

Deconstructing Hemingway's America: The Hemingway-Gattorno
Relationship in the U.S.-Cuban Imagination

by

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ABSTRACT

During the mid-1930s in Cuba, Ernest Hemingway befriended Cuban artist Antonio Gattorno (1904-1980) during Hemingway's most active period of Gulf Stream fishing trips. Their relationship soon transcended ocean sojourns, and the two exchanged letters, eight of which reside in the Hemingway Collection at the J.F.K. Library in Boston. Written between 1935-1937, the Hemingway-Gattorno correspondence showcases the relationship that came to fruition between the American writer and Cuban artist in the 1930s. It also presents a lens through which to examine the cultural contact that occurred between Americans and Cubans during a decade of great political, social, and economic exchange between the two nations. In addition, the Hemingway-Gattorno correspondence elucidates each country's tendency to romanticize the other before the Cuban Revolution and provides a template with which to examine current U.S.-Cuban relationships today.

This thesis endeavors to first discuss the Hemingway-Gattorno relationship via a close examination of the correspondence that occurred between them. It then attests that the Hemingway-Gattorno correspondence exemplifies the transatlantic glamorization that characterized pre-revolutionary U.S.-Cuban relations. The thesis explores the replay of this act of romanticizing in real time, arguing that despite

governmental injunctions since 1961, Americans and Cubans alike have continued to ingeniously find ways to “exoticize” one another in much the same way Hemingway and Gattorno did in the 1930s. One mechanism for doing so is remembering Ernest Hemingway’s life in Cuba and the home he owned there, Finca Vigía, a performance of memory that often occurs through the conduits of either the Hemingway Archives in Boston or the Finca Vigía Museum in Cuba. American and Cuban longing for the cultural contact enjoyed by Hemingway and Gattorno is expressed and performed through a glorification of Hemingway and the Finca Vigía, despite the severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1961. In addition, for Cubans in particular, Hemingway and the Finca Vigía present an opportunity to imagine the much more unified pre-revolutionary Cuba. Although certainly Hemingway and his home represent different realities for Cubans and Americans, in all, the thesis will show that citizens from both countries continue to find ways to create and imagine themselves in pre-revolutionary contexts like those embodied by Hemingway and Gattorno in the 1930s.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my wonderful husband, Jese, and my two beautiful children, Nicole and Jesse. I love you all so very much, and I appreciate the support you gave me during the challenging years of my graduate work.

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Introduction

Despite Ernest Hemingway's iconic life-long reputation as the "Papa" of hunting, deep sea fishing, bullfights, and safaris in Africa, his life in the 1930s reveals a literary figure whose primary zeal involved a commitment to the arts. Carlos Baker, a leading Hemingway biographer and editor of the writer's letters, regards the 1930s for Hemingway as a time of somewhat valuable experiment and at worst an "unfashionable" moment for Hemingway's writing, as many critics expressed dissatisfaction with his seemingly insensitive approach to the Great Depression and the political climate of the 1930s. *Death in the Afternoon* (1932), published in the "dead vast and bottom of the Depression," led critics to question why Hemingway published "a manual of the bullfight while Americans were selling apples on street corners, fighting over restaurant garbage cans for food, or being laid off in wholesale lots" (Baker 202).

Hemingway's investment in the world of art at the time, particularly with regard to Cuba, refutes Baker's claims. While the 1930s did not represent the zenith of Hemingway's literary career, his interest in promoting artists' work informed much of his activity during the years leading up to his eventual move to Cuba at the end of the decade in 1939. Evidence of his involvement in the global art scene of the early- to mid-1930s appears in several prefaces and introductions to artists' texts that he wrote at the time.¹ In fact, Hemingway's endorsement of artists, primarily those whose work he owned, involved more than the writing of

prefaces and introductions. He also befriended the artists who received his patronage. Often friendship, or at least camaraderie, preceded Hemingway's written endorsements of the art produced. Such was the case with Antonio Gattorno (1904-1980), whom Hemingway met in the summer of 1934 while on a fishing trip in Havana from Key West, where he was living with his second wife Pauline.²

Antonio Gattorno joined Hemingway on many fishing excursions in Cuba despite Gattorno's rather tepid response to one of the activities Hemingway enjoyed the most (Baker *A Life Story* 264). Gattorno was nonetheless a significant member of Hemingway's fishing clan, at least enough to be mentioned in Arnold Samuelson's memoir *With Hemingway: A Year in Key West and Cuba*, an account of Samuelson's sojourn to Key West the same year that Hemingway and Gattorno met. Samuelson chronicles one of the fishing excursions that involved Gattorno, describing Hemingway's portrayal of him as an artist who had "studied several years in Paris and now depended entirely on his art for his living and had a hard time of it" (Samuelson 79). Samuelson confirms that the friendship between Hemingway and Gattorno began on the Gulf Stream in the mid-1930s and was framed by Hemingway's fishing trips between Key West and Cuba, an activity that would define much of his life during the decade.³

In order to understand how Hemingway may have initially viewed Gattorno, it is valuable to examine how he imagined the Gulf Stream when

they met for the first time in 1934. His Cuban piece for *Esquire* in the Autumn issue of 1933 entitled “Marlin off the Morro: A Cuban Letter” glamorizes the Gulf Stream from Room 511 of Ambos Mundos Hotel, constructing a romanticized portrayal of the scene from his bedroom window:

Getting up to close the shutter you look across the harbor to the flag on the fortress and see it is straightened out toward you. You look out the north window past the Morro and see that a smooth morning sheen is rippling and you know the trade wind is coming up early. You take a shower, pull on an old pair of khaki pants and a shirt, take the pair of moccasins that are dry, put the other pair on the window so that they will be dry next night, walk to the elevator, ride down, get a paper at the desk, walk across the corner at the cafe, and have breakfast. (Hemingway “Marlin off the Morro: A Cuba Letter 8)

Hemingway’s idyllic portrayal of the breakfast, during which one can “drink a glass of vichy” and “eat a piece of Cuban bread” while reading a newspaper, depicts a Cuba that has been wholly idealized by its observer, with the Morro flag’s direction indicating the fruits borne out of Spain’s loss of Cuba in 1898 to *El Norte*.⁴ *Esquire* pieces written in 1934 and 1936 emit a similar romantic tone. “Out in the Stream: A Cuban Letter,” published in August 1934, around the same time Hemingway met Gattorno, depicts the Gulf Stream as a place for conquest in the form of marlin fishing, emphasizing the sun on the water and the breeze that “gets up out of the northeast and blows against the current [and] makes a big sea” (Hemingway “Out in the Stream” 19). Hemingway’s “On the Blue Water: A Gulf Stream Letter,” published in April 1936, confirms the Gulf Stream as an unchartered frontier, stating that it and other great ocean

currents are “the last wild country there is left” (Hemingway “On the Blue Water” 31). In this same piece, Hemingway later attests to the pleasure of the sea, of being “in the unknown wild suddenness of a great fish in his life and his death which he lives for you in an hour while your strength is harnessed to his; and there is satisfaction in conquering this thing which rules the sea it lives in” (Hemingway “On the Blue Water” 185). The Gulf Stream *Esquire* pieces thus indicate that, upon meeting Gattorno in 1934, Hemingway may have initially imagined the Cuban painter much as he imaged the Gulf Stream itself, as “unchartered territory,” hence his interest in promoting Gattorno in very possibly the same way that he promotes Cuba in his *Esquire* pieces. The connections Hemingway draws between the Gulf Stream and Gattorno illustrate the conflation of his imagination of a geographical space and his understanding of its ethos. As Hemingway’s geographies are “. . . invested with aesthetic and cultural meaning” (Gruber Godfrey 439), it can be argued that the relationship between Hemingway and Gattorno, first ignited in a “culturally geographical” context, was defined by Hemingway’s romantic vision of the Antilles.

The patronage that Hemingway granted Gattorno less than a year after their 1934 meeting affirms the power of Hemingway’s engagement with this new artistic Antillean frontier. Their relationship eventually evolved beyond Gulf Stream fishing stints in the early- to mid-1930s. During the period between June 1935-June 1937, the two exchanged at least eight letters, and Gattorno produced the watercolor portrait of

Hemingway in 1935, which now resides at the John F. Kennedy Library (C. Hemingway 70).⁵ In addition to their correspondence, Hemingway wrote an introduction for the initial monograph of the artist's work entitled *Gattorno: con 38 reproducciones y algunas opiniones críticas* in April of 1935, and he extended his patronage beyond the introduction, sending two copies of the published book to editor Arnold Gingrich to aid in publishing eight full-color reproductions of Gattorno's work in the May 1936 edition of *Esquire*, a magazine Hemingway knew well, for its editors had long been friendly to his own work. Hemingway's auspices culminated in Gattorno's first solo exhibition in the United States that same year at the Georgette Passedoit Gallery in New York City, which paved the way for Gattorno's success in 1937 with the Bacardi Company's commissioning him to paint a mural in their offices in the Empire State Building (C. Hemingway 74). The story of the Hemingway-Gattorno relationship thus begins with Hemingway as an assiduous patron who initially viewed Gattorno as a starving artist he could help, possibly with the image of the Morro in his mind: "still young and already a celebrity, Hemingway enjoyed helping other, less successful artists [painters rather than writers]" (Hermann 32). Hemingway's mid-1930s romanticizing of Cuba certainly made assistance all the more appealing, spurring his active "helper phase" along until his permanent move to Cuba in 1939.

However, analysis of Hemingway as a patron of Gattorno's art does not do full justice to their relationship or Hemingway-Cuba studies, in part

because a Hemingway-centered approach leaves Gattorno's essentially voiceless. This paper aims at a more profound analysis of Gattorno's life and response to Hemingway's volunteerism. The evidence shows that the Hemingway-Gattorno relationship was one of balanced romanticizing, that Gattorno was also invested in Hemingway and glamorized him.

Gattorno's artistic portrayal of Hemingway, and in particular his letters, reveals the same act of "romanticizing the other" that Hemingway evokes in his *Esquire* pieces and patronage of Gattorno. Gattorno's repository of art and letters also yields a locus from which to examine the continuation of Cuban romantic desire for Hemingway even after his death in 1961.

That desire manifests itself in collective oral performances regarding Hemingway objects that still remain at the Finca Vigía ("Lookout Farm"), as well as local folkloric tales about his presence in the town of San Francisco de Paula, where Hemingway lived between 1939-1960.

Examining contemporary Cuban romantic desire for Hemingway through Gattorno requires considering the current status of the two most important archives within Hemingway studies: the Hemingway Collection, located in Boston, and the Finca Vigía, located in Cuba. The Hemingway Collection, the most prolific repository of Hemingway materials currently available in one place, was officially opened within the JFK Library in Boston in 1980, although Hemingway's fourth wife Mary Welsh-Hemingway began sending materials to the Collection as early as 1972 ("The Ernest Hemingway Collection"). The vast majority of materials

found there come from Mary's bank and warehouse storage vaults, both located in New York at the time. After Hemingway's death in 1961, Mary also brought additional materials to the Collection via a shrimp boat from Havana to Tampa after she received special permission from Fidel Castro to retrieve them from Hemingway's home there, known as Finca Vigía, in a strikingly non-reciprocal relationship, for few scholars on either side of the Florida Straits have been able to visit the materials held in the other nation.⁶

While other miscellaneous materials come from Hemingway's home in Ketchum, Idaho, Harvard's Houghton Library, and from Carlos Baker in Princeton ("The Ernest Hemingway Collection"), the Finca Vigía, Hemingway's home in Cuba between 1939-1960, has an iconic status, for it was converted into a museum after Mary Hemingway donated it the Cuban government in 1961 with the stipulation that it be consecrated a national historic landmark. A significant amount of Hemingway materials still resides there, for Havana was the place where Hemingway "gathered the things he prized: animal trophies, fishing rods, paintings, thousands of photographs, the original manuscripts and galleys of his stories and novels, his correspondence and his journals, and a personal library of almost nine thousand volumes" ("The Finca Vigia Foundation"). Ever since diplomatic relations between the two nations were severed in 1961, American access to the Finca Vigía and Cuban access to the J.F.K. Library have been limited at best. Understanding how both repositories

romanticize Hemingway's material culture in Cuba reveals the role of the two museums in conveying the same romantic tendencies that Hemingway and Gattorno expressed in the mid-1930s, albeit in different ways. Understanding the contexts for the two repositories allows for greater insight into the long-range history of Cuban-American relations over time and informs how both countries imagine Hemingway today.

To this end, Chapter I chronicles the beginning of the Hemingway-Gattorno relationship through letters and defines the business-oriented, albeit often highly sentimental friendship that they had during their short-lived correspondence. Chapter II discusses how that relationship can be compared to contemporary American desire for what it represented, as expressed by both the Hemingway Collection as a physical space and through the American response to improvements in access to the Finca Vigía within the past decade. Chapter III turns to how the Hemingway-Gattorno relationship elucidates Cuban desire for a pre-revolutionary past. That desire involves stasis within the Finca Vigía home, as expressed by Cubans' incredibly careful recording of its contents. Then, it will show how oral accounts of Hemingway's life in Cuba replay a past of friendship and collaboration that the Hemingway-Gattorno relationship represented.

Regardless of the United States' and Cuba's unique positions, the current tendency to romanticize Hemingway germinated from how each imagined the other even before the revolutionary period occurred. That pre-revolutionary sentiment has continued to express itself through a

variety of performances in both countries that memorialize Hemingway and the Finca Vigía. Despite embargoes, diplomatic impasses, and power struggles, oral performances of Hemingway and memories of the things associated with his life have had the power to subvert political hierarchies of power, as the United States and Cuba have continued to view Hemingway as a symbol that connects the Americas, making him one of many surviving links between the two countries.

Letters for inter-America: The Hemingway-Gattorno Correspondence

And none will hear the postman's knock
Without a quickening of the heart.
For who can bear to feel himself forgotten?
~W.H. Auden (Andrews 187).

It should be of no surprise that an inter-American study of the Hemingway-Gattorno relationship would involve the close examination of their letters. Letters have given us possibly more information about Ernest Hemingway than any other medium since his death, a truth comprehended by the Nobel Prize writer himself. There is evidence that Hemingway knew how valuable his letters would be in shaping who he was, which is perhaps why he asked his executors in a typed note dated May 20, 1958, not to publish any letters he wrote during his lifetime, a wish his fourth wife Mary did not fulfill (Welsh Hemingway 504).⁷ With Mary's permission, Carlos Baker, who wrote an invaluable oeuvre of Hemingway's literary work in 1952 (*Hemingway: The Writer as Artist*) and a comprehensive biography in 1969 (*Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story*), solidified his reputation as a Hemingway scholar with the unprecedented 1981 publication of his monumental 1917-1961 collection of Hemingway letters. There has been no other body of Hemingway letters this large in scope since then, although Baker's work clearly spawned a new age of mini-collections that would focus on specific relationships Hemingway had with his contemporaries, such as *The Only Thing that Counts*, in 1996; *At the Hemingways*, in 1999; and recently, *Dear Papa, Dear Hotch*, in 2005.⁸

As noted by the editors of these multiple letter collections, Hemingway was a raconteur, as revealed by his penchant for correspondence. Upon examination, his letters are just as important as his manuscripts and when united serve as a cohesive autobiography of his life. Scholars have responded in kind, entrusting in Hemingway's letters to yield important directions in Hemingway studies. While the masses are familiar with the larger-than-life Papa Hemingway, Hemingway's letters reveal a much more intimate and raw portrayal of his life than the image in caricature that has come to define him over time. His letters have great impact because of their immediate intimacy:

[H]is voluminous correspondence was everywhere diversified with gossip, anecdotes both serious and bawdy, high and low badinage, boasts and self-recriminations, complaints and confessions, instructions and ruminations, passages of wild and witty inventiveness, character sketches of friends and enemies, arresting instances of vilification, memories and predictions, off-the-cuff literary, political, and sociological opinions, information on what he was doing and thinking in what hour of the day and under what climatic conditions, and a thousand other topics that sporadically engaged his teeming and lively mind. (Hemingway *Selected Letters* ix)

As explained, Hemingway's letters covered expansive terrain and illuminated an intimate, comprehensive miniature of a prodigious life that he could not hope to cover in his fiction and journalistic pieces. For example, Hemingway's vitriolic attacks on T.S. Eliot occurred through letters, as in a July 9th, 1950 letter Hemingway sent to writer Harvey Breit (1913-1968) that stated, "Well I guess, some of us write and some of us pitch but so far there isn't any law a man has to go and see the Cocktail

Party by T.S. Eliot from St. Louis where Yogi Berra comes from ‘Royalist, Anglo-Catholic and conservative’” (Hemingway *Selected Letters* 919). In addition to his often quite scathing attacks on others, Hemingway used the letter form to do simple things, such as track the amount of pages of a manuscript or monitor his weight, seen in a February 25th, 1961 letter to George Plimpton when Hemingway comments that he “[w]eighed 170 yesterday and oddly enough am getting strong at the weight. Working hard but temporarily held up checking. Best Always, Papa” (Hemingway *Selected Letters* 919). Hemingway’s letters also revealed him as a loving and romantic man, evidenced by his collection of love letters to Adriana Ivancich, a beautiful Italian teenager he met in 1948 who is said to have inspired the character Renata in *Across the River and into the Trees*(1950) (Hemingway, Hotcher, and De Fazio 4). An excerpt from a letter written on June 3rd, 1950, conveys an infatuated and quite passionate man:

Now I write egotistical letter[sic] because I am lonesome for you and I do not want to say these things to anyone else. Since I was Gianfranco’s age[Adriana’s brother] I have been head of the family. I paid all my father’s debts; sold land; stopped my mother’s extravagances as well as I could; provided for her and the other children, fought in all the wars, brought up children, married and unmarried, paid all bills and wrote as well as I could. So you please believe I am a semi-serious animal and that I would never encourage anything that was bad for Gianfranco nor Jackie[Adriana’s other brother] nor you. Am prejudiced about you because I am in love with you. But in any situation, under any circumstances where it was my happiness or your happiness I would always want your happiness to win and would withdraw mine from the race. Now I must stop or maybe you have stopped already. I love you very much. (Hemingway *Selected Letters* 700)

Even these three minor examples show that much can be gained from Hemingway's incredibly prolific and diverse letters.

Another reason why Hemingway's letters are important to scholarship is simply because Hemingway wrote a lot of them. As Matthew Bruccoli aptly notes, Hemingway wrote more words in letters than he did for publication, stating that "letter-writing became part of the mechanism of his literary career. Hemingway's letters constitute an extended narrative about Ernest Hemingway—his most enduring character" (Hemingway *The Only Thing That Counts* 23). Carlos Baker concurs, defining Hemingway's letters as revealing the crux of the writer's literary persona, as a "compulsive correspondent for whom communication was a constant necessity" (Hemingway *Selected Letters* ix). The impressive six or seven thousand letters that Hemingway wrote during the last fifty years of his life carried "the unmistakable impress of one of the most commanding personalities of the age" (Hemingway *Selected Letters* ix).

In addition to the letters Hemingway wrote, sent, and received, he also collected letters, including many that he composed but never sent. Like Hemingway's cats, guns, medals, and animal trophies, he viewed letters as a collector's item. Hemingway's appraisal of the letter as an aesthetic, meaningful, and comforting narrative form is revealed by how often he collected and ordered them. Hemingway kept a specific file of all of A.E. Hotchner's letters, for example, which his fourth wife Mary Hemingway eventually donated to the John F. Kennedy Library after his

death (Hemingway *Dear Papa, Dear Hotch* xvi). In these contexts, the copiousness of Hemingway's letters and Hemingway's personal valuation of them yield the potential to elucidate who he was more than any other genre he produced. Hemingway valued the quotidian, spontaneous, and conversational just as much as the terse rigidity he imposed on language in many of his published works, and for this reason, his letters have often been described as synonymous with written conversation. As A.E. Hotchner states in *Dear Papa, Dear Hotch*, Hemingway's letters were "virtually indistinguishable from the way he spoke when we were together," stating that "Hemingway's personality commanded his letters, which were as informal and as nonliterary as his conversation" (Hemingway *Dear Papa, Dear Hotch* ix).

The notion of Hemingway's letters as conversation illustrates an important facet of his connections to Cuba in particular, and how he maintained transatlantic relationships and engaged with the Caribbean over time.⁹ The letters exchanged between Hemingway and Cuban artist Antonio Gattorno in the mid-1930s show their conversational interplay on paper from afar. Although they seldom crossed paths during their travels—Hemingway to Cuba and Gattorno to the United States—the Hemingway-Gattorno correspondence is important for several reasons. First, it provides a conduit through which to examine Hemingway's patronage of the arts in the mid-1930s, while at the same time giving scholars invaluable insight regarding how he viewed the Cuban ethos during this

time. In addition, it documents the financial relationship between the two men. Hemingway not only purchased some of Gattorno's paintings after meeting him in 1934 (Baker *A Life Story* 264), but he was also pivotal in the publication of Gattorno's initial monograph in the United States in April 1935 in Havana, for which he wrote a preface. Hemingway "was well aware of the magnetic effect his name might have on such a publication," and hoped that his introduction would help Gattorno sell more of his material to both Cuban and American readers. When Hemingway realized that Gattorno had never received a substantial sum of money for one of his paintings (*Autoretrato y modelos*), he aided Gattorno by trying to ensure that the book would sell at a Scribner's bookshop. Hemingway was quite successful in his endeavors, leading to Gattorno's having to send extra copies of the book from Cuba. After this, Hemingway aided Gattorno by arranging for a May 1936 *Esquire* piece on Gattorno's work with eight reproductions of Gattorno's paintings (Hermann 30-32, 45).

Another reason why the Hemingway-Gattorno correspondence is valuable is that the letters chronicle a friendship between a Cuban and an American during the 1930s, a time of political and economic turmoil in both countries. The correspondence refers—albeit often indirectly—to that turmoil, one in which Hemingway was deeply involved.¹⁰ A final aspect of the importance of the correspondence relates to how it unveils a relationship between Cuba and America that seems a distant memory in the minds of many Americans, Cubans, and Cuban Americans. The letters

occur, that is, during a time of open exchange between Cuba and the United States. The relative ease of communication during the 1930s paved the way for the transportation of cultural materials and the influence of artistic movements, marked by ongoing relationships between Cubans and Americans. In all, the Hemingway-Gattorno letters remind both nations of the possibility of Cuban-U.S. discourse and the existence of transatlantic relationships, in this way manifesting a portrayal of cultural co-existence.

In order to understand the Hemingway-Gattorno correspondence fully, it is essential to build a road map of the relationship that developed between Hemingway and Gattorno during the 1920s and 1930s. Born in Havana, Cuba, in 1904, just five years after Hemingway, Gattorno may have known about Hemingway as early as 1929, when Gattorno was living in France as part of *El Grupo de Montparnasse*, a contingent of Spanish and Latin American artists and writers who embodied the European modern art movement of the 1920s, which included the likes of Pablo Picasso and Enrique Riverón.¹¹ Despite his youth, Antonio Gattorno had been an important artist in Cuba, a prodigy, from the early age of twelve. He had attended the Academy of San Alejandro in Havana until 1919, when he was awarded, at age sixteen, a five-year art scholarship to study in Europe from 1920-1925. He remained longer than expected, spending seven years living and traveling in Italy, Spain, Belgium, and Germany. During this time, the work of Paul Gauguin influenced Gattorno to develop

an adherence to modern primitivism and an interest in depicting the rural poor, often referred to as Cuban *guajiros* (Cuban rural farmers). This subject matter appears in much of Gattorno's work of the 1930s.¹² Gattorno's focus on the *guajiro* aligned with his reformist—and thus, at that time, leftist—alliances; he had aided in the founding of *El Grupo Minorista* in 1927, an organization whose agenda included independence from U.S. neocolonialism and a focus on heightened nationalism, themes that had defined Cuban literature since the publication of *Tembladera* by Jose Antonio Ramos in 1917 (Benítez-Rojo 282). As such, Gattorno's early art and overall aesthetic attitude could be described as reformist and revolutionary, leading to the development of the *Vanguardia* movement of Cuba and the work of Cuban artists Wilfredo Lam, Victor Manuel García, and Amelia Peláez (“Antonio Gattorno”). Most importantly, Gattorno's early work has been described as nationalist in nature, central to the Cuban *vanguardia* movement at the time and more than overtly experimental.¹³ Ultimately, his *guajiro* paintings came to symbolize the celebration of all things Cuban, in particular the notion that the rural poor defined *Cubanismo*.

Despite Gattorno's role in touting a Cuban national identity in painting between the years of 1927-1939, many Cuban artists, such as the renowned painter Juan José Sicre, considered his work to be “too modern” (Poole 32). Sicre and others were skeptical about Gattorno's trips abroad, and they mocked the influence of European artists—in

particular modern primitivist painters such as Paul Gauguin— on his work. Gattorno's battles with the Cuban art establishment, his relationship with Hemingway, and economic and political disarray in Cuba may have pushed him towards departure, circumstances that led to a conspicuous change in Gattorno's artistic identity in 1935, the year that marked his transformation from an artist of Cuba into what Hemingway called "an artist of the world" (Poole 24). In that same year, the letters between Gattorno and Hemingway commenced, marking the beginning of Hemingway's interest in Gattorno's work, evident in the U.S. writer's publishing a foreword for the fledgling artist's monograph *Gattorno: Con 38 reproducciones y algunas opiniones críticas* in Havana in April 1935.

Hemingway's likely influence on how Gattorno's imagined his artistry seems never to have been studied closely. Hemingway may have been a significant catalyst in changing Gattorno's perception of his *Cubanismo*, by way of the U.S. writer's foreword:

Gattorno is a Cuban painter who is also a painter for the world. He was fortunate to be born in Cuba so that he could leave it and having left it he had the good sense to return to it to paint. Now it is time to leave it again but he will always return to it wherever he is painting. (Hemingway "Gattorno: Program Note" 111)

Hemingway's definition of Cuban national identity in this passage is important to note. First, Hemingway attests to the inherent differences between being a Cuban painter and a world painter, suggesting that one is

quite distinct than the other. When one does not leave Cuba, his or her Cuban aesthetic identity is both isolated and isolating, leading to geographical—and therefore cultural—seclusion. For Hemingway, Cuban identity relies on a set of premises that are self-defeating and yet always prevail: Cuba is not the world, and inversely, the world is not Cuba. Instead, Cuba is a space of exile at birth. The Cuban artist is born in Cuba to leave, to become a painter for the world and an international figure. Cuba is not a place where one lives but instead is a site of subject matter from the outside looking in, where one paints *guajiros* and an archipelagic landscape of the exotic from afar. A Cuban artist, Hemingway suggests, is voyeuristic by default. Cuba is the “other” to which one only returns in aesthetic moments, “wherever he is painting.” Hemingway’s defining Gattorno by expanding his geographical possibilities, moving from “Cuba” to the “world,” is striking in that it suggests early on that Cuban identity is transatlantic, pliable, and multiple. Hemingway’s intimation that effective artistry must define itself globally emphasizes art’s transcendence of national identity. In addition, Hemingway’s manifesto foregrounds mobility as the cornerstone of Gattorno’s Cuban artistic identity, one that Gattorno would continue to adhere to for the rest of his life.

Hemingway’s understanding of what it means to be Cuban predates much of twentieth and twenty-first century Caribbean postcolonial theory, which attests to how Cubans define themselves based on geographical location. José Quiroga, for example, states that Cuba

“still defines nationality in terms of geography”(1). While Hemingway emphasizes the importance of place, his foreword still creates a space for Gattorno to be both “here” and “there” at the same time. So does the foreword describe an interstice conspicuously connected to Román de la Campa’s assertion that one can be Cuban in either Havana or Miami (de la Campa 3). Like de la Campa, who takes Cuban identity even further into the spatial, Hemingway’s definition of *Cubanismo* involves multiple geographical loci, as does Cristina García’s Pilar in *Dreaming in Cuban*:

. . .voyages to old colonies. Ocean liners gliding toward Africa and India. . Perhaps my mother should have approached Havana by sea. Boarded a ship in Shanghai and crossed the Pacific wave by wave. Rounded Cape Horn, the coast of Brazil, stopped for carnival in Port-of-Spain. Cuba is a peculiar exile, I think, an island-colony. We can reach it by a thirty-minute charter flight from Miami, yet never reach it all. (García 219)

Hemingway’s definition of Cuban identity as a flexible frontier of ephemeral moments, departures, and returns also reveals an interesting premeditation on the contemporary theoretical work of Benítez-Rojo, who attests to how Cuba represents a chaotic order that repeats itself, where “every repetition is a practice that necessarily entails a difference and a step toward nothingness” (3). This theme of continuous travel, redundant repetition, of exit from and brief return to the island, is recapitulated by Hemingway’s tumultuous description of Gattorno’s life. He chronicles Gattorno’s travels in Spain as an affirmation of his chaotic identity, noting that because of the time Gattorno had previously spent in Italy before

living in Spain, he experienced "torment" regarding his loyalties to Italy: ". . .he could not abandon Italy, so he did not get much from Spain. Then, too, Spain was shocking to him. Spain is an open wound on the right arm that cannot heal. . .while Cuba is a beautiful ulcer somewhere else" (Hemingway, "Gattorno: Program Note" *Esquire* 111). This part of Hemingway's foreword in *Gattorno* is provocative because it introduces another aspect of Cuban identity that is key in understanding transatlantic identity: the melancholy of instability. The Cuban is not only by default chaotically ordered but angst-ridden, constantly becoming attached to the geographical site only to be wrested from its stability and thrown into a new cultural vortex. Hemingway also implies that Spain's colonialism is omnipresent in the minds of Cubans: Spain is a metaphorical, immortal wound. However, being Cuban is not the cicatrix for the colonialist ailment either, suggesting that Gattorno will not find happiness in either place, perhaps because past wounds have not healed. This in turn leads to a colonial "ulcer" that has continued to fester since the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898. It is Hemingway's understanding of this inherently Cuban geographical disorder—and his comprehension of the traumatic effects of that chaos on identity—that makes him one of Cuba's first theorists.¹⁴ However, in addition to Hemingway's theoretical value, most important is his suggestion that travel will heal the colonialist ailment, an escapist approach that favors departure and ex-patriotism over proactive rebellion.

Perhaps this circumvention reveals just as much about Hemingway's understanding of the situation in Cuba in the mid-1930s than his accurate understanding of Cuban identity. A few years prior to writing the foreword, Cuba had dealt with a great deal of economic and political instability:

The Depression hit Cuba's economy brutally. Wages and employment contracted, and organized protest grew. The corrupt government of Gerardo Machado, who had stretched his term in office first by pressing Congress to extend it, and then by running unopposed for a second term, increasingly resorted to violent repression of peaceful protests. By the early 1930s, Cubans ranging from sugar workers to urban workers to students and intellectuals were moving to direct action and armed rebellion. (Chomsky 30)

After Batista took over in 1933, corruption and economic inequality continued to plague Cuba, and Cuba's reliance on its only viable crop, sugar, for its economic sustenance, in addition to its clear economic subordination to the United States and "grinding poverty and inequality," led to repression of the working classes, of which Gattorno was a member (Chomsky 33). One thus cannot ignore Hemingway's manifestation that Cuba is a place to leave because "a painter cannot make a living there, because he can never see any great painting to wash his mind clear and encourage his heart, because if he gets to be a great painter no one would ever know it nor would they buy enough of his paintings for him to be able to eat" (Hemingway "Gattorno: Program Note" 141). Hemingway's message about Cuba's paucity of financial support for the artist is

important because it shows the economic disparity of the times. The Cuban bourgeoisie of the 1930s was indeed wary of giving credence to *guajiros* as aesthetic subjects. This was certainly evidence of the growth of Batista's power and the U.S.-supported government's desire to stamp out subjects that resonated with the Cuban Communist Party, which had, in 1934 under Soviet guidance, moved in an increasingly reformist direction by embracing the anti-fascism and supporting the same kind of "popular fronts" that were interested in galvanizing the prototypical *guajiro* (Morales Domínguez 33). Hemingway's *Gattorno* introduction thus does more than reveal a theoretical comprehension of Cuban identity or support a Cuban artist of the 1930s. It also actively engages in the politics of the moment, capturing the dire state of affairs for Cuban "popular" artists under a burgeoning Batista regime after Machado's demise. As much as scholars have wanted to believe that Hemingway eschewed politics during his lifetime, the *Gattorno* introduction provides clear evidence of an aesthetically political piece of writing.¹⁵

An additional reason Hemingway provides for why one must leave Cuba is even more striking than his cultural and political commentary. He states that no one in Cuba can photograph a painting properly and "reproduce it as it should be reproduced" (Hemingway "Gattorno: Program Note" 141). The inability to craft reproducible art conveys the very reason that Cuba has floundered, according to Hemingway. It cannot engage in the sale of the artist's goods effectively, and therefore, the artist must find

a place in which his work can be commodified and where he can survive financially.

The notion of commercializing an artist who had essentially been a spokesperson for the Cuban *guajiro* and modern primitivism suggests Hemingway's inherent understanding that Gattorno had a "marketably exotic product." As Benítez-Rojo explains, the Caribbean text, "in the fashion of a zoo or bestiary," opens its doors to a world outside, "where the text uncoils itself and quivers like a fantastic beast to be the object of knowledge and desire" (23). Hemingway's keen comprehension of Cuba as a "fantastic beast" to be put on display mirrors his *Esquire* pieces touting Cuba, but most importantly, it allows him to help Gattorno in his financial strivings, while conveying, in addition, his clear comprehension of Cuba as a neocolonialist island state.¹⁶ In the *Gattorno* foreword, Hemingway is inherently aware of a solution and recourse for neocolonialism and the Cuban discontent that has continued to shape Cuban strife: travel. Interesting about this awareness is that Gattorno followed Hemingway's advice, leaving Cuba for good in 1939. Well beyond Hemingway's *consejería*, Gattorno's decision to leave is consistent with *Cubanismo*. For, as Benítez-Rojo states, Cubans are by default impelled towards exploration, "toward the search for fluvial and marine routes" (Benítez-Rojo 25), which in Gattorno's case is also a search for an empowered American identity that will bring him financial success.

Gattorno's letters to Hemingway make constant reference to the many forms that exploration and transnational identity can take. All of Gattorno's letters to Hemingway were written by hand, contrasted by Hemingway's tendency to type his letters to Gattorno. The very process of composition makes Gattorno's letters more intimate and emotional than those of Hemingway, who seems the more business-oriented and professional of the two. Gattorno's first letter to Hemingway on June 6th, 1935, depicts an emotional artist who is obsessed with upward mobility and making his way to *El Norte*:

My dearest Hemingway,

Yesterday they sent me one of your letters from Marianao-you finally paid attention to me! Soon I'll be sending you a cable accepting your "trick," which sounds good. The only thing missing now is money. Although I have good news, too. I now have a prize-I won't be able to pick it up for many days because I have a great deal of debts, and here where I am, no one fishes and so I have no way of making money. . According to everyone[at the competition], the painting ["Self-Portrait and Models"] was worth the \$1,000 prize, but the judges were jerks and didn't want to give it to me. Instead they divided the original \$1,000 into ten prizes of \$100. No one took it, and I was awarded with one of the \$500 prizes that came after the big one. And I came in first. This is only a moral honor, like the work of Topacio. . . I plan on working a lot to bring good *guajiros* to the North. (Letter, Antonio Gattorno to E. Hemingway, 6 June 1935 [my translation])

Several aspects of this letter are interesting to note. First, Gattorno's longing for Hemingway's attention is immediately apparent; there is a

suggestion that Hemingway is less invested in the relationship than Gattorno would like him to be.¹⁷ This is a trend that one sees in Gattorno's August 7th, 1935 letter as well, when Gattorno is clearly upset that he did not see Hemingway in Key West; (Letter, Antonio Gattorno to E. Hemingway, 7 August 1935 [my translation]). Another example is his letter in September of 1936, when he laments how much time has passed since the two have seen one another (Letter, Antonio Gattorno to E. Hemingway, 23 September 1936 [my translation]). In another letter in June of 1937, Gattorno is saddened when he attempts to see Hemingway in New York, but Hemingway is nowhere to be found. Hemingway's "MIA" status throughout their correspondence attests to an unbalanced friendship of differing investments and needs. Gattorno, the insulated island other, seemingly needs Hemingway more than Hemingway needs him.¹⁸ Hemingway's trips and other affairs, however, do not deter Gattorno from trying.

Finally, the letters reveal the power of Hemingway in Gattorno's imagination.¹⁹ This imaginative presence is that which drives Gattorno to continue to be interested in reproducing his *guajiro* paintings in Cuba for sale in the "North." Hemingway's physical presence is thus less important than the letters themselves, which recognize his artistic talent and reveal Hemingway's willingness to act as Gattorno's patron. Gattorno's interest in reproducing a marketable object that behaves like a Cuban exotic

guajiro souvenir—and his clear understanding that this is the object that will indeed sell— is also Hemingway's.

This shared desire—to show and receive—the exotic object, is evidenced in other Hemingway-Gattorno letters, which deal specifically with reproductions of Gattorno's paintings for publication in the United States. In essence, the focus on marketing the object is embedded in almost all of their letters. In a letter dated as early as June 3rd, 1935, Hemingway asks Gattorno why he didn't reproduce "Auto-Retrato y Modelos," which Hemingway had owned at his house in Key West, in *Gattorno*, the book Hemingway had helped him publish two months earlier in Cuba:

My dear friend Antonio,

I returned to Key West yesterday to find your two letters and the fifty copies from the book. The letters made me very disappointed that you didn't have positive results at the competition. We thought that you were favored for the grand prize. What a joke of a competition. The judges must have been jerks. About the book—it came out really nice. It's well done and looks good. But, how come you didn't include the magnificent painting of the two sisters that we have here in the house? (Letter, Ernest Hemingway to A. Gattorno, 3 June 1935 [my translation])

Gattorno responded only three days later:

The painting that you have didn't end up in the book because I didn't have a good photo of it when they needed one. I wanted it to be in the book, but the photo of the painting that I have here with me is a bit yellow and the publisher refused

to reproduce it. (Letter, Antonio Gattorno to E. Hemingway, 6 June 1935 [my translation])

Gattorno cannot reproduce the painting effectively because he does not have it with him; it has become a part of Hemingway's art collection and has essentially changed ownership. This exchange of letters reveals a transatlantic exchange of object, as Hemingway connected his life and the objects he owned to Gattorno's artistic endeavors. Most importantly, Hemingway and Gattorno reveal a partnership and exchange of materials and business that recalls past economic engagement between the two nations.

The Hemingway-Gattorno correspondence also reinforces Hemingway as an art collector who also served as Gattorno's agent and as the interlocutor between publishing houses and Gattorno's art and an artistic diplomat between Cuba and the United States. In his June 3rd, 1935 letter, Hemingway asks Gattorno what he wants to do with the 50 books of the monograph Hemingway has received in Key West:

Do you want to send them to New York to sell them or do you want me to send some to the press? I think that if you want to make the most from them, it is better if I send them to the publishing company that I use in New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 597 5th Ave., where they have a huge bookstore, and let them sell the books as if they were first copies for one of my works. This way, we can give these first editions to my fans. What do you think about this trick? I will tell them to send the money to your address in Havana. Write me if you agree-but did you know that publishing companies charge up to 40% commission for the sales? I hope that you are aware of this and don't think that your

friend Hemingway is trying to cheat you out of it. I wouldn't touch a cent. But all of these people in this business are businessmen. . . If I were in New York, I would be able to sell the books on the street and send all of the money collected to you—but if you operate through a publishing house[,] you have to pay a percentage. (Letter, Ernest Hemingway to A. Gattorno, 3 June 1935 [my translation])

Hemingway's literal and figurative agency in this passage reveals a writer highly invested in didactic work, in educating the Cuban writer about the American capitalist way. A letter sent one day later to the editor of *Esquire*, Arnold Gingrich, reveals Hemingway as an agent for Gattorno as well:

Dear Arnold,

I am sending you two copies of a book published in Cuba and apparently a first edition of mine about young Gattorno. You remember that swell picture of his, the two sisters, both very goofy looking, blue under the bushbuck head. He is on his ass in Havana having won a gigantic competition, which the last revolution buggared up (we lost) so never paid. There are only 460 of these and he sent me fifty. I am paying for ten, making you present of two and keeping the rest to have something to give to my children, and sending 40 to Scribner's telling them to sell them for 5.00 apiece as a starting price and let Capt. Cohn have 10 if he pays cash. All money to be sent to Antonio Gattorno, Villa Estrella, Pogolloti (Marianao), Havana. If Miss Georgia Lilienfeldt wants any she can order them from Scribner's Rare Book dept. (Hemingway *Selected Letters* 413)

In this letter, Hemingway is an intermediary, translator, and barterer invested in the movement of goods from the island to the "North."

Hemingway's focus on numbers (460, 50, 40, and 10), his organization of the book copies themselves, and his arrangement of the possible

interested parties—in this case Georgia Lilienfeldt—presents a man who understands the economic realities of the period in which he lives, both for Gattorno and for himself. Hemingway's willingness to help Gattorno is also readily apparent in the June 3rd, 1935 letter, which tells Gattorno that he (Hemingway) could sell the first editions of *Gattorno* to the "aficionados" (fans).

However, an interesting shift occurred in late 1935 that dictated the course of their correspondence until 1937, when their letter writing dissipated following Hemingway's move to work and ultimately, volunteer in Spain. Hemingway began to slowly withdraw from the relationship, in part because he was struggling financially and apparently could no longer "carry the burden" of Gattorno's needs. This withdrawal may also reveal that, for Hemingway, the relationship rested upon his understanding of himself as Gattorno's patron. When he no longer viewed his patronage as an eventuality, he struggled to maintain his Papa Hemingway persona, hence the dissipation of his letters. Letters sent to his friends elucidate this vicissitude and pose questions about whether much of his letter writing to Gattorno involved an American veneer of financial prowess that wasn't a reality for most American writers of his time. In a letter to John Dos Passos in December 1935, for example, Hemingway laments the fact that he doesn't have "100 or 150" for Gattorno's exhibition in New York, stating that he can't give Gattorno \$100 until January. He asks Dos Passos to pass on the message, stating that he can't explain it to Gattorno

because "he thinks I am a yachtsman millionario y aficionado a la literatura y los toros" (Hemingway *Selected Letters* 425-426).

Hemingway's crisis of identity is highly significant: he is the collector and agent gone bad, in part because "the critics had killed [his] book," *Green Hills of Africa* (1935), and also because he doesn't believe Gattorno can see him as anything but a "yachtsman millionario." Overall, the change in Hemingway's ability to aid Gattorno financially in his struggles to gain an artistic reputation in New York reveals the fragile lifestyle of the modern American artist and Hemingway's interest in disavowing its existence when living abroad.

Despite the apparent cultural hierarchy of need, the financial deadlocks in their relationship, and the friendship's slow dissipation over time, the Hemingway-Gattorno correspondence chronicles a close and significant bond between two "starving" artists who understood their similar predicaments and the challenges of artistry in the modern world. The letters reveal, in fact, that Hemingway and Gattorno were quite similar. Both artists looked outward and expressed an inherent need to live as expatriates. When Gattorno returned to Cuba in September of 1936 and stated that "Everything here is as I left it. I can't stand to be amongst my people anymore," he echoes Hemingway's past departure for Paris in the 1920s and consistent need for a new frontier, a status beyond transfixed U.S. identity. Both artists, in essence, envisioned their futures

on global terms. For Hemingway, that meant establishing a base in Cuba. For Gattorno, that meant leaving Cuba and relocating to New York.

Roughly four years after his foreword for Gattorno, Hemingway rented and then purchased Finca Vigía in San Francisco de Paula for 18,500 Cuban pesos (Fuentes 25), where he would live until two years before his death (Fuentes 297). This is not to mention his many trips to Europe, Africa, Asia, Canada, Mexico, and Peru. Notably, Havana eventually became Hemingway's home, and he had very little trouble doing business with the United States from there. As stated, "Havana was the place where he wrote and from which he mailed his manuscripts to New York. . . as a writer he could rely on efficient typists to make clean copies of his manuscripts" (Fuentes 297).

Gattorno's future after the mid-1930s parallels Hemingway's. He embraced the U.S. in the same way that Hemingway welcomed Cuba, immigrating to the United States in 1939 after taking Hemingway's advice (Poole 40), coincidentally the same year Hemingway began renting his home in Cuba before purchasing it a year later in December of 1940 (Fuentes 25). Gattorno's emigration from the Cuban nationalist group that shaped his beginnings marked a watershed moment in his art that led to a certain degree of "nationalist oblivion." In fact, Sean Poole argues that Gattorno isn't as well known as other Cuban artists simply because he did not remain in Cuba to define himself alongside other Cuban painters of his time. His Cuban artist contemporaries' reaction was swift and polarizing,

leading to his being called a “deserter” by the Academy and his subsequent exclusion from the Cuban Painting of Today exhibit at Cuba’s Museum of Modern Art in 1944 (Poole 11). Perhaps it was Gattorno’s definition of his *Cubanismo* that posed the greatest threat: instead of committing himself to the revolution’s nationalist future, he opted for self-imposed exile.

There were other similarities between the American writer and the Cuban artist. Like Hemingway, Gattorno placed his faith in pursuing his art within an inter-American landscape. Gattorno’s hope for a different future in the United States is revealed in his September 1936 letter, when he writes that an impending return to the North is “this time, more necessary because I have developed some good connections and there is a future” (Letter, A. Gattorno to E. Hemingway, 23 September 1936 [my translation]). Less than a year later, Gattorno once again wrote Hemingway from New York. In the letter, he describes himself as “fighting again and this time poorer than ever before,” but stating at the same time that he has faith that he will be “luckier than the last time.” Regardless of being poor, the June 1937 letter shares an important message of both melancholy and faith in the rags to riches motif of the American imagination:

I have been invited to a large American art exposition in Dallas at this time and have a magnificent painting that I did in Cuba. I’ve also brought some fashion sketches. Within little time, I hope to work for *Harper’s Bazaar*. But for the

time being, I only have the mysterious enigma of "nada" in front of me. One has to fight more and that is all. Say hello to Pauline and a big hug for you. I love you. Gattorno.
(Letter, Antonio Gattorno to E.Hemingway, 21 June 1937
[my translation])

The mysterious enigma of "nada" might be best described as Gattorno's full realization of a crisis of present and future, the instability of his art and identity, and most importantly, his adherence to Hemingway's concept of *nada*: the artist is alone within a chaotic, disorderly, uncaring universe, where, like Harry Morgan attests, "No matter how, a man alone ain't got no bloody fucking chance" (Hemingway *To Have and Have Not* 225). But this line in the letter can perhaps also be interpreted as Gattorno's articulation of the "orderly chaos" that has defined the Cuban battle of fragmented identity over time. Perhaps it is useful to understand Gattorno's battle with "nada" in the context of how definitions of skin color, as related to Cuban identity, developed:

In the Caribbean. . .the work of defining nationality and reaching independence was the common effort of men and women already divided by racial and cultural differences—even in the case of Haiti, where the tensions between blacks and mulattos showed up even before the revolution and continued during and after the revolution, down to the present day. Thus, in the Caribbean, skin color denotes neither a minority nor a majority; it represents much more: the color imposed by the violence of conquest and colonization, and especially by the plantation system. Whatever the skin color might be, it is a color that has not been institutionalized or legitimized according to lineage; it is a color in conflict with itself and with others, irritated in its very instability and resented for its very uprootedness; it is a color neither of the Self nor of the Other, but rather a kind of

no-man's-land where the permanent battle for the Caribbean Self's fragmented identity is fought. (Benítez-Rojo 201)

By understanding Cuban identity as an oxymoron of "fragmented identity," one may be able to appreciate the longing and need for stability evidenced in Gattorno's letters to Hemingway. The liminal, isolated island subject reaches out, needing a "sure thing" and possibly even a "truco" for success.

Hemingway, although clearly not the most consistent and reliable of correspondents with Gattorno, may be appreciated for the affection he revealed through his letters, his understanding of Cuban identity, and his willingness to incorporate Cuba into the American landscape. It was he who urged Gattorno to leave Cuba and move to the U.S., and Gattorno certainly benefited from his advice and led a happy life. Despite the many times they failed to cross paths, Hemingway was certainly committed to Gattorno's success and cared about him enough to devote time to it. Although certainly Hemingway viewed his relationship with Gattorno in venture capitalist terms, there are many transcendent moments that reveal his affection for Gattorno. He stated in his June 3rd, 1935 letter that he would do the best he could to get the most for Gattorno out of the book copies and "send them to the North before I depart for Bimini. . ." In addition, he stated in the same letter not to be angry or sad if he didn't write, saying, "I have the same appreciation for you yesterday, today, and tomorrow" (Letter, Ernest Hemingway to A. Gattorno, 3 June 1935 [my

translation]). The letters thus reveal not only a business partnership but a significant friendship between two individuals who understood the many complexities of artistry in the modern world.

The letters also chronicle the beginnings of Antonio Gattorno's life and trace the developments that occurred later, principally his transformation into a Cuban-U.S. artist. When Gattorno wrote about Hemingway's death on July 9th, 1961 in the New Bedford, Massachusetts newspaper, the *Sunday Standard-Times*, he described his relationship with Hemingway in a significantly different landscape than that depicted by his letters. When Gattorno gave the interview, more than twenty years had gone by since his move to *El Norte*. He spoke in fluent English and was living in Acushnet, Massachusetts, where he would live for the rest of his life until his death in 1980. During the newspaper interview, Gattorno described Hemingway as "an older brother," stating that even though they were only six years apart, Hemingway responded to him congenitally as well, referring to him as a son. He also attested that he was the type of writer you "could sit with for hours and never say a word. . . But he was also a great host. He could spin a yarn for hours. What an imagination!" (Curtis 4). There was a story of a fishing trip when Gattorno stated that he wanted to be the Al Capone of the sea, after which Hemingway addressed his letters "Dear Capone" as a testament to his affection and appreciation of their friendship (Curtis 4). Indeed, stories of Hemingway-Gattorno encounters abounded in the interview; whether it was Gattorno's enjoyable

visits to the Finca Vigía or Ernest's humor about killing real cats in Africa while his wife purchased leopard ski coats on 5th Avenue, the narrative Gattorno chronicled of Hemingway after the writer's suicide constituted a mini-memoir. Although records of Hemingway-Gattorno correspondence by mail after 1937 aren't presently available, one must assume that there are letters that may have been lost, or that aren't yet available to the public. The likelihood of missing letters emerges from how they kept in touch for the rest of their lives. Gattorno states in an interview that he last saw Hemingway in 1955 at the Finca Vigía. When asked about the significance of Hemingway's death, Gattorno stated that it was "the same as if I had lost a brother" (Curtis 4).

The Hemingway-Gattorno correspondence is both interesting and provocative, as it suggests a much more flexible, transitory relationship between Cubans and Americans than can be imagined during the present time. One need look no further than *To Have and Have Not* (1937), which begins in Cuba and tells of the American protagonist Harry Morgan's travels back and forth between Havana and Miami, for an additional example of U.S.-Cuban contact. For Harry Morgan, relationships with Cubans—even when these relationships eventually lead to his demise—intrinsically define his Key West life. On his last trip to Cuba with a group of revolutionaries, Morgan engages in a conversation with the youngest boy in the group, who discusses the revolutionary cause:

We are the only true revolutionary party, the boy said. We want to do away with all the old politicians, with all the

American imperialism that strangles us, with the tyranny of the army. We want to start clean and give every man a chance. We want to end the slavery of the *guiajeros*, you know, the peasants, and divide the big sugar estates among the people that work them. (Hemingway *To Have and Have Not* 166)

Here, albeit in a much more bellicose and conflictive way, Hemingway accurately chronicles the constant engagement between Cuba and the United States that defined the times. The young revolutionary mentions U.S. imperialism, U.S.-controlled sugar companies, and the tyranny of a U.S.-supported army, all of which would eventually lead to Batista's taking control. One sees here how difficult it is to discuss Cuban life without engaging the United States.

Beyond Hemingway's correspondence with Gattorno or his fiction, Cuba may most lucidly figure in Hemingway's persona and work in that he achieved his greatest acclaim while he lived in Havana; in parallel form, Gattorno's greatest acclaim came while the Cuban artist was living in the U.S. Hemingway was in Cuba when he received the Nobel Prize in literature in 1954 for his most famous work, *The Old Man and the Sea*. Gattorno was in New York when he achieved his greatest success, when his mural *Waiting for Coffee* commissioned by the Bacardi Company for the Empire State Building in 1937; he had a solo exhibit at the Passedoit Gallery in New York in 1944, and American critics suggested that he surpassed Dalí in talent (Poole 38-46). Gattorno's success was, in all, the direct by-product of a Cuban-U.S. exchange that the letters reinforce and

reveal in a deep and profound history of shared identity. But even more importantly, the letters have revealed the power of Hemingway's role in the imaginative process of Gattorno's *Cubanismo*.

Hemingway and Gattorno at the Ernest Hemingway Collection: American Musings

Ernest Hemingway was a man of mementos, and therefore it appears fitting that Hemingway's friendship with Antonio Gattorno can be understood within and connected to the frameworks of the Hemingway Collection and the Finca Vigía, the two main repositories housing his items of value. Both the Hemingway Collection, which officially opened in 1980, and the Finca Vigía, which became a Hemingway museum under the auspices of the Cuban government in 1961, have revealed American and Cuban desire to transcend post-1959 political schisms, thereby harkening back to the type of pre-revolutionary relationship embodied by Hemingway and Gattorno.

It is important to note that the museums differ in how they communicate pre-revolutionary nostalgia. The Hemingway Collection manifests Americans' desire for peaceful negotiations between the two countries by exuding an environment of cheerful acquiescence and benevolence. The Finca Vigía's pre-revolutionary desire is conveyed, on the other hand, through Cubans' attempts to contain a pre-revolutionary past by recording and maintaining the Finca's static structure. The following two chapters describe both collections in an attempt to depict similar romantic, pre-revolutionary desire while noting differences in its expression.

The Hemingway Collection is an archival micro-library/museum

within a highly politicized macro-locus. Museums by default are profoundly political sites (Anderson 178), and the Hemingway Collection's positioning in an overt Cold War political space makes it immediately symbolic of something larger than the aesthetic materials it houses. The Hemingway Collection's existence within the JFK Library is rooted in a political relationship in and of itself: that of Mary Hemingway and Jacqueline Kennedy who, in 1968, together arranged for Hemingway's papers to be donated to the Kennedy Library ("The Ernest Hemingway Collection"). Mary Hemingway's donation was indeed an act of political gratitude. After Hemingway's death in 1961, the Kennedy Administration had worked with Castro's government to bring some of his materials back to the United States. The fusion of the Hemingway and Kennedy museums was articulated during the dedication of the Hemingway Room on July 18, 1980, when a national monument was constructed:

. . .celebrants experienced the excitement of the Kennedy White House cultural events. Director of the Library, Dan H. Fenn, addressed the guests: 'Tonight we unite art and politics under one roof as a tangible and permanent reminder of President Kennedy's conviction that neither is whole and true without the other.' ("The Ernest Hemingway Collection")

The peaceful unification of art and politics under one roof is provocative if not wholly surprising. This said, Dan Fenn's address seems to immediately suggest that the Hemingway Collection is defined by its ability to move beyond political schisms or Cold War politics. Hemingway's second son Patrick, who dedicated the Hemingway Collection on this day, seems to have understood what his father meant when he said that the

U.S. must "learn to live in peace and justice with all countries and all peoples in this world" (Raeburn xv).

The physical presence of the Hemingway Collection, as well as the way it is described, exudes this happy transcendence. The Cold War, the Bay of Pigs Invasion, and the Cuban Missile Crisis seem to have never occurred, and the fact that Hemingway lived in Cuba during a time of serious political upheaval is all but cast aside:

The Hemingway Room is a comfortable, 'library-like' research room for students of Hemingway. Architect I.M. Pei built the room into the Kennedy Library's archives tower, with a large picture window overlooking the islands of Boston Harbor. The small, unconventional space, used to utmost advantage, provides 3,000 linear feet of shelf space. There are open shelves for books and archives, boxes of papers; locked glass cases for showing and storing memorabilia; three generous researcher tables; animal trophies on the walls; and armchairs by a fireplace. In spite of its small space—only 500 square feet—and its use for storing reference materials, the room is one of the most attractive and functional in the Library. ("The Ernest Hemingway Collection")

A museum and a research space in one, the archive is almost eclectically laborious and touristy, despite the caveat on the website that it is not a tourist trap. George Plimpton's words about Ernest Hemingway's bedroom in Havana, where he conducted an interview in 1958, come to mind. Plimpton described a space much like the Collection for the interview, a place of work and play. He stated that the surface of Hemingway's desk was an "ordered clutter of papers and mementos" lined with "white painted bookcases from which books overflow to the floor, and are piled on top among old newspapers, bullfight journals, and stacks of

letters bound together by rubber bands." Plimpton describes another desk's "miscellany" as well:

. . .stacks of letters, a stuffed toy lion of the type sold in Broadway nighteries, small burlap bag full of carnivore teeth, shotgun shells, a shoehorn, wood carvings of lion, rhino, two zebras, and a wart-hog. . . and of course, books piled on the desk, beside tables, jamming the shelves in indiscriminate order...a look at their titles shows their variety. . . The room, however, for all the disorder sensed at first sight, indicates on inspection an owner who is basically neat but cannot bear to throw anything away-especially if sentimental value is attached. (Plimpton 219)

That the Hemingway Collection's happy, eclectic atmosphere is similar to descriptions of Hemingway's room in the Finca Vigía is interesting, suggesting an aesthetic connection between the two sites structurally through Hemingway's interior tastes. Mary Welsh Hemingway's description of two big desks on the ground floor of the Finca Vigía reinforces this connection, stating that different pieces of furniture were crammed with papers, grocery lists, charts of the Gulf Stream, letters, and thousands of photographs (Welsh Hemingway 506). Correspondingly, the Hemingway Collection's "Highlights" are listed as a scattered array of memorabilia, described as "ephemera," as well as photographs, family scrapbooks, *Pilar* fishing logs, bullfighting material, and twentieth century paintings ("The Ernest Hemingway Collection"). The notion that archival materials create a long-term link to how Hemingway is remembered is reinforced by this arrangement.²⁰

In addition, the items at the Hemingway Collection exude a certain intimacy with the observer: a calm, quaint mood defines the space. A lion head and full hide carpet from Hemingway's first safari in Africa in 1934, Waldo Pierce's and Antonio Gattorno's portraits of the writer done in 1929 and 1934 (respectively) in Key West, some medals won for service in World War I, and an animal trophy head on the wall are inches away.²¹ Notably, some relics in the room, such as the lion head and hide carpet, originally resided at the Finca Vigía.²² In addition, Gattorno's 1934 watercolor portrait of Hemingway depicts Papa as a young writer with a black beret and tie, his profile revealing a bright and lucid smile.²³ In these cases, the way that Hemingway designed or preferred to arrange his interiors as happy, eclectic loci connects the two museums across both political and geographical divides. The portrayal of "comfort" within a larger archive of J.F.K.-related Cold War memorabilia seems to be an attempt to shape Hemingway as a literary diplomat, or at best apolitical.

American behavior regarding the Finca Vigía, in particular within the last decade, has embodied this cheerful portrayal, defining access to Hemingway's Cuban home as a signal of better times to come. Although access to the Finca Vigía has been limited at best, the beginning of the twenty-first century has marked a change in the overall mood surrounding the Finca Vigía. During her trip there for the first time in 2002, Jenny Phillips, Max Perkins' granddaughter, was initially unable to look at Hemingway's letters to Perkins without the Cuban Minister of Culture's

consent. Jenny and her husband Frank then returned to Boston and met with the JFK Library, at which point Frank stated that it had become very clear to them that "this really was a political issue" (H. Hemingway 113). After working with Massachusetts congressman Jim McGovern and taking a trip to Cuba again, the Cuban Ministry of Culture, the Cuban National Heritage Council, and the Phillips—along with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at the helm—came to an agreement in 2002. American conservators would be allowed to work with their Cuban counterparts to "repair and preserve," as well as scan and microfilm the Finca papers into an electronic copy for the JFK Library (H. Hemingway 113). At the time, Gladys Rodríguez-Ferrero, one of the project's coordinators, stated that "Politics is not important. . . We are working to preserve a legacy which belongs to both peoples. So we can work together" (Voss). At the formal ceremony to announce the collaborative effort, Jim McGovern concurred, stating that "the Cuban and the American people have been kept apart for far too long by politics, rhetoric, and mistrust. I have a passion for tearing down those unnecessary walls and for building a new relationship based on communication, exchange, trust and mutual respect" (H. Hemingway 116). Fidel Castro attended the ceremony and signed the agreement allowing American conservators to work with their Cuban counterparts on the Finca Vigía restoration project. In what could be described as an unprecedented move, Castro stated that he hoped that all attendees at the ceremony could "write the story together as [Hemingway] may have

written it himself" (H. Hemingway 124). Castro's desires for the Finca have been consummated within the last nine years since the signing of the accord. What was originally the Hemingway Preservation Foundation is now the Finca Vigía Foundation, a non-profit organization that after the Cuba-U.S. agreement in 2002 commenced a project with the National Trust for Historic Preservation to help with restoration efforts.²⁴ In June of 2008, the first document conservation phase was completed, and more than 3,000 documents were conserved and scanned, after which copies were sent to the United States for digitization. Less than two years later, in January 2010 the Finca Vigía Foundation signed a second three-year accord with the Consejo Nacional de Patrimonio in Cuba to formalize the document conservation efforts between both groups going forward ("The Finca Vigía Foundation"). The Finca Vigía Foundation's efforts to work collaboratively with Cuba regard Hemingway's home in Cuba as a surviving link between the two countries that harkens back to pre-revolutionary Cuba. An op-ed article written in June 2009 for the *Boston Globe* by Jenny Phillips, Max Perkins granddaughter, and Bob Vila (both are co-chairs of the 2010 Finca Vigía Foundation's Board of Directors) tout this romanticized vision of what Hemingway represents diplomatically:

Hemingway's memory has done what no political leader on either side of the Florida Straits was able to achieve: It has created a joint working group of Cubans and Americans sanctioned by both governments to preserve Hemingway's home, a timeless, literary shrine on the outskirts of Havana. The focus is purely cultural and collaborative, and carefully sidesteps any political landmines. This work has not been easy. The Bush administration, which placed the most restrictive policies ever on the American embargo, nearly shut

the project down. The Cubans, who have kept the Hemingway home as a museum, had to overcome their long-held fears of North American exploitation. . .(Phillips “Better Relations Through Hemingway”)

Here Phillips suggests that Hemingway has continued to symbolize the ability to transcend revolutionary politics and bridge the two countries. The collaborative efforts in Hemingway’s memory reinforce his figural representation of transcendent diplomacy. The fruits of these new developments have resulted in much easier access to the Finca Vigía than before. When Hillary Justice went to research the music collection at the Finca in 2005, she noted that “accessibility is no longer quite as restricted as it has been,” stating that “we now can restore to audibility one more of the many silences that descended when a revolution exiled him from his own home” (Justice 100). The Obama administration’s decision in January 2011 to restore embargo exemptions for Americans traveling for religious, humanitarian, and academic purposes should propel those changes further for scholars like Justice: “More academic and research travel, meanwhile, will mean increased contact between U.S. academic communities and the new generation of students and faculty in Cuba” (Lopez-Levy). The American response to these changes is manifest in Jenny Phillips’ description of the first moment of permissible access upon her arrival at the Finca Vigía after lengthy negotiations with the Cuban government:

The wooden door slid open with a creak and a groan. We picked our way down the steep steps and bent to avoid hitting our heads on the low ceiling. After a year of delicate

negotiations, we were inside the basement of Ernest Hemingway's Cuban villa, Finca Vigia. This dank, low room, dug out of the underside of the guest house, contains thousands of Hemingway's last remaining unexamined papers, letters, personal photographs, and manuscript documents. The Cubans are immensely proud of their efforts to preserve Hemingway's legacy, which has always served as a potentially strong cultural bond between the American and Cuban peoples. But the U.S. embargo of Cuba, the Bay of Pigs invasion, and the years of Cold War relations had kept the materials-and his 9,000 book, library-out of the reach of American scholars. Relations between the Cuban curators of the documents and the North American academics and scholars who had over the years sought these materials had become strained. Now, a trust has been forged. A unique joint Cuban/American cultural project has been launched. As part of that, we were about to see what was in the boxes and files in the basement, a treasure trove that has been out of sight and inaccessible for decades. The moment was replete with suspense. (Phillips 11)

In all, the Hemingway Collection and American responses regarding greater access to the Finca Vigía are defined by their romanticized view of U.S.-Cuban relations. U.S. citizens writing about both the actual archive and recent oral performances about the Hemingway home in Cuba present Hemingway as a uniting force between the two nations, whether by the comfort exuded by a museum housed in a Cold War space or in Finca Vigía as a place that has united the two countries.

Collecting Hemingway in the Contemporary Cuban Imagination:
Remembering the Finca Vigía

The Hemingway Collection's pleasant interior design and recent expressions of hope for the future regarding the Finca Vigía present Hemingway as a literary diplomat with the ability to transcend political schisms. Cuba's response to Hemingway since 1959 has been quite different from the U.S. response. For Cubans, Hemingway need not symbolize progress or some sort of future alliance at all—at least not yet. Instead, Cubans are much more interested in “re-collecting” and repeating the past that Hemingway represented to them, and for this reason, they are just as invested in remembering him than Americans are in forging ahead with restoration and conservation projects.

Cubans remember Hemingway in two distinct ways. First, they demonstrate a desire to painstakingly “re-collect” him by ensuring that all of his things at the Finca Vigía remain where they were when Hemingway left in mid-1960 due to burgeoning revolutionary tension. Much of this re-collection manifests itself in meticulously inventorying the things currently found there. Second, they remember Hemingway via oral expressions recorded in memoirs and other literary forms that chronicle those memories. In all, post-revolutionary Hemingway memory allows Cubans to imagine a happier transatlantic, unified Cuba, when the greater connections their compatriot Gattorno enjoyed were possible. In all, for

Cubans Hemingway's memory catalyzes a performative genealogy, to use Diana Taylor's term, which retraces and (re)members pre-revolutionary Cuban life and actualizes memory of greater co-existence in real time.²⁵ For Cubans, Hemingway and the Finca Vigía are placed within a discourse of Cuba as a nation and provide a means by which to analyze how Cuba has changed. For this reason, Hemingway's life in Cuba between 1939-1960 and his departure from Cuba in 1960—due to his growing concerns about the political state of affairs—signify a loss of Hemingway and Cuba at the same time. For this reason, Hemingway's love for Cuba during pre-revolutionary times becomes all the more important. Remembering Papa Hemingway is commensurate with remembering Cuba, and for this reason Cubans delight in the ability to memorialize him as they do.

An understanding of what the Finca Vigía symbolizes for Cubans requires briefly tracing its overall history. Located in San Francisco de Paula, a small village roughly 15 km southeast of central Havana, the Finca Vigía was built in 1888 when Cuba was still a Spanish colony. Hemingway began renting it in 1939 with his third wife Martha Gellhorn, and he purchased the home a year later in December 1940 (Villareal 26). Hemingway lived there for more than twenty years, leaving in mid-1960, a year before he committed suicide in Idaho. As a result of the politically unstable climate that defined Hemingway's departure, he did not have the time to box up and bring all of his items with him, leaving the home

virtually intact. After Hemingway's death in 1961, Mary Hemingway returned and shipped what she could from Havana to Tampa via shrimp boat, but there was no way that she could bring the entire home with her. As a result, much of the Finca Vigía's contents from 1960 remain in Cuba at the home. The Finca Vigía Foundation describes the amount of miscellany still there as quite astounding:

. . .the home, located 12 miles outside Havana, Cuba, is filled with original furniture, artwork, china, fishing rods, animal trophies, guns, typewriters, and other objects collected by the author and his wives. Closets contain clothing, jewelry, and personal memorabilia. Of special importance is the author's 9,000 book library – approximately 20% with writing in the margins, several thousand irreplaceable letters and telegrams, more than 2,000 photographs, scrapbooks, manuscripts, and galley proofs. The 12 acre property contains the author's beloved fishing boat, *Pilar*, in dry dock, swimming pool with cabanas, a small baseball field where Hemingway pitched countless innings with his sons and children from the village of San Francisco de Paula, and groves of almond, mango, and avocado trees. ("The Finca Vigía Foundation")

As evidenced, the Finca Vigía is a treasure trove of Hemingway's material culture, and perhaps the superfluous amount of things he had there give Cubans all the more reason to spend as much time as they do talking about the possessions that connect to a time before the rupture of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States.

Longing for pre-1959 Cuba is primarily unveiled by an interest in the Hemingway object, essentially a way of clinging to the inter-American relationship that Hemingway and Gattorno's letters casually affirmed. Michael Cole's phrase that "he who controls the present controls the past"

may splendidly dissect this point (Middleton vii). As Alan Radley attests in “Artefacts, Memory, and a Sense of the Past,” not only are commonplace objects inextricably tied up with memory, but an individual’s possessions show that “objects are used to establish a link with the past which helps to sustain identity, and that this increases as individuals become older” (Middleton 47). Perhaps one can supplant the word “individuals” here with “experiences,” in this case, pre-revolutionary experiences. For Cubans, sustaining a cohesive identity can only occur by remembering a time when they had more of one. As a way of sustaining pre-revolutionary experiences, Cubans’ have maintained a static focus on preservation, hence late Finca Vigía curator Gladys Rodríguez Ferrero’s statement that the Museum is “intent on restoring and preserving the buildings, their contents, and the surrounding landscape. . .as accurately and faithfully as possible”(Rodríguez Ferro “Museo Finca Vigía Celebrates” 19).

Rodríguez Ferrero’s commentary yields a miniature example of Cuba’s overall interest in the objects currently at the Finca Vigía. This interest has become a significant cultural fetish, with the metonymic objects permitting access to the body-made-object that Hemingway represents in the Cuban imagination.²⁶ As a result of the development of this cultural fetish over time, many items have become national souvenirs—cultural collectors’ items—that form the collection that now stands at the home and serves as an extended larger souvenir of Hemingway’s more than twenty years living there. In this way, the sense of the past Hemingway’s items

evoke allows for continuity with what has gone before (Middleton 51), principally a pre-Castro past. The objects' stasis signifies a continuation of this mythical cultural order, and for this reason, the Hemingway objects at the Finca Vigía connote an interesting paradoxical double entendre. They have withstood the test of Castro's revolutionary government through glass windows and are also relatively inaccessible to tourists who wish to see them more than from afar. The Finca Vigía materials are held in suspended time, a time that feels incredibly far away. This recognition of the remote—in this case the melancholy of the lost Hemingway and the lost Cuba—presents Hemingway's objects as souvenirs that recall and remember this lost Cuba. In this case, Susan Stewart's definition of the souvenir might be most appropriate:

The double function of the souvenir is to authenticate a past or otherwise remote experience and, at the same time, to discredit the present. The present is either too impersonal, too looming, or too alienating [in this case, too painful] compared to the intimate and direct experience of contact which the souvenir has as its referent. This referent is authenticity. What lies between here and there is oblivion, a void marking a radical separation between past and present. (Stewart 139)

Viewing Hemingway's objects as souvenirs is thus quite convenient because it allows Cubans to deny the "radical separation between past and present" that literally occurred after Castro's revolution. These Hemingway souvenirs then express a need to maintain a pacific stasis of

inter-American bonding, a desire expressed in many of Gattorno's needy letters and fond memories.

For this reason, Cubans are alternately obsessed with preserving and holding on to objects that are fragile and constantly in a state of slippage by recording them with the eyes of miniaturists. As Norberto Fuentes so bluntly declares in the first chapter of his memoir *Hemingway in Cuba*, "Today only the objects remain. . . frozen in time" (Fuentes 19). As a text that embodies the need to both memorialize and record the contents of the Finca Vigía, *Hemingway in Cuba* is both a memoir and a compilation that offers a reflective account of Hemingway's time in Cuba. Published in 1984, it presents a post-revolution response to Hemingway. One of the text's appendices faithfully lists all of the objects in the museum by room. Although the appendix is quite long, an example is provided here as a sampling of this cataloguing and its intended effect. Please note that this is not the full description of the Venetian Room:

Venetian Room: On the wall beside the beds, from left to right; two Venetian landscapes; a small oil painting of the Bridge of the Sighs, Venice; a view of Havana as seen from Finca Vigía by a British artist; a bullfight scene signed by Cane; a "Portrait of Papa" by Oscar Villareal, brother of René, from San Francisco de Paula; a piece of the ceiba root taken from under the floor and placed on top of the cupboard.

The same wall, underneath the above: metal containers holding about 200 transparencies taken by Mary in Venice, France, Africa and Egypt; a small projector and a large one.

There is a bench from the Floridita bar and on it a roll of old maps and music, presents from a Venetian friend; a lamp and books on a night table.

A serving cart that holds books, magazines, and galleys from books that other authors sent him for his comments. He bought the serving cart in the winter of '50-'51. He meant to use it to transport

hot dishes for the evening meal from the kitchen to the room when he wanted to dine informally. This plan was quickly rejected, inasmuch as trays are much easier to manage. There is a rush screen painted white. (Fuentes 442)

It is interesting to note the importance of listing and recording the objects here and occasionally telling stories that relate to them, such as in the last paragraph of this passage.

Another recent example of meticulous recording presents itself in an article entitled "Museo Finca Vigía Celebrates its 45th Birthday," by Gladys Rodríguez Ferrero. Cuban curator from 1980 to 1997, Ferrero reveals a similar attachment to object, noting that "Cuba keeps [Hemingway's] memory alive" by preserving the Finca Vigía as "a cultural and historical treasure of international standing" (16). She, like Fuentes, goes on to describe the interior of the home with meticulous detail, noting a Braille edition of *The Old Man and the Sea*, a nineteenth-century mirror bought in a Venetian antique shop, a small Spanish tambourine, eighteenth-century candlesticks from the altar of a church in Extremadura, Spain, and three Pre-Columbian Incan vessels (20-22). In a memoir entitled *Hemingway's Cuban Son: Reflections on the Writer by his Longtime Majordomo*, Hemingway's butler René Villareal, tells his son Raúl stories that further reveal the Cuban obsession with Hemingway's things, including not only those at the Finca Vigía, but also at his home in San Francisco de Paula, stating that ". . . just a few blocks from the Finca, Papa Hemingway was present—in photographs, books, and letters" (Villareal viii).²⁷ Later, René Villareal describes walking through the home

in 1996 during a visit from the United States. Much of his return to Cuba as an exile interlaces with his description of a return to Hemingway, stating that "even in exile, I always considered Cuba my home" (Villareal 1). Here Finca Vigía and the things within it embody that sense of a return to home. Notably, Villareal describes it as his "other home" and notes the space meticulously in the following passage:

In the Venetian Room, the guest room, Raúl photographed me and my brothers standing under the portrait of Papa Hemingway that my younger brother, Oscar, had painted in the late 1940s. It had been many years since the three of us stood inside this house together. We also took pictures under the massive buffalo trophy on the wall. . . I was glad the government had kept things as I left them. They still had Hemingway's yacht, the *Pilar*, on display by the pool, his typewriter and reading glasses in his bedroom, and the hunting trophies throughout the house. (9-10)

Interestingly, like with Rodríguez-Ferrero, one notes the importance of an absolute stasis of the Finca Vigía in the text above. Keeping the objects exactly as they were is privileged over all else. Villareal's narrative continues to echo those of Fuentes and Rodríguez-Ferrero in its focus on recognizable things he finds in the home after more than thirty years since the Cuban Revolution. He notes the deer heads, "both shot in Sun Valley," the large table and chairs designed by Mary and "built by Pancho, the Spanish carpenter, out of precious Cuban mahogany," as well as a Philippine matting that Hemingway bought in China (Villareal 14-15). The textual stories and the things described maintain a memory of Cuba and

America in abeyance, revealing that Cubans, like famous British book collector and manuscript collector Sir Thomas Phillips, have become consummate collectors, displaying a rich inventory in their attempts to cling to certainty during a time of exile and incredible political instability between two Cubas at odds with one another for five decades.²⁸ The anxiety regarding a past that seems to be otherwise inaccessible is the crux of Cuba's "collective" memory of Hemingway and perhaps also sheds light on Cuba's ambiguous beginnings as a republic in 1902, a fact that lends itself to Román de la Campa's assertion that Cuba's history has been one of a country "incapable of sustaining political stability," also referred to as the syndrome of "the late colony and the weak republic" (64, 74). In this sense, collectively remembering Hemingway is an attempt at forging and delineating national sovereignty and control in the present and future. (Less importantly, a collective memory of Hemingway is also a way to actively maintain a discourse with the United States.) If remembering Hemingway is the "putting together of a claim about past states of affairs by means of a framework of shared cultural understanding" (Middleton 46), then it can be argued that the objects within the Finca reclaim an alignment, a past life together, a previous Cuban and Cuban-American rumba that is made real by a material display. Hemingway's material display effectively documents the existence of a very different Cuba.

The desire for this very different Cuba is also expressed through

nostalgic memories that are associated with the Finca. Cuban memoirs curiously shed light on the longing for a unified sense of nation, not only via their desire for stasis of the objects in the home, but their desire for "the way things were" and their sadness regarding what has happened to Cuba since then. For example, Rene Villareal notes that while standing on the grounds of the Finca, "enjoying the scent of orchid trees, hibiscus, and jasmin trumpets" brought back happy times of his life alongside "Papa Hemingway," it also incited "the bitterness over why I left" (Villareal 10). He proceeds to state that he resigned from his position as administrator and director of the Ernest Hemingway Museum in 1968 after being accosted as a result of "shying away" from joining any one political group. Briefly after his resignation, Villareal was sent to work "two hard years of labor cutting sugar cane in the fields in the province of Camaguey" (Villareal 11). Later, Villareal "got out," but his stinging memories of political impasses and subsequent exile markedly contrast the balmy, warm memories of the Hemingway home in his narrative. Villareal's last chapter entitled "Expulsion from Paradise" narrates the story of leaving home in 1972 and making his way eventually to the United States in 1974 after a brief stay in Spain (Villareal 153-154). These expulsive moments of exile differ significantly from Gattorno's free and unrestricted travel in the 1930s—which coincidentally involved a trip to Spain—thereby revealing that the art and the correspondence exchange that occurred between Gattorno and Hemingway took place during a much more peaceful climate

than that which would follow. As a result, it is useful to observe the emotionally distraught, nostalgic, and wholly possessive aesthetic-political climate of the Finca Vigía. The need to hold onto Hemingway's objects and the almost obsessive descriptions of the materials he had there before his death are the result of a desire to return to a pre-1959 Cuba, when the polarizing two Cubas, Havana and Miami, had not yet engaged in incendiary political battles. The Hemingway-Gattorno relationship and Hemingway's residence in Cuba reject this dichotomy and offer a point of reference regarding the changes that the revolution incited after Hemingway's departure.

In addition to what the nostalgic memories show about the Cuban trajectory, one cannot responsibly discuss Hemingway's material culture in Cuba without simply acknowledging Hemingway's importance to Cuba as a person. In addition to the pre-Castro Cuba they recollect, Hemingway's souvenirs are significant for Cubans because they chronicle the story of an American who loved Cuba and may have even privately—and certainly rather quietly—supported Cuba's revolution.²⁹ In this way, Gattorno's affection is not isolated to either time or place, instead connecting to Cuban oral performances that occurred many years after Hemingway's departure for the United States. Local folklore from San Francisco de Paula, the town where Hemingway lived, abounds with oral repertoire-like performances celebrating Hemingway's presence there. Norberto Fuentes describes local tributes that were held when Hemingway won the

Nobel Prize in 1954. Ceremonies began with the Cuban national anthem, and when someone asked why they didn't play the American anthem as well, he was told in all seriousness that "Hemingway had become a Cuban citizen" (Fuentes 29). After the national anthem, the Cubans performed a cha-cha-cha entitled "Viva Hemingway," a *guaracha* without a title, and then finally, a musical number played to the tune of La Guantamera:

He got the Nobel Prize
Because he is a writing tiger.
He makes us see
The moments he has lived.
The panthers of Zambeze
Trembled before him.
His book seems to say
that the old man was Hemingway
but the sea was of Hatuey.
He deserves the prize he won.
He likes the strong winds
on the decks of El Pilar.
And at night he talks
to the jungle and the river.
He loves this land of ours,
And loves our ocean.
He likes to shake the hand
Of our humble people
And enjoys the daiquiri,
Healthful, delicious, and Cuban! (Fuentes 30)

Later on after this musical tribute, the organizer of the event, Fernando Campoamor, stated, "Hemingway, Cuba loves you like a mother" (Fuentes 30).

It thus perhaps wasn't a coincidence that Gabriel García Márquez—a writer who has expressed his support for Fidel Castro in the past—used the word *nuestro* when describing Hemingway for his introduction to

Norberto Fuentes' *Hemingway in Cuba* (Fuentes 7). The use of the possessive alludes to García Márquez's comprehension of Hemingway's own transculturation. The materials at the *Finca Vigía* indeed memorialize a man who, almost a year after the triumph of the Cuban revolution, yelled in perfect Spanish (while at Havana's airport during a short interview with Argentine newspaperman Rodolfo Walsh), "We will win! We Cubans will win!" adding right after that in English, "I'm not a Yankee, you know" (Fuentes 13). In addition, in Ketchum, Idaho, Hemingway stated to reporters that he believed in the historical necessity of the Cuban revolution and its long-range aims. Upon his return to Cuba on March 29, 1959, Hemingway was greeted as a hero to the Cuban people and was presented with a Cuban flag (Villareal 129-130). Interestingly, Hemingway's memory has had the incredible ability to be both pre-revolutionary while documenting, as seen above, a revolutionary moment in Cuba at the same time.

As a result, it should come as no surprise that Cubans would revere Hemingway as a symbol of inter-America. His attitude toward *Cubanismo* itself, in particular his valorization of Cuba's nationhood, as well as his respect for Cuba's repertoire and José Martí's vision of Cuba, was no more apparent than during the last years of his life, when he made a pilgrimage to the Virgin of Cobre, to which he dedicated his Nobel Prize. Hemingway's dedication of his prize to what has widely been recognized as a syncretic figure is significantly tied to his appreciation of Cuban

transculturation. The Virgin of Cobre, "is not an exclusively Catholic figure; she also represents a goddess in Santería, the Afro-Caribbean faith. The Virgin is syncretized with Oshun, the goddess of womanly love, marriage, and rivers. . Hemingway was certainly aware of Oshun's spirit" (Herlihy 33). Hemingway's regard and respect for *Cubanismo* can also be viewed in the way that he regarded the ceiba tree in front of the Finca. The ceiba, a tree found in many of the Cuban *Vanguardia* paintings, recalls a history of pre-Columbian Mesoamerican cultures, in particular the Maya peoples, who often incorporated it within their artwork. The ceiba tree has also been described by Cubans as "El Arbol de Paz," indicating the place where the Spanish army surrendered to the United States in 1898 (Walker). In addition, in the religion of Santería, the ceiba tree is the home of the Orishas, or gods. Not only was the city of Havana built around one of the trees, but Cuban culture often involves leaving offerings to ceiba trees to appease the Orishas (H. Hemingway 106). Hemingway's obsession with the ceiba tree that grew outside of his home at the Finca reveals his incorporation of Cuban culture and Cuba's past into the framework of his own identity. When one of the tree's roots was creating a problem for the inhabitants of the house by lifting the floor in its search for water, Hemingway "gave strict orders that nothing be done to the root, in accordance with his belief that plants and trees should grow without restraint" (Fuentes 53). When Hemingway's wife Mary had the gardener cut the root of the tree while he was in Havana, Hemingway arrived home

early to find the gardener following orders, after which he pulled one of his Remington guns out of the closet and began shooting into the air, forcing the gardener to jump out of the window and drop the root halfway through the garden as he looked for a way to escape. Interestingly, after this, Hemingway forced Mary to pay tribute to the ceiba tree and ask for special forgiveness every morning. The ceiba root, as Fuentes explains, is still placed "like a trophy" over the door of Hemingway's Venetian Room (Fuentes 54). Hemingway's conservation of the ceiba tree reveals his overall response to humans' disregard for the natural world, but it also documents his growing cultural tropism and expatriation. María Valdes Fernandez, Head of the Cultural Extension Department on Hemingway Research, has recorded Hemingway's clear understanding and possible practice of Afro-Cuban Santería, one of the unofficial religions of Cuba. There are apparently two dozen religious relics from Africa and the Afro-Cuban religion of Santería left in the house, and Hemingway—in addition to the ceiba root—also had sticks associated with the Santería god, Changó, in his home (H. Hemingway 107-108). Finally, Hemingway's appreciation of Cuba transcended its artistry. Hemingway was also fully aware of and interested in Cuban writers, as evidenced by Gladys Rodriguez Ferrero's description of Hemingway's library:

It should be recognized that in his library at the Finca Vigía the work of Cuban authors is present, a way of doing justice to the Hemingway that many still don't know well. Hemingway always showed his faith in these writers' friendship: "the Cuban writers Enrique Serpa, Fernando G. Campoamor, and Carlos Montenegro gained the generosity, loyalty, and camaraderie of the great writer."

He shared special moments of his life with them: literary tastes, similarities in terms of theme, and fishing aboard the *Pilar*. Serpa's works still remain in Ernest's library at the Finca, some first editions and others dedicated to the American writer. *Noche de fiesta*, *Contrabando*, *La Trampa*, *Norteamericana en Guerra*, and *Presencia de España* are only some of them. (Rodríguez Ferrero "Siempre tuve suerte escribiendo en Cuba" [my translation])

Although the relationship between Hemingway and Cuban writers has not been studied yet effectively in the United States, Rodríguez Ferrero's commentary reinforces its importance and records Hemingway's pervasive engagement with Cuban culture and literature.

Hemingway's interest in all things Cuban makes him a particularly important locus for Cubans themselves, while Antonio Gattorno, one of these Cubans, provides a stepping stone for the Hemingway-Cuba narrative. Gattorno's letters of aesthetic angst, filled with desire and longing, hope for future success, and reverence of Papa Hemingway, all connect to a much broader repertoire of Hemingway *Cubanismo*. Whether one recalls Hemingway's items or memoirs about him (or both), Antonio Gattorno's memories and letters unite with a pre-revolutionary discourse that has been maintained over time and commemorated in part by Hemingway memories as articulated by Cuba.

Conclusion

Only when we begin to look at the history of the Americas as a hemisphere, and when we begin to analyze the real and rhetorical, often hostile, battles between the United States and what Martí called “Nuestra América”—“Our America”—can we begin to perceive what the literatures of the Americas have in common. —José David Saldívar (Pérez Firmat *Do the Americas Have a Common Literature?* 64)

Ernest Hemingway and Antonio Gattorno’s relationship provides an ideal literary conduit through which to study America as a hemisphere, simply because both individuals fully acknowledged Saldívar’s argument.³⁰ After analyzing their relationship as a stepping stone for larger discussions of both Cuba-U.S. and Cuba-Cuban-American relations, the importance of studying Hemingway’s relationships with Cubans becomes all the more obvious. The Hemingway-Gattorno narrative has revealed that Hemingway has the potential to incite discussions of the United States and Cuba, if not simply Cuba. Perhaps this is because Hemingway understood the interconnectedness of the Americas as a whole, which is why he traveled so willingly between Key West and Cuba, spoke Spanish fluently, and finally made his way to Cuba to live in the late 1930s, where he would reside until only a few years before his death in 1961. Not only did Hemingway place his “American” fiction in Cuba, such as novels *To Have and Have Not* (1937), *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952), and *Islands in the Stream* (1970), but he lived and wrote there, had a wide range of Cuban friends from all walks of life, and most importantly, seemed to understand the complexity of American identity that made his traversals

not only possible, but integral in shaping his identity as a modern American writer.

It is now becoming more and more plausible to imagine Hemingway's America, a world in which red-tape-free, unrestricted travel between Cuba and the United States existed. It is an America that has essentially always existed, in particular in Cuba, where transatlantic identity has been the default setting for centuries. Despite the fact that over the past fifty years the relationship between Cuba and the United States has been characterized by constant tension, Hemingway reminds us that we can and probably should speak about the two countries in their most organic forms. As Benítez-Rojo so wisely states, Cuba's natural identity is ostensibly chaotic. Whether it was the emergence of *criollismo*, the development of Santería, or what Fernando Ortíz describes as the "Cuban counterpoint," the meta-archipelago of which Cuba is an integral part has no boundary or center. The cataloguing we see Cubans do so well is something that Cuba has been doing forever. As Benítez-Rojo notes, the "singular" feature of the meta-archipelago is immediately productive:

. . . the plantation machines turned out mercantile capitalism, industrial capitalism, African underdevelopment, Caribbean population; they produced imperialism, wars, colonial blocs, rebellions, repressions, sugar islands, runaway slave settlements, air and naval bases, revolutions of all sorts, and even a 'free associated state' next to an unfree socialist state. (Benítez-Rojo 9)

As Benítez-Rojo so aptly illustrates, Cuba has never been a place that has responded well to restrictions, in particular because it began as a

boundless frontier of social, economic, and political possibilities. Likewise, the Hemingway-Gattorno relationship reminds us too about the United States' natural positioning within the Antilles regarding its continuous history of imperialist behavior and how it responds when that behavior is questioned. Fidel Castro's disavowal of that pattern, to some extent at least, seems to be as strange as not being able to order a Cuban *ajjaco* at the Floridita Bar, for this preclusion questions U.S. territorial interests in the Antilles over time.

The appeal of engaging Hemingway and Cuba is hence its revelation of these organic American contexts and comprehension of the Americas as a whole. Understanding Hemingway's America does involve asking Cuba for its opinion, as I've attempted to do here. Hemingway developed a different type of relationship with pre-Castro Cuba, one that clearly questioned imperialist attitudes. For this reason, he chose not to align himself with corrupt political scheming, and this translated into his contempt of the Batista regime and its pandering with U.S. corporations.³¹ As a result of this Cuban engagement, Hemingway formed close friendships with Cubans perhaps more than any other American literary figure. Some of these friendships have been well documented, such as those with René Villareal, Gregorio Fuentes, and Carlos Gutiérrez, who have been familiar faces in Hemingway studies for quite some time. However, friendships with less conspicuous figures, in particular those which flourished before his permanent residence on the island, have been

largely ignored. This relative dearth of scholarship led to my interest in Hemingway's relationship with Cuban artist Antonio Gattorno when I discovered its existence at the Hemingway Collection. The investigation's final results show that Hemingway and Gattorno were both organically American and Cuban and yet transcended their established roles at times as well, the result being that they indeed had more in common than not. Both were starving modern artists who were essentially "perdidos" in their native homelands and had abandoned ties to geographical space by defying limitations of cultural identity. Both seemed to understand themselves as artists who were larger than what their peculiar Cuban and U.S. nationhood dictated. And, finally, both were travelers, migratory birds who found their prestige as artists abroad. This process of aesthetic transculturation paved the way for a "parent trap" switch—Gattorno's move to the United States in 1939, and Hemingway's move to Cuba that same year, making the cultural exchange complete. Placing the Hemingway-Gattorno friendship at the forefront thereby elucidates a New World conversation that triumphed in part because both individuals understood their roles as American and Cuban and knew when and how to transcend those roles.

Hemingway's role as American was to do what Americans have always done: be a patron, find a frontier, and settle there. As Angel Capellán notes, the circumstances that spurred Hemingway through the

process of self-exile and foreign acculturation was similar to that which drove American Romantic and realist writers of the nineteenth century:

To be sure, the basic stamina of Hemingway's personality and oeuvre are definitely American. To his advantage, he did not attempt to eradicate what was basically American in himself but looked instead for those foreign cultures that were most congenial to his circumstances. Far more open-minded and receptive to other peoples of vastly different backgrounds than is often believed, he actively sought in other countries what was lacking in native America. (2)

Because Hemingway was skeptical of the industrial capitalism and modern technological civilization in which he found himself, he sought the same unspoiled nature that the Romantics lauded and found it in Cuba. Perhaps this explains why Hemingway wanted to rid Cuba, a place he considered "the last good country," of American imperialism, which during the time he lived there was corrupting and spoiling Cuba's landscape with its capitalist corporations.

Gattorno's role as Cuban also signified an act of faith to his Cuban identity over time. He was a shape-shifter, a trickster, a transatlantic being guided by history. He traveled by sea to new ports of entry—New York and Boston— to find himself in the very land that had guided him there in the first place. However, Gattorno fashioned his life according to Franklinian ideals of the rise to power, even when he wasn't always entirely successful, and much of his life chronicles a quintessential rags to riches American tale. In all, amidst their distinct cultural pretexts, Hemingway and Gattorno both understood their identities within a larger American order.

For both, America was all-encompassing, vast, and far-reaching. At times, like the Gulf Stream, Hemingway chose to define his American identity like Benítez-Rojo's Cuban. He was willing to craft relationships with a North-South orientation that had the potential to redefine the Americas as contact zones of transculturation and "bailando pegaíto," as the Bad Street Boys would say (Pérez Firmat *Do the Americas Have a Common Literature?* 1). It is indeed Hemingway's "close dancing" and performative subversion with Gattorno in miniature that permits a view of the Americas in a hemispheric context. This view will not only yield a rich field of inquiry for inter-American studies at the present and for the future, but the inter-American approach to understanding our hemisphere may permit Cuba's two nations, Havana and Miami, to find a way to heal.

The Hemingway-Gattorno relationship thus sheds light on American and Cuban connections, connections that were always present more than not. As Louis A. Pérez notes, "Much of what has served as the logic of the Cuban-U.S. relationship during the last century, and certainly during much of the last forty years, has been derived and defined out of a complex set of interactions" (Pérez *Cuba and the United States:Ties* 271). Both the literal Hemingway-Gattorno 1930s discourse and the post-revolutionary Hemingway nostalgia reveal that the connection between the United States and Cuba has been a historical constant. As Louis A. Pérez attests, relations between Cuba and the United States "seemed destined from the beginning to be close and complicated" (Pérez *Cuba and the*

United States: Ties xv). Even before either country was a separate and sovereign nation, circumstances had created geographic, social, and economic needs that only the other could satisfy, a neediness conveyed by Gattorno's affectionate letters and consummated by Hemingway's twenty years in Cuba. However, in post-revolutionary Cuba, desiring Hemingway has a distinct morphology, or is at least an addendum. It is truly a need for both Cubas, and most importantly, for Cuba-America. Notably, Hemingway has been a vehicle for this articulation, both on paper and aloud.

It is not a coincidence that Ernest Hemingway, a man whose life was polyvalent, miscellaneous, and superlatively migratory, would have contributed, even after his death, to the exposure of constant U.S.-Cuban exchange. The Hemingway Collection and Finca Vigía, however distinct in their ambiances, have produced materials that have inexorably yielded to the inevitable power of Hemingway's things to tell the stories of the United States and Cuba. In this context, Hemingway and Antonio Gattorno, two modern artists, have evidenced the relentless interconnectedness of the Pearl of the Caribbean and the United States.

Notes

¹ Hemingway's September 1934 *Cahiers d'Art*, IX detailed his purchase of Joan Miró's *The Farm* while also attesting to its importance; excerpts from his text on *The Farm* would appear three months later in the catalogue for an exhibit of Miró's paintings at the Pierre Matisse Gallery in New York. In November 1934, he introduced Spanish artist Luis Quintanilla's catalogue for a show he had organized with the Pierre Matisse Gallery in New York, a text that was reprinted in *Esquire* in February 1935. And in 1935, he wrote the introduction for Cuban modern painter Antonio Gattorno's monograph *Gattorno*, a biographical sketch of the young painter he had officially met the year before (Hermann 34).

² Thomas Hermann notes that the summer of 1934 was perhaps the most fortuitous moment for Gattorno to have met Hemingway. As he states, at that point Hemingway was heavily involved in organizing a show for Luis Quintanilla, stating that the summer of 1934 "was in many respects Hemingway's most active time as a supporter of artists" (30).

³ It is interesting to note here that much of Hemingway's relationships to artists began with his other "sports," in this case his Gulf Stream fishing trips.

⁴ Idealized portrayals of the Morro as a symbol of American conquest are alluded to in Louis A. Pérez's *Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos*. Pérez states that at one point during a ten-day vacation on the island in 1924, mayor of Wilkes-Barre Nicolas Hart stated that the United States had taken this "American child" by the hand and from El Morro, taken off his hat and thanked God that he was American "for the good she has done for the suffering people of other lands," proceeding to state even more offensively that "Cuba is our child. I wish her to be the lovable child she is" (Pérez 207). This suggests that the Morro has always been a romantic and imperialist symbol for the United States; it thus may be less of a coincidence that Hemingway referred to Gattorno as his son during their conversations together.

⁵ Note here that I am referring to eight letters that are currently available at the Hemingway Collection at the JFK Library in Boston, Massachusetts. It is not yet certain if any letters Hemingway received from or had planned on sending to Gattorno are at the Finca Vigía; as stated by curator Susan Wrynn in a January 3rd, 2011 email, "The majority of the correspondence from the Finca Vigía has been scanned and sent to the JFK[,] but the

project is not complete and we may receive additional correspondence over the next several years.” This information suggests that the amount of letters sent back and forth between Hemingway and Gattorno may move beyond eight in the future. This does not, of course, include the many letters that may have been discarded by Mary before her departure from Cuba with Hemingway’s items in 1961, or letters from Hemingway to Gattorno that failed to make their way to the Hemingway Collection in Boston. I have been able to confirm that the painting of Hemingway was donated to the JFK library by Antonio Gattorno’s wife Isabel with his letters to Hemingway before her death. Tracking the letters’ whereabouts before arriving at the JFK is still a work in progress that requires greater research at the Hemingway Collection.

⁶ Mary describes some of the materials she brought with her from the Cuban home in her memoir, *How it Was* (1976). She discusses the arduous task of receiving permission to take André Masson, Paul Klee, and Juan Gris paintings with her back to the United States after Ernest’s death in perhaps a foreshadowing of the challenges regarding material culture at the Finca Vigía that would continue to define the second half of the twentieth century (506-507).

⁷ Hemingway’s wish to destroy his letters is a provocative subject, in particular because he was so dedicated to preserving and collecting so much of what he owned.

⁸ The current work by Sandra Spanier and Robert Trogdon on a new volume of all of Hemingway’s surviving letters will certainly enrich Baker’s work, while at the same time reinforcing letters as the bastion of Hemingway studies.

⁹ Hemingway received and sent dozens of letters to writers in Cuba, the result of having befriended many individuals there, where he spent roughly one third of his life. The John F. Kennedy Library alone houses letters written by individuals such as Cuban artist Luis Quintanilla, famous Cuban poet Nicolas Guillen, Cuban fisherman friend Carlos Gutiérrez and—specifically for the purpose of this piece—Cuban painter Antonio Gattorno.

¹⁰ This involvement is primarily evidenced by his status as a war correspondent and his volunteering to serve in Spain during the Spanish Civil War in a conflict that had profound implications for the Caribbean and for Europe.

¹¹ Gattorno stated in a 1961 interview with the *Sunday Standard-Times* that they first met officially in 1932, when Hemingway was staying at the *Hotel Ambos Mundos* in Havana (Curtis 4).

¹² The Cuban *guajiro* has been the symbol of Cuba's rural poor, many of whom worked in tobacco or sugar cane fields in the Pinar del Río Province or other mountainous ranges in Cuba. In *Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life*, Jon Lee Anderson describes the social alienation from the upper classes the *guajiros* had to endure, describing the way in which private landowners abused them and the gross economic deprivation they suffered at the hands of Cuba's elite (Anderson 214).

¹³ It is important to note that Gattorno's artwork at the time revealed a steadfast dedication to what Ramón Vázquez Díaz described as "between tradition and modernity." In fact, the Cuban avant-grade movement was much more connected to a revival of classicism than a following of experiment. Marcelo Pogolotti, one of Cuba's pioneers, dismissed the European avant-garde as a "brilliant set of tricks." As a result, Vázquez Díaz's testament that Cuba's innovators succeeded in keeping their distance from external stimuli and established their own parameters for Cuban modernist art is highly accurate (114).

¹⁴ Gattorno's situation is not entirely different from that of Pilar in Cristina Garcia's *Dreaming in Cuban*, who is also caught in a transatlantic interstice of sorts. She comments at one point when realizing that she has to return to New York that the U.S. is where she belongs, but she is quick to reject certainty, stating the following: "not *instead* of here, but *more* than here" (Garcia 236).

¹⁵ Carlos Baker is not skeptical enough when describing Hemingway as an artist who believed that true art should transcend the politics of his times. Indeed, Hemingway stated in "Old Newsman Writes" in the fall of 1934 that in striving to be an artist, the writer should take the sidelines when it came to espousing political causes and economics because, "a country finally erodes and the dust blows away" (Baker *The Writer as Artist* 197); however, one should note that this piece was written for *Esquire*, the epitome of a men's magazine at the time. I do not trust that Hemingway's literary bravado here is as reliable as his monologue for Gattorno or his gritty realist depiction of the Great Depression's havoc in *To Have and Have Not* (1937).

¹⁶ It is also important to note Hemingway as a product of the age of consumerism that Russell Belk describes in *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (1995). Belk argues that the development of consumer society has led to humans' desire to acquire, savor, and possess material objects (1). The fact that Hemingway did have a formidable art collection is very well documented by Thomas Hermann's valuable text entitled *Quite a Little About Painters: Art and Artists in Hemingway's Life and Work* (1997).

Hemingway was clearly influenced by the new department stores and *Wunderkammern* of the early twentieth century. His packrat tendencies are described by his wife Mary in her memoir *How It Was* upon her arrival at the Finca Vigía to retrieve items to take back with her to the United States in 1961: "In twenty-two years of accumulating correspondence and printed materials, Ernest, who never discarded anything but magazine wrappers and three-year-old newspapers, had managed to stuff to its brim almost every drawer of the Finca" (506). Hemingway was certainly a consumer collector, which is revealed by his interest in aesthetic (and synthetic) reproduction.

¹⁷ One can connect any of Gattorno's performances of desire, either written or verbal, to the contemporary Cuban desire for Hemingway conveyed by similar written and oral performances of attachment. Interestingly, Gattorno's repertoire is quite similar in tone when compared to the contemporary repository constructed by Cubans.

¹⁸ This is actually quite similar to protagonist Larita's feelings in *Hello, Hemingway*. Larita's constant neediness regarding Hemingway is actually the most pronounced when he is not there. It is also made worse by the fact that she lives down the street from Hemingway, and yet when she goes to visit him, he is traveling. At the end, after her realization that she will not make it to the United States and therefore that her dreams are shattered, she visits the house again. This time he is there and her loss is even worsened by his presence. He waves at her from afar, a possible revelation that he has arrived to late to help her.

¹⁹ Gattorno's desire for America could be the by-product of not only his desire for money, but for what Antonio Benítez-Rojo describes as a utopian project of co-existence that developed out of an inherent *mestizaje* in Cuba that always pervaded and defined Cuban identity. Gattorno's quest need not, therefore, be viewed only as a financial one. In fact, it could also be viewed in light of Benítez-Rojo's description of Cubans' desire for Cuban-American integration and their resultant adherence to a Caribbean project that seeks a massive, mestizo nation (Benítez-Rojo 125)

²⁰ For Diana Taylor, archival memory transcends time and space: "investigators can go back to reexamine an ancient manuscript, letters find their addresses through time and place, and computer discs at times cough up lost files with the right software (19). The ability to transfix and situate Hemingway seems to also signify erasing 1959-the present.

²¹ At the Finca Vigía, most materials are viewed through the glass windows of Hemingway's home.

²² I have not yet been able to track the year during which the lion head and hide carpet made its way over from the Finca Vigía to the Hemingway Collection; however, I will assume that it arrived in the 1980s because its previous presence at the Finca is confirmed by a photograph by well-known Cuban photographer Enrique de la Uz in Norberto Fuentes' *Hemingway in Cuba*, which was published in 1984. This information, combined with Enrique de la Uz's birthdate of 1944, suggests that the item was not brought over by Mary Hemingway in 1961 when she first transported materials over from Cuba. This is an inquiry that will require further investigation at the JFK Library, which at this point in time is beyond the scope of this piece.

²³ Especially in this context, the painting seems to be a queer object of alternate hemisphere, a visual that tells the story of a Cuban-American aesthetic exchange in the 1930s between two modern writers while bemoaning what occurred in the decades that followed, culminating in the severance of diplomatic relations in 1960.

²⁴ Note that Senator John McCain had a great deal to do with the permission granted by the Bush Administration to reverse a decision that initially denied the Finca Vigía Foundation a license to work in Cuba. After McCain intervened—the result of his strong identification with Robert Jordan in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (as he put it)—the State Department gave the Finca Vigía Foundation the license (Phillips "Better Relations Through Hemingway"). It is also important to note that these licenses rely heavily on what type of a U.S. government is in charge. The U.S. Treasury Department made things quite difficult for the Finca Vigía Foundation despite McCain's intervention after the 2002 joint-project was approved by both governments. The U.S. Treasury only gave a two-year permit to U.S. conservationists in February 2005, and two years later, when the Finca Vigía Foundation applied for another license, the U.S. Treasury appeared unwilling to grant it. Candice Pratsch, Treasury Department spokesperson for the Office of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, attested at that point that "Under the Cuba sanctions program, we are prohibited from licensing anything that promotes tourism in Cuba" (Adams).

²⁵ In *The Archive and the Repertoire* (2003), Diana Taylor describes performance genealogies by referring to Joseph Roach's definition. Roach defines a performance genealogy as coterminous with memory and history. I am not as interested in the movement aspect of Roach's definition regarding how images and words can retain performance. It is

clear that here that Hemingway and his objects ignite a Cuban oral performativity .

²⁶ In *On Longing*, Susan Stewart argues that the memory of a body can indeed be replaced by the memory of an object. Hemingway has perhaps become the very “abstraction of image and not a presentation of any lived possibility” that she refers to, hence the phrase “body-made-object” to define his current commodification at the Finca more aptly.

²⁷ Raúl Villareal’s description of the connection between Hemingway’s items of value and his home may be accurately connected to Alan Radley’s discussion of cultural memory. Indeed, Radley states that by considering memory as a cultural endeavor, we may recognize Villareal’s reliance on this ordered material world more effectively. For, as Radley states, “Cultural considerations enable use to recognize that this reliance on an ordered material world extends to other people’s houses and to other social environments which are specially designed to facilitate not only what should be remembered. . .but how this remembering should be conducted”(Middleton 47).

²⁸ Sir Thomas Phillips was a nineteenth century antiquary and book collector who in many ways focused his collecting around the same things that Cubans describing the *Finca* have emphasized. For example, Phillips’ great collection was not limited to books and manuscripts alone. As stated in *Collecting: An Unruly Passion* by Werner Muensterberger, for more than fifty years, “and on the most grandiose scale,” Sir Thomas Phillips “acquired virtually every Babylonian cylinder seal, deed, document, codex, genealogical chart, autograph letter, cartulary and map, besides many master drawings he could lay his hands on, in addition to the tens of thousands of manuscripts and books”(74).

²⁹ Mary Hemingway’s formal donation of the *Finca Vigía* to the Cuban people in 1961 reinforces to what extent others were aware of this inexorable bond.

³⁰ Although this is outside the scope of my paper, it is perhaps important to note that Hemingway spent time in Peru and Bimini as well, in addition to as his twenty-plus years in Cuba.

³¹ According to Michael Atkinson, “Hemingway knew Batista was a soulless bastard whose political and business enemies often disappeared and were assumed murdered”(Atkinson 178). Another account of his feelings is even more polarizing, stating that he despised Batista and was “pro-Castro by default” (Boon 47). This seems accurate, for after Batista fled for the Dominican Republic with what Hemingway estimated to be

eight hundred million dollars and fifty suitcases packed with valuables, he wrote in a letter to friend Gianfranco Ivancich, "So passes the son of a whore" (Brasch 43). He later went on to say that "Rebellion against Batista is the first revolution in Cuba which should be regarded as a genuine revolution" (Brasch 47). Hemingway's clear abhorrence of Batista politics suggests that he was surely more skeptical of U.S. policy in Cuba than many have given him credit for. But his reasoning transcended political tenets and imperialist concerns. Hemingway despised Batista because he loved the Cuban people and observed their economic and social plights with sympathy, in particular given his exposure to the United States' own fair share of economic disaster during the stock market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression.

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