assigned classical English ballads and stories from the Bible, as well as Tennyson's "Idylls of the King," Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner," Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe,* and Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*. Before graduation he and his classmates were assigned more English literature classics: several of Shakespeare's plays, Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, George Eliot's *Silas Marner*, Dickens's *David Copperfield*, plus works by Chaucer, Joseph Addison, Thomas Babington Macaulay, Thomas Carlyle, John Milton, Alexander Pope, Percy Bysshe Shelley, John Keats, Robert Browning, and Matthew Arnold.

While a high school student, Ernest wrote 37 articles for the school newspaper, *The Trapeze*. The first article, published January 20, 1916, while he was a sophomore, was a review of a concert by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in Oak Park, under the direction of Frederick Stock, conductor of the Chicago Symphony from 1905 until his death in 1942. Even at 16 and for his first published journalism, Hemingway shows that he had done enough homework to indicate some knowledge about each of the four "numbers" performed by the orchestra. The rest of the stories for *The Trapeze* were about meetings of school clubs and sports events, with five items written in the style of Ernest's favorite journalist and short story writer, Ring Lardner, author of a series of comic stories about a baseball player named Jack Keefe, stories Hemingway no doubt read and which were published together in 1916 as *You Know Me Al*.

Hemingway also wrote three short stories and four poems for the high school's literary journal, *The Tabula*. And he wrote the Class Prophecy for the senior issue of the magazine. As a senior he played varsity football and performed the role of Richard Brinsley Sheridan in the senior play, *Beau Brummel*.

Ernest and Marcelline, who had been held back by her parents so she could be in the same grade each year with her brother, graduated from Oak Park High School in June 1917.

The Kansas City Star

Ernest's uncle Tyler Hemingway, a rich Kansas City lumberman and hero of his nephew's first story, helped get the teenager his first job, as cub reporter for *The Kansas City Star*. Tyler was a good friend of the paper's chief editorial writer, Henry Haskell, and Tyler and his wife, Ernest's aunt Arabella, offered Ernest a room in their three-story Victorian house on Warwick Boulevard in Kansas City. Within a few weeks, however, he moved in with Carl Edgar, a 29-year-old bachelor, whom Ernest had met during recent summers in northern Michigan.

Hemingway worked for *The Kansas City Star* for a little more than six months, from mid-October 1917 to April 30 the next year, yet it was undoubtedly the richest half-year in the budding writer's life. He wrote only 12 articles, none with a byline, from gathering news on the "short-stop run," which included the 15th Street police station, the Union Railway Station, and the General Hospital.

Hemingway's mature style of writing short, declarative sentences developed at the *Star*. William Rockhill Nelson founded the newspaper in 1880 and as its first editor worked to establish style rules, most of which are still in effect. Every newspaper has its own stylebook, which all reporters working for that paper are required to follow; Hemingway was no doubt impressed by the style sheet handed to him, probably his first day on the job. The 1925 version of "The Star Copy Style," published in *Ernest Hemingway, Cub Reporter: Kansas City Star Stories* (1970), edited by Matthew J. Bruccoli, contains 110 "rules," most of them directed at usage: for example, "The words *donate* and *donation* are barred from the columns of The Star. Use *give* or *contribute*." Write "'He *suffered* a broken leg in a fall," not '*he broke his leg* in a fall.' He didn't break the leg, the fall did. Say *a* leg, not *his* leg, because presumably the man has two legs."

The most influential rule for the novice Hemingway, however, was Rule No. 1: "Use short sentences. Use short first paragraphs. Use vigorous English. Be positive, not negative." Hemingway referred to this style rule in his maturity as a writer, stating that it was the most important lesson he had learned in Kansas City.

One of the 12 stories attributed to Hemingway is headlined "At the End of the Ambulance Run" (January 20, 1918: 7C). It begins: "The night ambulance attendants shuffled down the long, dark corridors at the General Hospital with an inert burden on the stretcher. They turned in at the receiving ward and lifted the unconscious man to the operating table. His hands were calloused and he was unkempt and ragged, a victim of a street brawl near the city market…." Anyone familiar with Hemingway's later work might well recognize the style of this story.

Theodore Brumback, who arrived at *The Star* after Hemingway, became one of Ernest's closest friends. They joined the Red Cross and went to Italy together in the late spring of 1918. Brumback wrote an article for the *Star*, dated December 6, 1936, titled "With Hemingway Before *A Farewell to Arms*" (reprinted in *Ernest Hemingway, Cub Reporter*). He writes about an incident that occurred while Hemingway was making his usual rounds for news. One day at the railway station, Hemingway noticed a crowd gathered around a man lying on a stretcher, his "face … broken out in ugly sores"; the people standing around thought he had a "contagious disease" and were doing nothing to help him. He had been taken off a train by two men who put him on the floor of the station and then left with the train, and it had been a half hour since an ambulance had been called. According to Brumback, "Hemingway swore" when he saw the crowd. "'Why, I wouldn't treat a dog like that. What's the matter with you people? Why didn't some of you carry him out on the stretcher and put him in a taxi and send him to the General hospital? The man's got smallpox and will die if not given care immediately.'" Smallpox, which Hemingway recognized, scared people in the crowd. No one volunteered to help the man, and, according to Brumback, Hemingway picked him up, carried him out of the station, flagged a taxi and "took him personally to the General hospital, charging the expense to *The Star*."

With the American Red Cross in World War I

In January 1918, Hemingway and Brumback joined the Missouri Home Guard, which in March became the National Guard. Ernest's eyesight was bad enough that he failed an exam that would have allowed him to fight with American troops getting ready that spring to embark for Europe and the war. He took the alternative of enlisting in the American Red Cross in order to drive ambulances in support of the Italian army fighting the German-Austrian forces in northern Italy.

He and Brumback signed up with the Red Cross and reported for physical exams in New York on April 30; they left with other ambulance drivers on May 23 aboard the *Chicago*, en route to France. After a short visit to Paris, which was being bombarded at the time by German artillery, they reported for duty with the American Red Cross Section 4 at Schio, Italy, a small town in the mountains about 15 miles northwest of Vicenza. There were 53 other men in Section 4, several of whom became friends during Ernest's short tour of duty.

Hemingway served with the Red Cross only 34 days. He joined his unit on June 4 and was wounded on July 8, while delivering cigarettes, chocolate, and postcards to Italian soldiers along the Piave River near Fossalta, on the Veneto Plain about 20 miles northeast of Venice. A trench mortar shell exploded a few feet from him, but an Italian soldier was between Hemingway and the explosion and took the brunt of the shell fragments. He was killed, and Hemingway was badly wounded.

An official citation from the Italian government awarding Hemingway the "Silver Medal of Military Valor" stated that he "rendered generous assistance to the Italian soldiers more seriously wounded by the same explosion and did not allow himself to be carried elsewhere until after they had been evacuated." He was apparently the first American wounded in Italy, though another ambulance driver had been killed in June.

Hemingway was evacuated to the American Red Cross Hospital in Milan, where he underwent two operations on his legs and the removal of 227 shell fragments. Ted Brumback visited Ernest at the hospital on July 14 and wrote to Dr. and Mrs. Hemingway that there was no damage above the hip joint and that "only a few" of the fragments were "large enough to cut deep; the most serious of these being two in the knee and two in the right foot. The doctor says there will be no trouble about these wounds healing and that Ernest will regain entire use of both legs."

Agnes von Kurowsky was one of several American nurses assigned to the hospital. She was 26 years old, friendly, attractive, and good-humored, and by mid-August Hemingway had fallen in love with her and apparently thought she had with him. She was seven years older than Ernest and had been engaged to marry a doctor in New York before she left for the war. Though she certainly liked Hemingway and often signed letters "all my love," there is no evidence that she was "in love" with him.

The romance was short-lived, in any case; Agnes volunteered for service in a hospital in Florence to help counter a flu epidemic

and left Milan in mid-October. She was transferred to a Treviso hospital where there were cases of pneumonia among American soldiers, some of whom were dying from the disease. Ernest saw Agnes on occasion during October and November, but their last time together was on December 9, when he visited her in Treviso. He left for home on January 4 and received a letter from her in March cutting off the relationship entirely. They had been together five months; Hemingway had been in Italy barely seven months.

Toronto, Paris, and Writing

The "Dear John" letter from Agnes was traumatic for Hemingway. Even though he had left Italy without any promises, they continued to write each other, and if he had read between the lines of her letters he might have realized that she had cooled toward him; the final break came as a severe shock.

He left for the family cottage in northern Michigan in May and stayed until December 1918. While there, he wrote a number of short stories, but none was published in his lifetime. He took a job in Toronto during January–April of 1920 as a companion for the partially crippled son of Harriet and Ralph Connable, Sr., head of the Canadian chain of Woolworth's department stores. Through Connable connections, Hemingway was introduced to the editor of *The Toronto Daily Star*, certainly another lucky break for Ernest; he was able to freelance for the newspaper and published his first article on January 27, 1921, "New Ether to Credit of Toronto Surgeon." He worked for both *The Star* and its sister paper, *The Toronto Star Weekly*, a Saturday publication that carried formal essays and fiction but also popular features and humorous contests. That summer at Walloon Lake, he wrote "Up in Michigan", one of his first successful short stories, published two years later in *Three Stories & Ten Poems*.

During his four years with Toronto newspapers (1920–24) Hemingway is credited with writing more than 200 articles, most of them feature stories with a byline. He lived in Toronto for four months beginning in January 1920 and then again for four months ending in January 1924. Most of these articles—172 of them—are reprinted in *Ernest Hemingway: Dateline Toronto* (1985); there are 30 others reprinted or mentioned in *Hemingway: The Toronto Years* (1994).

While still writing for *The* Star, he began working for the Chicago-based farm journal *Cooperative Commonwealth* in October 1920, but the journal folded the next October when its founder was accused of organizing a cooperative scheme that cheated the very Midwestern farmers for which the publication was being written. Hemingway met Hadley Richardson during this time, and, after a period of correspondence with the St. Louis woman, who was eight years older than Ernest, they married in Horton Bay, Michigan (September 3, 1921), and lived in an apartment in the 1300 block of North Clark Street in Chicago. He continued to send stories to *The Toronto Star*, and, when he lost his job with *Cooperative Commonwealth* in October 1922, he accepted a position as a correspondent for *The Toronto Star*, writing feature stories from Europe.

Early during his work in Chicago, Hemingway met Sherwood Anderson, who had just published *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919) and who became one of many influences on Hemingway's own work. When Anderson heard that Ernest was going to Europe as a freelance reporter for the *Star*, he sent along letters of introduction to some of his friends, including Gertrude Stein, Ezra Pound, and Sylvia Beach, owner of Shakespeare and Company bookstore, where Hemingway would later buy or borrow dozens of books.

Ernest and Hadley left for Europe on December 8, 1921, aboard the *Leopoldina*, arriving in Paris on December 20; they stayed first at the Hotel Jacob and then moved into their first rented apartment on January 9, 1922, at 79, rue Cardinal Lemoine.

Paris was the place to be for hopeful American writers during the 1920s, and Hemingway took advantage of the postwar atmosphere of freedom that was available to the hundreds of artists from all over the world who made their way to the French capital during those years. And he did not disappoint his editors in Toronto.

It did not take long for the Hemingways to find the finest European ski resorts; Ernest's first article for the *Star* was titled "Tourists Scarce at Swiss Resorts," published a month and a half after arriving in Paris and as the result of a two-week holiday with Hadley at Chamby sur Montreux, Switzerland. The article was published on February 4, 1922, the first of more than 80 stories Hemingway would send to the *Star* that year. He returned to Switzerland in April to cover the Genoa Economic Conference, writing more than 20 stories about the conference and its participants. And he went to Constantinople in the fall to cover the Greco-Turkish war, witnessing the retreat of the Greek army on October 14. Editors at the *Star* headlined one story "A Silent, Ghastly Procession":

> In a never-ending, staggering march the Christian population of Eastern Thrace is jamming the roads towards Macedonia. The main column crossing the Maritza River at Adrianople is twenty miles long. Twenty miles of carts drawn by cows, bullocks and muddy-flanked water buffalo, with exhausted, staggering men, women and children, blankets over their heads, walking blindly along in the rain beside their worldly goods.

In November, Hemingway was in Lausanne, Switzerland, for the Peace Conference, referring in his first article to Italy's Mussolini as the "Biggest Bluff in Europe." Hadley joined him in Lausanne on December 3, having had her suitcase stolen at the Paris Gare de Lyon, the suitcase full of not only all the short stories her husband had written in Paris but the carbon copies as well. Both she and Ernest were devastated by the loss.

While in Paris during 1922 and 1923, Hemingway met several people who would be of valuable service to him as he continued to develop his writing skills and began to publish: most notably Pound, Stein, Sylvia Beach, Alice B. Toklas (who, with Stein, became godmother of Ernest and Hadley's first son, "Bumby"), Edward O'Brien (editor of *The Best Short Stories* of the year series), Robert McAlmon (publisher of Contact Editions), John Dos Passos, Harold Loeb, and James Joyce (whose novel *Ulysses* was published in 1922). Hemingway's first book, *Three Stories & Ten Poems*, was published by McAlmon during the late summer of 1923.

In June 1923, the Hemingways made their first trip to Spain and their first bullfights. They returned in July to Pamplona and their first Fiesta San Fermin and for what must have stirred Ernest's imagination toward ideas for *The Sun Also Rises,* published three years later.

After a few months in Toronto with a visit to Oak Park, the Hemingways were back in Paris by early February 1924, renting an apartment at 113, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs. John Hadley Nicanor Hemingway, whom they nicknamed "Bumby" and later called Jack, was born on March 16.

Ernest and Hadley were in Pamplona in July, this time for some fishing on the Irati River as well as for the bullfights. In December, they went to Schruns, Austria, for nearly three months of skiing. By mid-March 1925, they were back in Paris and introduced by mutual friends to Pauline and Virginia (Jinny) Pfeiffer; Pauline would become Ernest's second wife two years later. Other new friends would include Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald, Archibald MacLeish, and Sara and Gerald Murphy. Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* was published on April 10, and he and Ernest met for the first time in May.

Ernest and Hadley returned to Schruns in December 1925 for another skiing holiday, this time to be joined by Pauline on Christmas Day. It was apparently during the next two weeks that the relationship between Ernest and Pauline developed. She was in Paris when Hemingway returned from a trip to New York to work out contract details with Charles Scribner's Sons, who would become his permanent publishers. Ernest spent March 2–3 with Pauline in Paris before returning to Schruns. By September 1926, his marriage to Hadley was over. He left to Hadley the royalties to *The Sun Also Rises* and would later state more than once that he never stopped loving her. He and Pauline were married the next May 10.

During all of this time in Paris and of travel around Europe, Hemingway continued to write articles for *The Toronto Star* newspapers. He was also writing and publishing what would become some of his best works of fiction. His first major novel was *The Sun Also Rises*, published on October 22, 1926; he had also published *Three Stories & Ten Poems* (1923), *in our time* (1924), and *In Our Time* (1925), all primarily works of short stories, among them "Up in Michigan," "The Battler," "Soldier's Home," "Cat in the Rain," "Big Two-Hearted River" (Parts I and II), and "The Undefeated."

Key West and Havana

Ernest and Pauline stayed the remainder of 1927 in Europe, including Pamplona for the bullfights in July, an apartment in Paris at 6, rue Ferou, and Gstaad, Switzerland, for skiing in December and January.

Throughout his life Hemingway was prone to accidents, and three occurred during his first year with Pauline: on their honeymoon Ernest cut his foot, which became badly infected; Bumby scratched his father's eye while at Gstaad, badly enough that Ernest could neither write nor ski for several days; and later, after he and Pauline had returned to Paris, the apartment's bathroom skylight fell on his head, requiring several stitches.

In mid-March 1928, the Hemingways left France for Key West by way of Havana, taking an apartment in Key West on Simonton Street. Ernest had begun writing *A Farewell to Arms* in Paris and continued the novel in Key West and while traveling. Pauline was pregnant and wanted to be nearer her home in Piggott, Arkansas; she and Ernest drove to Piggott in late May and then to Kansas City, where Patrick Hemingway was born by Cesarean section on June 28. Pauline was hospitalized for several days, and Ernest, who kept track of the number of pages he had written for his major works, reported on July 15 that he had finished 457 manuscript pages of his new novel. The Hemingways traveled back to Key West by way of Oak Park and the Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald home (Ellerslie Mansion) near Wilmington, Delaware, and New York.

On December 6, 1928, Ernest's father committed suicide, and Ernest attended the funeral in Oak Park. Clarence had been in a state of depression, partly from financial debt and partly because he discovered late that he was a diabetic. As a doctor himself, he was ashamed to have failed to recognize the symptoms of diabetes; and he was afraid that gangrene had begun on his feet and that they might have to be amputated. He shot himself in the head with a Smith & Wesson .32 revolver. Later, Grace, apparently at Ernest's request, sent the gun to her son in Paris.

Hemingway had finished the rough draft of *A Farewell to Arms* in August, and he looked forward to seeing it published. The novel was serialized in six issues of *Scribner's Magazine*, from May to October 1929; the May and June issues were banned in Boston, though the publicity the novel got as a result of the ban more than made up for any loss of sales at Boston kiosks. The novel was published in book form on September 27.

The Hemingways were back in Paris by mid-April 1929, so Ernest endured all of the publication controversy and reviews of the new novel from long distance. Ernest, Pauline, her sister, Jinny, and their father, Gus Pfeiffer—who paid for the trip—all traveled to Pamplona for the July 6–14 week of fiesta and bullfights.

Pauline, Ernest, and Patrick left for Havana and Key West in January 1930 and spent most of the next two years traveling between Key West, Piggott, Arkansas, the Nordquist's L-Bar-T Ranch in Montana, Pamplona, Spain, Paris, and Kansas City, where Gregory was born by Cesarean section on November 12, 1931. Ernest was in an automobile accident near Billings, Montana, in December 1930, breaking an arm that required three operations to fix. He had begun writing *Death in the Afternoon* in March of that year and finished it in December 1931, in spite of the still mending arm.

The Hemingways returned to Key West in January 1931, and they sailed from Havana for France in May in order to take in Pamplona's Fiesta San Fermin again in July. Ernest spent most of the summer following the Spanish bullfight circuit, while Pauline was in Paris shipping their apartment belongings to their newly purchased Key West house at 907 Whitehead Street. The three Hemingways sailed for New York on the *Ile de France* on September 29. They met Grant and Jane Mason on the ship and struck up a relationship that would turn odd at times. Grant was head of Pan-American Airways in Cuba, and Jane was a 22-year-old fashion model. It has never been clear how close Ernest and Jane were, but there is some speculation that it was more than a platonic relationship. She was in an automobile accident driving with Bumby and Patrick in 1933 and then broke her back either falling or jumping from her second-floor hotel room in Havana.

Death in the Afternoon was published on September 23, 1932, to a mixed reception. Reviewers seemed unsure how a book about bullfighting could be written by an American. As it turns out, it is still generally considered the best book on bullfighting written by a non-Spaniard, and even some Spaniards think that Hemingway understood bullfighting better than many of their own countrymen. Hemingway taught Americans that there is no word for "bullfight" in Spanish; the closest equivalent is *corrida de toros*.

He had been writing short stories while finishing *Death in the Afternoon*, and he felt somewhat compensated for the reviews of his nonfiction book by the comparative success of the stories. *Scribner's Magazine* published "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place" in its March 1933 issue and "Homage to Switzerland" in April, and Hemingway had 14 stories ready for an anthology titled *Winner Take Nothing*, which was published in October 1933.

Meanwhile, Arnold Gingrich founded and edited *Esquire* magazine in 1933 and asked Hemingway for a contribution for the first issue, to be published that autumn. Ernest sent Gingrich "Marlin Off the Morro: A Cuban Letter," which was the first of 26 articles he wrote for *Esquire* during the 1930s; he also contributed six short stories, including "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," for the August 1936 issue. During January 1934, Hemingway suffered amoebic dysentery while on a safari in East Africa and had to be flown from the campsite to Nairobi, Kenya, for hospitalization. Hemingway's first African safari began in December 1933 for two

months. Ernest, Pauline, and their friend Chuck Thompson sailed from Marseilles through the Suez Canal to Mombasa on the southeast coast of Kenya. In Nairobi, they hired the famous hunting guide Philip Percival, who had led safaris for Winston Churchill and Teddy Roosevelt before World War I. Except for the bout with amoebic dysentery, the safari was a success and furnished Hemingway with material for not only "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" but for a second nonfiction book as well, *Green Hills of Africa*, published in 1935.

On their way back to Key West in early April 1934, the Hemingways stopped by the Wheeler Shipyard in Brooklyn to order a 38-foot fishing boat, to be delivered in Miami the next month. Hemingway named the boat the *Pilar*, after the Pilar shrine and annual festival in Zaragoza, Spain. Ernest spent the rest of the summer fishing for marlin in Cuban waters. On the way to Bimini from Key West in April 1955, Hemingway shot himself in both legs while trying to kill a wounded shark on the deck of his boat. John and Katy Dos Passos and another friend, Mike Strater, were with Ernest at the time, all fishing for tuna. Ernest spent the rest of the summer recuperating in Bimini. *Scribner's Magazine* serialized *Green Hills of Africa* in its May–November issues and published it in book form on October 25.

In September, Hemingway helped in the cleanup of Matecumbe Key following its direct hit by a hurricane on September 1. More than 450 war veterans were killed there while working at a CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) camp. Hemingway was angry about the careless treatment of the vets by the government and wrote an article for *New Masses* magazine titled "Who Murdered the Vets?"

The Spanish Civil War

Following spring 1936 election results in Spain, which promised socialist and communist reforms, General Francisco Franco led a right-wing revolt against the reforms. His forces included most of the Spanish army. This "Nationalist," or rebel, army attacked Madrid in November, cut the country in half during 1938, and took Barcelona in January 1939, which virtually sealed the victory for Franco and his army.

Troops from other European countries and from the United States formed International Brigades and entered the war on the side of the Republic.

In November 1936, the North American Newspaper Alliance (NANA) invited Hemingway to cover the war for their syndicate of 60 newspapers. Before he left for Spain, he wanted to finish *To Have and Have Not*, a novel he had been working on for two years, and he went to Cuba to research mostly geographical material. Back in Key West in December, he met Martha Gellhorn at Sloppy Joe's Bar; she had been a journalist for several years and would be in Spain, she apparently told Ernest, covering the war. She and Ernest were together a number of times, both in Spain and in the United States, before they married in 1940.

Hemingway went to Spain to report on the war, and he provided support for the Republican government in several ways: he paid the cost of sending two Cuban volunteers to fight in Spain, for example, and he contributed $1,500 to buy two ambulances; he also worked on two documentary films, *Spain in Flames* and *The Spanish Earth*, narrating the second film himself. The screenplay was written by Archibald MacLeish, John Dos Passos, and Lillian Hellman. After Ernest's first trip to cover the war for NANA in the spring of 1937, he gave an address in New York to the American Writer's Congress (June 4, 1937), titled "Fascism Is a Lie."

Hemingway covered the war in three trips to Spain, twice in 1937 for a total of seven months and once in 1938 for three months. He wrote 28 "dispatches" for NANA that were published in American and British newspapers. After the war, he wrote his third major novel, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, and eight short stories about the war, all taken from personal experiences.

Sun Valley and Havana

William Averell Harriman, who inherited the Union Pacific Railroad from his father and would later be ambassador to the Soviet Union and then Great Britain, built the Sun Valley Resort during the Depression years and needed help in publicizing the area as a year-round resort. In the fall of 1939, he invited Hemingway and other important people to stay at Sun Valley as part of his public relations plan.

The invitation appealed to Hemingway, in part because he was looking for a new place to live that would provide some privacy

from the constant publicity he had been getting during the 1930s. He and Martha Gellhorn stayed at the Sun Valley Lodge from late September to November 1939, all at the expense of the resort. She accepted an assignment from *Collier's* magazine to go to Finland and left Sun Valley in early November. When Hemingway returned to Key West just before Christmas, he discovered that Pauline had left with Patrick and Gregory for New York; she knew that the marriage was over. Ernest packed his books and manuscripts and moved into the Finca Vigía, a "farm" house just east of Havana that he and Martha had rented in April of that year.

He spent the next several months in Cuba finishing *For Whom the Bell Tolls.* Martha returned from her *Collier's* assignment in January 1940 and joined Ernest in Havana. After Pauline's divorce became final on November 4, Ernest and Martha were married in Cheyenne, Wyoming, on November 21. They purchased the Finca Vigía at the end of December for $12,500.

Martha left on an assignment for *Collier's* in early 1941 to cover the war between China and Japan, and she made the mistake of taking Ernest along. In spite of her reputation as a first-rate war correspondent and writer of two novels, he was more popular nearly everywhere they went in the Far East and so stole much of her show. He wrote seven articles on the war for the New York tabloid *PM*, all published in June 1941. Ernest and Martha competed as journalists again during World War II; *Collier's* editors first assigned Martha to cover the war and then, in 1944, gave an assignment to Ernest. She retrieved some of her pride by sneaking ashore on Omaha Beach June 7, the day after D-day, ahead of nearly all other journalists, including Hemingway. The two were divorced shortly after the war ended. It was the least successful of Ernest's four marriages.

World War II

Hemingway spent the summers of 1942 and 1943 entertaining Patrick and Gregory at the Finca Vigía. In the spring of 1942 he organized a counterintelligence scheme, agreed to by the American Embassy and the Cuban government (but frowned on by the FBI), whereby he would search for German submarines with his own boat, the *Pilar*. He ran the amateur operation through most of 1943. The marriage with Martha was beginning to come apart, and fishing with the boys each summer and looking for submarines no doubt helped to take his mind off the marriage difficulties. He did little writing during this period, except for an introduction to a book titled *Men at War*, for which he selected the 82 "best war stories of all time" for inclusion.

Martha, meanwhile, traveled throughout the Caribbean on an assignment for *Collier's*, writing articles on the impact of the sightings of German subs on the island populations. By May 1944 they were both on their way to Europe to cover the war, Ernest for *Collier's*—an assignment that angered Martha considerably. She traveled by ship, he by airplane. On June 5, he was on the *Dorothea L. Dix*, a transport ship taking media reporters across the English Channel toward France and the D-day invasion; the journalists were not allowed to go ashore, but they had a look at the Allied attacks from a few miles at sea. Martha, however, got ashore at Omaha Beach on June 7, having sneaked aboard a hospital ship: Military personnel stopped her a few days later and sent her back to England. Not long after that, she managed to get to the Italian front, another battle area not open to journalists.

Shortly after arriving in London in 1944, Hemingway met Mary Welsh Monks, a journalist covering the war for *Time* magazine. She would become Ernest's fourth wife two years later.

Following the disappointment at not making it to France for the D-day invasion, Ernest received permission in late June to fly a mission with the RAF (Royal Air Force). A week later, he flew on two missions in planes sent up to intercept unmanned German rockets. *Collier's* carried the resulting article, "London Fights the Robots," on August 19.

By mid-July he was in Normandy, France, and attached himself to the American Colonel Charles (Buck) Lanham's 22nd division. On August 5, a jeep he was riding in turned over, and Hemingway came away with a concussion, headaches, and double vision. He had been in a car accident in London in May, and the jeep crash accentuated an already injured head and body. After the jeep accident, he spent most of the next two weeks recovering at an army hospital set up at Mont St. Michel. The headaches would continue for the rest of his life.

Jack ("Bumby") Hemingway at age 21 joined a special forces unit of the American Army, the OSS (Office of Strategic Services); he parachuted into occupied territory in France in October 1944, was captured, and spent six months as a German prisoner of war.

Ernest was at a command post near Rambouillet by August 18, helping military personnel question prisoners; and on his way to

Paris he helped Free French soldiers get information on Germany's defenses between Rambouillet and Paris. There is apparently no evidence in official military records that indicate any genuine assistance to the war effort from Hemingway's various interrogations, but Colonel David Bruce of the OSS (and later an ambassador to Germany) wrote in his diary that Hemingway and a dozen or so partisans (French Forces of the Interior), whom he seemed to have under his command, had provided a lot of valuable information, all of it gathered from prisoners they had talked to themselves or brought back to American lines for interrogation. Colonel Bruce wrote that "Ernest, as a war correspondent, did not carry arms, but he had as workmanlike a lot of partisans under his informal command as one could wish for."

Hemingway was accused on occasion by army officers of getting in the way, but no one ever questioned his bravery under fire, his knowledge of the territory, or his instincts for making good decisions about the movement of Allied troops toward the French capital.

Hemingway entered Paris on August 25, 1944, along with Colonel Bruce's forces, but when the street fighting slowed down, he headed off with a few partisan comrades for the Hotel Ritz. Here is Carlos Baker's description of Hemingway's "liberating" the hotel's famous bar and setting up drinks for his friends (the details apparently taken largely from Bruce's diary entry for August 25, 1944).

> Bruce, Hemingway, Pelkey [Archie Pelkey, Hemingway's driver], and several of the irregulars [Free French fighters] made another dash through small-arms fire from the Travellers Club to the Café de la Paix. They found the Place de l'Opéra filled with "a solid mass of cheering people." The Bruce-Hemingway party … were roundly kissed by what seemed thousands of men, women, and babies. When they could move their vehicles again, they escaped to the Ritz, which had been open and doing business throughout the German occupation. They found the hotel completely undamaged and entirely deserted "except for the manager, the imperturbable Ausiello," who gravely welcomed the wayfarers at the door. They requested and were given lodging in the hotel, and quarters were found nearby for the "Private Army." When asked what else they needed, they answered that they would like to have fifty martini cocktails. The bartender could not be found and the cocktails were mediocre. But Ernest was finally in nominal possession of the Ritz.

The next day he was greeted warmly by Sylvia Beach at her Shakespeare and Company bookstore.

In early September, he rejoined General Lanham's 22nd Division and was with Lanham when American tanks crossed the Rhine River on September 12. He was called back to Paris by an Army Court of Inquiry about his actions before Paris, especially the charge that he had carried weapons while a correspondent. He was cleared of all charges on October 8. He spent the rest of the month in Paris with Mary, who was also staying at the Hotel Ritz.

By mid-March 1945, he was back in Havana with Patrick and Gregory. Jack, who had been a German prisoner for nearly six months, arrived in Havana in June, a month after the war in Germany ended. By June 20, Mary was at the Finca also. Later, on the way to the Havana airport, Ernest wrecked his car, causing himself yet another head injury and breaking four ribs; Mary sustained a cut on her face.

The Postwar Years

During the war, Hemingway published no fiction, only articles on the war itself. But by January 1946, he had returned to fiction, working on *The Garden of Eden*, a novel that would not be published until 25 years after his death. No new fiction would be published until *Across the River and Into the Trees* in 1950.

Ernest's divorce from Martha became official in December 1945, and he and Mary were married on March 14, 1946. A month later, while the two of them drove to Sun Valley for a vacation with his three sons, Mary had an ectopic pregnancy (the fertilized egg implants in the fallopian tube rather than in the uterus), the fallopian tube burst, and the doctor at the Casper, Wyoming, hospital told Hemingway that she was going to die. Ernest immediately inserted a tube intravenously while she was still on the operating table and "milked" plasma into her arm until she regained consciousness so the doctor could operate. The doctors and nurses, the anesthetist, and Mary all gave Ernest credit for saving her life. Perhaps if the doctors had known some of what Hemingway had seen of medical emergencies while following the Allied forces across France and Belgium a little more than a year before, they would not have been so surprised at his performance in the Casper hospital operating room.

Hemingway often treated Mary badly and had done so almost from the first. Martha Gellhorn had refused to play "the role of 'whipping boy,'" as Bernice Kert calls it in her book *The Hemingway Women* (1983), and Martha finally left him because of the friction over their respective roles. According to Kert, however, Mary "reacted to his insults with a self-abasement that was puzzling." There is speculation that after Ernest saved her life, Mary was more willing to accept the often heavy-handed treatment from her husband.

By the end of August, Ernest and Mary had rented a house in Ketchum, Idaho, and enjoyed their vacation with Jack, Patrick, and Gregory through October.

The Hemingways returned to Cuba in December, and he continued his work on *The Garden of Eden*, with which he was never quite satisfied. During January 1947, Patrick arrived for a visit in Havana and to study for college entrance exams to Harvard. He became seriously ill in April, however, including periods of delirium and nighttime violence, and he did not fully recover until July. While Mary was in Chicago with her father, who had prostate cancer, Pauline arrived in Havana to help nurse Patrick. When Mary returned to the Finca Vigía, she and Pauline became good friends—close enough that Pauline invited Mary to join her, Patrick, and Gregory in California for Thanksgiving.

Ernest and Mary were back in Cuba by February 1948, and he began writing *Islands in the Stream* that spring. They left for northern Italy in September, Hemingway sharing with her the geography of some of his World War I memories, including the spot along the Piave River at Fossalta, where he had been wounded in 1918. They went to Cortina d'Ampezzo for skiing during the winter of 1948–49, where they remained until March. Mary broke her leg in January, however, which cut short for her the happier part of their holiday. Ernest continued his lengthening list of injuries by getting an eye infection, diagnosed by a local doctor as erysipelas (a deep inflammation of the mucous membrane); the doctors in Padua, where he was hospitalized for most of April, thought the infection might spread, but apparently it did not. The Hemingways left Italy for Havana on April 30 and celebrated Ernest's 50th birthday on July 21 on board the *Pilar*, by drinking, according to Ernest's accounts, most of a case of champagne. They were back in Cortina the next February (1950) for another skiing vacation.

Adriana Ivancich met them in Cortina. Ernest and Mary had met Adriana while they were in Venice during December 1948 and again in January 1950, and Ernest invited her to join them in Cortina. She was a 19-year-old Italian countess, who would become the prototype for Renata in *Across the River and Into the Trees*, a novel he began writing in the spring of 1949, shortly after he met her. Hemingway gave two interviews during this time that resulted in important articles: Malcolm Cowley's essay "A Portrait of Mister Papa" for *Life* magazine (January 10) and Lillian Ross's interview with Ernest in November 1949 for her "Profile" column in *The New Yorker* (published May 13, 1950). The articles were important in part because they kept his reputation alive during a lengthy lack of production.

The Hemingways returned to Havana in April 1950 and spent the rest of the year at the Finca Vigía. Ernest injured his head again in an accident on the *Pilar*, and his headaches returned; what was even worse, however, was that in the accident pieces of metal still in his legs from the World War I wounds came loose and caused severe pain and swelling in his right leg.

The writing production was better in 1950. The serial version of *Across the River and Into the Trees* was published by *Cosmopolitan* in its February–June issues and then in book form by Scribner's in September. He finished writing *Islands in the Stream* in December and began *The Old Man and the Sea.*

Adriana and her mother had accepted an invitation from Ernest on one of the Cortina holidays to visit the Hemingways in Havana; Adriana's brother, Gianfranco, had a job in Cuba, and she and her mother went to Havana for three months beginning in October 1950. Ernest and Adriana liked each other from the first meeting and were together often during the next several years. She did the cover illustrations for both first edition dust jackets of *Across the River and Into the Trees* and *The Old Man and the Sea.* In March 1951, *Holiday* magazine published two fables by Hemingway, "The Good Lion" and "The Faithful Bull," both illustrated by Adriana, the illustrations commissioned and completed, apparently, on her visit to Havana.

Both Ernest's mother and Pauline died in 1951. Hemingway had not seen his mother for 20 years and did not attend the funeral. She had often criticized him for his lifestyle and for his books, and he blamed her for his father's suicide in 1928. He and Pauline still got along well enough, but Gregory got into trouble in Los Angeles and was arrested by the police. Pauline tried to keep the story out of California newspapers, yet she and Ernest got into a shouting match over the phone the evening of September 30 when he blamed her for Gregory's behavior. Later that night she waked from sleep with a severe abdominal pain and bleeding; she

died that day at St. Vincent's Hospital in Los Angeles. On a visit to Havana in February 1952 to introduce his new wife to Mary and Ernest, Gregory discovered that his father blamed him for the death of Pauline. Gregory left the Finca and never saw his father again.

The Pulitzer Prize, Africa, and Obituaries

The Old Man and the Sea was published by *Life* magazine in its September 1, 1952, issue (more than 5 million copies were printed), and Scribner's published it in book form the next week in a press run of 50,000 copies. Hemingway had originally planned for the 27,000-word novel to be the fourth part of *Islands in the Stream*, but at some point he apparently decided that the novel did not fit well with the first three parts of *Islands* and that it was pretty good on its own merits. It was published as a short novel and received some of the best reviews he had ever received. It was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for literature in May 1953.

Two other events of importance to Hemingway occurred in 1952. Charles Scribner III, head of Scribner's publishing house for 20 years and Hemingway's editor, died on February 11. Charlie had been Ernest's chief editor since just after the publication of *A Farewell to Arms* in 1929. The other 1952 event of importance was Fulgencio Batista's military coup in March to retake presidential power in Cuba (he had been president from 1940 to 1944). Hemingway did not like Batista and was greatly relieved when Fidel Castro took over the country in his own coup on December 31, 1958.

After the Pulitzer Prize award on May 4, 1953, Ernest and Mary sailed for Europe in June, arriving in Pamplona in time for the Fiesta San Fermín in July. They sailed from Marseilles, France, in August for Mombasa and an African safari that was to take place from September 1 to January 21, 1954. He had agreed to write a series of articles on the safari for *Look* magazine.

The five-month safari was successful for the Hemingways, but it became "famous" because of two airplane crashes that occurred three days after the safari ended, involving the Hemingways and producing obituaries in many of the world's newspapers.

Ernest and Mary were being flown by their pilot and friend Roy Marsh in a Cessna 180 from Entebbe, Uganda, on the northwest shore of Lake Victoria to Murchison Falls, just north of Lake Albert on the Uganda border with Zaire. The plane hit a telegraph wire over a gorge and crashed near the Victoria Nile River, three miles southwest of the falls. Mary suffered two broken ribs and shock; Ernest hurt his shoulder, but he and the pilot seemed to be okay. They were taken by boat to Butiaba on Lake Albert, from which the next day they were to fly back to Entebbe. The plane burst into flame on takeoff, and this time Hemingway was more seriously injured when he had to butt with his head and already injured shoulder through a stuck door on his side of the plane. And, as a sort of finishing touch, following treatment at the Nairobi, Kenya, hospital, Ernest flew to a fishing camp where he, Mary, Patrick, and Philip Percival had planned a fishing holiday. On February 2, a week after the plane crashes, he fell into a brush fire that he was helping to put out and sustained second-degree burns over part of his upper body.

Hemingway wrote an article later for *Look* magazine, titled "The Christmas Gift", in which he describes the accidents and what must have been a painful car ride back to Entebbe and a plane ride from there to the hospital in Nairobi. What is not mentioned in the article are his injuries: a ruptured liver, spleen, and kidney; temporary loss of vision in his left eye; some loss of hearing in his left ear; a crushed vertebra; a sprained right arm and shoulder; a sprained left leg; paralysis of the sphincter; and first-degree burns on his face, arms, and head.

He writes that in Nairobi he enjoyed reading a number of obituaries, no doubt the most interesting one a report in a German newspaper that he had attempted to land the plane himself on Mount Kilimanjaro.

The Nobel Prize in Literature

Following separate vacations—Mary with friends in London and Spain, Ernest with his friend A. E. Hotchner, who drove their car from Venice to Spain—the Hemingways returned to Cuba in June 1954.

On October 28, the official announcement was made in Stockholm, Sweden, that Hemingway had won the 1954 Nobel Prize in literature. Ernest had known about it for two weeks, and Mary hosted a party for friends at the Finca on October 21. According to Mary and some of their friends, Ernest kept referring to the award as "that Swedish thing." He announced immediately that he would not go to Stockholm for the December 11 ceremonies. His health was not good, and it was made worse by all the publicity

he had received about the plane crashes and by the invasion of people wanting to shake the famous author's hand.

He asked the American ambassador to Sweden, John Cabot, to deliver the short address he wrote for the occasion. He said, through Ambassador Cabot, to the audience in Stockholm:

> It would be impossible for me to ask the Ambassador of my country to read a speech in which a writer said all of the things which are in his heart. Things may not be immediately discernible in what a man writes, and in this sometimes he is fortunate; but eventually they are quite clear and by these and the degree of alchemy that he possesses he will endure or be forgotten.

The citation for the award of the Swedish Academy praised Hemingway's "powerful, style-making mastery of the art of modern narration" and his "admiration for every individual who fights the good fight in a world of reality overshadowed by violence and death." The citation mentions specifically *The Old Man and the Sea.*

The $35,000 Hemingway received was useful in helping to pay off a number of debts he had accumulated. The gold medallion he also received was presented later to the Virgen of Cobre, the national saint of Cuba, where it is still kept in the shrine of Our Lady at Santiago de Cuba.

Popularity and Ill Health

Ernest and Mary managed to escape the tourists for periods of time during the rest of 1954 by going fishing on the *Pilar* for days, even weeks at a time. But the Finca Vigía was always full of invitations when he returned to Havana: Time/Life Inc. offered him $10,000 for first refusal privileges on his next book; *Argosy* magazine offered $1,000 if the Hemingways would allow a photographer to take pictures at the Finca; Ernest's friend A. E. Hotchner was offered $6,000 for an article on Hemingway that included pictures of the Finca; an NBC radio documentary on Hemingway was subtitled "The Man Who Lived It Up to Write It Down" and characterized the author as the "master of the four-letter word" and "a two-fisted drinker who could down a quart of gin a day if the conversation were good."

Hemingway found it increasingly difficult to find the time to write. He had once said that no one ever wrote anything worth reading after winning the Nobel Prize. He worked on four books during the next six years, none to be published in book form before he died in 1961. He followed the Spanish bullfight circuit during the summer of 1959, and *Life* magazine serialized *The Dangerous Summer* in its September 5th and 19th issues, but Scribner's did not publish the book until 1985. The other three books were *A Moveable Feast* (published in 1964), *The Garden of Eden* (1986), and "the African book," published first as *True at First Light* in 1999, an abridged edition edited by Ernest's son Patrick, and in 2005 as *Under Kilimanjaro,* an unabridged edition edited by Robert W. Lewis and Robert Fleming for The Ernest Hemingway Foundation.

The Hemingways spent all of 1955 in Cuba or on Cuban waters, escaping when they could from Ernest's popularity. Both Ernest and Mary were ill most of that time. Ernest was still recovering from the African plane accidents, and, late in 1955, from nephritis (a kidney infection), hepatitis (a liver inflammation), and a high cholesterol count. (For a fuller account of Hemingway's list of illnesses, see Susan Beegel's essay "Hemingway and Hemochromatosis" in *The Hemingway Review*, Fall 1990.) Mary, meanwhile, had her own health problems; she was anemic and suffered from colitis. By April 1956, however, they were well enough to travel to Peru with the Hollywood film crew working on the movie version of *The Old Man and the Sea.* The Warner Brothers production staff wanted to film a large marlin, but could not catch one or even get good film footage of a marlin at sea. They eventually settled for a mechanical fish for Spencer Tracy to dangle on the end of his line.

Back in Havana, the Cuban doctor recommended higher altitudes for both Ernest and Mary, so when they felt healthy enough again they sailed to Europe (September 1, 1956) on the *Ile de France* and spent the next five months in Paris or Spain. Ernest tried to set up an African safari for later that year, with Patrick as their hunter/guide, but they had to cancel because of the war between Egypt and Israel over the Suez Canal. They left for New York and Havana in late January 1957.

Back at the Finca Vigía, Ernest gave some interviews and returned to his writing. He revised an interview he gave to George Plimpton for *The Paris Review*, published the next spring (1958) as "Ernest Hemingway: The Art of Fiction XXI." He started a "memoir" of his relationship with Scott Fitzgerald, but gave it up when he began to feel he was being too critical of Fitzgerald. *Cosmopolitan* published an article titled "Hemingway at Work" in its August 1957 issue, and *The Atlantic Monthly* published

two new short stories in its November issue, the last stories published during Hemingway's life: "A Man of the World" and "Get a Seeing-Eyed Dog." In November, he also began writing *A Moveable Feast*, a memoir of the Paris years.

He worked until October 1958 on *A Moveable Feast* and *The Garden of Eden*, but the Castro revolution began the same month, and although Ernest supported Castro, even financially, the Hemingways left for Ketchum, Idaho, just before the fighting began.

Depression and Suicide

The Hemingways bought a house and 17 acres of land on Canyon Run Boulevard, a mile northwest of Ketchum and overlooking the Big Wood River. They lived in the house barely a month before leaving in April 1959 for Spain in order to follow the summer bullfight circuit. Ernest wrote about the bullfights he saw, especially those involving Antonio Ordóñez and Luis Miguel Dominguín, the two leading bullfighters of the 1950s. When the work was serialized in *Life* magazine the next year (September 5, 12, and 19, 1960), Hemingway was criticized for uneven reporting, seeming to favor Ordóñez over Dominguín. He made the criticism worse by traveling with Ordóñez during the 1959 bullfight season and staying in his home during parts of that summer.

Ernest and Mary left for Paris in mid-October 1959; Mary then flew to Cuba, and Ernest sailed for New York in order to drop off at Scribner's his manuscript of *A Moveable Feast*. He then went to Havana, where he and Mary oversaw some repairs on the Finca. They were back in Ketchum by the end of December.

Hemingway was not well. He was suffering from hypertension and insomnia; and depression had become obvious to Mary and the friends who visited him in Ketchum. In spite of that, they went back to Havana, where Ernest continued to work on *The Dangerous Summer*. Hotchner was there to help cut the manuscript. *Life* editors had asked him for 10,000 words; he had 120,000.

The depression worsened, and, while on a September 1960 visit to the home of his friends Bill and Annie Davis near Málaga, Spain, he showed signs of erratic behavior; he wrote to Mary from Málaga that he was having a nervous breakdown. The first installment of *The Dangerous Summer* depressed him even further, because he thought it had been written badly.

He returned to Ketchum in October, and on November 30 he entered the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota. The doctors treated him for hypertension, an enlarged liver, fluctuating blood pressure, depression, and paranoia. His friends thought his complaints about being followed by the FBI were strange and unrealistic, so the paranoia turned ironic when several years later it was proved that the FBI had been following Hemingway's activities, from his German submarine exploits during World War II to the end of his life. He received electroshock treatments on each of three trips to the Mayo Clinic.

Hemingway was invited in January 1961 to read from a selection of his works at John F. Kennedy's presidential inauguration, but the illnesses forced him to decline.

He attempted suicide twice (April 21 and 23) following the second trip to the Mayo Clinic, but he was stopped both times by Mary. She took him back to the clinic on April 25, where he underwent more electroshock therapy. He was released on June 26, and he and Mary drove back to Ketchum, arriving on June 30.

At 7:30 on the morning of July 2, Hemingway killed himself in the foyer of the Ketchum house, using a double-barreled shotgun he had hunted with most of his life.

Hemingway's Writing Style and Truth

Hemingway created a style of writing admired by nearly every writer of fiction in English, and he left that style as perhaps his most important legacy. He made the short, declarative sentence an ideal for legions of subsequent writers. It has been said that half of all 20th-century American writers tried to imitate Hemingway's style and the other half tried not to. John Updike says in a foreword to the book *John Updike: The Early Stories 1953–1975* (2003) that his own "main debt … was to Hemingway; it was he who showed us all how much tension and complexity unalloyed dialogue can convey, and how much poetry lurks in the simplest nouns and predicates."

Hemingway's "style" is seen in part as an attempt by the author to provide the reader with enough detail of a character's experience that the reader feels something of that experience him- or herself. And this is true as often for his nonfiction as for his fiction. One problem for the reader, in fact, is that it is often difficult to tell the difference between nonfiction and fiction in Hemingway's works. Many incidents in his fiction are lifted directly from actual experiences, and many actual experiences are fictionalized—or at least exaggerated—in his nonfiction. Frederic Henry's wounding in *A Farewell to Arms* is a vivid rendering of Hemingway's own wounding along the Piave River near Fossalta on July 8, 1918. *Green Hills of Africa*, clearly a report of a two-month safari in East Africa with his wife, Pauline, during January and February 1934, begins with an epigraph that states: "Unlike many novels, none of the characters or incidents in this book is imaginary." Yet in both this "nonfiction" book and in his last published work of "fiction," *Under Kilimanjaro* (2005), there are scenes imagined and scenes that evidently happened.

The NANA Dispatch titled "The Chauffeurs of Madrid" presents another example of this thin line. Hemingway published it first as a nonfiction piece for distribution to the 60-plus newspapers belonging to the North American Newspaper Alliance. It was published in May 1937, the 12th of 28 dispatches from Hemingway that were published by the syndicate. Fifteen years later, he reprinted it in *Men at War* (1942). The book is subtitled "The Best War Stories of All Time." Most of the "stories" are fiction, and it is just as easy for readers to accept "The Chauffeurs of Madrid" as fiction in the "Best War Stories" context as it is to accept it as a nonfiction work in the context of the original NANA dispatch.

Hemingway writes eloquently in the Introduction to *Men at War* about the importance of truth in writing.

> A writer's job is to tell the truth. His standard of fidelity to the truth should be so high that his invention, out of his experience, should produce a truer account than anything factual can be. For facts can be observed badly; but when a good writer is creating something, he has time and scope to make it of an absolute truth…. But if he ever writes something which he knows in his inner self is not true, for no matter what patriotic motives, then he is finished. After the war the people will have none of him because he, whose obligation is to tell them truth, has lied to them. And he will never be at peace with himself because he has deserted his one complete obligation.

This sometimes too-thin line between fiction and nonfiction is perhaps best exemplified and complicated by some biographers who insist on "proving" events in Hemingway's life by quoting from the fiction. One biographer "discovers" the author's first sexual experience and then cites the short story "Up in Michigan" as his source of information. Another identifies real people as characters in the fiction, without qualification. Another biographer assumes that statements in Hemingway's letters and media articles are biographical facts, failing to acknowledge that the author may have exaggerated or even made up details in the letters, as well as in the nonfiction and fiction. In a 1981 review of Carlos Baker's *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters, 1917–1961*, Morley Callaghan wrote that "since he had a searing power to make everything he wrote seem real, the letters are captivating because we can never be sure whether he is telling the truth, or whether he is being seduced by his imagination into believing the legends he created for himself."

Here is the opening paragraph of an article Hemingway wrote for *Esquire* (February 1934):

> This time last year we were driving home from Cooke City, Montana, in a blizzard. The boys, who had tried to drag Bull-Neck Moose-Face, the truck driver, to death the night of the Old Timers' Fish Fry because he was alleged to have hit a lady with a poker, were still in jail. The big trout had dropped back down the river into the deep pools of the canyon. The deer had come down from the high country and had gone down the river to their winter range and the elk had gone into the Park.

Stylistically it is unmistakably Hemingway, but if *Esquire* readers did not know that this was the beginning of an article the author titled "A Paris Letter," it might well be taken as the opening of a short story. Michael Reynolds, one of Hemingway's most recent biographers, said that "with Hemingway there is no such thing as non-fiction; there are simply degrees of fiction." Twenty-eight years after this "Paris Letter" was published in *Esquire*, the same magazine published an essay by Gay Talese, titled "Joe Louis: The King as a Middle-aged Man." It was one of the earliest examples of what became known as "New Journalism," a style of writing that mixed fact with fiction as a way of getting to larger truths than facts alone could achieve.

These factors of Hemingway's writing make it extremely difficult to get biographies right.

He was rejected for the army in 1917 because of a vision problem, so he lied about his age in early 1918 in order to get into the

Red Cross to drive ambulances for the Italian army. He gave his birth year as 1898. Since then a number of biographical studies have had his birth year wrong. *Life* magazine, in a special issue (fall 1990) honoring "The 100 Most Important Americans of the 20th Century," has Hemingway's birth year as "1898." Even the *Oxford English Dictionary* has it wrong in its most recent paper edition and in its 2004 CD-Rom version. And the Alfred Nobel Museum in Stockholm, Sweden, which honors all of the Nobel Prize winners, has Hemingway's birth year as 1898.

One of the legends attached to Hemingway has him so drawn to death that he became *its* subject and so foreshadowed his suicide. But it was the *subject* of death that attracted him, because the subject allowed him to push life into a corner for examination. Hemingway says at the beginning of *Death in the Afternoon* (1932): "The only place where you could see life and death, *i.e.*, violent death now that the wars were over, was in the bull ring and I wanted very much to go to Spain where I could study it."

In *Death in the Afternoon*, a book almost as valuable for what the author says about "writing" as for what he says about "bullfighting," Hemingway makes perhaps the best explanation yet written about the difference between a writer of fiction and a journalist, both of which professions he knew well. Suppose, he says, that a little girl is hit by a train. The journalist can get all the necessary information for the story by reading about the accident on the police blotter downtown the next day, but the writer of fiction has to *see* the little girl hit by the train, has to *feel* the emotion of that terrible, heart-rending moment of frustration at being able to do nothing. The best writers, Hemingway suggests, can make readers feel that same emotion.

In a passage from *A Farewell to Arms* describing Frederic Henry's wounding (Chapter Nine) while serving as an ambulance driver for the Italian army in the world war, there is a clear demonstration of Hemingway's attempt to make readers "feel" something of what Frederic himself felt at the moment of the wounding:

> Then there was a flash, as when a blast-furnace door is swung open, and a roar that started white and went red and on and on in a rushing wind. I tried to breathe but my breath would not come and I felt myself rush bodily out of myself and out and out and out and all the time bodily in the wind. I went out swiftly, all of myself, and I knew I was dead and that it had all been a mistake to think you just died. Then I floated, and instead of going on I felt myself slide back. I breathed and I was back.

Much of Hemingway's seemingly macho stance, then, his own or that of his fictional characters—courage in the face of death, whether in war, in bullfights, or in hunting Africa's big game—was the author's attempt to examine life more closely so that he could write better about it, even as a scientist examines with a microscope so that he can get closer to truth. Hemingway's vision of the human condition as reflected in his fiction is usually that of the individual alone with some loss, attempting to cope with that loss in order to come out the other side of experience with a semblance of understanding of himself and of his place in the larger scheme of things.

Hemingway won the Nobel Prize in literature in 1954, largely on the basis of a story about an old Cuban fisherman, down on his luck, who catches a marlin three feet longer than his 15-foot boat but who loses it to sharks before he can get it back to shore. The old man learns that "man can be destroyed but not defeated" if he tries to do well what his life has led him to. This affirmation in *The Old Man and the Sea* is, to a large extent, an affirmation that readers can find in nearly all of Hemingway's fictional works.

Hemingway in the Popular Culture

Mythology is the study of stories that make up the history of an event or the life of a person. The stories are a way of explaining—or an attempt to explain—the event or the life. What usually happens is that over time the stories get exaggerated, sometimes to such an extent that readers no longer have an accurate picture of the event or the life. That seems to be what has happened to Ernest Hemingway. Hemingway studies has reached a point that edges close to "mythomania," and those interested in his life will either have to stop accepting as important—and passing it on as biographical fact—stories that crop up about him or allude to him regularly in the media; or, collectively, readers will have to admit that Hemingway is a writer for whom what he wrote is secondary to who he was.

William Deibler, former managing editor of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, a member of The Hemingway Society and an avid Hemingway reader, may have been the first to suggest that more people know about Hemingway's reputation than have read his books. "They know about the persona," Deibler said in an interview during the 1980s, "they have bought the myth." He said that

when he started as a journalist, he could not walk into a newsroom without meeting someone who had met or known Hemingway and all of whom had stories to tell. Deibler also talked about the "strange aspect" of Hemingway's public image that lives on in the popular culture and attempts to "cash in on Hemingway's name."

It is certainly true that a number of people are making money from the Hemingway name, more in the first years of the 21st century it seems than when the "popular culture" first took an interest, shortly after his death in 1961.

There are songs ("Grace Under Pressure" and "Islands in the Stream," for example); there is a *Doonesbury* book of cartoons titled "A Farewell to Alms," and a Hemingway "Adventure Map" that shows all of the exotic places attached to his name. There are advertisements and newspaper headlines—often, one would guess, without the copy editor knowing where he or she got the words. They've become so common, in fact, that even readers who know Hemingway's works well tend to miss seeing them. A *New York Times* sports headline read "Sub Also Rises"; a *Punch* magazine food article was titled "The Soufflé Also Rises." There must be by now hundreds of other allusions to the title of Hemingway's first major work, *The Sun Also Rises.* Other Hemingway titles attract headline writers as well; two recent plays are titled "For Whom the Tinkerbell Tolls" and "For Whom the Southern Belle Tolls."

In the late 1990s, an advertisement for Calvin Klein's "Obsession Fragrance" used an imagined scene from *The Sun Also Rises*; and there were ads in a number of publications with a photograph of Hemingway, identified only as "a writer." He and Mark Twain may be the only American writers whose photographs seem to need no further identification.

At least 10 restaurants in the United States are either named "Hemingway" or carry a Hemingway motif in design or menu, plus Hemingway Restaurants in Christ Church, New Zealand; Florence, Italy; Zurich, Switzerland; Dunoon, Scotland; Nessebar, Bulgaria; Cape Town, South Africa; and Abu Dhabi, capital city of the United Arab Emirates. And there are at least two restaurants, one in Madrid, Spain, which make it clear with signs over the entrance or in the front window that "Hemingway Did Not Eat Here." There are numerous Harry's Bars (named after the one in Venice that appears in *Across the River and Into the Trees*); a bookstore in Cupertino, California, is named "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place for Books," after Hemingway's short story "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place"; and a catering service in Warrenton, Virginia, is named "A Moveable Feast," spelled correctly with an *e*.

A Florida entrepreneur has been given permission by the Hemingway estate to build a "worldwide chain of hotels linked to the author's name." A Pratesi sheet advertisement claimed that after publication of each of Hemingway's novels, the author bought Pratesi sheets for his bed. The ad contained a photograph of Hemingway and the statement that as a "Just reward, Hemingway gave himself a Pratesi sheet every time he finished a novel." Where did the Pratesi company get that idea? All of this popularizing of the novelist, plus a line of clothes, a line of hunting gear and fishing tackle, a house design, a necktie, Hemingway wallpaper, and a line of Hemingway furniture—a Thomasville collection containing 96 different pieces at a profit of $300 million during the first three years.

The Hemingway name and legend has been productive in other ways as well. The last 25 years have produced a Hemingway Society (begun in 1980) with a scholarly journal and a newsletter with worldwide circulation, plus societies in Oak Park, Illinois, in northern Michigan, and in Japan. More than 100 conferences have been devoted entirely or in part to Hemingway, including an international conference every two years since 1984; more than 150 books and 2,500 articles about Hemingway or his works; festivals each year in Oak Park and in Key West, Florida; and an $8,000 Hemingway Foundation/PEN Award, given each year for a writer's best first book of fiction. A whole industry—commercial and academic—has developed, in other words, all in the name of Ernest Hemingway.

There is no doubt that Hemingway was his own first mythmaker—egocentric and fearless, a heavy drinker yet at his typewriter every morning by six—and his mythology has contributed both to reader's delight with his storytelling and to confusion regarding his biography. Hemingway's oldest son, Jack, said that he had never recognized his father in any of the biographies. "He may have been an SOB to some people," Jack said, "but he was not an SOB to me." This failure of biographical recognition is probably not unusual in the offspring of famous people, but all three of the Hemingway sons talked about how much fun they had growing up with their father; they said that he was "funny" as well, a characteristic rarely mentioned in the biographies. Jack and Patrick, the second son, both had fun on a panel discussion during Oak Park's 100th birthday celebration in 1999, talking about their father. What was perhaps most interesting, however, was that most of the stories they told, funny or not—and perhaps because some of them were clearly private, family matters—had not been published and seemed to be "new" to an audience of Hemingway

scholars.

William Ohle, a Horton Bay, Michigan, friend of Ernest's, said in an interview several years ago that "it's so odd to me that nothing in his fiction reflects his life"—an interesting comment, considering all of the biographical criticism that has been written about Hemingway, connecting actual people and places to the short stories and novels. When Ernest sat down to write, Ohle added, "the lightness disappeared." This may be true of Hemingway's works, but it also corroborates what the sons said about their father's personality; yet it is difficult to find in biographical studies the "lightness" in the personality of the man himself.

Dozens of stories are told by well-meaning people of meetings with Hemingway, of seeing him in various places, of things he did, stories told as true but which are most often not true—sometimes Hemingway was already dead at the time the event was supposed to have taken place. During a break at a conference on Hemingway in Washington, D.C., a man described meeting Hemingway in Siena, Italy, in 1969. "I know it was 1969," the man assured his listeners when questioned about the date, "because we were there for my son's wedding." No one knew the man well enough to tell him that Hemingway had been dead for eight years when he "met" him in Siena. And Jack Hemingway once said that two strangers had told him about meetings with his father, one in British Columbia and one in Alaska, places Hemingway never visited. At least two Hemingway impersonators who have been identified, one in the United States and one in Europe, did for a number of years get free drinks or dinners at the expense of gullible admirers.

As the first editor of *The Hemingway Review*, the author of this book received perhaps a dozen letters either describing outright incidents that had occurred in this or that bar in Albuquerque or Des Moines or Tallahassee, or asking if Hemingway could have been at a certain place at a certain time in order for the letter writer "to prove correct" whatever story he or she had recently heard from (usually) a bartender, most letter writers seeming to assume that if Hemingway *had* been there, then the story *must* be true.

One Texas correspondent wrote about meeting a woman near Santa Fe who claimed that the author had stayed in her home in 1952 while he was writing *The Old Man and the Sea*. She said that Hemingway had been referred to her by friends who told him that he could have peace and good food at her home. Then, according to the letter writer, the woman launched into a description of what he did when he was not writing: "He pinched the Indian girls; he was gruff with his wife; he was nasty and cruel to his son; and everybody who observed all of this hated him for it." And she told the letter writer that later, when he sent her a copy of *The Old Man and the Sea*, she did not open the package for years because of her disgust for him. The story sounds plausible enough (as do many other stories), except that Hemingway wrote *The Old Man and the Sea* between December 1950 and March 1952, and that Hemingway was at his Cuban home or fishing Cuban waters during the entire time; he did not even return to Chicago in June 1951 for the funeral of his mother, let alone make an appearance in Santa Fe during that time.

The second editor of *The Hemingway Review*, Susan Beegel, wrote in response to a question about her own experiences that her favorite "wacko letter" came from a man who wanted to know whether Lee Harvey Oswald was a member of The Hemingway Society. Oswald had used a Mannlicher rifle to shoot President Kennedy, and Hemingway's fictional Margot Macomber had used a Mannlicher to shoot her husband, Francis. Then, according to the letter writer, there was all the conspiracy theory "stuff" about Kennedy, Castro, Cuba, and organized crime. Hemingway lived in Cuba, so could he have been involved in the conspiracy? The fact that Hemingway died two years before Kennedy's assassination did not seem to matter to the letter writer. Beegel, however, provided a fascinating item to go along with the "wacko letter." It was later revealed that Oswald had worked for the KGB for a while, and one of the things he did was to make audiotapes for Soviet agents to improve their English and American accents. One of the discovered tapes is of Oswald reading Hemingway's "The Killers."

There are enough stories of Hemingway's prowess as a hunter, boxer, wrestler, drinker, or brawler, or about his family life, to justify a biographer's time chasing them down, though it seems to be getting more and more difficult. For example, visitors to the Hemingway home on Whitehead Street in Key West, Florida, purchased by the author in 1931 and now a private museum, are told several stories about the author's life in Key West. One story is that the cats running around in the yard are descendants of Hemingway cats; but Gregory Hemingway, the youngest Hemingway son, insisted that there were no cats until the Hemingways moved to Havana in 1940. Pauline, Ernest's second wife and mother of Patrick and Gregory, liked the peacocks at the Key West home, Gregory says, and she did not want them chased by cats. There *were* cats, however, at the Havana house, 52 of them at one time, according to Jack Hemingway.

In an article for *Travel* magazine (December 26, 1999) titled "Confessions of a Literary Pilgrim," writer Ambrose Clancy adds more to the cats story. He says that he

> trooped in [to the Key West house] one morning with a group of high school kids on a field trip, reporters, tourists and a fair number of keepers of the eternal Papa flame. Our [tour] guide was a slim, spry, elderly man, wielding a cane like a fey British brigadier, calling both men and women "honey," and making up the facts as he went along….
>
> I heard grumbling behind me when our guide said Hemingway and Miss Mary had kept 40 or 50 cats at the house. The flame-keepers were appalled. Mary Hemingway never lived here and, one person spat, sotto voce, "Cuba is where he had the cats. Cuba." On we went, the cane pointing to a thrift-shop table. "Ernest wrote *The Old Man and the Sea* at that very desk." The high school kids were bored, the tourists a bit wowed, the flame-keepers close to open revolt. "Cuba! He wrote that in Cuba."
>
> "No, honey, he most certainly did not."

In spite of assumptions to the contrary, Hemingway also never ran with the bulls in Pamplona, Spain. The leg wounds he had received in World War I prohibited running at any time, let alone on the mostly cobblestone streets of Pamplona with bulls chasing him. Nor did Jake Barnes, the main character in *The Sun Also Rises*, run with the bulls. Yet the legend is advanced every year in Pamplona where hundreds of people, including many Americans, run with the bulls in what they apparently think is an imitation of a Hemingway act of "bravery."

Another legend was created by Kenneth Lynn in his biography *Hemingway* (1987). Lynn insists on the significance of Grace Hemingway having kept Ernest in dresses for the first three years of his life, which suggests for Lynn a confusion of "sexual signals emanating from" his mother and which Lynn uses in the book to forward his various interpretations of both Hemingway's life and his fiction. That it was the custom at the turn of the century to outfit little boys in dresses seems to have been lost on Lynn and on others who are now often focusing also on a Freudian interpretation of the author's life and of his fictional characters.

It probably does not matter that cultural popularity has made it difficult to understand Ernest Hemingway. All of the writing about Hemingway, stories true and not true, has made him larger than life; to return to William Deibler's idea, readers seem to have bought into the myth. Perhaps it is because readers know they can never push their own lives into corners for examination the way Hemingway did his. We may envy him that ability to put a microscope to life and then write conclusions that get so close to what life really is.

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