Summer 1995

Martha Gellhorn: The Hemingway Years

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Martha Gellhorn: The Hemingway Years

A Thesis for the Honors Program

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Summer 1995

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Abstract

Martha Gellhorn, third wife of Ernest Hemingway, experiences criticism early in her writing career--critics claiming her journalism is superior to her fiction. Gellhorn meets Hemingway in December 1936 after the publication of her critically acclaimed novel, The Trouble I've Seen. The years between 1936 and 1945, the period Gellhorn is involved with Hemingway, represent an exploration for Gellhorn--a voyage of self-discovery and growing independence as a writer--years during which Gellhorn establishes a literary identity.

During the early years of her war-time writing, Gellhorn establishes a unique narrative format which will come to be called the New Journalism. While her journalism matures early in her Hemingway years, Gellhorn's fiction receives mixed reviews after the overwhelmingly positive reception of The Trouble I've Seen. But with the publication of Liana (1944), there is a shift away from the journalist-protagonist technique which has marred Gellhorn's fictional endeavors. Although Liana does not see the levels of success heaped upon The Trouble I've Seen, it receives more sturdy critical approval than the other novels published during the Hemingway years. And so it is that Martha Gellhorn establishes a firm literary identity which displays the strength and fortitude of a woman whose writing captures the human spirit in a manner which could only be caught by a person of magnificent spirit and fortitude herself.
Martha Gellhorn: The Hemingway Years

Preface

Martha Gellhorn: Daughter of a physician and a social-activist mother. Journalist. War correspondent. Writer of fiction. All of these descriptions capture some aspect of the life and career of Martha Gellhorn. And all would suit Martha Gellhorn just fine. There is but one small catch. The phrase most often used in describing Gellhorn, much to her chagrin, is Martha Gellhorn--third wife of Ernest Hemingway.

Although Hemingway brings Gellhorn into the limelight of the American public, Gellhorn would much prefer to be recognized for her own accomplishments, and those accomplishments are many. Martha Gellhorn is born in St. Louis in 1908 (Rollyson 3). Her father, a gynecologist/obstetrician from Breslau, Germany (7-8), and her mother, a St. Louis social reformer and suffragette (3), raise Gellhorn in a somewhat socially radical family with three brothers: George, Walter, and Alfred (8). She attends Bryn Mawr college but drops out as a junior, spending the next few years pursuing her interest in writing.

During these years she also works as a field investigator for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. By the time Gellhorn meets Hemingway in 1936, she has already published
articles and has written two novels, one of which, The Trouble I've Seen, receives critical acclaim. The time between 1936 and 1945 is tumultuous for both the world and Gellhorn. Perhaps confusion concerning Gellhorn's writing is amplified by her relationship to Hemingway. Constantly having her own writing compared to his takes its toll on Gellhorn's patience, and her accomplishments during this period most definitely frustrate their relationship.

While the public compares Gellhorn to Hemingway, they continue to celebrate the superiority of Gellhorn's journalism over her works of fiction. Leaving behind the success of The Trouble I've Seen, Gellhorn publishes two novels and one book of short stories during the years she is involved with Hemingway. Along with these works of fiction, she produces countless front-line articles from various military conflicts. The Trouble I've Seen is viewed as "journalistic-fiction" by some, and Gellhorn's articles are viewed as something beyond strict journalism. This situation presents an ambiguity concerning Gellhorn's style of writing. And always present in the background is the shadow of Ernest Hemingway.

Looking back upon the years between 1936 and 1945, the reader and reviewer may see Gellhorn not simply as a mediocre writer of fiction or as a superb journalist, but as a writer who is incorporating all the genres a writer may feel compelled to explore. That decade represents an exploration for
Gellhorn--a voyage of self-discovery and growing independence as a writer--years during which Gellhorn establishes a literary identity.
Why are the years before Hemingway important? By examining the two works Gellhorn publishes before she meets Hemingway, looking at the critical response to these pieces, and observing extraneous details pertaining to Gellhorn's writings, the reader learns three important facts. One: Martha Gellhorn sets a pattern for writing about social concerns early in her writing career. Two: Although Gellhorn earns high critical praise for The Trouble I've Seen, she writes two works during this period which she does not attempt to publish—an exhibition of a writer struggling to create, through her writing, a cohesive bond between her subject and her intended theme. Three: When Gellhorn meets Hemingway, although his presence is sure to have some effect upon her writing, Gellhorn has already proven she can produce writing worthy of critical praise without his guidance. Her writing is her own.

Two years before meeting Ernest Hemingway, Gellhorn publishes her first novel, What Mad Pursuit (1934). Following a portion of the life of a heroine named Charis Day (Rollyson 65), the novel becomes available to the public around the time Gellhorn returns to the United States from traveling and writing abroad (Orsagh 18).
Charis is an individual who fights injustice with a naive idealism. She drops out of college in protest over the dismissal of a fellow female student for sleeping with a male student in his dorm room. The male student is not dismissed. (Rollyson 65) Several episodes follow with Charis defending various social causes. One of the later incidents in the novel finds Charis in Paris, having her first sexual encounter and discovering that she has now contracted syphilis (66).

Rollyson observes that the end of the novel "...gives a brief glimpse of a chastened but still determined Charis..." (66). Rollyson also notes that Gellhorn is not particularly fond of What Mad Pursuit and that she "...would like to expunge it from history; she never lists it among her published works" (67).

He follows with some comments on the difficulties he perceives in the novel:

Nothing measures up. The college Charis attends has almost no distinguishing features; and the same is true of the newspaper that employs her and of most of the other American and European settings. The best parts of the novel are when Charis is by herself--mountain climbing, for example--because there the rhythm of the scene actually evokes her fitful, reckless nature. Otherwise, episodes are introduced only to dismiss other characters and places as unworthy.
of Charis's noble aspirations. Although Charis is criticized for her heedless pursuit of the ideal, in the end she is practically worshipped as a sojourner after truth. (67)

Jacqueline Orsagh agrees: "Gellhorn is not yet able to reorder fact into fiction. She is too closely involved with her story" (19). What Mad Pursuit "...is a female initiation story, rare in an American literary canon abounding in Holden Caulfields and Huck Finns. While it would never be considered a major work, the novel should perhaps be analyzed as a new genre and a new challenge" (19).

Gellhorn marries Bertrand de Jouvenel in the summer of 1933, but "...[t]he couple were separated while Martha (in the Midi since the early spring of 1934) worked on a second novel, which she was never to publish..."(Rollyson 67). Returning to the United States later in 1934, her marriage unofficially dissolved, Gellhorn is introduced to Harry Hopkins, head of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. After their meeting, she is hired to be a field investigator for FERA (72). Gellhorn observes the economic difficulties Americans are suffering during the Great Depression, and she watches frustrated administrators as they deal with corruption among their own ranks and with limited funds for public assistance. From her investigations, The Trouble I've Seen (1936) develops. Although it is a work of fiction, the portraits of the characters--their
hardships and trials--are based upon Gellhorn's own observances. While *What Mad Pursuit* (1934) is not well-received, *The Trouble I've Seen* is quite a success. Critics feel the character sketches in the novel aptly portray the poverty-stricken conditions in which many people find themselves during the Great Depression. Edith Walton observes in *The New York Times* that "Through the medium of tiny individual dramas she shows one what it is like to live on relief, what stratagems it necessitates [sic], what sacrifices of hope and integrity it entails" (6-3). *Saturday Review*’s Mabel S. Ulrich concurs: "When a book seems woven not out of words but out of the very tissues of human beings, on first reading its evaluation as literature is almost impossible even to a hardened reviewer" (7).

One of the most astute assessments of Gellhorn's work appears in *The Times Literary Supplement*:

> It is no diminution--in the circumstances rather an enhancement--of Miss Gellhorn's value and accomplishment to declare her more reporter than artist; she is photographing, not weaving personal patterns. (477)

The latter review of *The Trouble I've Seen* reveals a sentiment held by many of the reviewers and critics of Martha Gellhorn's writings--opinions which hold Martha Gellhorn to be a far better journalist than writer of fiction. While
commenting on Gellhorn's first novel, Carl Rollyson, author of the only biography written on Gellhorn, states:

The trouble is that Gellhorn was very close to her heroine but contemptuous of nearly everything else in the heroine's environment... The truth is that Gellhorn was not perceptive enough about the very things she rejected to make them come alive in fiction. (67)

The difference between Gellhorn's first novel and her second seems to lie in that while both are works of fiction, The Trouble I've Seen is written with Gellhorn's journalistic focus on the details of the lives she has witnessed during her investigations for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

By August of 1935 Gellhorn and Jouvenel officially agree to go their separate ways, but the two part on friendly terms--attitudes they would maintain in the years to come (Rollyson 75). The Trouble I've Seen is published in 1936.

Each section of the novel portrays a different portion of the citizens who suffer during the Great Depression, the first sketch detailing the life of Mrs. Maddison, an elderly woman who sees her family disintegrate.

Two men involved in a factory strike, Joe and Pete, are described in the second section. Joe is heading up the strike while Pete is one of the workers who is participating in it. Gellhorn captures the feeling of the times quite accurately
when Joe reflects: "Everything's too slow...Sometimes, it seems like there must be millions of people not doing anything but waiting; all of them waiting for something to happen, or somebody to say something. And nothing does happen. Things just go on" (105).

Section three covers the life of Jim—a member of the younger generation whose young adulthood is marred by the restrictions the Depression puts upon him. He falls in love with a girl named Lou, and he must steal their wedding clothes from the store for which he works. The two are now doomed to a future of poverty and a life on the run.

In the final section Gellhorn explores the tragedy of child prostitution which she has observed during her time with FERA. She follows a year in the life of a young girl named Ruby. Soon after Ruby's eleventh birthday, she follows the promise of money and agrees to work with a group of young prostitutes—she does not even understand what she will be required to do. She only wants the money to have a pair of roller skates. The end of the novel sees Ruby separated from her mother after the girls' activities are discovered by the police.

The descriptions throughout the collection are numerous, and they present a portrait of the Great Depression which is effective to this day. Orsagh feels one of the reasons these stories are so powerful is because
...[m]ost of us have been aesthetically conditioned by literature and fairy tales to believe in an equalizing process. We expect in this terribly desperate story a tragedy over which the protagonist triumphs finally, to live happily ever after. A great reward must eventually compensate the character for his/her great suffering. Here, however, the author's point is that reality lies in another direction. There is no recompense, no happy ending, and the character's goodness is irrelevant. (45)

The book receives an abundance of attention when it comes out. Eleanor Roosevelt, by now a good friend of Gellhorn's, discusses the fine nature of The Trouble I've Seen in three of her "My Day" columns (Orsagh 50).

Gellhorn leaves the United States in the middle of 1936 and travels to Europe (Orsagh 57). She apparently visits libraries in Europe in an attempt to lay groundwork for a novel concerning pacifism (Orsagh 56). Observing the situation in Europe and watching Nazi propaganda first-hand, Gellhorn decides she is no longer a pacifist but an anti-fascist (56). She returns to the United States and finishes the book on pacifism, but after its completion she puts "...it forever into a closet and has never allowed anyone to read it" (57).

In November Gellhorn begins work on yet another novel while giving some lectures and continuing to write articles (57).
And then in December of 1936, Gellhorn, her mother, and her brother Alfred vacation in Miami, Florida. Finding their location to be uninspiring, Alfred spots a bus bound for Key West. None of them has heard of Key West—it has not yet become the established tourist town it will become in later years—but they are always ready for an adventure. While there, the threesome walk into a bar called Sloppy Joe's, where Martha encounters Ernest Hemingway. At the time, Hemingway is married to his second wife, Pauline. This brief meeting begins the relationship between Ernest and Martha which will last until 1945 (Rollyson 89-90).

The years before Gellhorn becomes involved with Hemingway are important for delineating comparisons of Gellhorn's early writings with later literary efforts written in the company of Hemingway. As evidenced in What Mad Pursuit and The Trouble I've Seen, a strong concern for humanity becomes a standard theme in Gellhorn's works. Gellhorn's two novels she stashes away without attempting publication indicate her continued efforts to establish a specific form of writing for herself, and her great success with The Trouble I've Seen proves she is a writer of merit before Hemingway enters her life. The start of her relationship with Hemingway parallels the beginning of Gellhorn's serious exploration of her journalistic talents and her continued efforts at writing successful fiction—efforts which produce works less praised by the critics than The Trouble
I've Seen.

The Early Years

We came to roughly ten years without Gail's interactions with the media. She had continued to work in her capacity as a freelance journalist, the work she enjoyed most in the early years, in which she wrote articles and conducted interviews with her desired effect. Her tenacity and style of writing continued to be a constant in her work, despite the future use of background material in her stories.

In short summary, 

The End: 

While her colleagues were not impressed as an entirely bad light, they noted the unanimous praise given to the long-awaited book. Although her name is not mentioned in the book, the author, John Smith, wrote the following credits for her:

She still decides to stay on in Key West after leaving the house. Long after her brother and sisters have traveled away, Gail's health is the focus of Robin Hood company (Baker 24). She takes some time off from her real job, which she continues to do, and decides to work on a novel. She does not leave Key West until January of 1927 (Baker 67).

She takes the train to a school on her way to St. Louis, where she claims to have business in New York and leaves Key West. She returns to Key West to win her battle against some illness before they separate.
The Early Years

The early Hemingway years witness Gellhorn's emergence as a an effective journalist--she firmly ensconces herself in a narrative style which uses word choice and understatement to achieve her desired effect. Her journalistic style established, Gellhorn is also taking note of these war-time experiences for future use as background material in her collection of short stories, *The Heart of Another*. While her fictional endeavors are not perceived in an entirely bad light during these years, they lack the unanimous praise given to *The Trouble I've Seen*. Gellhorn still seems to be searching for a fictional method which works for her.

Martha decides to stay on in Key West after meeting Hemingway. Long after her brother and mother have traveled on, Gellhorn remains to keep Hemingway company (Baker 299). She also starts work on another novel, which she continues to develop while in Key West (Orsagh 62). She does not leave Key West until some time in January of 1937 (Baker 299).

As Martha drives back toward Miami on her way to St. Louis, Hemingway claims he has business in New York and leaves Key West hurriedly. After dining together in Miami, Gellhorn and Hemingway ride the same train for some way before they separate.
to complete their individual journeys (299). Orsagh suggests Gellhorn and Hemingway may have sketched out a plan to meet again after this first connection (63).

Then in February of 1937, Hemingway leaves for Madrid to begin his coverage of the Spanish Civil War. Gellhorn remains in the States until March because she has been working on a book and aiding the Red Cross in their relief efforts to help victims of a flood in Missouri (Orsagh 63). With no plan as to what she is going to do while in Spain, Gellhorn departs, intent on aiding the cause of the Republicans (64).

In her introduction to her selection of articles on Spain, compiled in a book entitled The Face of War, Gellhorn mentions her arrival in Madrid, the first war front she ever covered. With a "knapsack and approximately fifty dollars" (12), she carries a letter of introduction from Collier's stating that she is a war correspondent for them, but Gellhorn notes that the letter was meant to help her get there and that it did not mean she was truly a correspondent for them (12).

Gellhorn, tired from her travels, becomes upset when Hemingway claims he has arranged for her passage to Madrid. Gellhorn knows Hemingway has made a phone call or two, but she has arranged the majority of her journey herself with only her meager supplies and her letter from Collier's (Baker 304). Hemingway works on his documentary entitled The Spanish Earth in April of 1937 (Baker 307). During this time, the
official discovery of the romantic affair between Gellhorn and Hemingway is made one evening when the hot-water tank in their hotel is destroyed by a shell. Steam forces the guests of Madrid's Hotel Florida to move to the basement, and Gellhorn and Hemingway are discovered to be sharing the same bedroom (309).

For a time, Gellhorn simply observes the actions of the more experienced journalists (Orsagh 68). She writes her first article after Hemingway suggests she occupy her time by writing about Madrid (Orsagh 68). Having Collier's address on her letter of introduction, she sends them the article, and much to Gellhorn's surprise, they publish it. With her second piece on Spain, Gellhorn earns her place on the masthead. In Gellhorn's words, "Once on the masthead, I was evidently a war correspondent. It began like that" (12).

This development inaugurates a journalism career which spans five decades and sees Martha Gellhorn covering just about every major military conflict which occurs during this time period. Her articles, often written speedily for quick dispatch back to the magazine, show a flair for effective understatement and word choice, as evidenced in her first lines. "The Besieged City," reprinted in The Face of War, begins: "At the end of the day the wind swooped down from the mountains into Madrid and blew the broken glass from the windows of the shelled houses" (14). The sentence "In Barcelona, it was perfect bombing
weather" (26) begins "The Third Winter," also reprinted in The Face of War. And "Bombs on Helsinki," in the same collection, has an opening announcement: "War started at nine o'clock promptly" (56).

Gellhorn chooses just the right words and phrases to present a picture of life during wartime. She allows a minimum number of words to stand for a horror so huge some feel it indescribable; yet, Gellhorn has a gift of revealing the true essence of the destruction of war by showing the effect war has on individual persons. Instead of reporting statistics or battle stratagems, Gellhorn reports the plight of the individual--soldier or citizen, leader or follower. She allows herself to be the eyes for the part of the world which could not see the fronts directly, and her writing allows the readers to see the devastating effects of the war for themselves.

Hemingway's simple suggestion leads Gellhorn into her serious war-time writing, but this prompt will also lead to tension between Gellhorn and Hemingway in the later years of their relationship as insecurity and jealousy affect Hemingway's opinions of Gellhorn's efforts.

In May, Hemingway returns to the United States to complete work on a novel. Both Gellhorn and Hemingway speak at the Second American Writer's Congress in New York in June (Orsagh 313). Gellhorn makes "...clear her belief that a writer cannot write in isolation, but must attend to the world's injustice in order
to say something of value..." (Orsagh 80-81). Because of her friendship with the Roosevelts, Martha Gellhorn is able to arrange for a showing of The Spanish Earth at the White House the month after the conference (313). The pair attends the showing on July 8 (Baker 315).

By September, Hemingway and Martha have returned to Spain, where they once again take up residence in the Hotel Florida (319). They resume writing articles based upon their examinations of the front and the war-torn towns (318). Hemingway even begins working on a play in which the protagonists actually spoof Gellhorn and him (321).

All the while, Gellhorn is sending articles to Collier's. The previously mentioned "Besieged City" (November 1937) opens with a collage of questions and discussions which can be heard on a given day--all surrounding the "coming offensive" (14). Gellhorn goes on to describe a party that the hotel guests and a few injured soldiers decide to have just to remove themselves from the topic of war. They pull out all of their canned goods--spinach, sardines, et cetera--and their two bottles of red wine. The party has not lasted long when a shell hits the building next door, and the revelers have to turn off the lights and wait out the shelling (14-15).

Gellhorn's people admire the new shell holes and find creative solutions for the unexploded shells (the elevator man makes lamps with the unexploded shells, and the concierge paints
the lamp shades). First-aid is even administered to "wounded houses" in Madrid. Electricians and construction people work on damaged buildings while other crews dig out the bodies. They also plan for the reconstruction, which will surely occur after the war is over (16).

The last half of the article describes Gellhorn's tour of the residential areas as she tags along with one of the repair crews. Her brilliance lies in her well-chosen "faces"--a family which simply moves to the back of their apartment when the front is destroyed by a shelling, an old woman who keeps stating, "I do not understand...[y]ou see, it is my home!" (18).

Gellhorn also includes her tour of the trenches. She writes an almost comical section on the propaganda exchanged between the two sides. Each night one of them plays propaganda and music. Gellhorn's guide explains, "One of our boys usually tells them they are liars and are destroying Spain, and they tell him he is a murderous Red, and later they will get angry and throw mortars at one another. Their loudspeaker is a waste of time, but the music is agreeable!" (22).

Each scene, impressionistic in nature, gives the reader an image and an atmosphere that aids in creating a mental picture of what life must be like for these people living on the front. Gellhorn also mentions a park in Madrid, a park she later describes in a short story entitled "Zoo in Madrid," which appears in her collection The Heart of Another (1941). The
two images show how Gellhorn has learned to use her life experiences for two entirely different genres. The scene in "Zoo in Madrid" presents journalists walking through a park in Madrid:

It was as usual cold, and that day we walked through all the trenches in that particular park. In these trenches, in this once fine Madrid park, the mud was like chewing gum. We admired the dugouts smelling of fresh wood and of wood smoke from the little stoves, the bright blankets over the machine guns, the pictures of movie stars on the walls, the curious serenity—and, after all, there was no news in it. But on the other hand, it was different at night. Every night, clearly, you could hear from the hotel the machine guns hammering, and the echoing thud of mortars, and what was normal in the daytime became a strange business at night. (20)

Also in "Zoo in Madrid" a description of Chicote's, a bar journalists apparently frequented, is offered when the narrator mentions blood on the sidewalk:

Just a little way down from Chicote's on the Gran Via we saw a wide new hole, the granite cobblestones lying smashed and dusty around it, and leading to the nearest doorway was a neat straight fresh trail of blood. Chicote's was crowded with soldiers and
civilians and handsome Spanish girls with peroxided hair. The beer was cold and good. (128)

In "The Besieged City" Chicote's is described in this manner:

Chicote's used to be a bar where the elegant young men of Madrid came to drink a few cocktails before dinner. Now it is like a dugout on the Gran Via, that wide rich street where you can hear the shells, even when there is silence...A group of us were sitting in Chicote's wondering whether to drink the sherry, which was tasteless, or the gin, which was frankly fatal...[t]he smoke from black tobacco was choking, the noise deafening; soldiers at other tables shouted their news; the indomitable girls with dyed hair and amazing high heels waved and smiled; people walked in through the sandbagged door and stared and saw no one they knew or nothing they liked and walked out again. In this crowded din, one could be entirely alone and quiet, and think one's own thoughts about Spain and the war and the people. (25)

Gellhorn seems to develop a sense of the writer during this period. As she negotiates facts for her articles, she is already storing this information away for future use in her fiction.

By December 1937, Pauline meets Hemingway in Paris, intent on saving her failing marriage (Baker 323). Staying together at the Hotel Elysee Park, the pair spend the majority of their
time arguing—mostly about Gellhorn (324).

In January of 1938, Hemingway and Pauline leave for the United States (324); however, Hemingway will be back in Spain by the end of March (326) and once again companion to Martha in May of 1938 (330). Both Gellhorn and Hemingway make trips to the States after May, but they are together once again in Paris during September (334).

Gellhorn maintains her journalistic style. In "The Third Winter" (November 1938) she uses an imaginative approach to the conditions of daily life and work in war-time Spain: she employs a conversation she has with a particular family as a springboard for her various topics. Gellhorn has gone in search of the Hernandez family, trying to obtain a picture frame for a friend. Mr. Hernandez, a carpenter, has been unable to make the picture frame because all of the wood has to be saved for the war effort. He explains to Gellhorn, "Wood is for dugouts and trenches, bridges, railroad ties, to prop up bombed houses, to make artificial arms and legs, for coffins" (27).

Gellhorn describes their ten-year-old grandson, Miguel, who discloses how he stands in the food lines each day for his grandmother. His grandmother admonishes him when he says that the fights which break out in the food lines amuse him. Gellhorn then uses this statement to introduce a small section on the food lines in Barcelona. She outlines the activities and chores people work on while standing in line—lines which can extend
for five blocks. All the while, the people suffer from shortage of food: "A sack the size of a cigarette package, full of rice: that will have to do two people for two weeks. A sack half that big, full of dried peas: for one person for two weeks" (28).

Gellhorn returns to the Hernandez family after describing the food lines. The talk turns to Frederico, the Hernandezes' son, who is in the Army. Lola, his wife, and her newborn baby live with the Hernandezes. Gellhorn uses the mention of the Army as a transition to her next aside, in which she presents a picture of the International Brigades—how they appear before they are sent home. She hauntingly observes the various nationalities:

I wonder what happened to the German who was the best man for night patrols in the 11th International Brigade. He was a somber man, whose teeth were irregularly broken, whose fingertips were nailless pulp; the first graduate of Gestapo torture I had known. (31)

Next, Gellhorn mentions a conversation with Lola. After the baby is shown to her, Gellhorn comments to the readers on the sick appearance of the child. The mother feels that if the child had the right food, it would not be sick. Gellhorn uses this statement to introduce her description of the children in the hospital wards she has visited. One of her most striking
comments in this section is that "There was not one child in the hospital for any peacetime reason, tonsils or adenoids or mastoid or appendicitis. These children were all wounded" (33).

The discussion of the sick child leads to a question about the opera, giving Gellhorn a catalyst for her next descriptive narrative--this one on the people's favorite escapes...the movies and the opera. The last discussion concerns the only daughter of the Hernandezes, a girl who works in a munitions factory. Gellhorn now chronicles her own visit to one of these munitions factories, a visit during which an air raid halts production for thirty minutes. The workers proceed outside to wait for the return of the electricity so that they may continue their work. Gellhorn observes:

The women dragged out empty packing cases, in which bullets would be shipped later, and sat down in the sunshine and started knitting. They did not bother to look up...They all like working in a munitions factory because they get two rolls of bread each day as a bonus. (40-41)

Gellhorn's conversation with the Hernandezes concludes as do her descriptions of the daily life and work of the people. Orsagh comments in her critical biography that after the publishing of The Face of War, which was highly praised for Gellhorn's effective journalism, "...Gellhorn had surely noted that while critics acknowledged her as a superior journalist,
they hesitated to give her similar laurels as a writer of fiction" (306). 

Although the articles and short stories focus on different subjects, the articles seem to have a more "literary" feeling than the short stories. For example, in her description of Chicote’s, the information in the short story is pared down; it is minimalistic. In the article, though, the reader can almost taste the drinks which are "frankly fatal" and hear the activity of the bar around her. What Gellhorn does is use the techniques of fiction in her non-fiction and the techniques of non-fiction in her fiction. She uses the descriptive qualities most associated with fiction in her articles, while allowing her short stories to be blunt—methods which some believe make her articles the superior of the two.

Gellhorn's journalism does not follow a strict journalistic format, either. Of the variety of techniques used for writing media articles, the standard is called the inverted-pyramid style. This style puts the most important information at the beginning of the story, followed by supporting facts and details (Itule and Anderson 100-101). The inverted-pyramid style is designed to allow the editor to edit a story from the end of the piece to the beginning, that is, to cut minor details while leaving the strongest news information intact (Dwyer 226).

There are other styles, but the inverted-pyramid style is the most commonly used style for straight reporting. The
style allows for fast distribution of information by incorporating the "...who, what, where, when and how" (Kennedy 103) of the story into the first few paragraphs. The remaining space in the article is devoted to supporting details.

The reason why Gellhorn's journalism may be considered better than her early fiction might be because she uses a format quite different from the standard. She employs reporter-narrator in her articles and often makes use of a first-person narrative style. Instead of fusing all of the main ideas into the first paragraph, Gellhorn allows the entire article to reveal her points. During her years in Spain, Gellhorn makes this construction the basis for all of her articles. They seem to exist in a category all their own.

Gellhorn continues to write articles of high quality while interspersing her trips to the fronts with breaks in the States. For example, Hemingway and Gellhorn are found in each other's company in April of 1939 in Cuba (Baker 340). Hemingway has not found a house in which to stay, so Gellhorn takes the chore upon herself. Although Hemingway initially dismisses the house as unacceptable, after Martha brings in workers to make improvements, Hemingway immediately takes up residence there (341). Rollyson documents that Gellhorn writes steadily from April to August, writing many of the stories which will wind up in The Heart of Another, and she completes a draft of A Stricken Field (139).
In August of 1939 Hemingway goes back to the States while Gellhorn travels to St. Louis, where she visits her mother (341). After staying with Pauline for awhile, Ernest meets Gellhorn in Sun Valley, Idaho (342).

Gellhorn continues to work on *A Stricken Field* while in Sun Valley in October. Europe is officially at war by this time. Russia threatens Finland because the Finns will not "...grant Russia border territories or yield military rights within the country" (Orsagh 108). *Collier's* assigns Gellhorn to cover the possible conflict. The first bombs land the day after she arrives (Orsagh 108-109).

Gellhorn once again uses the journalistic format she found so effective in Spain. "Bombs on Helsinki" is written in December of 1939 and describes the land of Finland—its weather, its countryside, its government, its people, and its first week of war. Gellhorn makes the scenes all too real for those who are reading. She describes the gray weather, the shock of the people when the first bombs hit, and the efforts of the firemen to extinguish the myriad fires caused by the attacks: "Firemen worked fast and silently but there was nothing much to do except try to put out the fire. Later they could dig for the bodies" (57). All of those people who are confused and threatened.

She goes into detail describing the lost children (separated from family either by confusion or death), the dead bodies, the people headed for the forests in an attempt to escape, and
the people in the hospitals (57-58). She relates:

There was a woman in one of the hospitals who had been pinned under the wreckage of her home and was now waiting to die, pushing the blankets from her body because any weight was intolerable. Her child was dead but she did not know it, and her husband lay in another ward staring in front of him with fixed, mad eyes. The husband was a house painter. In the bed beside him a handsome dark boy with the bright face of fever held himself very still because with a hole like that in his back even breathing was torture. He had been a plumber. (59)

Gellhorn continues to describe scene after scene of a people trying to deal with the insanity of war. She also discusses the treacherous conditions Finland's landscape presents for those who try to travel or for those who are simply trying to survive in the wilderness. Bitter cold and icy roads are ever-present dangers. She concludes with a view of a nine-year-old boy standing resolutely watching the Russian bombers. After the bombers pass, Gellhorn overhears the boy comment, "'Little by little, I am getting really angry'" (62). She sums up the feeling of all of those people who are confused and threatened by the war. Gellhorn lets her own anger vent in the form of an article—an article which brings the effect of war on the single individual, an article which turns statistics into fellow...
humans, an article which perhaps brings reality a little bit closer to home for those who cannot see war firsthand.

Gellhorn again stores her war-times experiences away for later use in her fiction. Yet another story which appears in *The Heart of Another*, "Portrait of a Lady," is based on Gellhorn's experiences--this time in Finland. The area described in "The Karelian Front" (December 1939) is also mentioned in "Portrait of a Lady." The comparisons show Gellhorn's efforts to bring the feeling of reality to her fiction. Ann Maynard, the female protagonist of "Portrait of a Lady," is a journalist covering the war in Finland. She notices upon her arrival a row of sleds lined up beside the barracks where she will be staying. The driver and guide who accompany her explain how the sleds serve a variety of uses--including bringing the wounded back to base (51). The paragraph after this explanation reads:

She looked at them again. On the short upturned runners small boxes had been nailed and the sides of these painted: the sleds were as gay as toys and it was not easy to imagine a soldier in the white snow camouflage overall, skiing through the forest, pulling another man who was folded up and helpless. (51)

"The Karelian Front" contains a similar passage:

Ahead of us a line of soldiers loaded the small lightweight sledges the Finns use for transport.
Sledges are the nearest you can come to mechanized efficiency in these forests and on these roads. (64)

Later the comment is made that
The weather now was not the best for them, as it was too snowy for bicycles and too early for skis, but the new snow had started and the whole army would soon change to skis, which gives them a tremendous advantage of speed. Every Finn moves on skis as other people walk. (68)

Another conjunction of scenes occurs when both Ann Maynard and Martha Gellhorn visit the tents of the soldiers in the field. "The Karelian Front" version presents the scene as this:
The troops, who had been fighting a retreating guerrilla action for five days, giving the Army time to get in its present position, were now encamped invisibly in these woods and catching up on their sleep. We crawled through the tent opening, and twelve soldiers woke in surprise. They were all very young--boys who were doing their regular military service and had got a war instead of academic practice. (67)

Gellhorn uses the same scene in "Portrait of a Lady":
There were twenty-four men in the tent. When they saw it was a woman they sat up straight and stared at her. They were boys, not men at all, young boys.
with tired eyes. This was out in front of the Mannerheim Line. They had been fighting a retreating action for five days, fighting like Indians, in small bands scattered through the forest. They slept again as she stooped to leave the tent. (67)

By now, Gellhorn's style of journalism is firmly established. Although she continues to use her creativity, sense of irony, and knack for understatement to produce distinctly unique articles, they are all presented in the same format. She uses a narrative style and description to present the human angle of her subject. The names are turned into faces—not into statistics.

At first, there seems to be no category for Gellhorn's articles. The pieces do not fit within the basic journalistic construction of the inverted-pyramid. In fact, her articles seem to integrate the best of her short fiction talents (irony and understatement) into her narrative pattern. This method works for Gellhorn within the standards of journalism because she uses a method which has since come to be called the New Journalism, which Holman and Harmon describe as being

...founded on conventional journalistic or historical coverage of events or phenomena but [it] gave up the traditional impersonality and invisibility of the journalist as such and offered instead a subjective style and voice that openly admit the personal presence
and involvement of a human witness... Many of these writers also work as producers of ordinary fiction, and to their ostensibly journalistic chores they take along a number of imaginative devices—including interior monologue, flashbacks, shifts of focus from documentation to philosophy, and the invention of imaginary characters. (318)

Gellhorn gets to use the best of both genres to create her articles.

Although Hemingway seemingly approves of her trip, he often complains of being lonely in Gellhorn's absence (Baker 344). In January of 1940, Gellhorn joins Hemingway after she returns from Finland (Baker 345). They spend time in Cuba together, and Hemingway works on another novel. Carlos Baker notes that "In the afternoons he [Hemingway] often played tennis with Martha and a group of exiled Basques who had fought for the Loyalists and were now supporting themselves as professional pelota players in Havana" (346).

In "Night Before Easter," which appears in The Heart of Another, the female protagonist reflects on a night spent with some Spanish expatriates who are friends of hers now in Cuba. The narrator explains:

They come to my house to play tennis on the days they are not going to play pelota and we have the war in Spain between us, the memory and the understanding
of the war, and that makes me their friend. (44) Gellhorn has learned true life makes a good basis for fiction.

The publication of A Stricken Field in March 1940 brings "mixed reviews" (Rollyson 149). The novel portrays a female journalist in Czechoslovakia "...between the time of the Munich Pact and the Anschluss" (Orsagh 144). Edith Walton, writing for The New York Times, feels the novel has a plot which is "...almost nonexistent..." but believes it to be a "compelling book" nonetheless (6-7).

Although Gellhorn seems to enjoy her life in Cuba with Hemingway--all aspects of it that is except his nightly binge drinking--she soon grows restless and leaves for New York for awhile. Returning to Cuba at the end of June, she brings Edna Gellhorn along with her for a visit (Baker 349). Hemingway has finished his novel and has decided to celebrate at a local bar with some friends. So involved in his discourse is Hemingway that he forgets a meeting with Gellhorn and Edna. Martha finds him at the bar and confronts him--enraged that he would be so rude to her mother (349-350).

Hemingway travels to New York to finish arrangements for the publication of For Whom The Bell Tolls and proceeds to meet Gellhorn and his sons in Idaho in September (351). Pauline's divorce from Ernest Hemingway is announced to Hemingway on November 4, 1940, while he is still in Idaho (354). Gellhorn and Hemingway leave Idaho on November 20 and marry in Cheyenne,
Wyoming, on November 21 (355).

These years constitute the early years of the relationship between Martha Gellhorn and Ernest Hemingway. A suggestion from Hemingway launches Gellhorn into her war-time journalistic endeavors. She takes that suggestion and produces pieces intent upon revealing the daily effects of war on those involved. Although her fiction seems to drift without the firm establishment of her non-fiction, Gellhorn's effective use of the New Journalism displays her progression toward a literary identity. The final years of Gellhorn's relationship reveal a shift in her fiction which puts her still closer to her intended goal.

After they are married, Gellhorn and Hemingway take a long vacation. What Gellhorn can write articles surrounding a conflict in Spain. Hemingway arranges for an assignment in Spain, and at the end of the year, he buys his first Viola. The house is theirs for himself and Gellhorn (135). Gellhorn's articles maintain the high level of non-fiction she has established during the early years of her relationship with Hemingway.

Gellhorn and Hemingway depart for China around the end of January or beginning of February of 1947 (138). They travel together for much of the trip; however, at one point Gellhorn goes to Indonesia while Hemingway stays in China. Hemingway narrates Gellhorn's departure. He tells a story about a night
The Later Years

Gellhorn publishes many articles and one novel in the early years of her relationship with Hemingway. In addition, most of the short stories appearing in The Heart of Another, although published after Hemingway and Gellhorn are married, are written in the time preceding their marriage. She continues to write articles after her marriage to Hemingway, but only one novel, Liana, is published during the later years of Gellhorn and Hemingway's relationship.

After they are married, Gellhorn and Hemingway take a working vacation so that Gellhorn can write articles surrounding a conflict in China. Hemingway arranges for an assignment of his own, and at the end of the year, he buys the Finca Vigia, the house in Cuba, for himself and Gellhorn (355). Gellhorn's articles maintain the high level of journalism she has established during the early years of her relationship with Hemingway.

Gellhorn and Hemingway depart for China around the end of January or beginning of February of 1941 (358). They travel together for much of the trip; however, at one point Gellhorn travels to Indonesia while Hemingway stays in China. Hemingway, angry at Gellhorn's departure, invents a story about a night
spent in the company of three Chinese women (Baker 364). After this episode, Hemingway returns to the States early in May, and Gellhorn joins him later that month in New York (365).

Gellhorn and Hemingway then head to Cuba to write and spend the summer there (Orsagh 125), traveling to Sun Valley in September (Baker 367). They are there when The Heart of Another is published. According to Rollyson, "...[t]he book was far from perfect, but she felt there were four good stories in it that gave promise of better work to come" (166). Rollyson also observes that many reviewers claimed Gellhorn's writing displayed a Hemingway influence, but Gellhorn communicated to Eleanor Roosevelt that many writers could be described as being influenced by Hemingway, not just herself (166). In The New York Times, Marianne Hauser proclaims some of the stories are "...flat or even empty..." but describes "Luigi's House" (a story based upon Gellhorn's search for the house in Cuba) as "...an intense study of fear and unrelenting stubbornness..." which shows a "...profound psychological insight and fine poetic feeling" (6-22). She also finds "Portrait of a Lady" to be a mature piece.

The Heart of Another is published about mid-way through Gellhorn's Hemingway years. The reception, although mediocre, shows some of her stories display signs of the maturing writer. One of the chief complaints concerning many of the stories centers around the protagonist, usually a female war
correspondent, whose presence, in the eyes of some critics, intrudes upon rather than enhances the story. The pattern is now familiar: what is an asset in Gellhorn's journalism becomes a liability in her fiction.

Gellhorn and Hemingway remain in Idaho entertaining various guests, including Hemingway's sons, until their departure in December (Orsagh 126). They are in Texas when they hear the news about Pearl Harbor (Baker 370). Then the summer of 1942 finds the pair in Cuba, where Hemingway's sons once again come for a visit. Later in the season, Gellhorn travels to the Caribbean for a six-week assignment for Collier's; indeed, the husband-wife relationship has started to unravel. Hemingway commandeers the Pilar, his boat, to hunt submarines, an action Gellhorn considers ridiculous. Another bone of contention surrounds Hemingway's periodic drinking binges with friends at unpredictable hours. Even Gellhorn's control of the household is called into question by Hemingway. Baker states, "Martha resented most of this, and her longing to return to journalism, though certainly genuine, was one way of fighting back" (375).

In September, having completed her work in the Caribbean, Gellhorn proceeds to Dutch Guiana. She leaves from there to travel to Washington for a visit with Eleanor Roosevelt, making Hemingway resentful of her absences (377). By November, she returns to Cuba, intent upon focusing on her writing (378). There are difficulties at home, however. As Baker describes
the situation,

Martha was convinced, after five years' association with him, that his [Hemingway's] egotism often carried him far beyond the call of genius. Her travels of the summer and fall had been undertaken in part to resist his evident determination to own her completely. He was full of self-dramatization, much given to lying to her about his adventures, and almost neurotic in his conviction that life was stale and weary without manufactured glamour. One night in Havana he scolded her publicly for lack of generosity in Christmas gifts to the Finca servants, and then drove the Lincoln home alone, leaving her to fend for herself. On another evening, when she insisted on driving because he had been drinking, he slapped her with the back of his hand. She braked his well-loved Lincoln to a safe ten miles an hour and deliberately drove it through a ditch and into a tree, leaving him there and walking back home. (380)

Hemingway is annoyed by Martha's resistance to idol-worshipping him, and Gellhorn is bothered by the fact they are not in Europe covering the war (382). She finishes work on Liana and leaves for Europe in late October of 1943—once again working as a correspondent for Collier's (Orsagh 135). Hemingway remains in Cuba, where he often complains of loneliness
and abandonment (Baker 385).

Liana is seen as a turning point for Gellhorn. Written amidst growing tension between herself and her husband, the book concerns a Caribbean island where a mulatto named Liana marries a white man named Marc Royer. Marc makes Liana change her name and sequesters her from the world, later providing a tutor for Liana. Liana's growing intellectual curiosity parallels a growing need for independence; however, her ambitions and dreams are thwarted by the very man who has allowed her to experience them—her husband. The novel ends with Liana's suicide (Rollyson 186-187)

The novel represents a departure from Gellhorn's war-related stories and novels. In fact, Rollyson notes the implications Liana represents for Gellhorn's own life: "Gellhorn seemed to find herself all at once in the composition of this book. It could not have escaped Hemingway: She had written herself out of his life" (188). Also written out of Liana is the journalist-protagonist of her earlier stories. Gellhorn has explored new territory, and the venture is a success.

At the start of 1944, Hemingway speaks of going to Europe to bring Martha back, while proclaiming to Martha through the mail that he is not interested in working at the fronts. Martha comes back in March to convince Hemingway he is needed in Europe (Baker 386), and at this point things take a rather nasty turn. Hemingway agrees to go to Europe.
Although Hemingway could have signed with any major periodical, he purposely signs with *Collier's*. Each magazine is allowed only one correspondent in areas of combat. This move on Hemingway's part means Gellhorn has restricted access to areas she could have entered before. Hemingway does not even aid her in getting to Europe (Rollyson 195). While Martha leaves on May 13 by boat, Hemingway remains in the U.S. and leaves by plane on May 17 (Baker 387), arriving in London while Gellhorn is still at sea (388). While there he meets Mary Welsh, a reporter who lives in London and who originally came from Minnesota (389).

When Martha finally arrives in England after a dangerous and tense voyage, she discovers Hemingway in the hospital after his car has wrecked while he was traveling home from a late night party. Gellhorn is unsympathetic (391), and Hemingway begins to treat her with growing contempt. He even pretends to attack her in his hotel room one evening. Later, after apologizing to an upset Gellhorn, he invites her to dinner. On the way to eat, they encounter none other than Mary Welsh, whom Hemingway quickly invites to join them (393).

On D-Day Gellhorn manages to get to shore on a hospital ship—a feat Hemingway is unable to pull off—and one for which he never forgives Gellhorn (395). When Gellhorn encounters Hemingway again, he is seeing Mary Welsh (395). Martha subsequently leaves to cover the Italian front (395), and
Hemingway continues to court Mary Welsh. Martha asks for a divorce in October 1944. They encounter each other again around Christmas of that year, but relations between the two are quite chilly (441). The official divorce does not occur until December 21, 1945 (454). During the time span between Martha and Hemingway's last encounter in Europe, Mary Welsh has pursued a divorce from her husband and has moved into the house in Cuba with Hemingway (454). Mary Welsh and Ernest Hemingway are married March 14, 1946 (454).

With Liana, Gellhorn's writing takes a turn. Absent is the female journalist-protagonist, who seems a bit obtrusive in the stories of The Heart of Another. Liana is a branching out for Gellhorn. She has written a novel without the shadow of war in the background and has delved into the world of Liana. That is a story of one woman's growing need for independence and an examination of the results of a relationship too tightly controlled. Although Liana does not see the levels of success heaped upon The Trouble I've Seen, it is a personal triumph for Gellhorn. She has traveled a bit farther down the road of self-discovery.
Conclusion

Gellhorn's work shows a steady progression toward a literary identity in the years from 1936 to 1945. Prior to her relationship with Hemingway, Gellhorn writes at least two novels which are so much to her dissatisfaction that she will forever put them away without attempting publication. One of these novels is written during 1933 and 1934 while Gellhorn is involved with Bertrand de Jouvenel; the other, a novel on pacifism, is written in the months just preceding Gellhorn's first encounter with Hemingway.

She gets on the masthead at Collier's after she begins sending them her articles on the Spanish Civil War. During the early years of her war-time writing, Gellhorn establishes a unique narrative format which will come to be called the New Journalism. Her articles bring the human aspect of war to the world, showing the lives of those affected by war instead of reporting them as statistics. Gellhorn displays a flair for irony and understatement, while exhibiting just the right images to create her intended effect.

While her journalism matures early in her Hemingway days, Gellhorn's fiction receives mixed reviews after the overwhelmingly positive reception of The Trouble I've Seen.
But with the publication of Liana, there is a shift away from the journalist-protagonist technique. Orsagh also sees the shift in the 1940's as a shift "...in her fiction from a concern with political philosophies and external movements to an exploration of the individual and his or her inner need for purpose and meaning" (ix). With this shift Orsagh believes Gellhorn's "...characters grew more complex, her stories more profound" (ix).

Martha Gellhorn eventually succeeds in creating fictional pieces as deserving of attention as her works of non-fiction. From her first endeavors with fiction writing, while always producing non-fiction of high regard, Gellhorn struggles to find a voice which will equal the fervor of her non-fiction. Throughout all of the exclamations that she is a far better journalist than writer of fiction, Gellhorn perseveres. At the conclusion of her relationship with Hemingway and with the publication of Liana in 1945, Gellhorn finally sees critical acclaim for her fictional endeavors--acclaim not received since The Trouble I've Seen.

And so it is that Martha Gellhorn establishes a firm literary identity in the mid-1940's, an identity which displays the strength and fortitude of a woman whose writing captures the human spirit in a manner which could only be caught by a person of magnificent spirit and fortitude herself. Martha Gellhorn. Journalist. Author of short stories. Novelist.
Playwright. And above all... writer.

Afterword

...she has written steadily written plays of fiction and non-fiction. Since her years with Morocco, including *Playing the Game* (1948), *His Last Map* (1967), and *The Longest Journey* (1987), four collections of her short stories have been published since the 1940's: *The Pennyfoot Gang* (1952), *The Flat Car* (1961), *Pretty Tales for Tired People* (1966), and *The Jew in the Jungle* (1981). She has also written a work of

...collection entitled *Travels with Charley and my Cat* (1970), and two collections of her autobiography have been released: *The Palm in the Desert* (1988; first published in 1969) and *The King in Yellow* (1993). All three were co-written and play, *Long Distance Race* (1993) and *Virginia Center*,

...learned her T.J. Matthews, her third and final husband, with whom they divorced in 1962. Around 1960, she adopts

...little boy named Randolfo, then an exchange to Italy. Her last

...Addresses reveal she resides in London and Belize. She

...eighteen six-year old.
Gellhorn has steadily written works of fiction and non-fiction since her years with Hemingway, including *The Wine of Astonishment* (1948), *His Own Man* (1961), and *The Lowest Trees Have Tops* (1967). Four collections of her short stories have been published since the 1940's: *The Honeyed Peace* (1953), *Two By Two* (1958), *Pretty Tales for Tired People* (1965), and *The Weather in Africa* (1981). She has also written a work of nonfiction entitled *Travels with Myself and Another* (1978), and two collections of her articles have been reissued: *The Face of War* (1988; first published in 1959) and *The View from the Ground* (1988). Gellhorn has also co-written one play, *Love Goes to Press* (1947), with Virginia Cowles.

Gellhorn marries T.S. Matthews, her third and final husband, in 1954, but they divorce in 1963. Around 1950, she adopts a young boy named Sandro, from an orphanage in Italy. Her most current addresses reveal she resides in London and Wales. She is eighty-six years old.
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