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THE SUN ALSO RISES:

THE MAKING OF A FIRST NOVEL

by

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INTRODUCTION

Why another study of The Sun Also Rises? Volumes of critical commentary on Hemingway already number in the hundreds, articles in the thousands. Approaches have been so many and so various that there would seem to be neither room nor need for further interpretation. The Sun Also Rises has received a generous share of this critical attention.[1] There is scarcely a character in the book, and no major one, whose actions and motivations have not been thoroughly analyzed. Theme and meaning have been frequently disputed, and even stray references and phrases in the body of the novel have been traced to their points of origin; discrepancies in the time sequence have been illustrated; minute details have been clarified. Yet many questions remain.

Some of these can be answered through the use of materials recently made available. Early in 1975 the Hemingway papers were opened to the public; among them are the manuscripts and revisions of his fiction. These manuscripts offer the opportunity to study Hemingway's work from first draft to completion, and shed light on his methods of composition. Much can be learned about The Sun Also Rises by examining the manuscripts of the first draft together with the revisions: inconsistencies of characterization or motivation and of relationships between the characters,

[1] William White, ed., Studies in The Sun Also Rises (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1969). A collection of early reviews and criticism.

Bertram Sarason, Hemingway and The Sun Set (Washington, D.C.: NCR Microcard Editions, 1972). A detailed but flawed study of the factual background of the novel.

and questions of the status of individual characters can be clarified. And even the author's attitudes toward his characters, his original intention and later emendation, can all be determined by studying the various drafts. And, as this is a first novel, a study of its composition provides special insight into Hemingway's developing craftsmanship.

The first novel is a practical exercise; writing it gives the writer a chance to learn, on a larger scale than in the short story, what works and what does not. In the course of composition he will establish modes of creation of character and scene which will probably become characteristic modes and will be carried to later novels. In the first novel he will experiment with techniques which he will develop and refine in later work.

The pattern which Hemingway established in The Sun Also Rises was one he followed throughout the composition of all of his fiction. The Sun Also Rises, like the rest of Hemingway's novels, is an autobiographical novel, a combination of materials drawn from the events of Hemingway's life with other episodes which were wholly the product of his imagination. In other ways, too, the novel is typical of Hemingway's later work: It introduces the hallmark figure of Hemingway's fiction, the code hero, and presents the first extended version of the Hemingway code. But The Sun Also Rises is an early and outstanding success. In the opinion of most critics, Hemingway did not again equal this achievement in fiction. Here the manuscript reveals what the published text cannot; the seeds of mawkish romantic fantasy which mar so much of Hemingway's later fiction were originally part of The Sun Also Rises as well, but were deleted when he revised the manuscript. Thus the

relationship of this first novel to the rest of Hemingway's fiction is especially important, as it embodies both the promise and the disappointment of his work.

For further help in the study of Hemingway's first novel, we have by good fortune a companion piece to The Sun Also Rises, written more than thirty years after the novel itself. A Moveable Feast, subtitled "Sketches of the Author's Life in Paris in the Twenties," is a demonstrably inaccurate and often vindictive account of Hemingway's life in Paris from 1921-1926. Yet, despite its deficiencies -- its errors of omission (which Hemingway acknowledged in the preface), and commission (which he did not) -- it is Hemingway's only extended first-hand account of those years. The unwritten plot of A Moveable Feast is, as George Wickes has noted, "a success story culminating in the publication of The Sun Also Rises." He goes on, "And the implicit theme is innocence before the fall."[2] The book provides, then, documentation of the setting of parts of The Sun Also Rises, and suggests some of the ideas and individuals important to Hemingway's development. But as it is not wholly reliable as to facts, evidence from other sources must be sought.

Fortunately these too exist. Other expatriates who lived in Paris in the 1920s have written their memoirs of the period. Two who were prototypes of characters in The Sun Also Rises have written their own versions of the events on which the book is based, versions more or less conditioned by their reaction to Hemingway's treatment of them.

[2]"Sketches of the Author's Life in Paris in the Twenties," in Hemingway in Our Time, ed. Richard Astro and Jackson J. Benson (Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 1974), p. 27.

The longest account of the "true story" of The Sun Also Rises is in The Way It Was, by Harold Loeb, the model for Robert Cohn.[3] Another account of an episode in The Sun Also Rises is to be found in By A Stroke of Luck, Donald Ogden Stewart's autobiography. Stewart, one of the sources of Bill Gorton, provides a short account of a trip he made to Pamplona in 1925, and confirms the identities of the others with whom he made the trip.[4] A sentimental biography of Hadley Richardson, Hemingway's first wife, substantiates the novel's factual basis.[5]

Other accounts by individuals less intimately associated with the events on which The Sun Also Rises is based, provide supplementary information about the originals of still other characters. This Must Be The Place, the memoir of a Paris barman, identifies Duff Twysden and Pat Guthrie as the models for Brett Ashley and Mike Campbell.[6] In Being Geniuses Together, Robert McAlmon, an artist and friend who was Hemingway's first publisher, wrote another account of the period.[7] Additional information can be found in Sylvia Beach's Shakespeare and Company,[8] in Exiles,[9] Michael J. Arlen's biography of his parents, and in Morley Callaghan's That Summer In Paris.[10] There are still others.

[3](New York: Criterion Books, 1959).

[4](New York: Paddington Press, 1975).

[5]Alice Hunt Sokoloff, Hadley, The First Mrs. Hemingway (New York: Dodd Mead, 1973).

[6]James Charters, This Must Be The Place: Memoirs of Montparnasse (London: Herbert Joseph, 1934).

[7](Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968).

[8](New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1956).

[9](New York: Farrar Strasss and Giroux, 1970).

[10](New York: Coward McCann, 1962).

In compiling Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story Carlos Baker had access to a wide range of unpublished materials, including certain small notebooks in which Hemingway jotted down thoughts for stories and portions of dialogue.[11] Much of this material is now among the Hemingway papers, but is not open for inspection. Because he has had access to these sources, and because he has no vested personal interest in the events which form the basis for The Sun Also Rises, Baker's biography is the most authoritative source for information about Hemingway and the people who served as prototypes for characters in the novel. It is an unbiased account of the facts, but does not provide an assessment of Hemingway's developing method and craft, or investigate his mode of turning fact into fiction.

Audre Hanneman has compiled the standard bibliography of Hemingway's work.[12] Additional bibliographical information was supplied by Hanneman in the Supplement to Ernest Hemingway: A Comprehensive Bibliography,[13] which was published in 1975 and comprises work by and about Hemingway published between 1966 and 1973.

After Hemingway's death his widow, Mary Welsh Hemingway, collected his unpublished papers and the manuscripts of his published works from the many bank vaults, file cabinets, boxes and back rooms of bars in which they had been stored over the years. She first requested Philip Young and Charles W. Mann to prepare an inventory of the papers. These authors note in the preface to The Hemingway Manuscripts: An Inventory,[14] that

[11](New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969).

[12]Ernest Hemingway: A Comprehensive Bibliography (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

[13](Princeton: Princeton University Press).

[14](University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1967).

their work was designed to be no more than a listing of the extant papers, and not a final descriptive catalogue. Mrs. Hemingway then sought a suitable repository for the papers. Persuaded that they would receive better care in a government-supported library than in one relying on private funds, she decided, after conferring with members of the Kennedy family, to donate the papers to the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library. The Hemingway papers are now part of the permanent collection of the library, which is, at this writing, in the Federal Records Center in Waltham, Massachusetts. Construction plans for the permanent library, which will be built on the campus of the University of Massachusetts in the Columbia Point section of Boston, provide for a special room for the papers and an exhibition area for the photographs and memorabilia which comprise a significant portion of the collection.

In 1972 Mrs. Hemingway began to deposit materials in the library, and on January 1, 1975 the collection of manuscripts of the published works and the photograph collection were opened. The Fitzgerald-Hemingway correspondence was made publically available on March 12, 1975, the O'Hara-Hemingway correspondence on May 12, 1975. The manuscripts of the short stories, newspaper and magazine articles and some fragmentary pieces were opened on August 19, 1975 and the manuscript of Fitzgerald's unsigned and undated critique of The Sun Also Rises on December 2, 1975. The number of opened items in the collection now totals 851, and, at this writing, the correspondence is being readied for inspection.

In that portion of the collection which includes the manuscripts of published works, titles are arranged alphabetically. Each title is described briefly in total, and individual entries under each title are

described in some detail. Each entry has been assigned an identification number, which, in this section, run from 1 - 222. The sequence of this ordering is the rough equivalent of that in The Hemingway Manuscripts, though the numbers assigned to the individual items do not correspond. For this study I have been given permission to work with materials pertinent to the composition of in our time, In Our Time, The Sun Also Rises and Winner Take Nothing, to cite from the handwritten papers and to photocopy portions of the various manuscripts.[15]

The folders containing materials relevant to the composition of The Sun Also Rises, numbered 193 - 202, include the complete draft of the novel in Hemingway's hand, on thirty-four loose numbered pages (Item 193) and in seven small notebooks (Item 194, 1 - 6). (Photocopied pages have been numbered by the archivist for ease of reference, but were not numbered by Hemingway.) Besides the manuscript of the novel there are among these items: a draft of a letter by Hadley Hemingway

15Access to the materials in the collection, and all literary property rights are controlled by Mary Hemingway. Applications for use of the materials are made to the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and are sent by Jo August, the archivist of the Hemingway materials, to Mrs. Hemingway for her approval. She reviews each application and prospective statement of purpose and decides whether the applicant may use the papers, and whether he may quote from them and have copies made of them. Restrictions on photocopying provide that no one be permitted to copy so great a number of pages that the entire manuscript might be duplicated. Use of the materials is governed by the further stipulation that photocopies, rather than the original manuscripts, be furnished to researchers. Though the handwritten manuscripts have been restored, and the acid content of the papers (which causes yellowing and disintegration) greatly reduced, the original manuscripts are both fragile and valuable. When it is absolutely necessary to examine the original, the researcher is permitted to do so in the presence of the archivist.

to a newspaper editor (in Notebook VI) and Hemingway's notes on the composition of the novel (in Notebook VII). Items 195 - 197 are fragments of two false starts and a varient beginning of Chapter VII. Item 198 is Hemingway's own typescript, beginning at Chapter XI, which starts, "The Ledoux - Kid Francis Fight." (Hemingway typescripts are distinguished by his distinctive spacing. He placed spaces before and after commas and periods.) There is also a typist's copy of this draft (Item 199). Items 200 - 201 are the typescript and carbon of the entire novel, including the fifteen-page discarded start. Item 202 is a copy of the galleys of the discarded start which originally formed the first two chapters of the book. It is on the basis of these materials, now open for the first time to more than a select few, that it is possible to undertake a study of the genesis of Hemingway's first novel. This study approaches The Sun Also Rises as a work in progress, subject to the author's revision and review. It is a study of process.

For the remainder of this discussion the term manuscript will be used to mean the handwritten draft, typescript to mean Hemingway's own typewritten copy, typist's copy to mean the typewritten copy prepared by someone other than Hemingway, galley to mean galley proofs. Final text refers to the authorized American edition of The Sun Also Rises, published by Charles Scribner, New York, 1926. All page quotations are from the Scribner Library Edition, which, Hanneman notes, has the same pagination as the 1953 uniform edition. With the exception of the correction of certain spelling errors, and the substitution of "the original scatalogical term on page 175/line 18 and on page 176/lines 13, 17,"[16]

[16]Hanneman, Ernest Hemingway, p. 19.

(balls for the word horns) the edition is identical to the original text.

It is probable that there was a working copy of The Sun Also Rises, a draft which no longer exists.[17] The hypothesis of a lost draft can be supported by careful examination of the original manuscript (not the photocopy) which shows that while Hemingway typically wrote in blue ink, many corrections were made in black ink. It seems reasonable to assume that these corrections were made some time after the actual date of composition. A reasonable step to take after making preliminary corrections would have been to type the manuscript. There is no such document among the Hemingway papers, but neither is there any evidence of the composition of certain parts of the novel.

One such segment is found in what is now a part of Chapter XII, when Jake and Bill relax and talk on the banks of the Irati River. There is no record of the composition of the conversation that fills pages 122 - 123. In manuscript there is a rambling monologue, six pages long, which was completely omitted from the final text. The change from monologue to dialogue appears in Hemingway's typescript, in the typist's copy and in the final text, but there is no manuscript in which the

[17] Mary Hemingway, "The Making of the Book," (N.Y. Times Book Review, May 10, 1964), pp. 26-27. Hemingway was untidy about his papers and stored them in unlikely places. Mrs. Hemingway wrote that no sooner had they arrived at the Ritz in Paris in November, 1956 when the luggage men came to their door carrying two dilapidated trunks which Hemingway had stored at the hotel before he went to Key West in 1927. He insisted that he remove the trunks, or they would throw them out. Upon opening them he discovered the notebooks and papers that became the basis for A Moveable Feast. And strong internal evidence links that book with the manuscripts of The Sun Also Rises.

dialogue was written. Since Hemingway generally wrote his first drafts by hand, and there is no extant fragment, either handwritten or typewritten, on which the new lines were composed, it seems probable that there was a working copy which no longer exists. Further, when Hemingway made his black-ink corrections of the manuscripts, the greatest number of changes were made in the dialogue, while descriptive portions were left largely untouched. It is unlikely that he could have composed the entire two-page section on the typewriter and not have found it necessary to make any corrections.

The fifteen-page discarded start, which will later be discussed in detail, provides even stronger proof for the lost draft hypothesis. There is no manuscript evidence for the composition of the first nine pages of that start. But Hemingway had difficulty beginning the novel. Extant are three discarded starts, and it is improbable that he would simply have written out another and sent it off to the typist.

It is likely, then, that there was an interim working copy of The Sun Also Rises, a copy which no longer exists. It is unfortunate that it is not available, for it would surely have provided additional insights into Hemingway's methods of composition, but its disappearance poses no insuperable difficulty to the study of the novel. The most critical document for the study of the process of the composition of The Sun Also Rises is the hastily handwritten manuscript. Writing at a speed too great for reflection, too intense for the tranquil recollection of emotion, Hemingway sat down a very uneven narrative. Some portions of it so perfectly suited his final conception of the work that

they were simply transferred from manuscript to text. Some were slightly revised, others changed radically. Significant portions of the story in manuscript were deleted from the final text. When the manuscript is studied alongside the final text, it is possible to analyze and categorize the types of changes which Hemingway made.

The first part of this study is an examination of the factual bases of The Sun Also Rises, of the correspondences and differences between the real-life models and fictional constructs which were, from the start, a part of the story, and of the gradual process of moving the characters still further into the fictional realm. It is a process of first appropriating the real identities, and then emending those identities to meet the needs of the fiction. The nature of the process of revision enabled Hemingway to impose specific outlooks, attitudes and characteristics. Each stage of the process will be carefully documented for each of the major characters. Minor characters too will be considered in the same manner.

Hemingway's use of fact was not confined to the creation of characters. The action of The Sun Also Rises is played before a backdrop of precisely observed and recorded physical detail and the accuracy of this insistently realistic description of setting will also be verified.

Both when he wrote the first draft, and when he revised the manuscript, Hemingway had to establish comfortable modes of narration and a definite direction for the story. Here too there are marked differences between manuscript and final text and the differences will be examined in detail.

The writing skills which Hemingway brought to the composition of The Sun Also Rises were ones which he had painstakingly developed and perfected. The style of the novel, often described as "pure Hemingway" is in fact, purest Hemingway. Detailed study of the manuscript and of secondary sources provides insight into the creation of that style. and confirms Hemingway's indebtedness to some models he acknowledged and some plausible ones he did not.

Primarily, Hemingway drew from his experience as a newspaper reporter. The fundamental lessons of composition which he learned as a cub reporter on the Kansas City Star were carried consistently into his prose fiction. And while, in his later years, Hemingway was enraged by attempts to link his work to the artistic theories of Gertrude Stein, internal evidence provided by the manuscript suggests that he deliberately incorporated some of her principles of style into his own work. He learned also from Sherwood Anderson, Ezra Pound and James Joyce.

The Sun Also Rises is the work of an expatriate, and is, as it might be expected to be, an international novel. The portraits of the American, English, French and Spanish characters in The Sun Also Rises are meant to serve as national portraits in miniature. The characters are as much types (the Spanish male, the American expatriate, the member of the British aristocracy) as they are individuals. They are intended to embody the traditional values and distinctive qualities of their respective nations. Yet another influence was made possible by milieu; Hemingway frequently declared that his precise descriptions of landscape were the result of his close study of the paintings of Paul Cézanne. These were paintings he had seen in museums and galleries in Paris. A careful analysis of his writing confirms that statement.

Much of the tension of The Sun Also Rises derives from the confrontation of two cultures, the Spanish, which, for Hemingway, is embodied in the ritual of the corrida, the pageantry and spectacle of the running of the bulls and the bullfight, and epitomizes tradition, honor, courage and male virtue, and the French which is cynical and weary, an accurate representation of the mood of the post-war generation.

The Sun Also Rises has long been recognized as a period classic, a novel which captured the spirit and mood of a generation. It is Hemingway's very successful exercise in structuring a variety of personal and creative experience in the writing of a first novel. This is a study of how the novel was written.

CHAPTER I

COMPOSITION

The published text of a novel presents a finished product to the reader. In print, the author is committed to plot and theme, to characterization and point of view. Manuscript study provides essential information about how a novel was composed; it deals with a novel as a work in progress, still open to the author's emendation; it provides essential insights into the author's methods of composition.

From notations on the manuscript material we learn that the thirty-four loose pages and seven notebooks which comprise the manuscript of The Sun Also Rises were written over a period of two months. On the cover of each notebook is the working title, "Fiesta -- A Novel,"[1] and the notebook number, as well as the author's name and address: Ernest M. Hemingway, 113 rue Notre Dame des Champs, Paris VI. Hemingway noted on the cover of each notebook, the dates on which he had begun and completed each one, as well as the different places in which he had worked. The thirty-four loose pages which precede the notebooks are not dated, but Baker reports that Hemingway told him he had started the novel on his birthday, July 21, 1925.[2] Book I is labelled Valencia, July 23 - August 3, (1925); book II, Valencia, August 3, Madrid, August 5 - 6, San Sebastian, August 8 - 9, Hendaye, August 10 - 12. Book III, Hendaye, August 12 - 17, then Paris, August 18 - 20.

[1] The book was published in England on June 9, 1927, under this title. Hanneman notes that the text is identical to that of the Scribner edition, except for the omission of the quotations from Gertrude Stein and Ecclesiastes.

[2] Baker, Hemingway: The Writer As Artist (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 75.

Book IV bears the Paris location, August 20 - 29. Hemingway did not record the date on which he began Book V, but notes having finished in Paris on September 9. Book VI was begun and apparently finished in Paris, September 9 the date of beginning, though the date of completion was not noted. The beginning of Book VII was also not recorded, though it is dated within, at the end of the manuscript, September 21, 1925.

Thus the first draft was completed in sixty-one days, a slightly longer period of time than the forty-eight day period Hemingway reported to Carlos Baker.[3] Almost twenty-five years after he wrote The Sun Also Rises, Hemingway wrote about writing it, "I knew nothing about writing a novel when I started it, and so wrote too fast and each day to the point of complete exhaustion. So the first draft was very bad....I had to rewrite it completely." [4]

All of Hemingway's biographers agree that he had a marked propensity to exaggeration. Though he made many changes in the manuscript before the novel was published, the first draft was not nearly so bad as he claimed.[5] What is so striking about this first draft of a first novel is that it so closely resembles the published work.

The intense pace at which Hemingway had worked when he wrote the first draft slackened only slightly in the next months. Between the end

[3]Baker, The Writer As Artist, p. 75

[4]A Farewell To Arms (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, preface to 1948 illus. ed.), p. viii.

[5]In The Writer as Artist, p. 76, Baker states that Hemingway wrote to Maxwell Perkins, his editor, that he had cut 40,000 words from the manuscript. The published text of the novel is some 90,000 words. A reasonable estimate of the amount of material Hemingway removed is 20,000 words.

of September, 1925 and April 24, 1926 when the completed typist's copy of The Sun Also Rises was sent off to Scribner's,[6] Hemingway revised the novel, and wrote another book, The Torrents of Spring. The evidence presented by the manuscripts suggests a possible time sequence for these activities: that Hemingway began to type the manuscript after he completed it, but then abandoned the work to give it a chance to jell. But he was not idle. In October, Liveright published In Our Time; in November, he wrote The Torrents of Spring. In December he moved on to Austria to ski and to begin the revisions of The Sun Also Rises on which he worked throughout the first three months of 1926, interrupted only by a trip to New York in February.[7]

Thus the first draft of The Sun Also Rises was composed in a period of intense and sustained inspiration. Revision was done at a more leisurely pace, a pace better suited to critical evaluation. Most of the changes which Hemingway made were editorial in nature; the core of the story remained rooted in fact. For fact is the foundation, not only of this first novel, but of all of Hemingway's fiction.

Hemingway's reliance on the details of his own experience to form the basis of his fiction is well known. Often his fiction was so entrenched in life that he did not bother to invent names for his characters when he first set down his stories. As Philip Young has noted, "His frequent practice was to use the real names of real people

[6] Baker, The Writer As Artist, p. 76.

[7] Baker, Life, pp. 158 - 159, 164.

in early drafts of fiction."[8] In his earliest work, he used the names of real people even in the final published text. Hemingway's sister Marcelline records that during the Christmas holidays of 1923, her brother returned to the family home in Oak Park, Illinois for a short visit, and gave her a copy of his first book, Three Stories and Ten Poems.

> The first story was called "Up in Michigan." How nice I thought. I read on a few pages. The two main characters of the story, a man and a woman had the same first names as two of our close family friends, a couple of whom we were particularly fond. The descriptions of them in the tale, especially of the man, fitted our friends so accurately that as I read on and realized that Ernest had put these kindly people into this vulgar, sordid tale he had invented, my stomach turned over. It wasn't just the story that affected me....It was Ernest's apparent lack of any decent consideration for the feelings of the people whose names and detailed descriptions he had used in the story that horrified me....I wondered how my brother could be sure these people he had used would not run across this story some time in the future and be humiliated and hurt beyond words.[9]

Hemingway took more than the names of his characters from real life. The fictional course he charted between In Our Time and Across the River and Into the Trees contained many details of his own experience. However, Hemingway was not a diarist; his fiction is more than a recording of events in which the names have been changed. Experience is not described sequentially, and there is a mixture of details and events experienced at different times in different places, and joined with imaginative elements. In an unpublished section of "Big Two-Hearted River" he wrote,

[8] Three Bags Full (New York: Harcourt, 1972), p. 72.

[9] Marcelline Hemingway Sanford, At The Hemingways (Boston: Little Brown, 1962), p. 216.

> The only writing hat was any good was what you made up, what you imagined, that made everything come true. Like when he wrote "My Old Man" he'd never seen a jockey killed and the next week George Parfrement was killed at that very jump. Everything good he'd ever written he'd made up. None of it had ever happened. That's what the family couldn't understand. They thought it was all experience. (Item 274, pp. 90 - 91)

While this is surely not an unusual definition of the process of composition, it is really the key to Hemingway's approach to the writing of fiction and merits further discussion. The statement is distinctive, first, because it shows Hemingway's limited conception of the term "made up." An episode that is "made up" could easily be construed as one wholly imagined, having no basis in fact, but a product of fantasy or reverie. Indeed, that is generally the accepted definition of "made up." To Hemingway, at least in this early stage of his career, "made up" meant a series of circumstances based on fact, but not subject to verification, that is, differing in degree from news reporting which was a series of facts which needed to be recounted in the precise order in which they had occurred, with close attention paid to time sequence, fact and place..

The method was one Hemingway had already established by the time he wrote the novel. In The Sun Also Rises, there are long and completely realistic descriptions of setting, there are characters much like people whom Hemingway knew, but there is then a gradual infusion of imagined material until the part that is "made up" comes to dominate the book. The way in which Hemingway "made up" the story "Indian Camp," which he

wrote in 1924[10] and which was published as Chapter I of In Our Time, perfectly illustrates this combination of fact and imagination. "Indian Camp" is Hemingway's whole method in miniature. The setting is realistic: the Hemingway family maintained a summer home at Walloon Lake in northern Michigan. Nick Adams's father is a doctor, as was Hemingway's. As he noted in the manuscript of "Big Two-Hearted River," Hemingway had "never seen an Indian woman having a baby" (Item 275, p. 91), but by the time he wrote "Indian Camp" he was an experienced reporter, and in the 1922 retreat of the Christian population of Thrace, which he had covered for the Toronto Star,[11] he had seen a woman in labor. He noted in the typescript of "Big Two-Hearted River," "He'd seen a woman have a baby on the road to Karagatch and tried to help her. That was the way it was." (Item 275, p. 19) When he wrote "Indian Camp," Hemingway took the episode on the road to Karagatch and transferred it to northern Michigan where young Nick Adams set off with his father and Uncle George to help an Indian woman in childbirth. The dramatic climax of the story, the suicide of the Indian husband who cannot bear his wife's screams, is fiction. It is this method of fusing fact and fiction into a cogent whole, of giving that whole a dramatic unity, that is the strength of Hemingway's technique. But the same point can be made over and over again for all of Hemingway's fiction. From start to finish he relied heavily on material drawn from life experience to form the basis of his stories.

[10]Baker, Life, p. 125.

[11]Ibid., p. 99.

And what he imagined made everything "come true." Here, as with the phrase "made up," there is a choice of remarkably childish words to describe a complex artistic process. It is impossible to escape the implications of the phrase "come true." In creating his fiction, Hemingway reworked reality, reordered his own experience. By doing so, he gained a degree of control over those events which he could never have achieved in real life. In fiction, he was able to resolve problems which escaped solution in life. He did this by consistently presenting an imagined conclusion to an actual problem. With the absolute power of a story teller to control the destinies of his characters, Hemingway time and again resolved situations of fictional conflict in the hero's favor. Always these stories are based to some degree on Hemingway's own life experience. Always the narrator (who is always to some degree based on Hemingway himself) successfully completes a task or brings some issue to its conclusion. Often, the results in fiction are quite different from those in fact. Hemingway consistently used his imagination to project an order in fiction, an order which he could not achieve in reality. The fictional reality, always under his control, always resolved to reflect positively on the hero, could make all his inner desires "come true." This is a typical aspect of Hemingway's fiction.

In The Sun Also Rises, this is an important part of the Jake-Brett relationship, and will be discussed fully in a later chapter. The love story between Frederick Henry and Catherine Barkley in A Farewell To Arms parallels to a point Hemingway's wartime romance with the nurse Agnes von Kurowsky. In real life, the nurse transferred her affections

to an Italian officer, and wrote to Hemingway of her new romance. The fictional Henry suffered no such rejection; his affair with Catherine Barkley is highly successful, and highly romanticized. Though he loses his beloved, much as Hemingway lost Miss von Kurowsky, he does so only after he has proven himself to be a hero. Catherine Barkley's death, and the death of the child leave him free to overcome his grief and set about living the rest of his life. Henry is left with some emotional scars, but at about the same point at which Hemingway found himself after he returned from the war. In fiction, he resolved to the credit of his hero a situation which paralleled one in his own life to which there had not been a successful resolution.

An even stranger reordering of reality can be found in Hemingway's last work, the posthumously published Islands in the Stream. In that novel, each of the three sons of the hero, Thomas Hudson, dies, and he effects a temporary reconcilliation with his first wife. Like Thomas Hudson, Hemingway had three sons, all of whom are still alive. As he grew older, he regretted increasingly that he had divorced Hadley, his first wife, and in A Moveable Feast, he tried to minimize his own responsibility for this action.[12] It is not unreasonable to suggest that in fiction Hemingway tried to make "come true" an eradication of the past, of the two sons who were the evidence of the second marraige, then even the treasured son of the first marriage, to restore the time of innocence, the time before the fall. This is the most extreme use

[12]"There is Never Any End to Paris," (New York: Scribner's, 1964), pp. 207 - 210.

of such imaginative projection in Hemingway's fiction, in an effort to set in order a reality which he could not otherwise control.

In The Sun Also Rises, Hemingway followed the pattern of composition which he had evolved in his early short stories; he started with events drawn from his own life experience and then interwove them with imagined material. He "made up" a story which was firmly rooted in fact; in the earliest pages of the first draft of the novel, he used the real names of real people.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE IN THE NARRATIVE

A good part of the original popularity of The Sun Also Rises has been laid to the fact that it was a roman à clef.

> Around Paris much of the pleasure in reading the novel lay in identifying those who had served as working models for the cast of characters. Nearly everyone one the Left Bank recognized Brett Ashley, Mike Campbell and Robert Cohn. A few saw that Braddocks and his wife were based on Ford Madox Ford and Stella Bowen. There was a good deal of ineffectual debate about the identity of Count Mippipopolous. Harold Stearns....was perfectly recognizable as Harvey Stone.[1]

To one reviewer, it was a succes de scandale, floated on vin ordinaire.[2]

The reactions of the persons thought to be the keys to the novel varied. Some were amused, others enormously hurt and embittered. For a time, "Paris gossip asserted that its title should have been Six Characters in Search of an Author -- With A Gun Apiece."[3] Carlos Baker suggests that Hemingway himself may have been responsible for some of the stories.

> He pretended, for example. to have heard a rumor that he had run off to Switzerland to avoid being murdered by various demented persons who thought they saw themselves in The Sun Also Rises. Harold Loeb, among others, was said to be out searching for him with a gun. Ernest's response, as he told it, was to send

[1]Baker, Life, p. 179.

[2]Robert Littell, New Republic 51 (August 10, 1927), p. 303.

[3]Baker, The Writer As Artist, p. 78.

> out word around the quarter that he could be found sitting outside Lipp's Brasserie between two and four on certain January afternoons. He took it as a sign of cowardice among his accusers that no bullets whistled.[4]

Harold Loeb was one of the first to confirm that Hemingway had based the novel on the events of life and filled it with characters modeled on people he knew. In The Way It Was, Loeb's autobiography which was published in 1959, he cites names, dates and places. His story corresponds to much of Hemingway's fictional scenario, though there are certain differences of fact. His brief idyll with a woman whom he calls Duff Twitchell closely parallels Robert Cohn's affair with Brett Ashley. Brett's companion, Mike Campbell, corresponds to Duff's companion, whom Loeb calls Pat Swazey. Harold Loeb had written a novel called Doodab which was published in 1925 by Liveright. He was then separating from his mistress, who was given the name Lilly Lubow in The Way It Was. In The Sun Also Rises, Robert Cohn, also a novelist, was separating from his mistress, Frances Clyne. In Loeb's account Hemingway is Jake Barnes, and either Donald Ogden Stewart or Bill Smith is Bill Gorton. Loeb never attempts to refute specific parts of the Hemingway novel; rather, he sets out his story to parallel the events of The Sun Also Rises. Specific differences between the two accounts will be discussed in subsequent chapters. The Way It Was presents the factual elements of the story from Loeb's point of view.

There are, however, several reasons to question Loeb's version of these facts. The first is one of accuracy. The names which Loeb

[4]Baker, Life, p. 181.

assigned to a number of the people about whom he wrote are different from those of Hemingway's originals used by Carlos Baker and others who have written about The Sun Also Rises. The woman whom Loeb calls Duff Twitchell was really, Baker says, Duff Twysden. Pat Swazey was really Pat Guthrie. Both had been dead for many years by the time Loeb wrote his account, and it is probable that he was aware of their deaths. He can be credited with delicacy in renaming the woman who was for three years his mistress, but since the names Pat and Duff are those of the original figures, and Twitchell so closely resembles Twysden, the question arises as to whether, in these instances, Loeb was being tactful, or merely wrong. And if there are inaccuracies of name, might there not also be inaccuracies of fact?

Loeb acknowledges, in The Way It Was, that by following Duff at Pamplona, and by forcing himself into situations in which he would best have been absent, he acted improperly.[5] But, he says, at no time did he act quite so badly as did Robert Cohn. But Loeb has made a basic error; he has assumed that Robert Cohn was intended to be a precise copy of himself. He has admitted that, in some externals, he resembles the fictional Cohn: he knew Hemingway in Paris and was his tennis partner, he had an affair with Duff Twysden, he was a member of the group that went to Pamplona in June 1925. Loeb felt that he had been betrayed by Hemingway, and in writing his autobiography he expended considerable energy to show that he had been wronged.

Loeb's efforts to redress an old, but still rankling, wrong have received recent support from Bertram Sarason. In compiling Hemingway

[5]Loeb, p. 296.

and the Sun Set, Sarason said that he had attempted "To apprise all those whose lives are the subject of comment in these pages that my purpose is to present the raw material out of which Hemingway fashioned his novel without neglecting emphasis on the raw deal that Hemingway gave most of the persons who became his fictions."[6] The book is a collection of interviews with the real-life prototypes of the characters in The Sun Also Rises, and of articles that they and others have written about the novel and each other. Many of the articles had already appeared in the Connecticut Review, a publication of the University of Connecticut, also edited by Sarason. For the book, the editor wrote a long introduction about the factual background of The Sun Also Rises. He provides a great deal of information about some of the characters, little about others, and considerable speculation about Hemingway's motives and methods. His basic contention is that Hemingway sinned by deviating from the facts and writing fiction, that he tampered with the truth and must be taken to task for his misguided efforts to restructure reality. "....I wanted to reveal how The Sun Also Rises fictionalized their biographies and failed to take into account some of the realities of their lives."[7] Sarason's desire to read The Sun Also Rises as history, and consequently to misread it, is clear from the first sentence. "In the summer of 1965 I discovered that the Robert Cohn of The Sun Also Rises lived less than a ten minute drive from my home. That was Harold Loeb and he cordially invited me to visit him."[8]

[6]Sarason, preface, p. x.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., p. 3.

Clearly, it is necessary to reiterate with some frequency that The Sun Also Rises is a work of fiction. While it is firmly grounded in fact, it is neither a diary nor an historical record. Nor does it presume to be one. A roman à clef may be an unkind form of fiction, but it is one well established. The point at issue is not Hemingway's lack of regard for the feelings of others, but rather, how he started with reality and tempered it imaginatively, how he transformed an excursion to Spain into a great vision of the spiritual catastrophe that was the result of the first World War.

The Sun Also Rises began as an account of the trip that Ernest and Hadley Hemingway made to Spain in June 1925 in the company of Duff Twysden, Pat Guthrie, Harold Loeb, Bill Smith and Donald Ogden Stewart. When Hemingway began to write in Valencia on July 21, he described real meetings and adventures, real passions and tensions. Hadley recalled the intensity with which he had worked and confirmed that the book was based in reality. Alice Hunt Sokoloff, her biographer, noted, "The whole recent Pamplona experience was simmering inside him and had to be written out."[9]

And when he began to write, he used the names of his friends in the manuscript. At the beginning there are Hem, Duff, Pat, Don and Harold, and even Hadley appears, though she quickly disappears as does Bill Smith. On the sixth page, the narrator describes the unheralded arrival in Pamplona of the American Ambassador and his two companions. When no one comes out to greet them, the narrator's friends urge him to do so.

[9]Sokoloff, p. 82.

> Duff said, "I say, that's a shabby way to treat an ambassador."
>
> Don said, "But he's only an American ambassador."
>
> Bill said, "They don't know that here though."
>
> "Go on Hem," Duff said. "You know him. Go out and say something to him."
>
> "Give him the keys of the city," Pat said.
>
> "Give him the key to my room," Don said.
>
> "Go on Hem, you really ought," Duff said.
>
> I did not want to go out. Still, after all, he was our Ambassador.
>
> "Go on," Hadley said. "Tell them to come and have a drink."
> (Item 193, pp. 7 - 8)

This exchange occurs just after the narrator has returned from his first meeting with the young bullfighter. This is the complete cast with the exception of Harold Loeb who, in a passage which coreesponds to one on page 176 of the final text, is called a writer.

On the basis of the manuscript evidence, and substantiated by Baker, [10] a list of the people who served as models for the characters in The Sun Also Rises can be provided.

MODEL	CHARACTER
Ernest Hemingway	Jake Barnes
Duff Twysden	Brett Ashley
Harold Loeb	Robert Cohn
Pat Guthrie	Mike Campbell
Donald Ogden Stewart/ Bill Smith	Bill Gorton
Cayetano Ordonnez (real name of Nino de la Palma)	Pedro Romero

[10] Baker, Life, p. 148.

Kathleen Cannell	Frances Clyne
Ford Madox Ford	Braddocks
Glenway Wescott	Robert Prentiss
Juanito Quintana	Juanito Montoya
Harold Stearns	Harvey Stone

However, Hemingway quickly began to distance himself from the real people, and to invent names for some of the characters. By July 23, when he began to write in the first of the notebooks, Harold Loeb had become Gerald Cohn. Just two pages further, the narrator is given the name Jake Barnes. Hemingway's use of the new names was not consistent. Sometimes he slipped and used instead the name of the real person of whom he was thinking. The one real name carried consistently through the manuscript is Duff's. Originally, she was given the last name "Anthony," though even this small detail had a real-life basis. Duff Twysden's son, by Sir Roger Thomas Twysden, was named Anthony.[11] Even when she is deeply involved in the portion of the story which is completely fictional, Duff is still called Duff. Evidently, renaming her presented a special problem. With other characters, the real name is crossed out and replaced with a fictional one. This never happens with Duff. A typewritten and heavily corrected sheet which precedes the handwritten manuscript suggests a number of names for her. These include Elizabeth Brett Murray, Elizabeth Neil Murray and Lady Doris. Her husband's name was changed from Henry Marlow to Robert Lambert to Robert Durham to Robert Ashley. Finally, Hemingway noted, "name generally used -- Brett Ashley."

[11]Sarason, p. 34.

Another name which Hemingway appeared to write spontaneously whenever he included the character in a scene was Pat. But here, after the first few chapters, he was quick to cross out the name and substitute Mike for it. Less frequently, the actual name Don appears. It was not until Hemingway revised the manuscript that Gerald Cohn's first name was changed to Robert.

The one important character in the novel whose fictional identity Hemingway never confused, whom he never mistakenly called by another name, is Jake Barnes. Once he has been given a fictional name he keeps it, and never again is the narrator called Hem or Ernie.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERS

It is important to distinguish between calling a character by a fictional name and accepting him as a fictional construct. For assigning a new name to the prototype does not establish the character as a product of the author's imagination, and indeed, there is no single point to be found at which Hemingway consistently assigned fictional names to his characters. With each there was an effort to rename the prototype as part of the process of recasting him into fictional form. To differing degrees, Hemingway was unable to do this -- the original kept intruding into the story. But the use of the real name should not be construed to mean that Hemingway had inserted the prototype, unchanged, into his story. Rather it serves as another illustration of Hemingway's use of projection. Just as he typically arranged elements of his own experience, and changed circumstance into fiction, and frequently used the fictional medium to resolve a conflict in his own favor, so he changed his characters, now the imaginary extensions of people he knew, to meet the needs of his story. Characters so devised come to differ from their prototypes, but the author may still remember them as real, and may occasionally call them by name.

Well before he composed any of the climactic scenes of the novel, Hemingway had stabilized the fictional identities of the major characters. The general rule which can be applied is that the more important a role the character plays in the story, the more he differs from his prototype, and, conversely, the more incidental the character is to the progress of

the narrative, the more he is like his prototype. The most minor characters seem not to have been fictionalized at all.

The characters of The Sun Also Rises live on the surface. Except for occasional night scenes in which Jake Barnes is introspective, there is no analysis of thought or of interior process. The characters lack reflective quality and exist only in action. As narrator, Jake Barnes makes it clear that he will not attempt to convey the inner lives of the characters. "As for how Brett Ashley felt and how the things that happened to her affected her, I am not a psychologist, I only put down what she did and what she said. You will have to figure that out by yourselves." (Item 194 - 6, p. 57)

JAKE BARNES

The most completely fictionalized of the characters is Jake Barnes, yet he maintains much in common with his author. The Hemingway-Barnes relationship is subtle and complex. While little effort has been made to disassociate other characters from the known backgrounds of their prototypes, Hemingway tried hard to provide Barnes with an identity different from his own. But despite his efforts, there are certain obvious points of similarity. The most significant of these is their common occupation; both are experienced reporters.

Until 1924, Hemingway, who had worked earlier for the Kansas City Star and the Toronto Star Weekly, was a European correspondent for the daily Toronto Star. When he found that he had little time left after completing his journalistic duties to work on his serious writing, he

resigned his position. By that time he had worked intermittently for seven years as a journalist. Jake too is an experienced professional reporter. In the fifteen-page discarded start, Hemingway offered this introduction to Jake Barnes.

> I am a newspaper man living in Paris. I used to think Paris was the most wonderful place in the world. I have lived in it now for six years....
>
> In 1916 I was invalided home from a British hospital and got a job on the Mail in New York. I quit to start the Continental Press Association with Robert Graham who was then just getting his reputation as Washington correspondent. By 1919 the Continental was the third largest feature service in the States. I told Bob Graham that rather than stay and get rich with him, the Continental could give me a job in Paris. (Item 200, pp. 8 - 9.)

Of Jake Barnes's background as a news service reporter, Carlos Baker notes, "EH is evidently following rather closely the history of Bill Bird, who had moved to Paris in 1920 as European manager of the Consolidated Press....Bird's partner in Washington, (who served as model for Barnes' partner Robert Graham) was David Lawrence."[1] (Hemingway had met Bill Bird while he was on the way to Genoa to cover a conference for the Toronto Star in 1922.[2])

Barnes's daily routines and duties, the location of his office, and at least one of his habits were all borrowed from Bird. Baker states that as he read The Sun Also Rises, Bird was amused to find that "Ernest had given Jake Barnes one of Bird's own favorite tricks for getting rid

[1]Baker, Life, p. 589.

[2]Ibid., p. 88.

of bothersome friends; you asked them to have a drink at the Caves Mura, and after a suitable interval excused yourself on the plea of having to do work."[3] But this apparent linkage with Bird is an obvious attempt to mask the much deeper affiliation of Barnes to Hemingway. Most importantly, they share a basic perspective.

A reporter plays a passive role: by definition he is a spectator and not a participant, a trained observer who looks constantly at the people and scenes around him and describes their actions and appearance to his readers. As narrator, Barnes takes this responsibility seriously: he presents for the reader's inspection an impressively documented story, he omits no details of weather or topography, route or menu. But fundamental to the concept of reporting is the premise that it is unbiased, and Jake Barnes is too involved with the characters and events of the story to meet this criterion. Inevitably, his interests dominate, his prejudices color the story, his values are assumed to be the norms for the other characters. All of these qualities can be traced in a direct line from Barnes to Hemingway.

Throughout his life, Hemingway was an avid fisherman, and throughout his professional career, Hemingway wrote about fishing. The fishing/fisherman motif is most important in The Old Man and the Sea, and also was given significant stress in Islands in the Stream. The first indication in writing of the importance which Hemingway attached to fishing was in "Big Two-Hearted River," which he wrote in 1924 and in which he experimented with a number of techniques which he would employ

[3]Baker, Life, p. 100.

more fully the following year when he composed his first novel. There is also a continuation of subject matter from story to novel. The fishing scenes on the Irati, though very different from those described in the short story are treated in like manner -- the tone reserved for the activity remains reverential, and in both story and novel it is clear that the sport is given significance well beyond the level of the physical processes involved. In manuscript, both works contain significant numbers of authorial digressions. In "Big Two-Hearted River," these digressions are made entirely by the narrator, Nick Adams, and it is clear that the name is a simple substitution for Hemingway's own. In the manuscript of the story, people are referred to by their real names. Nick thinks to himself that when he married Hadley, all of his old friends deserted him.

> When he married he lost Bill Smith, Odgar, the Ghee, all the old gang....he lost them because he admitted by marrying that something was more important than the summers and the fishing.
> (Item 274, ms. "Big Two-Hearted River," p. 83.)

> They were all married to fishing....He'd been married to it before he married Hadley. Really married to it. It wasn't any joke. So he lost them all. Hadley thought it was because they didn't like her.
> (Item 274, ms. "Big Two-Hearted River," p. 85.)

In the typescript, Hadley's name is changed to Helen, but the other names are unchanged. It is clear that at this point Nick Adams is simply an assumed name for Hemingway. After he moved to Europe, Nick Adams's passion for fishing was replaced by a passion for bullfighting. "His whole inner life had been bullfights all one year." (Item 274, p. 89.) Again, there is no doubt of the Adams-Hemingway parallel.

By 1924, Hemingway was a serious student of the bullfights: he was aficionado, passionately interested in the entire spectacle.

Gertrude Stein insisted that she had been the first to interest Hemingway in the bullfight.[4] And based on information provided by Mike Strater and Gertrude Stein, Hemingway wrote a description of a bullfight before he had ever seen one.[5] With Strater, Bill Bird and Robert McAlmon, Hemingway made his first trip to Spain in the early part of 1923. He saw a number of bullfights and found them so enthralling that he returned in July with his wife to attend the festival of San Fermin in Pamplona.[6] A number of the sketches on the bullfight which appear in the American edition of In Our Time were based on the observations which Hemingway made on this trip. In the manuscript of "Big Two-Hearted River," Nick Adams says that he had been a consistent reader of bullfight newspapers until phrases from these publications "kept coming into his head all the time and he had to quit reading them." (Item 274, p. 88.) Jake too, reads bullfight papers, and though he does not become so obsessed by their language as was Nick, he is wholly absorbed the the ritual and symbolic meaning and the spectacle of the fight. This is again a reflection of Hemingway's growing interest in the same subject, one which he was to retain throughout his lifetime. (As early as 1927, he promised Maxwell Perkins a book about bullfighting; this ultimately became Death in the Afternoon.[7])

[4]The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas (New York: Vintage Books, 1933), p. 217.

[5]Baker, Life, p. 108.

[6]Ibid., pp. 110, 112.

[7]Ibid., p. 144.

Despite the subterfuges which Hemingway employed to link him to Bill Bird, it is fair to conclude that the more important source for Jake Barnes is Ernest Hemingway. In manuscript the connection between Barnes and Hemingway is strong. In the first pages of the first notebook (Item 194 - 1) the narrator, who has already provided a good deal of biographical information about Duff and Pat and some detailed descriptions of their drinking habits, continues:

> I do not know why I have put all this down. It may mix up the story but I wanted to show you what a fine crowd we were --what a good crowd for a nineteen year old kid to get in with. I remember when I was quite young and my parents were going through a period of great religious fervor that there were several things my mother said she'd rather see me in my grave than do. they were quite unimportant things such as smoking cigarettes, gambling and drinking and the last two were quite unthought of and far off things. (Item 194 - 1 pp. 6-7.)

The rest of pages seven and eight of this notebook is a hostile diatribe against the narrator's mother, in which he recalls the funeral of a favorite uncle and the uncle's appearance in the coffin, particularly his "cold purple nose." Then he considers that his mother would rather see him dead and in his grave than smoking, drinking or gambling.

> It seemed strange that anything I could do would make her wish to see me in that condition and it prejudiced me against all her views and moral values. So I will not judge that gang who were at Pamplona and I will not say that it would be better for Nino de la Palma to be in his grave than to train with a crowd like that because if he did train with them he would be in his grave soon enough and no matter how attractive a grave may seem to old people or to heroes or as an alternative to sin for religious mothers, it is no place for a nineteen year old kid. (Item 194 - 1, p. 9.)

The memory of his uncle and the spontaneous expression of distaste for his mother are Hemingway's -- Jake Barnes has no such recollections.

Indeed, one of his most distinctive qualities is that his past is of no more than ten year's duration.

Hemingway is still the narrator several pages later. In a portion of the novel not included in the final text, he wrote that Braddocks, who pretended to have read Cohn's novel, came to ask Jake to read it. But the sentence in manuscript reads, "That night after dinner Braddocks came over to our flat." (Item 194 - 1, p. 13.) (The underlining is mine.) The writer was still thinking as Hemingway and not as Jake Barnes.

But it is only within these first pages, all of which were deleted, that this type of obvious slip occurs. There is a second stage in the creation of Jake Barnes as a fictional entity in which the direct correspondence cannot be made, though Barnes is given access to the details of Hemingway's memory and experience.

At the beginning of Chapter IV Jake Barnes and Brett Ashley ride together in a taxi and Jake's injury, which had been briefly mentioned in Chapter III, is now given more attention. In the final text Jake says, "Besides, what happened to me is supposed to be funny." (26) In manuscript, Jake says, "What happened to me is supposed to be funny. Scott Fitzgerald told me once it couldn't be treated except as a humorous subject." (Item 194 - 1, p. 39.) Hemingway had been introduced to Fitzgerald at the Dingo Bar, and a friendship soon developed between the two men.[8] But Jake Barnes did not know Fitzgerald.

[8]Baker, Life, p. 157.

Much later in the narrative, while Bill sleeps, Jake sits on the banks of the Irati River and reads a story about an avalanche. Jake remembers bringing in someone who had been killed in an avalanche. He had first to go to the inn in which the man had been staying in order to get a blanket in which to wrap the body. Entering and leaving the inn he twice went past the dead man's wife, but did not say anything to her about the accident. Nowhere in the narrative is there any suggestion that Jake Barnes is a skier, but Hemingway was, and spent the winters of 1924 and 1925 in the Austrian alps where he wrote and skied.[9]

Jake Barnes shares the benefits of Hemingway's reading and memory. After she has met Bill Gorton, Brett tells Jake that Bill is a nice friend.

> "He's all right," I said. "He's a taxidermist."
>
> "That was in another country," Bill said. "And besides all the animals were dead." (75)

The quotation is a paraphrase of the lines in Marlowe's The Jew of Malta, "but that was in another country and besides the wench is dead." (Act IV, Scene i, 41 - 43.) "In Another Country" is the title of a story which Hemingway sent to the editors of Scribner's Magazine in 1926,[10] and which was later included in the collection Men Without Women. In turn, the opening line of that story is very similar to the opening line of A Farewell to Arms, in which the quotation appears and is attributed to Marlowe.

By the time he revised the manuscript, Hemingway had a clear idea of how the character of Jake Barnes was to emerge and systematically

[9]Baker, Life, p. 164.

[10]Ibid., p. 177.

created the personality to fit the mold. Certain traits were deliberately incorporated into Jake Barnes's character while others, initially attributed to him, were removed. The references most consistently removed were those which could connect Barnes with the world of habit and ordinary life, in fact, with any world except that of the companions with whom he travelled to Pamplona. Jake Barnes has an apartment, a concierge who collects his mail and passes judgment on his friends, an office. But whether he prefers brandy or pernod, brown suits or blue remains unknown. Some of this information was present in the manuscript but was not included in the final text. The sum of the excised material is small -- it deals with the details of life which accrete into pattern and memory. Perhaps close acquaintances in Paris might have recognized some of the habits as Hemingway's own, and it may be that he removed them for this reason. No purpose is served by such speculation. These small, consistent corrections are significant because they point to the thoughtful delineation of the character of Jake Barnes.

In the first notebook Jake sits with Robert Cohn and Frances Clyne at a café and the two men consider taking a trip to Strasbourg. Jake talks about a girl he knows there. "She's a damned nice girl who's taking her doctorate there. She's engaged to a friend of mine." (Item 194-1, p. 19.) In the equivalent passage in the final text, the girl is mentioned but the nature of her connection to Jake is minimized; she is simply a "swell girl" who has been in Strasbourg for two years. (6)

At the start of the second notebook, which corresponds to the beginning of Chapter V, Jake returns from a news briefing to find Robert Cohn waiting to have lunch with him. Before going out, Jake checks his

desk and then prepares to leave. "'Don't you ever lock your office?' Gerald asked. 'No. Just my desk. The people next door lock up when they go out.'" (Item 194-2, p. 2.) Readers of the final text never know that there are people with whom Jake shares his office whom he trusts to lock the room, but that he is not so trusting as to leave his desk unlocked.

At the beginning of Chapter VI Jake sits writing letters at the Hotel Crillon as he waits for Brett. In manuscript, he wonders how many people write on Crillon stationery, then speculates on the size of the hotel's stationery bill. This makes him remember the story of a friend who wrote on Crillon stationery, though he lived at another hotel. As a result, he never received answers to his letters. These systematic deletions deprive Barnes of a past.

Just as carefully as he removed some details, Hemingway added others to fit a changed conception of the character of his narrator. In manuscript, the narrator is kinder, more approachable and more forgiving than in the final text. Early in The Sun Also Rises, Robert Cohn asks Barnes to travel with him to South America. (9) In the manuscript, Jake reflects, "He was quite frank and artless. That was what was nice about him." There is no indication that the Barnes of the final text ever had such thoughts. When Cohn protests that he can't make the trip alone, Jake's response is brusque. "Don't be a fool. You can go anywhere you want. You've got plenty of money." In the manuscript he is more encouraging. "You can do it. There's nothing to prevent you. You have plenty of money and you can go anywhere in the world you want. (Item 194-1, p. 22.) And "tough" Jake Barnes thinks to himself, "God

help you," when Cohn tells him in the final text, "You're really about the best friend I have." (39) He thinks no such thoughts in manuscript. These changes are the result of systematic revision, the aim of which was to present Jake Barnes as "hard boiled," emotionally invulnerable except for his feelings about Brett Ashley.

Jake first mentions his wound when he tells Georgette, "I got hurt in the war." (17) There is some further discussion which strengthens a growing impression of the narrator's cynicism. But these lines are not in the manuscript at the point at which Barnes tells the woman that he is sick. There she responds, "What a pity you're sick," and he answers, "Yes, what a pity." (Item 194-1, p. 28.) His cynicism is emphasized when he tells Robert Cohn about Brett's marriage to Lord Ashley. "Her own true love had just kicked off with the dysentery." (39) In manuscript the events are less dramatic, and Jake is a less hardened reporter. "Her own true love was away in a prison camp in Germany." (Item 194-2, p. 6.)

The conception of Jake's character was further emended in the fishing episode. Most of the conversation in the sequence set on the Irati reads as it doss in manuscript, but some of the narrator's actions there were radically changed. While Bill Gorton sleeps, Jake covers his face with newspaper so that he will not be bothered by flies. It is Jake who attends to cooling the wine and preparing lunch. It is a nice show of concern for a friend, but the role he assumes is distinctly maternal, and these actions were omitted from the final text.

Jake Barnes is notable for his general lack of sentiment. In this respect too he differs from his manuscript predecessor.

"You know I love you."

"I love you and I'll always love you. I never told any many that."

"I love you and I'll always love you."

"It's terrible loving when you've loved so many times that you know what it is."

"I don't know. I've never loved a lot of people."

"Yes you have."

"Not the same way."

"Oh let's not talk."
(Item 194-2, p. 28.)

This conversation, which would do credit to Colonel Cantwill and his Contessa, was so radically cut that only the first line remains in the final text. (55) While there was good reason to omit it on the grounds of taste alone, it is also clear that the degree of sentiment was inappropriate to the character of Jake Barnes as Hemingway conceived it for the final text.

Yet another interesting difference between the initial conception and the final version of Jake's character is the diminution of Jake's interior life. In the first draft, Barnes is far more introspective than he is in the published text. At the beginning of Chapter XIV, Barnes lies in bed at the Hotel Montoya, reading, listening to the sounds outside his door, and thinking. While his physical actions are the same in manuscript, there his thoughts are exclusively about Duff: how he had loved her, how then he taught himself not to love her only to discover that he still loved her. All this in seven handwritten pages. Only a little of that material was used in the composition of the final

text (148-149); Jake Barnes would not indulge in such self-pity. His rationale is simpler. "You gave up something and got something else.... You paid some way for everything that was any good." But even this is turned and regarded ironically. "It seemed a fine philosophy. In five years, I thought, it will seem just as silly as all the other fine philosophies I've had." Jake's toughness, then, was not his originally but was systematically added.

The toughening of Jake Barnes's character is buttressed by changes in his use of language. In manuscript, he expresses his moods and reactions. In the final text he is laconic: he guards himself by being terse. He erects a verbal shield to match his toughened emotional exterior.

In Chapter XVI Jake and Brett walk in the darkness to the outskirts of Pamplona. Brett confesses that she is infatuated with Romero, and tries to elicit Jake's sympathy by explaining how difficult the trip has been for her. Somewhat sarcastically, Jake answers, "Sure." In manuscript, Jake is more sympathetic, and his response to the same speech is a sincere, "It must have been hell." "I can't just stay tight all the time," Brett continues, and Jake's answer in the text is "No." (184) In manuscript he responds, "Sure. Of course. I just wanted to register an objection." (Item 194-5, p. 25.) They then return to the cafe where they see Pedro Romero sitting with other bullfighters and bullfight critics. Brett says, "I do feel such a bitch," and Jake answers, "Well." But in manuscript he remains loving and supportive and dissuades her from such self-castigation. "Don't, I said."

And after Jake returns to Madrid to fetch Brett from the Hotel Montana, she tells him, "I'm not going to be one of these bitches that

ruins children," and Jake answers, "No." (243) In manuscript he is less discreet. "Yes, in Paris you can't tell if a boy's with his wife or his mother." (Item 194-6, p. 48.) Their conversation on these pages holds a generous sprinkling of Jake's "Dear Duffs" as he responds to her statements. In the text there is just one "Dear Brett." Jake's habitually terse mode of expression keeps him from revealing the depth of his feelings. He denies sentiment by refusing to express it.

Jake's role in The Sun Also Rises in complex and inconsistent, because it reflects a confusion in Hemingway's intent in creating his character. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the closely related issues of Barnes's impotence and his relationship to Brett Ashley. Discussion will be clarified by the notation that the Hemingway--Duff relationship refers to real life, Jake--Duff to the manuscript, and Jake--Brett to the final text. In a book accepted as a roman à clef, the question of Barnes' impotence has generated a great deal of interest. Hemingway fathered two children after he wrote The Sun Also Rises--Barnes's problem was evidently not his. Bertram Sarason offers a questionable account of the genesis of Barnes's affliction.

> Jake Barnes, the narrator of the novel whom Hemingway identified with himself, was drawn, in part, from one of Hemingway's oldest friends. This friend had told someone....of his being sexually incapacitated as a result of war experiences. Of course, he may have been making the story up. Another person, however, had heard the story; she had heard it from still another....But, I was told....the so-called invalid had a wild imagination and what he said was to be taken with a grain of salt. A very close friend of that man said he had no imagination whatsoever, and a member of the so-called invalid's family said the whole idea was without foundation.[11]

[11]Sarason, p. 4.

Another explanation suggested for Barnes's impotence was that it was a projection of Hemingway's own moral inhibitions about having an affair with Duff Twysden.[12] The precise nature of Hemingway's relationship to Duff Twysden is unclear. Robert McAlmon, the artist who was a friend of Hemingway's during this period, wrote a letter in March 1951 to Professor Norman Holmes Pearson which is reprinted in Hemingway and the Sun Set.

> I did introduce Hemingway to Lady Duff and the title seemed to electrify him, and for weeks he was up with her in Montmarte [sic] actually paying drink bills for her and Pat Guthrie. He asked Mrs. Jo Bennet, myself and perhaps others to take the weeping Hadley, his then wife, home while he stayed back with Brett. Looked life love or infatuation at least and it was a surprise to many when he married Pauline, his second wife.[13]

McAlmon's memory is not wholly to be trusted since the same letter contains some errors of fact; he confuses Donald Ogden Stewart and Robert Prentiss, Mike Campbell and Bill Smith.

If Hadley ever stood crying at a bar in Montmartre while her husband courted an English lady of title, she did not later acknowledge it. Her memories of Duff Twysden are from the trip to Pamplona, and she recalls that Duff was obviously attracted to Hemingway, "although no one thought....that any actual affair ever developed between them."[14]

Even if Hemingway never had an affair with Duff, he developed a proprietary interest in her. "Although he does not seem to have been

[12]Baker, Life, p. 157.

[13]Sarason, p. 227.

[14]Sokoloff, p. 82.

included in the narrow circle of her amours, he felt sufficiently possessive towards her to resent Loeb's steadily developing infatuation."[15] And Bill Smith suggested that Harold Loeb had been the object of Hemingway's wrath because he had been successful with Duff, while Hemingway had not. In The Way It Was, Loeb recorded a conversation he had with Bill Smith.

> "Hem seems to be bitter about something," I said to Bill. "Do you know what it is?"
>
> "It's that wagon-lit."
>
> "What?"
>
> "You should have seen his face," said Bill, "when Jo Bennet told him you and Duff had gone off in a wagon-lit....He went off muttering the foulest string of curses I ever heard...."
>
> "But why should that upset him?"
>
> "Hem has a mean streak," said Bill. "I guess wagon-lits bring it out."
>
> "You mean he's in love with Duff?"
>
> "I didn't say that," said Bill.[16]

Study of the manuscript further complicates this question. At the start of the fifth notebook, (Item 194-5) is an unattributed quotation, "The graves a fine and secret place/But none I think do there embrace." A typewritten page with the same quotation precedes Item 193, the unbound numbered pages. The quotation, now attributed to Marvell, is incorrectly cited from the poem, "To His Coy Mistress." "Had we but world enough, and time," the poem begins, and then continues.

[15]Baker, Life, p. 145.

[16]Loeb, pp. 290-291.

> But at my back I always hear
> Time's winged chariot hurrying near;
> And yonder all before us lie
> Deserts of vast eternity.
> Thy beauty shall no more be found,
> Nor, in thy marble vault, shall sound
> My echoing song; then worms shall try
> That long-preserved virginity,
> And your quaint honour turn to dust,
> And into ashes all my lust:
> The grave's a fine and private place,
> But none, I think, do there embrace.

Though it seems unnecessary to compare Brett Ashley to Marvell's coy mistress, that Hemingway even considered using the quotation buttresses Hadley's contention that Hemingway and Duff never had an affair.

Carlos Baker quotes a number of dialogue fragments which Hemingway wrote in one of his notebooks. (This notebook has not been included with the manuscripts of The Sun Also Rises and has not been seen by this writer.) It includes, "....seven fragments of monologue, obviously remembered from remarks that Duff had made, very likely to himself."

> 1. You must make fantastic statements to cover things.
>
> 2. It is like living with fourteen men so no one will know there is someone you love.
>
> 3. We can't do it. You can't hurt people. Its what we believe in place of God.
>
> 4. I have to have it and I can't have what I want with you so I'm going to take this other thing.
>
> 5. I have never been able to have anything I ever wanted.
>
> 6. And I looked at you and I thought I wouldn't be able to stand it. What a shame he put the top thing down just as we came up.
>
> 7. What are you so merry about? What were you so merry about the other day?[17]

[17]Baker, Life, p. 156.

Baker states that Hemingway wrote down these sentences with the thought of putting them into The Sun Also Rises. He contends that they are the sort of statement "that might be uttered by a woman involved in a clandestine attachment," so she must advise the man to lie (1) to cover her own love for him by pretending to enjoy the company of others (2), to avoid hurting others (3) to accept a substitute (4), to be nearly overcome with desire and be unable to fulfill it (6) and to be filled with self-pity (5 and 7). But, he continues, despite the fact that Bill Smith and Don Stewart were convinced by Duff's behavior in Pamplona "that something was afoot between Duff and Ernest," despite overtones of sexual jealousy in his anger at Loeb, that "Ernest was able to resist temptation. Something of this got in The Sun Also Rises in disguised form. Jake Barnes's war wound left him capable of sexual desire but incapable of fulfilling it."[18]

The real nature of Hemingway's relationship with Duff Twysden remains open to speculation. Still, as Hemingway consistently projected himself into his fiction, the Jake--Duff relationship in manuscript is especially interesting. Jake's unconsummated love for Duff occupies a much larger portion of the manuscript than of the final text. Notably changed was the last chapter, which was, in the original, filled with suggestions of a sexual relationship between the two. In both, Jake enters Brett's room at the Hotel Montana in Madrid. A direct comparison of the two versions reveals some startling differences.

[18]Baker, Life, p. 157.

text	manuscript
"Darling," Brett said	Duff dropped the brush. I kissed her and held her. Her arms were around me. She held me very tight. I was aching all inside and I held all of her body very tight against me.
I went over to the bed and put my arms around her. She kissed me and while she kissed me I could feel she was thinking of something else. She was trembling in my arms. She felt very small. (241)	"I knew you would come."
	"Oh yes."
	I sat on the bed with my arm around her. She turned and kissed me very suddenly and fiercely. I tightened my arms around her and held her against my chest where it ached. She felt thin and small. (Item 194-6, p. 45.)

At the end of the novel in manuscript, Duff's behavior is actually provocative. As in the final text, the two sit together at Botin's, eating lunch. (246) Jake drinks heavily and Brett puts her hand on his arm and urges him not to get drunk. In the same scene in manuscript, "Duff put her hand on my thigh under the table." (Item 194-6, p. 54.) After lunch they ride through Madrid in a taxi. The text reads, "Brett moved close to me. We sat close against each other. I put my arm around her and she rested against me comfortably." (247) They are two old friends whose closeness brings mutual comfort. But in manuscript, Duff's behavior is again overtly provocative. Barnes puts his arm around Duff, and "she rested her body against me." It is as if, had the novel continued, some miracle was to be wrought and Barnes was to be cured.

In manuscript, Jake's reunion with Brett in Madrid is far longer than in the final text, and much of the deleted material concerns Jake's abiding love for Brett Ashley. Jake's feelings toward Brett are more complex than they are in the scenes redolent of physical passion. Readily apparent in manuscript is Jake's need to convince himself that he can

survive well without Brett. As he sends off the telegram to Madrid, he thinks, "All right then. I had felt so very fine swimming this morning too. Oh well, to hell with all of it. I could have a good time. I had been having a good time for two days. I would get this Madrid thing over with." (Item 194-6, pp. 41-42.) Given Jake's emotional and physical states, the scenes which follow which suggest the possibility of physical union are particularly incongruous. By the book's end, Jake's efforts to appear hard-boiled and maintain his self-control are truly gargantuan. and he can in no way afford to let his guard slip and display this emotion to either Brett or to himself. He is in far too fragile a state to do so. By deleting this revealing material, Hemingway kept consistent his treatment of Jake's character, and Barnes retains the tough and laconic qualities he has displayed throughout the novel. If anything, Jake is more controlled at the book's end than he was at the beginning, doubtless because his emotions are now pitched higher than they were before, and he must put more energy into achieving that level of control. But despite the apparent success of this pretense, Jake is nearly distraught. Declining to elaborate on Jake's emotional state, Hemingway instead has Jake reveal his distress by drinking excessively at lunch. Both Brett and the reader are quickly aware that Jake is taking the traditional male recourse to the bottle to banish his sorrow.

When Jake's final line, "Isn't it pretty to think so," is seen within the context of the strained emotional state in which he utters it, it is the complete summary of his torment and his effort to achieve control. Much attention has been given to these words as critics argue that they

show Jake's cynicism, his ultimate realization that he and Brett Ashley could never share a future, his own wistfulness that it might have been nice to do so. Little more seems to have been intended than what the words convey, though Hemingway rewrote the line several times before he achieved precisely the tone he sought. Jake's original response to Brett was, "It's nice as hell to think so." This was then emended to, "Isn't it nice to think so," before he set down the final reading.

These alterations in scene and language are consistent with the overall tightening of the revision, and with the toughening of Barnes's character. But while Hemingway wanted to diminish the romantic implications of the Jake--Brett relationship, he still wanted to convey the depth of Barnes's attachment to Brett Ashley. Two and a half handwritten pages were added after the conclusion of the story in manuscript. Hemingway noted that this was to be the new beginning of what is now Chapter VIII; it is the only place in the manuscript in which the name Brett Ashley appears.

> The thing I would like to make my reader believe, however incredible, is that such a passion and longing could exist in me for Brett Ashley that I would sometimes feel that it would tear me to pieces and yet in the intervals when I was not seeing Brett....I lived a very happy life.
>
> It was only when I had just left Brett Ashley that I felt all of my world taken away, that it was all gone, even the shapes of things were changed, the trees and the houses and the fountains and that life was just something to be gone through. (Item 194-6, pp. 56-57.)

Nowhere in the final text is Jake's passion for Brett made so explicit. Though Jake's actions demonstrate the depth of his feelings for her, he

confides neither in the reader, nor in his friends. But surely the only cogent explanation of Jake's betrayal of his own values when he panders for Brett is the overwhelming love that he feels for her. The truly desperate quality of Jake's attachment to Brett Ashley is more apparent in manuscript than in the final text, but the feeling behind it is as authentic. Nothing motivates Jake more strongly than his love for Brett Ashley. He sacrifies his own self-respect, and that of Montoya, the guardian of the mystique of the corrida, he destroys the trust and confidence in which he was held, all for the love of Brett Ashley.

Emotionally, Jake Barnes is stripped to the bone. For Barnes knows that no matter what he does, he has no possibility of salvation, and he holds no hope for the future. There is only the chance that if he regulates his life with care in Paris he will be able to hang on. There is a strong hint of the cyclical quality of Jake's and Brett's relationship. There will be other fiestas, other men and other times when Brett will call for Jake to rescue her and he will dutifully comply.

Like his creator, Jake Barnes is a Catholic. Hemingway's family belonged to the Congregational Church in Oak Park, Michigan,[19] and Hemingway attended the church Sunday School. But after he was wounded in Italy during the first World War he became a Roman Catholic.[20] At first, he was casual in his Catholic observance: his first marriage,

[19]Sanford, p. 147.

[20]Baker, Life, p. 185.

in September 1921, was performed in a Methodist church in Horton, Bay, Michigan.[21] Up to the time of his second marriage, Hemingway gave little attention to religion. Perhaps Hemingway was actually a "lousy" Catholic, just as Jake Barnes alleges himself to be. But despite this self-categorization, in the course of a seven-day fiesta, Jake Barnes goes several times to church and makes his confession. It seems that he is not to be taken at his word. Not only is he concerned with fulfilling his religious obligations, but others see him as a figure of some religious importance: Robert Cohn regards him as a confessor.

After the two men have fought, Jake goes to see Robert Cohn in his room. Three times Cohn says to Jake, "Please forgive me." (194) After the first two times Cohn says this, Jake answers, "You called me a pimp." Though Cohn apologizes, the author seems for once to be on his side and not on the side of the narrator. Throughout the conversation, Jake can think only of taking a hot bath in deep water. Finally, he leaves Cohn and goes into the bathroom where there is a deep stone tub. He turns on the taps but the water will not run. The symbolism seems clear: Jake the confessor has sinned and his purification is not to be so easily achieved.

Jake's importance goes beyond the confines of the pages of The Sun Also Rises. As the narrator protagonist who shares the attitudes and interests of the author, Barnes is the prototype of the autobiographical narrator-hero of all of Hemingway's longer fiction.

All of Hemingway's heroes share some part of his background, but

[21]Sanford, p. 209.

there are degrees of Hemingway's use of autogiography. Of these heroes, Nick Adams bears the closest resemblance to his author. He is the protagonist of the stories set in northern Michigan, where Hemingway spent the summers of his boyhood. The stories, written over Hemingway's lifetime, were posthumously collected and published as The Nick Adams Stories. When they are read in sequence they retain their individual character, but at the same time assume the unity of a longer work of fiction. The collection can be read as a bildungsroman: the growth and development of the original Hemingway hero, modeled on the author himself. As Philip Young has noted in the preface to this book, "In this arrangement Nick Adams....emerges clearly as the first in a long line of Hemingway's fictional selves. Later versions, from Jake Barnes and Frederick Henry to Richard Cantwill and Thomas Hudson were all to have behind them part of Nick's history, and correspondingly, part of Hemingway's."[22] But none of Hemingway's other narrators was so like him as was the first. While each hero differs from the others to some extent, all share a common early history and, as Young has noted, three distinct areas of experience. All have been wounded, all live outside the mainstream of society, and all subscribe to a code. Jake's wound is surely the most tragic of the lot: others sustained injury to back or knee but were left physically intact. All share the same psychological scars, a propensity to nightmares, and a general discomfort in the dark. Jake, removed from his native soil by occupational choice, is even further outside the mainstream than other expatriates; he lives on the edge of

[22]Ernest Hemingway, The Nick Adams Stories (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), preface by Philip Young, p. 6.

an established community. Krum and Woolsey, his colleagues who make a brief appearance at the start of Chapter V, set off Jake's isolation. They lead an orderly life with all its satisfactions and frustrations; there is the responsibility of family, never enough time for tennis, and the inbred suburban yearning. "That's the thing to do," says Woolsey. "Live out in the country and have a little car." (36) It is virtually assured that neither will ever venture to the Quarter to sit at the tables of the Dingo or the Sélect, or meet any of Jake's friends, all of whom live on the fringes of society.

Jake is the first of Hemingway's heroes to give explicit expression to the "Hemingway code," which was ultimately to become one of the most famous themes in twentieth century literature. Early hints of the emerging code can be seen in the short stories in In Our Time, where it is implicitly suggested in "The End of Something," and "The Three Day Blow" that the manly pursuits of fishing and drinking are of greater value than romance. Though it lacks the final clarification Hemingway later gave it, the code is further defined in The Sun Also Rises. As Young notes, although it is not highly developed yet, "Jake and the few people he likes have a code. There are certain things that are 'done' and many that are 'not done' and one of the characters distinguishes people as belonging or not belonging according to whether they understand or not."[23]

Reduced to so simple a statement, this famous code is stripped of any mysterious symbolism it has been given. This is nothing more than

[23]Philip Young, Ernest Hemingway (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965), University of Minnesota Pamphlets on American Writers, No. 1, p. 13.

a set of adolescent values transposed to a grander scale. Acceptance under these rules operates at approximately the same level as does admission to a fraternity. Through some unfathomable process of evaluation, the "ins" isolate the "outs." There is no need for secret handshakes--code adherents recognize each other intuitively. There are no rites of initiation, only the tacit acknowledgment that there are certain activities and pleasures worthy of esteem. As Tom Burnham has noted, all who subscribe to the code fit within the traditional cultural definition of the male role.

> They involve themselves constantly with death and sex; their approach is masculine, direct, even brutal; they cut through the complexities of contemporary society to the so-called primal drives....His male characters hunt and fish and go to bullfights and seduce women and have great courage and loyalty if they are good....and everybody knows these are primitive masculine virtues and activities.[24]

Except that he cannot function as a seducer, Jake Barnes meets all of these criteria. It is no accident that he finds peace when he is fishing in the Irati River, or drinking wine with Basque peasants, or playing bridge with Bill Gorton and Wilson-Harris. Despite his injury, Barnes's masculinity is never in doubt, and his inability to consummate a relationship with a woman emphasizes the masculine nature of the code. Only in male society devoted to simple male pursuits can a man be at peace.

It is Jake Barnes, who begins with the apparent desire to do no more than tell a story, who ends by making some of the decisions basic to the implementation of the code. This is best exemplified

[24]"Primitivism and Masculinity in the Work of Ernest Hemingway," MFS I, No. 3 (1955), pp. 20-21.

by his relationship to Robert Cohn. At first, Jake is one of Cohn's supporters, but as the code rules are clarified and it becomes increasingly obvious that Cohn does not subscribe to them, he joins the others and turns against him. Bill Gorton, however, is the first to isolate Cohn from the group. On the drive into Spain, Jake and Bill marvel at the beauty of the scenery: Robert Cohn is asleep. (93) Soon after this incident, Gorton singles out Cohn as an object of ridicule. Despite his attributes--Cohn is, after all, not only a boxer but a creditable tennis player and a seducer as well--Cohn is never accepted. The exclusion is as much a result of the capricious nature of the code as it is of Cohn's behavior; he doesn't understand the rules. Jake Barnes, however, not only understands the rules, but enforces them.

Though Jake tries to take refuge in the code, his dominant motivation remains his love for Brett Ashley. Brett can summon him from fishing, can sidetrack his attention at a bullfight, can intrude at any time and throw his life into complete disorder. If Jake is ever to find peace, he must follow the example set by Count Mippipopolous. He is the hero fully matured; he has suppressed the pain of the past and left nightmares and fears behind him. To be sure, he has suffered, and has his arrow wounds to prove it, but by now, he has resolved all his doubts; he is beyond cynicism and regards the events of life with equanimity. "You see, Mr. Barnes, it is because I have lived very much that now I am enjoy everything so well." He continues, "That is the secret. You must get to know the values." (60) The count has learned not to place too much emphasis on feelings. "This wine is too good for

toast drinking, my dear," he tells Brett. "You don't want to mix emotions up with a wine like that. You lose the taste." (59) The key to his control is complete equanimity.

"Doesn't anything ever happen to your values?"

"No. Not any more."

"Never fall in love?"

"Always," said the count. "I am always in love."

"What does that do to your values?"

"That, too, has got a place in my values."

"You haven't any values. You're dead, that's all."

"No my dear. You're not right. I'm not dead at all." (61)

In the count's scheme of values, everything has its appropriate place, nothing is over-emphasized or underrated. Unlike Jake, the Count does not need to pretend that the world is in order, for, in fact, it is.

If Jake is ever to control his world, he must adopt a system much like the Count's. His own method of achieving order by imposing external structure on a chaotic interior is barely adequate. But the book's title, taken from Ecclesiastes, strongly suggests that he will not, that his is an unchanging circular existence.

ROBERT COHN

Those statements which apply to the creation of Jake Barnes may, with some modification, be applied also to Robert Cohn. Like Barnes, Cohn has an identifiable real-life prototype; like Barnes, the prototype character receded into the background as Hemingway constructed his fiction

and became more certain of his purpose. And Cohn's character, like that of Jake Barnes, was changed as Hemingway revised the novel. Unlike Barnes, who is both part and projection of his author, Robert Cohn is wholly under the control of the author, who can create and modify his character at will. Cohn is the first of the characters who are meant to stand as types in the novel. As Kathleen Cannell later wrote, "Cohn was Harold Loeb and everything Hem disliked in Jews--which was everything."[25] Cohn's role is the traditional one of the Jew in fiction: he is alone, outcast and a scapegoat.

Cohn is unique in The Sun Also Rises: he is the only character who has a past, a concrete and detailed personal history. The factual parallels between the lives of Harold Loeb and Robert Cohn are striking. Loeb sets out the details in The Way It Was. His paternal grandfather was one of the founders of the Wall Street brokerage firm of Kuhn-Loeb. His mother's father was Meyer Guggenheim who made a fortune in copper mining.[26] Harold Loeb was a member of the Class of 1913 at Princeton, and early in 1914, he married Marjorie Content, the daughter of a wealthy stockbroker. He then worked for several years at the California firm of Selby Smelting, and joined the Army when the United States entered the first World War. Following his discharge in February 1919, he and his wife worked in a New York bookstore called The Sunwise Turn.[27] But by 1921 the marriage had dissolved and the partnership in the bookstore proved unworkable, and he resolved that together with Alfred

[25]"Scenes With a Hero," Connecticut Review, 2 (1967), p. 9.

[26]Loeb, The Way It Was, p. 17.

[27]Ibid., pp. 24, 27, 32.

Kreymborg he would publish a literary magazine to be called Broom.[28] With Kreymborg, Loeb went to Paris in 1921 to establish the magazine. There he met Kathleen Cannell to whom, for reasons of delicacy, he refers as Lily Lubow.[29] Loeb spent most of 1921 in Rome, where the rate of exchange on the dollar was more favorable than in Paris, and edited there the first two issues of Broom. Mrs. Cannell joined him in Rome in September, 1921. Again following the favorable rate of exchange, Loeb moved to Berlin in September 1922, but despite his efforts Broom was not a financial success and in the spring of 1923 he abandoned the magazine and returned to Paris.[30] That May, Loeb began to work on a novel he planned to call Doodab. "Doodab would be based on the individual I would have become, had I worked twenty years for....Selby Smelting instead of two. He would seek relief from the dreariness of his routine in colorful daydreams."[31] In October of 1924, Loeb met Hemingway at the offices of the transatlantic review, and the following spring met Duff Twysden at a party and became immediately infatuated with her. Evidently, Duff's feelings for Loeb were equally intense, and the two soon went of to St. Jean de Luz, and then to Ascain.[32] They spent about two weeks together and Duff then returned to Paris to meet Pat Guthrie who was returning from a trip to Scotland. Loeb

[28]Loeb, pp. 7, 4, 10.

[29]Ibid., pp. 60-64.

[30]Ibid., pp. 73-96, 133, 161.

[31]Ibid., pp. 173-174.

[32]Ibid., pp. 194, 247, 259, 267.

remained in St. Jean de Luz for several days until Duff and Pat arrived, and a few days later the three rented a car and drove to Pamplona. At Pamplona Loeb participated in the amateur fights, was carried around the ring on the horns of a bull, and had his picture in this pose published some days later in the New York Times and the Herald Tribune.[33] One evening in Pamplona, tensions in the group ran high and Pat told Loeb to leave. Hemingway accused him of hiding behind a woman when Loeb said he would leave only at Duff's request. Loeb challenged Hemingway to a fight, and they stepped out to do battle, but their tempers cooled before they really came to blows.[34] Though they later went through the motions of a formal parting. Loeb knew that his friendship with Hemingway had ended at this point.[35]

Clearly, Robert Cohn shares much of Harold Loeb's background. He too is the son of a wealthy New York Jewish family, a graduate of Princeton, a tennis-playing novelist. Like Loeb, he had been married; like Loeb he now had a difficult relationship with a mistress whom he left for a short affair with a titled Englishwoman. He then followed the Englishwoman and her companion to Pamplona and saw the bullfights with them and several others. However, Harold Loeb was never the middleweight boxing champion of Princeton, and boxed there for only two years.[36]

[33]Loeb, pp. 271, 283, 284, 292.

[34]Ibid., p. 295.

[35]Ibid., p. 298.

[36]Ibid., p. 114.

Not only in broad outline, but also in detail, Cohn's experience is patterned on Loeb's with a consistency that can only have been deliberate. In The Way It Was, Loeb summarizes a letter which Hemingway had written to him on January 5, 1925. The letter had been sent to Paris and then forwarded to New York where Loeb had gone on a short visit. "Then Hem asked me to go and see Don Stewart, who was a hell of a good guy and who was coming over in March."[37] The first sentence of the second chapter of The Sun Also Rises reads, "That winter Robert Cohn went over to America." (8) And in Chapter X, Bill Gorton says to Jake Barnes, "Didn't you send him with a letter to me in New York last winter?" (101)

In the first chapter, Jake Barnes describes Robert Cohn's life in Paris. "During these three years....Robert Cohn had two friends, Braddocks and myself. Braddocks was his literary friend. I was his tennis friend." (5) Harold Loeb writes that in the winter of 1924 he developed close friendships with Hemingway and Ford Madox Ford, to whom he had been introduced by Kathleen Cannell.[38] Soon after their first meeting, Loeb and Hemingway discovered a mutual interest in tennis and "we made a date to play when the courts dried."[39] When the arrival of winter ended the tennis season, "I saw less of Ernest Hemingway and more of the Fords." Loeb saw Ford and Stella Bowen regularly; "....we not only dined together frequently but played bridge on occasion."[40]

[37]Loeb, p. 238.

[38]Ibid., p. 188.

[39]Ibid., p. 194.

[40]Ibid., p. 203.

On his twenty-first birthday, Harold Loeb inherited $50,000 from his father.[41] Robert Cohn received the same inheritance (4) and, like Loeb, used a part of it to underwrite the publication of a small literary review. However, while Broom,Loeb's review, was edited and printed in Europe, Cohn's magazine "commenced publication in Carmel, California, and finished in Provincetown, Massachusetts." (5)

In the course of his career as a magazine publisher, Cohn developed an affiliation with a woman who, as Frances Clyne, is unkindly portrayed.

> He had been taken in hand by a lady who hoped to rise with the magazine. She was very forceful and Cohn never had a chance of not being taken in hand. Also he was sure that he loved her. When this lady saw that the magazine was not going to rise, she became a little disgusted with Cohn and decided that she might as well get what there was to get while there was still something available. (5)

Bertram Sarason suggests that Hemingway combined the story of Loeb's liaison with Kathleen Cannell with another story, that of a young woman who had been on the staff of Broom.

> There had been a Frances who gave up her job near the Washington Square Bookshop to accompany Loeb.... to Europe where Broom was to be launched. Frances was to serve as Loeb's secretary. Had they had an affair, I asked? No question about that.[42]

Frances Clyne alludes to Robert Cohn's former secretary who was fired at her request. (49) Soon after Loeb arrived in Paris, he fired his secretary. There are conflicting reports as to whether he left her stranded penniless in Paris, as Robert Cohn abandoned his secretary in Provincetown, or whether he paid her way back to New York.[43]

[41]Loeb, p. 24.

[42]Sarason, p. 21.

[43]Ibid.

For the details of Cohn's quarrelsome existence with Frances Clyne, Hemingway drew heavily on the confidences Harold Loeb had shared with him about his relationship with Kathleen Cannell, and on his own observations. Sarason asked Loeb how Hemingway had learned so much about him. "Loeb admitted that they had talked in Paris about his private life. Hemingway was actually present with Loeb and Kitty Cannell in the scene described in Chapter I."[44] And Loeb continued to confide in Hemingway as his affair deteriorated. Sarason examined some of the letters which Mrs. Cannell had written to Harold Loeb during this period and concluded "that the relationship was one which had been very agonizing at the time for Mrs. Cannell. It also appeared evident that Hemingway had a month-by-month knowledge of the decline and fall of the affair."[45]

Hemingway made as much use of traits of Loeb's personality in creating Robert Cohn as he did of the facts of Loeb's life. A particularly pejorative aspect of the characterization is the imputation that many of Cohn's ideas, particularly the romantic ones to which he holds steadfastly, were taken from books and accepted indiscriminately. When in Chapter XII Cohn asks Jake Barnes to go to South America with him, Jake is convinced that Cohn's motivation was his reading of W. H. Hudson's The Purple Land, which he had "accepted as a guidebook to what life holds." (9) Barnes suggests that they go hunting together in East Africa, but the idea doesn't interest Cohn. And Barnes replies, "That's because you never read a book about it. Go on and read a book all full of love affairs with the beautiful shiny black princesses." (10).

[44]Sarason, p. 15.

[45]Ibid., p. 19.

Several times in The Way It Was, Harold Loeb offers evidence that he was often very much influenced by the books he read. In 1914, Loeb was in Banff, Saskatchewan. Unable to undertake a sightseeing trip, he sought other diversion.

> Then I found a book in the hotel library. It was Old Mole by Gilbert Cannan--the story of a dry-as-dust professor catapulted from his job by a scandalous incident for which he was not to blame. Instead of being crushed by the disaster the professor joined up with a travelling vaudeville troup and at long last began to live fully.
>
> I, too, wanted to live more fully. And the story struck me deeply and personally because, like Old Mole, I, too, was emerging from an oppressive environment. He had made a go of it. I felt I could too.[46]

This casual encounter with Cannan's book had a great effect on Loeb's life and strengthened his resolve to leave the family business and pursue his own interests. In September 1919, when he was working at the bookstore The Sunwise Turn, he finally met Gilbert Cannan. "I told Cannan how much his novel had meant to me. His eyes lighted with pleasure. I invited him up for the weekend. He accepted."[47] At the end of the visit, Cannan invited Loeb to join him on a trip to England. When Loeb accepted, Cannan became the catalyst in the ending of Loeb's marriage.

It was not The Purple Land which had set Loeb to dreaming, but another of Hudson's books, Green Mansions. When Loeb and Duff Twysden

[46]Loeb, p. 25.

[47]Ibid., pp. 39-40.

were at St. Jean de Luz, Duff suggested to him that his belief in logic was so strong that he was closed to mystical experience. Her suggestion irritated Loeb. "'Have you read Green Mansions?' I asked. 'Even before I'd read it the woods were mysterious. And your laugh when I first heard it, reminded me of Rima singing.'" [48] Duff had never read the book, but knew that it took place in South America, and asked if Loeb would take her there.

> "Should we go there darling? To a strange land, all new and different. To live as you want to live? Take a boat and go, just like that?"
>
> "No," I said, without hesitation. "Not South America."[49]

If the roles are reversed, these words sound very much like the conversation between Jake Barnes and Robert Cohn on the same topic. (9)

Donald Torchiana has said that Loeb's autobiography reveals its writer as so tasteless and unpleasant--"the vulgarity of The Way It Was seems to underscore the likeness"--[50] that Hemingway's characterization of Loeb as Robert Cohn was, at the very least, an accurate representation of his character, if not in fact, a sympathetic one. However, a comparison of the manuscript with the final text reveals that Hemingway's original characterization was far more sympathetic than was that of the final text. A consistent point of the revisions was to portray Cohn as a more irritating, objectionable and obtuse individual than he was in manuscript.

[48] Loeb, pp. 274-275.

[49] Ibid., p. 275.

[50] Donald Torchiana, "The Sun Also Rises: A Reconsideration," Fitzgerald/Hemingway Annual (1969), p. 84.

As Jake Barnes and Robert Cohn dine together in the portion of the manuscript which corresponds to Chapter VI, Cohn asks, "'What do you know about Duff Anthony, Jake?' He was embarrassed." In the revised version, Cohn asks the same question, but baldly and without embarrassment. (38) In Chapter XV, as the dancers go down the street while holding a banner which proclaims, "Hurray for Wine! Hurray for the Foreigners!" (154) Robert Cohn asks, "Where are the foreigners?" In manuscript that question is asked not by Cohn, but by Bill Gorton. The reversal of the speakers in the final text is a deliberate attempt to underscore Cohn's remarkable social myopia.

Jake's attitude toward Cohn is consistently hardened. It is in the second chapter of The Sun Also Rises that Cohn invites Barnes to go with him to South America. Missing from the final text is Jake's earlier appraisal of him. "He was quite frank and artless. That was what was nice about him." (Item 194-1, p. 22.)

And in a portion of the manuscript (Item 194-5, p.22.) that corresponds to the middle of Chapter XVI (181), Jake urges Brett to be more tolerant of Cohn's infatuation. Brett says, "He can't believe it didn't mean anything," and Jake answers, "I know." Deleted are the lines which reveal a kinder Jake Barnes and a changed authorial attitude toward Cohn.

> "Well think what it must mean to him. Think how I would have felt if I had gone off for two weeks with you in 1917."
>
> "It's nothing the same. You wouldn't have made an ass of yourself."
>
> "You can't tell. You can't tell anything about how a man will act."

Not only does Hemingway make Cohn less appealing in the final text: he also denigrates his accomplishments. While Cohn retained his reputation as a good tennis player, his status as a writer was diminished. When Jake Barnes writes of Robert Cohn's novel, he assures the reader of the final text that "it was not really such a bad novel as the critics later called it, although it was a very poor novel." (5-6) Gerald Cohn, Robert's manuscript predecessor, did a more creditable job. "Somehow during this time he wrote a novel, a first and last novel. He was the hero of it but it was skilfully and neatly done and it made a nice novel." (Item 194-1, p. 12.) When, at the beginning of the second chapter Robert Cohn takes his novel to New York, it is accepted by a "fairly good publisher." (8) Again, Gerald has better luck. His manuscript is published by a "very good publisher."

As Hemingway revised the novel, his conception of Cohn's role changed radically. Arthur Scott has suggested that far from being the whipping boy of the novel, Cohn is, in fact, the most admirable character in the book.[51] In defending Cohn, Scott cites his normalcy, steadfastness and sobriety. This reading supports what was clearly Hemingway's original intention. Twice in the fifteen-page discarded start (and in the corresponding portion in mnnuscript) Hemingway has Jake Barnes tell the reader that Robert Cohn is the hero of his story. First, when he describes the Latin quarter, he characterizes it as a dull place. "I have to put it in, though, because Robert Cohn, who is one of the non-Nordic heroes of this book had spent two years there." (Item 194-1, p. 13.)

[51]Arthur L. Scott, "In Defense of Robert Cohn," CE, 18, No. 6 (1957), pp. 309-314.

And then, in the very last sentence of the discarded start, the one which precedes what is now the opening chapter of the novel, Jake remarks that he would not have brought Braddocks into the story, "except that he was a great friend of Robert Cohn and Cohn is the hero." (Item 194-1, p. 13.)

Deleted from what is now the end of the fifth chapter is another reference to Cohn as hero, but now Jake is not so sure that he can characterize Cohn in this way.

> Now you can see. It looked as though I were trying to be the hero of this story. But that was all wrong. Gerald Cohn is the hero. When I bring myself in it is only to clear up something. Or maybe Duff is the hero, or Nino de la Palma. He never had the chance to be the hero. Or maybe there is not any hero at all. Maybe a story is better without any hero. (Item 194-2, p. 5.)

Midway through the novel, in the portion of manuscript which corresponds to Chapter XV (68), the concept of Cohn as hero has been completely rejected. "Well, this is not the story. The story is Guerrita.* For a time Guerrita is the hero. Mr. Gerald Cohn is not the hero. He was the hero for a time, but he has been dropped." (Item 194-5, p. 26.)

This confusion in intent has implications for the form of the entire novel, and will later be discussed in detail. For the moment it serves to signal the beginning of a change in the attitude of both author and narrator toward Robert Cohn so that by the conclusion of the final text of the novel, Cohn has changed from potential hero to scapegoat.

Not only is Cohn systematically made less likeable, but in another and more subtle way Hemingway began to distinguish him from the other

*The name temporarily assigned to the bullfighter.

characters. Except for Robert Cohn, all the major characters of The Sun Also Rises are generally called by their first names. Mike, Brett, Jake and Bill always address each other by their given, or Christian names. Only occasionally, however, is Cohn called Robert, and he is never called by a diminutive of his first name. Most often he is called by his last name, or by both given and surnames. Once again, this is a change from the manuscript where the same character was most often called by his original name, Gerald. A representative example is in Chapter XIII. Bill and Jake approach the cafe Iruna, and see some of the party sitting at a table. "There they were, Brett and Mike and Robert Cohn." (134) In manuscript, it is Duff, Mike and Gerald who sit at the table. (Item 194-4, p.25) Throughout the book, Campbell is sometimes called Michael and sometimes Mike. In this chapter he is always called Mike. This contrasts strongly with the formality of Robert Cohn, or Cohn, and the contrast is played contrapuntally throughout the chapter.

By insistently calling Cohn by his last name, or by the formal combination of first and last names, Hemingway separates him verbally from the others. He is never permitted to join in the easy flow of human relationships; he is denied even a nickname. And it can hardly be accidental that the last name assigned to him is distinctively and unquestionably Jewish.

From the outset, Cohn is distinguished by his religion from the other characters in the book. Parallel, but revised, passages from the opening pages make this clear. Jake Barnes says that Cohn asked Braddocks to read and comment on his novel, but that Braddocks was too

busy to do it. In manuscript, "Gerald, eager to learn and with the racial willingness to accept useful criticism, pressed to know what it was." (Item 194-1, p. 13.) When revised, the same sentence read, "Cohn, eager to learn and with an un-Nordic willingness to accept useful criticism, pressed to know what it was." (Item 200, discarded start, p. 12.)

And Arthur Scott cautions, "Let us not blink the fact that Cohn is a Jew. Partly because of his race he is a kind of D. P. -- suffering much of the anguish of the socially displaced."[52] Among his chosen companions, Cohn's religion is not asset. Scott counts a total of ten anti-Semitic remarks made about Cohn in The Sun Also Rises. This too is part of the continued change of Cohn's place in the story and was revised from the manuscript. The fundamentally anti-Semitic response of the other characters to Robert Cohn, while present in manuscript, is intensified in the final version. The "hard Jewish stubborn streak" which Barnes attributes to him (10) is dismissed more casually in manuscript. "He was stubborn allright," Jake Barnes thinks when Cohn refused to abandon his plan to go to South America. (Item 194-1, p. 24.) And Bill Gorton, angered by Cohn's assumption that he will be bored by the bullfights, says, "That Cohn gets me....He's got this Jewish superiority so strong that he thinks the only emotion he'll get out of the fight will be being bored." (162) While equally irritated originally, Gorton criticized only Cohn's superiority. (Item 194-5, p. 12.)

Leslie Fiedler has recognized Cohn as the standard type of the

[52]Scott, "In Defense of Robert Cohn," p. 309.

Jewish character in the American novel, "frozen into the anti-Jewish stereotype."[53]

> That he is the product of anti-semitic malice is irrelevant. For better or worse, it is Hemingway's image of the Jew which survives the twenties; an overgrown boyscout and hangdog lover--an outsider still even among outsiders and in self-imposed exile.[54]

This position is fortified by the persistent efforts of other characters to assign all blame to him: in short, to award to him the traditional Jewish role of the scapegoat.

For the faults other characters find in him are traits more frequently applauded. In The Sun Also Rises, Cohn is castigated for chivalry, romanticism, sobriety and courage. And, as Scott has noted, had the roles in the fight between Cohn and Romero been reversed, Romero would have been lauded for continuing to knock his opponent down, while Cohn was blamed for having done the same thing.[55]

Except for Brett, each of the other characters insults Cohn. Initially, these insults are personal, but they quickly assume an anti-Semitic cast. First Harvey Stone calls him a moron (43), then Frances Clyne angrily berates him (49), and Jake Barnes thinks to himself, "I do not know how people could say such terrible things to Robert Cohn.... and this was friendly joking to what went on later." (49) Later, when Cohn has irritated Jake and Bill with his "air of superior knowledge" (95) about the anticipated arrival of Brett and Mike, Bill's irritated comment to Jake is, "Well, let him not get superior and Jewish." (96) In another

[53]Leslie Fiedler, The Jew in the American Novel (New York: Herzl Institute Pamphlet No. 10, 1959), p. 8.

[54]Ibid., p. 6.

[55]Scott, "In Defense of Robert Cohn," p. 312.

interchange between Jake and Bill, Gorton says, "Haven't you got some more Jewish friends you could bring along?" (101) And it is clear that Mike Campbell would have found Brett's dalliance with a Christian lover more acceptable than her affair with Cohn. "Brett's gone off with men But they weren't ever Jews and they didn't come and hang about afterwards." (143) When at the bullfights, Bill observes Cohn and Jake asks, "Does Cohn look bored?"Bill responds, "That kike." (164) In the cafe scene in Chapter XVI, Mike makes it clear that Cohn is an outsider. "Go away. Go away for God's sake. Take that sad Jewish face away." (177) And after reporting on Cohn's fight with Romero, Mike adds, "I gave Brett what for, you know. I said if she would go about with Jews and bullfighters and such people, she must expect trouble." (203) When he sees Brett in the café, Mike's displeasure at her choice of partners is re-emphasized. "Brett's got a bull-fighter. She had a Jew named Cohn, but he turned out badly." (206) (Two sentiments are reflected here. The first is Campbell's anti-Semitism. The second, and perhaps dominant one is his ingrained aristocratic snobbishness--the choice of partner seems of much greater import than the act.) Cohn's climactic moment in the book, when he has knocked out Jake, knocked down Mike and battled honorably with Romero should, by rights, be one of triumph. Instead, Mike, an admittedly biased narrator, reports that the bullfighter "ruined" Cohn. And Bill soon adds his news that Cohn has hired a car and left Pamplona. The parallel is clear. Like the unlucky goat laden with the sins of the nation and driven into the desert, Cohn, the Jewish scapegoat, is rejected on all sides and driven from the company of his chosen friends.

At what point does Robert Cohn differ so much from Harold Loeb that he can be called a fictional character? The answer is more easily supplied for him than it was for Jake Barnes. The correspondences between Loeb and Cohn are strong; the divergences at the critical point in the novel are striking. While certain episodes in the first two-thirds the book were completely the product of Hemingway's imagination, it is at page 181 that The Sun Also Rises becomes a work of pure fiction. The events which fill the remaining pages of the novel are, in the author's words, "made up." Cohn's battle for Brett's honor was completely fictional, as was his hurried departure from Pamplona. The scene, as Harold Loeb described it, of his quarrel with Hemingway, corresponds, up to a point, to the cafe scene in Chapter XVI (177-178)

> "Why don't you get out" Pat said. "I don't want you here. Hem doesn't want you here. Nobody wants you here though some may be too decent to say so."
>
> "I will," I said, "the instant Duff wants it."
>
> In the silence that followed Duff dropped the pretense of talking to Hadley and turned her head slowly. "You know," she said, "that I do not want you to go."
>
> "You lousy bastard," said Hemingway. "Running to a woman."
>
> "I got up unsteadily. Struggling to keep my voice calm I said,...."Do you mind stepping out a moment?"
>
> "Oh willingly, willingly," he said.[56]

Though Loeb and Hemingway stepped out, they did not fight and soon returned to the cafe. And as Baker notes, Loeb, Duff Twysden, and Pat Guthrie left Pamplona together in a hired car some days later.[57] Loeb's ultimate rift was not with a bullfighter, not even with Pat Guthrie, but with Hemingway.

[56]Loeb, p. 295.

[57]Baker, Life, p. 151.

Clearly, Hemingway's portrait of Harold Loeb as Robert Cohn is not without malice. When Loeb joined the Hemingway party for the trip to Pamplona in 1925, there were already strains in his relationship with Hemingway. Loeb describes the trip they made together to Senlis, which parallels the one discussed in The Sun Also Rises. (6-7) After touring the old town, the two men became involved in a card game. First Loeb won with an embarrasing consistency. Then Hemingway began to win. Ultimately, Loeb could no longer afford the stakes and stopped the game by leaving the table. "Suddenly things changed between us....Afterward our relationship was subtly different. I was aware for the first time that I was not immune to his displeasure."[58]

As Hemingway left the farewell party for Bill Smith and Harold Loeb before the two men sailed for New York late in 1925, he said to Kathleen Cannell, "Well I've taken your advice at last, Kitty....I'm writing a book with a plot and everything. Everybody's in it. And I'm going to tear those two bastards apart."[59]

BRETT ASHLEY

The pattern which Hemingway established in creating Robert Cohn was the same one he followed for Brett Ashley. The character is given the life history of an acquaintance, set into a story which closely parallels an actual event, and then, at a critical point, thrust entirely into the realm of fiction.

[58]Loeb, p. 271.

[59]Cannell, "Scenes With A Hero," p. 9.

Lady Duff Twysden, the real-life prototype of Brett Ashley, was well known in Montparnasse. Fifty years after he first met her, Morrill Cody remembered her as a striking figure.

> Duff was a queen bee in Montparnasse, and the Quarter was notoriously lacking in queen bees....I can picture her now sitting in the Dingo or the Sélect with a flock of men around her, listening to her every word. Some of them doubtless persuaded themselves they were in love with her, and it is just possible that Hemingway was among them.[60]

Carlos Baker consulted both Burke's Peerage, and the heiress Nancy Cunard to gather information about Duff Twysden's background before she appeared in Paris.

> She had been christened Mary Duff Stirling Byron, eldest daughter of B.W. Smurthwaite of Prior House, Richmond, Yorkshire. In January 1917....she had been married in London to Sir Roger Thomas Twysden, tenth baronet, a recent graduate of the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth. In March 1918 she had borne him a son named Anthony who was now being reared by the family of her estranged husband. Her divorce was said to be imminent.[61]

Little information about Brett Ashley's background is offered to the reader of the final text. Not until the end of Chapter XVII is there any sense of her past, and then Mike tells Jake and Bill that Brett had been married to the ninth baronet, a sailor who wouldn't sleep in a bed when he came home. "Finally, when he got really bad, he used to tell her he'd kill her. Always slept with a loaded service revolver. Brett used to take the shells out when he'd gone to sleep." (179)

[60]Morrill Cody, "The Sun Also Rises Revisited," Connecticut Review 4, No. 2 (1971), p. 6.

[61]Baker, Life, p. 145.

Brett's life was described in much greater detail in the discarded start which is itself more detailed than the original handwritten manuscript.

> Lady Ashley was born Elizabeth Brett Murray. Her title came from her second husband. She had divorced one husband....At present she had a legal separation from her second husband, who had the title, because he was a dipsomaniac....When he had gotten to be a proper thorough going dipsomaniac and found that Brett did not love him he tried to kill her and sometimes slept on the floor and was never sober and he had great spells of crying....They had a son and Ashley would not divorce and would not give grounds for divorce. (Item 200, pp. 1-2.)

Duff Twysden's relationship with Pat Guthrie parallels that of Brett Ashley and Mike Campbell. Here again, the reader of the manuscript is better informed than is the reader of the final text. Both in manuscript and in the discarded start is the story of how the two came to live together in Paris. "Brett went off with Mike Campbell to the Continent one afternoon, she having offered to at lunch because Mike was lonely and sick and very companionable and as she said, 'obviously one of us.'" (Item 200, p. 2.) There are two suggestions in the handwritten manuscript that the alliance was not quite so sudden or so casual. In the fifth chapter, as Jake and Robert Cohn eat lunch together, Cohn asks Jake what he knows about Brett Ashley and Jake offers the information that she is in the process of getting a divorce and planning to marry Mike Campbell. (38) In manuscript, Jake knows even more. "He's her cousin," he tells Cohn. (Item 194-2, p. 5.) In Chapter VIII, Jake suggests to Bill that they go up to the cafe to see Brett and Mike, and Bill readily agrees. (78) The corresponding passage in manuscript offers more detail.

> "Do you want to go down to the cafe and meet Duff and Michael?"

"Who's Michael?"

"Duff's second cousin. Man she's going to marry." (Item 194-3, p. 6.)

Robert McAlmon remembers that Duff Twysden and Pat Guthrie had, in fact, been cousins. "Lady Duff Twysden was Lady Brett....She was at the time living with her cousin, Pat Guthrie."[62]

Morrill Cody remembered the Twysden/Guthrie relationship positively. "Duff was devoted to Pat Guthrie and their love affair was a sort of romance of the gods which everyone knew about and everyone enjoyed."[63]

It has already been noted that McAlmon takes the credit for introducing Hemingway to Duff Twysden, but he is not the only one to do so. In Exiles, his biography of his parents, Michael J. Arlen claims that his father was responsible for the introduction. Quite by chance the junior and senior Arlens had met Hemingway in New York. As they parted, Hemingway said that he still owed Arlen a favor. When Arlen fils inquired what favor was meant, his father replied, "One autumn in Paris I introduced Ernest to a girl I was with....Duff Twysden. Ernest later made that book around her....You know, Lady Brett. At some time or another everybody was in love with Duff Twysden."[64]

More than a literary quibble is involved. After reading The Sun Also Rises, Scott Fitzgerald wrote to Hemingway of Brett's elusiveness, which he related to the elusiveness of Duff herself. "My theory always was that she dramatized herself in terms of Arlen's dramatization of

[62]McAlmon, in Hemingway and the Sun Set, p. 225.

[63]Cody, "The Sun Also Rises Revisited," p. 6.

[64]Michael J. Arlen, Exiles (New York: Farrar Strauss and Giroux, 1970), p. 226.

of somebody's dramatizing of Stephen McKenna's dramatizatinn of Diana Manner's dramatization of the lost girl in Well's Tono Bungay."[65]

As Philip Young and Charles Mann have noted,[66] the reference to Arlen refers specifically to Iris March, the heroine of his novel The Green Hat.[67] Iris March and Brett Ashley do have some things in common. Iris March wears a green hat, "bright green, of a sort of felt, and bravely worn."[68] Brett wears a man's felt hat. And Arlen's narrator says that "Iris was the first Englishwoman I ever saw with 'shingled' hair. This was in 1922."[69] Jake Barnes says that Brett's hair "was brushed back like a boy's. She started all that." (22) Malcolm Cowley reports that Duff was widely believed to have been the model for the heroine of The Green Hat.[70] Her impact can be seen not only on Hemingway, but on Arlen as well.

Brett Ashley is generally castigated by critics for excessive drinking and promiscuity, and, by imputation, Duff Twysden was accorded the same habits. Hemingway strengthened this impression whe he described her in Death in the Afternoon as an"alcoholic nymphomaniac."[71] McAlmon

[65]F. Scott Fitzgerald, "Letter to Ernest Hemingway," Fitzgerald/Hemingway Annual (1970), p. 13.

[66]"Fitzgerald's Sun Also Rises: Notes and Comment," Fitzgerald/Hemingway Annual (1970), pp. 1-9.

[67]Michael Arlen, The Green Hat (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1924).

[68]Ibid., p. 11.

[69]Ibid., p. 47.

[70]Malcolm Cowley, Exiles Return (New York: Viking Press, 1951), p.43.

[71](New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), p. 498.

remembered that she was "generally stinko with Brandy,"[7] In the first notebook, in a portion of the manuscript omitted from the final text, Jake detailed Duff's drinking habits.

> Duff with drinking was different than Pat. She drank much more but she never lost her form....She was always clean bred, generous and her lines were always as sharp. It did not dissolve her in any way. But when she had been drunk she always spoke of it as having been blind. "My God, weren't we blind last night?" Short for blind drunk. (Item 194-1, p. 5.)

Carlos Baker reports that in the view of William Smith and Donald Ogden Stewart, "Duff carried her liquor so well that she was able to play very decent bridge even after hours of steady toping."[73]

A steady flow of critical opinion has branded Brett as a nymphomaniac, but it is precisely at the point at which Brett Ashley's behavior is often judged promiscuous, at the beginning of her affair with Romero, that her character differs from that of her prototype and becomes fictional. In Chapter XVI, Brett confides to Jake that she has become infatuated with the young bullfighter. "I'm a goner. I'm mad about the Romero boy. I'm in love with him I think." (183) In The Sun Also Rises, she goes off with the bullfighter, but Duff Twysden, in the company of Harold Loeb, Bill Smith and Pat Guthrie returned to St. Jean de Luz in a hired car. Baker reports that when Duff Twysden finally read The Sun Also Rises, she was infuriated, but later relented. "When Ernest happened to meet her one night at the Dingo, she said that she had not been at all disturbed. Her only quibble was that she had not in fact slept with the bloody bullfighter."[74]

[72]McAlmon, in Hemingway and the Sun Set, p. 225.

[73]Baker, Life, p. 145.

[74]Ibid., p. 179.

If Brett Ashley is ever praised, it is for giving up Romero, for refusing to be "one of these bitches that ruins children." (243) Yet there is more to praise than just this one act of self-denial. In her own way, Brett adheres to the code. She is consistently honest with herself, even when honesty may be the most painful policy. Early in Chapter VII Jake asks Brett if they might live together, and she answers, "I don't think so. I'd just tromper you with everybody....It's my fault Jake. It's the way I'm made." (55) Brett is well aware of her own needs, both when she tells Jake that she could not live quietly with him in the country, and when she confesses her passion for Romero.

Brett is at once a type and a caricature of a type. She is a member of the titled nobility, but she does not take her title very seriously. When Count Mippipopoulous reminds her that she will lose her title with her divorce and will no longer be Lady Ashley, Brett responds, "What a pity.." (58) She has little attachment to her title, but retains a pragmatic appreciation of its value. "I've had hell's own amount of credit on mine." (57) Brett's life among the upper classes has been difficult. When Michael Campbell reports that he gave Brett "a fearful hiding about Jews and bullfighters and all those sort of people" she responded, "Yes, I've had such a hell of a happy life with the British aristocracy." (203)

Brett's values and behavior implicity mock those of the aristocracy. Brett demands that Michael show good breeding (141), yet her own behavior is a caricature of good breeding. She chides Jake for failing to introduce Bill Gorton to Mike Campbell, and then undertakes the job herself. "This is Bill Gorton. This drunkard is Mike Campbell. Mr. Campbell is

an undischarged bankrupt." (79) The form is perfect, the content unusual. Brett makes appointments which she consistently fails to keep. She arranges to meet Jake at the Crillon at five in the afternoon (29) but she does not appear. (40) She and Mike promise to join the others for the fishing trip on the Irati, but send word that they are detained.

It is Jake Barnes and not Brett Ashley who is impressed with her upper class status and accent.

> What rot, I could hear Brett say it. What Rot! When you were with English you got into the habit of using English expressions in your thinking. The English spoken language--the upperclasses anyway--must have fewer words than the Eskimo....One phrase to mean everything. I liked them though. I liked the way they talked. (149)

At first glance, Brett Ashley is the atypical woman in Hemingway's fiction. She is apparently independent, strong and resolute. Yet the differences between her and the others are less significant than they seem to be. Other women in Hemingway's oeuvre, except for Pilar in For Whom The Bell Tolls, are weak and compliant creatures, wholly dependent on men to vitalize them and give them substance. Like Maria in that novel, and Catherine Barkley in A Farewell To Arms, they are awakened by sexual union with the Hemingway hero. By the time she appears in The Sun Also Rises, Brett's sexual awakening is long past, but she is no better able to function alone than are the heroines who succeed her. In fact, because she is unable to achieve that penultimately satisfying union with the Hemingway hero, she is forced to go from one partner to the next in endless quest. And when she finally finds a worthy sbustitute for Jake Barnes in Pedro Romero, she is compelled by her own morality to abandon him, lest she tarnish his essential purity. Brett's need

is not for a single man, but for men, and because of this she is as dependent a character as the others, though she is generally more admirable and more interesting.

Once entered squarely into the realm of fiction, Brett Ashley remained there. After the publication of The Sun Also Rises, Hemingway continued to think of the prototypes of his characters as fictional creations; he began to accept the reality of the fiction more readily than the facts on which it was based. Among the Hemingway papers there is an unpublished nine-page fragment (Item 53) called "Jimmy the bartender."[75] Internal evidence clearly separates this fragment from the published text, and from the manuscript. Written in pencil, the fragment is a description of a meeting in a bar between Jake Barnes, Brett Ashley and Mike Campbell. The names Jake and Brett are used consistently, but several time the name Guthrie is written in, crossed out and the name Campbell substituted for it. It is 6:00 P.M. One of the waiters has put a record on the phonograph and Brett and Mike enter.

> "Hello, you sots," Brett said. "Hello Mr. Barnes." She was very happy and looking well. "I've brought Mr. Campbell."
>
> "The novelist," Mike Campbell said. "Mr. Barnes the novelist."
>
> "Mr. ~~Guthrie~~ Campbell," I said. "Will you have a drink Mr. ~~Guthrie~~? Campbell?"
>
> "I never drink with novelists." Mike said. It was the first time we had met since the book came out a year ago in the fall. I had seen him several times and heard things he had said but we had not met. (Item 530, pp. 1-2)

[75] Hemingway may have had in mind James (Jimmy) Charters, the author of This Must Be The Place, who presided at a number of different bars in Paris during the 1920s.

It seems reasonable to assume that this is Hemingway's transcription of a real conversation, and if this is so, the use of fictional names is striking. When Hemingway wrote the first draft of the novel, he consistently used the name Duff for the character he later called Brett Ashley. It was not until he revised The Sun Also Rises that he began to call her Brett Ashley. But once he had renamed her, her fictional identity seemed more real to him than did her identity in reality.

> "Darling," said Brett. "It's getting to be a dreadful bore to have people come into bars and point me out as a character in a book."
>
> "I'm awfully damned sorry."
>
> "It's a bore. And it's bloody annoying when you don't feel that way."
> (Item 530, p. 9.)

It is as if, for Hemingway, Duff Twysden and Pat Guthrie no longer existed. Their identities had been summarily appropriated by two aggressive fictional characters, whereupon they disappeared. Reality has been completely submerged.

PEDRO ROMERO

Pedro Romero is at once concrete and symbolic, a character in a novel and the embodiment of an idea. At some points in the narrative the distinction is clear, but at others, character and symbol intermix. In discussing Romero, it is necessary to deal not only with character and prototype, but with prototype and archetype as well, for his status in The Sun Also Rises is complex. Romero's fictional identity is clear,

and his role in the novel unambiguous. On a second level, he can be associated with his real-life model, Nino de la Palma. But as a torero he reaches heights of perfection never attained by his prototype and so must be regarded in yet another light, as the embodiment of an idea. Romero is both the perfect matador and the original Hemingway superman--the first and most typical model of the code hero.

In the summer of 1925, Nino de la Palma was the sensation of the bullfighting circuit. Hemingway wrote of him in Death in the Afternoon,

> Cayetano Ordonez, Nino de la Palma, in his first season as a matador....looked like the messiah who had come to save bullfighting....I tried to describe how he looked and a couple of his fights in a book one time....He was sincerety and purity of style itself with the cape, he did not kill badly although, except when he had luck he was not a great killer. He did kill several times recibiendo, receiving the bull on the sword in the old manner and he was beautiful with the muleta.[76]

At the conclusion of the feria in Pamplona in 1925, the Hemingways followed Nino first to Madrid and then to Valencia to watch him fight. Hadley Hemingway particularly, became entranced with the young torero, and at one fight in Madrid he dedicated a bull to her and presented her with the animal's ear at the fight's conclusion.[77] (This episode is obviously transposed to The Sun Also Rises where Romero awards the ear of the bull he has just killed to Brett Ashley.) Among the notebooks in which Hemingway wrote the first draft of the novel is the letter in which Hadley described to the editor of the Tribune her delight at receiving the trophy. She said that the ear would be "wrapped and put away in a box of treasures of the sort one brings out to show to friends." (Item 194-6, A.)

[76](New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. 88-89.

[77]Baker, Life, p. 152.

Romero shares Nino's background. Both are from Ronda, both are young toreros who achieved sensational success in their first seasons. But Nino's sole encounter with Duff Twysden, Harold Loeb, or Pat Guthrie was a brief introduction on the morning after the end of the fiesta.[78] Romero's meeting with the group in the café, the affair with Brett Ashley and the fight with Robert Cohn are all fiction. And despite the strongly realistic descriptions of Romero's skill in bullfighting, these episodes are not directly modeled on the performances of Nino de la Palma. Romero is an excellent bullfighter; in fact, he is a far better fighter than was Nino de la Palma. Among the Hemingway papers is a typescript in which Hemingway wrote of some of the same concerns which he voiced in Death in the Afternoon. Here Hemingway wrote of Nino de la Palma, that "even in the one short season in which he was idealized, he made mistakes....Nino de la Palma, who seemed such a beautiful bullfighter decomposed altogether when he had a bad bull." (Item 805, p. 6.) Romero, however, is infallible.

In Chapter XVII Pedro Romero encounters a bull with poor eyesight, but he is so competent a fighter that he is able to quickly assess the animal's capablilites and compensate for its disability. (217) Yet Hemingway noted that among Nino's deficiencies as a torero was the fact that he could not handle a bull with poor eyesight--he had served too short an apprenticeship to develop such abilities. (Item 805, p. 6)

After he has been battered by Cohn, Romero fights bravely though he is in pain. That episode is wholly invented and there is no known

[78]Loeb, The Way It Was, p. 298.

precedent for it in Nino's background, but Hemingway may have had in mind the courage of another fighter. In his autobiography, By A Stroke of Luck, Donald Ogden Stewart recalled that at the feria of 1924, Hemingway's bullfighter hero was Maera.[79] And in Death in the Afternoon, Hemingway described Maeras enormous physical courage. Despite the pain of a dislocated wrist, he tried four times to kill a bull behind the horns in the proper and most difficult manner, rather than resort to an easier way.[80]

And Romero's name was that of a Spanish matador who lived at the time of the American revolution. The original Romero, Hemingway says, "killed five thousand six hundred bulls recibiendo between the years 1771-1779."[81] Nino, incidentally, killed recibiendo "once in Madrid and faked it several times,"[82] while the twentieth century Romero killed recibiendo in Pamplona.

While the characterization of Pedro Romero was inspired by Nino de la Palma. Hemingway actually "made up" an archetypal bullfighter, a perfect torero who has some of the qualities of his prototype, but who has in truth been assigned the most outstanding attributes of a number of bullfighters. In idealizing Romero's skills, Hemingway may have had in mind Joselito, a very famous bullfighter of the early part of the century, and about whom Hemingway writes with deep admiration in Death

[79]Stewart, p. 132.

[80]Pp. 80-82.

[81]Ibid., p. 239.

[82]Ibid., p. 238.

in the Afternoon. However, Hemingway could only have learned of Joselito's reputation by hearsay--Joselito was killed in the ring in 1920, and Hemingway did not attend a bullfight until 1923.[83]

The fate of Nino de la Palma is a bitter contrast to his apparent promise. At the end of his first season as a bullfighter he was severely gored. In the following season,

> His nerve went absolutely to pieces. He went through 78 corridas, killed one hundred fifty seven bulls and was never wounded once. But he did it at the cost of panics, scandals, being protected by the police from the crowds who had seen him....kill bulls as he ran past them, poking in the sword sideways....panicky and unable to approach the bulls because his legs would not carry him toward them, chased by the crowd, hooted, laughed at and despised by the people. (Item 805, p. 7.)

At the end, Nino de la Palma was a pathetic figure, a drunkard who lived in a small pension in Madrid, paid by his family to stay away.[84]

Romero, the ideal torero who never knew fear or encountered failure, plays a unique role in Hemingway's fiction. His bravery, his consistent involvement with danger, his attractiveness to both men and women, and his moral triumph over Robert Cohn combine to make him the original example of the code hero.

When Robert Cohn protests to Jake Barnes that his life is passing by, Barnes responds, "Nobody lives their life all the way up except bullfighters." (10) Romero is the perfect illustration of this statement. The world around him is entirely under his control; he dominates animals, other men and women. His courage and strength are constantly tested

[83]Baker, Life, p. 112.

[84]Sam Adams, "The Sun Also Sets," in Hemingway and the Sun Set, pp. 212-221.

and proven in the arena and in life. Romero contrasts strongly with the other men in The Sun Also Rises. He lives the realization of their ideals, personally accomplishes what they can only admire, acts decisively where they muddle, confronts life and death in the most elemental way. He is the first full example on Hemingway's fiction of the code hero, the man who realizes the aspirations of those tho subscribe to the code. As Philip Young has noted,

> He represents a code according to which the hero, if he could attain it, would be able to live properly in the world of violence, disorder and misery to which he has been introduced and which he inhabits. The code hero, then, offers up and exemplifies certain principles of honor, courage and endurance which in a life of tension and pain make a man a man....and enable him to conduct himself well in the losing battle that is life. He shows, in the author's famous phrase for it, "grace under pressure."[85]

Romero is successful when Jake Barnes cannot possibly be so. He confronts the bulls and kills them, and completely satisfies Brett's strong physical desires. (After union with Romero, Brett is described as "radiant" and "happy," and she tells Jake, "I feel altogether changed. You've no idea, Jake." (207) These are all time-worn truisms for describing a woman's sexual gratification.) In achieving this double success, Romero fills two roles. The first and more important is within the natural province of the code hero--he is the chief actor in the primitive ritual of the bullfight. In the second, he assumes by default that part of the hero's role of which Jake Barnes is incapable; in his liaison with Brett Ashley, he is Jake's surrogate. Again, the code hero realizes the aspirations of the other.

[85]Young, Ernest Hemingway (Minnesota), pp. 10-11.

The real source of Romero's power is his control over situations of potentially lethal consequence; Romero is a dealer of death. For Hemingway, there is a close parallel between the killing of bulls and the sexual act. In the middle of the fifth notebook is a long digression on bulls and bullfighting. It is at this point in manuscript that Romero is called Antonio Guerra Guerrita. At the end of this passage is the following paragraph.

> A very great writer once said to me that there was only one emotion comparable to that emotion and that was the consummation of one's first love. He said that they were very much alike and that he would not try and describe either one. He said that you should be able to say that a very great bullfighter should be able to give you that feeling and that should be enough. If you could have that feeling of the first love united with the feeling of death you could approximate it. (Item 194-5, p. 26.)

Each stabbing of a bull with the matador's sword approximates momentous sexual climax. The two are inherently contradictory: death conflicts with the potentiality of further life. The inextricable interweaving of sex and death are suggested in the exchange between Pedro Romero and Brett Ashley at the end of Chapter XVI. Romero proclaims to Jake and Brett that he will never die. Jake taps his fingers on the wood of the tabletop. Romero protests.

> "No. Don't do that. The bulls are my best friends."
>
> I translated to Brett.
>
> "You kill your friends?" she asked.
>
> "Always," he said in English and laughed. "So they don't kill me." He looked at her across the table. (186)

Romero's role in The Sun Also Rises is complex but clear. His motivations are uncomplicated and he acts forthrightly. Though he can be linked to a real figure, he has less in common with Nino de la Palma

than do many of the other characters with their prototypes. His concrete role and his symbolic importance are free of ambiguity.

BILL GORTON

Two prototypes can be proposed for Bill Gorton, Bill Smith and Donald Ogden Stewart, though there is far more of Stewart in Gorton than there is of Smith.

Smith was one of Hemingway's oldest friends. They had first become acquainted in northern Michigan where they had shared summer chores, fishing and a variety of other experiences.[86] Smith's older brother, Y.K. Smith, had an apartment in Chicago at which Hemingway lived for several months in 1920. Smith's sister Kate introduced Hemingway to his first wife, Hadley. (Kate Smith later married John Dos Passos.)[87] By early 1925, Smith, who had gone through a period of extreme personal difficulty, wrote to Heminwway that he was coming to Paris. Hemingway tried to find a job for him, and welcomed him warmly when he arrived. When plans were made for the trip to Spain, Smith decided to accompany Ernest and Hadley Hemingway, Donald Ogden Stewart and Harold Loeb to Burguete for a week of trout fishing, and then continue with them to Pamplona.[88] Smith brought with him to Burguete, a "box of

[86]Constance Cappel Montgomery, Hemingway in Michigan (New York: Fleet Publishing Corporation, 1966).

[87]Baker, Life, p. 75.

[88]Ibid., pp. 141, 144, 148.

sure-fire flies, old favorites from the summers they had spent together at Horton Bay."[89]

In Pamplona, Smith was distressed by the bullfights. In that curious appendix to Death in the Afternoon entitled "Some Reactions of a Few Individuals to the Integral Spanish Bullfight," Hemingway offered this description of "W. G." Most critics, including Baker, identify this figure with Bill Smith.

> Recently recovered from manic depression which followed nervous breakdown; shocked and horrified by horses. Unable to see anything else in fight. Put everything on moral basis. Suffered sincerely and truly at pain being influcted.[90]

Smith's reaction was very different from that of Bill Gorton, whose appreciation of the corrida is closer to that of one R.S., also described in Death in the Afternoon.

> R.S.--28 years old; American; male; successful writer without private means; college education; enjoyed bullfights greatly;....no horseman; was not at all distressed by horses; went into amateur fights in the morning and was a great crowd pleaser; came to Pamplona two years. Seemed very fond of the fights.[91]

Donald Ogden Stewart is a likely source for much of the characterization of Bill Gorton. A graduate of Yale, he found early success as a writer of humor. Stewart, like Gorton, was a writer, like Gorton enjoyed prize fighting, like Gorton was bent on enjoying his trip to Europe.[92] In his autobiography, By A Stroke of Luck, Stewart provided a short of account of his trips to the feria in Pamplona in 1924 and 1925.

[90] p. 498.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Stewart, By A Stroke of Luck, pp. 114, 131.

trips which he made with Ernest and Hadley Hemingway. Stewart found the first trip exciting, "It had been a memorable week, a male festival, a glorified college reunion,"[93] and he went through the festival, "excited, drunk, hot, hung over, enjoying the warm friendship, worshipping Ernest's bullfighter hero Maera, dancing enthusiastic solos in the square, drinking even more enthusiastically from the hospitable native wineskin."[94] But when he rejoined the Hemingways for the festival of 1925, he found that the situation had changed.

> Someone had left the door open and Eve had walked into my male Garden of Eden. Eve's name was Lady Duff Twisden [sic] and she was right out of the gay brave hell of Michael Arlen....With her was someone I took to be her lover, another Green Hat character named Pat Guthrie.... Anyway....good old Bill Smith was there and so were the bulls and the bands and the wineskins....I determinedly set about showing myself and the newcomers the glories of the fiesta as I remembered them from the last year.
>
> But little by little the glory began to slip away. It wasn't the same no matter how much I drank.[95]

Like Stewart, Gorton is a conscientious drinker. In a deleted portion of the manuscript, Hemingway wrote "Don," then crossed out this name and substituted "Bill" and continued, "was the best of the lot and he was on a hilarious drunk and thought everybody else was and became angry if they were not." (Item 194-1, p. 1.) And at several other points in the manuscript, the name Don is written in, then crossed out and changed to Bill. Some of these changes occur at points in the text at which a knowledge of the New York literary and social scene is required for the conduct of the conversation. Donald Stewart,

[93]Stewart, p. 133.

[94]Ibid., p. 132.

[95]Ibid., pp. 144-145.

who lived and worked in New York, and not Bill Smith, is the likely source for most of the dialogue in Chapter XII which contains some memorable exchanges between Bill Gorton and Jake Barnes. It is in this chapter that the changes of name occur. When Bill tells Jake that he must show irony and pity (113), he is, as he says, reflecting a current New York literary concern.

> The source of the "irony and pity" gag had to be [Gilbert] Seldes 1925 review of The Great Gatsby which commended Fitzgerald for regarding "a tiny section of life and reporting it with irony and pity and consuming passion." And Hemingway knew this review for in A Moveable Feast he recalls that "Scott showed me a review by Gilbert Seldes that could not have been better." [96]

Robert Murray Davis has suggested another source for the same quotation. Among the recently published books in New York in 1925 was Paul Eldridge's Irony and Pity: A Book of Tales.[97] Bill Gorton, just in from New York, could be expected to report on the newest literary gossip.

But Bill Smith took credit for another of Bill Gorton's expressions, "utilizing." "Yes," he told interviewer Donald St. John, "I actually remember using that word, utilize, and I remember it catching on somehow, even with the Englishman."[98] Gorton introduces "utilizing" when he and Jake share a picnic lunch on the banks of the Irati. (122)

The same interviewer tried to prod Smith to claim that he helped

[96] Matthew J. Bruccoli, "Oh Give Them Irony and Give Them Pity," Fitzgerald/Hemingway Annual (1970), p. 236.

[97] "Irony and Pity Once More," Fitzgerald/Hemingway Annual (1973), p. 307.

[98] "Interview with Hemingway's 'Bill Gorton.'" in Hemingway and the Sun Set, p. 183.

Hemingway formulate his famous code. Smith declined to do so and suggested instead that if there was any code that guided his friendship with Hemingway, it was implicit in the friendship.

> It was not as directly and fully conscious as you seem to feel. It grew like Topsy because we felt and appreciated things. We tended to buy the English gent's code of gallantry as revealed in fiction. The idea of being "under wraps" was part of it, particularly with me. I mean the kind of attitude Jake Barnes had about the newspaper business in The Sun Also Rises, one should never seem to be actually working or pressed, and yet the work must get done.[99]

So much of Gorton's characterization is derived from Smith and Stewart that it is difficult to isolate fictional elements. Donald Ogden Stewart certainly did not see any, and wrote of his initial reaction to The Sun Also Rises, "When I first read it I couldn't see what everyone was getting so excited about and exclaimed, 'But this is nothing but a report on what happened. This is journalism.'"[100] Smith, however, insisted that none of the representations in the book were literal, but should be regarded as piecings together of character and incident. "The real person was merely a starting point," he told St. John, "but often there was a philosophical truthfulness about Hemingway's depictions that rose above the little factual discrepancies that people loved to look for."[101].

Gorton occupies a curious place in The Sun Also Rises. While he is comfortable with the others, he is only a temporary member of their company. Bill Gorton is on vacation, is free to indulge himself and

[99]"Interview With Hemingway's 'Bill Gorton,'", p. 164.

[100]Stewart, By A Stroke of Luck, p. 155.

[101]"Interview With Hemingway's'Bill Gorton,'" p. 155.

does so, but at the end of the fiesta he prepares to go back to New York and back to work. He is only a visitor to the scene. In fact, he is an outsider, but is accorded all the privileges of any actual member. His humor and his adherence to the code combine to make him an acceptable adjunct to the group, but he is different from them and will return to a way of life different from theirs. Bill is further distinguished from the others in that he is the only important character in the novel who is not in love with Brett Ashley, though he finds her attractive.

Together with Jake, Gorton carries part of the responsibility for the enforcement of the code. He is the boon companion who intuitively understands and shares the hero's values. He is quick to castigate Cohn, he shares Jake's enthusiasm for fishing and for bullfights, he offers his friendly support to Mike after Brett goes off with Romero. Morton Ross has offered an interesting analysis of Gorton's role and suggests that it is he and not Jake Barnes who articulates the code and so sets the moral tone of the novel.[102] Gorton's injunctions are always positive: "never be daunted," "work for the good of all," "show irony and pity," "utilize a little." And while Ross concedes that these statements are offered ironically, he feels that they are explicit guides for behavior in a world of diminished possibilities, a world in which there is no hope of moral grandeur, but only a code of manners. Ross's concluding argument is also his most convincing one.

> I wish to claim for Gorton the function which the pious compiler concludes by attributing to the preacher of Ecclesiastes. "vanity of vanities, saith the preacher

[102]"Bill Gorton, the Preacher in The Sun Also Rises," MFS 18 (1972), pp. 517-527.

> all is vanity. And moreover because the preacher was wise he still taught the people knowledge; yea he gave good heed and sought out and set in order many proverbs.[102]

The quotation is apt, since it is drawn from the last chapter of Ecclesiastes. Two quotations precede the opening lines of The Sun Also Rises. The second is a condensation of the first seven lines of the same text. (The first is Gertrude Stein's often repeated remark about the lost generation.)

The parallel between Gorton and Koheleth, the preacher of Ecclesiastes can be extended beyond Ross's conclusion. To be sure, one part of Gorton's role is to deliver injunctions and moral imperatives. But there is a less serious part of his role for which there is also a Biblical precedent. Ross cites the eighth and ninth lines of Chapter XII of Ecclesiastes. The tenth line continues, "Koheleth sought to find out words of delight."

More than any of the other characters in the novel, Bill Gorton is a source of humor, both of good-natured jokes and of raillery. He is the jester of The Sun Also Rises. He refuses to take life seriously; his spontaneous response to any situation is humorous. At the beginning of Chapter XIII Jake and Bill receive a telegram. Barnes opens and reads it, then hands it to Gorton who does the same. The entire text of the message reads, "Vengo Jueves Cohn," and Gorton says to Jake, What does the word Cohn mean?" (127) Gorton is memorable for his self-characterization as a taxidermist, for showing "irony and pity," and for contrasting sharply with Jake's somewhat ponderous and fundamentally

[102]"Bill Gorton the Preacher in The Sun Also Rises," p. 527.

humorless character. Gorton acknowledges the unquestioned importance of all activities valued under the rules of the code: fishing, bullfighting and drinking. Fishing and bullfighting are not acceptable topics for humor, but nothing else is excluded. Like a true jester, he is given not only to pleasant merriment, but to less pleasant humor as well. Certain of Gorton's sallies against Cohn fall within this definition, notably those in Chapter XV when he taunts Cohn for thinking he might find the bullfight boring.

There is yet another aspect of Bill Gorton's character; he represents certain distinct qualities which are commonly associated with the American personality. He is jovial and open, a pleasant companion. He is independent and self-confident, and welcomes new experience. He is a loyal friend and is outraged when Mike is ill-received at the cafe.

Though he is so firmly grounded in fact that one of his prototypes found it difficult to isolate fictional elements in his characterization, Bill Gorton is more than a combination of biographical facts. As Bill Smith told his interviewer Donald St. John, "It was never a complete copying; he was a true artist in piecing things together, rather than in trying for an absolute reality....the character was really composite, as so many of Hemingway's characters were if people would just take the time to examine them."[102]

MICHAEL CAMPBELL

Michael Campbell's background parallels closely that of Pat Guthrie.

[102]"Interview With Hemingway's'Bill Gorton,'" p. 155.

Clinton King, the artist who married Duff Twysden in 1928,[103] told Bertram Sarason that Guthrie had been born in Scotland where his mother had a castle. Guthrie was an alcoholic. Arthur Lett-Haines reported to Sarason that subsequent to Guthrie's escape from an institution for alcoholics, his mother cut him off without funds.[104] Little is known of him beyond the fact that he was Duff Twysden's constant companion, and it was in this way that Hemingway came to know him. In the first notebook, in which the name Pat is used, he is described in greater detail than in the final text.

> Pat was a charming companion, one of the very most charming and he was nice and he was weak but he had a certain very hard gentleness that could not be touched and that never disappeared until the liquor absolutely dissolved him entire.
>
> Pat sober was nice, Pat a little drunk was even nicer, Pat quite drunk began to be objectionable and Pat very drunk was embarrasing. (Item 194-1, pp. 3-4.)

The same description is applied in the discarded start, but it is misleading, for there is little about Michael Campbell that is either charming or nice. Indeed, both in action and reported action, he emerges as a vain, spoiled and insensitive man. This is well illustrated in Chapter XIII by his story of his callous treatment of his tailor who had, in good faith, lent him a number of military medals, which he then gave away in the most frivolous circumstances. Campbell illustrates the arrogance of privilege. His behavior in this instance is more inexcusable than are any of his actions or statements to Robert Cohn, for, while he is certainly unpleasant to Cohn, it is not without provocation. Campbell

[103] Sarason, Hemingway and the Sun Set, p. 55.

[104] Ibid., pp. 48, 49.

is another example of the use of type in the novel, one suspects of the worst type of the English upper classes. He shows the prejudices of his class; he is arrogant and spontaneously malicious to those he deems his social inferiors. Yet his responses are not inappropriate to the situation. Despite the apparent nonchalance with which he accepts Brett's affair with Romero, he is deeply upset by it.

On the basis of a sentence which appears at the beginning of the first notebook, Baker reaches the conclusion that following the failure of a business venture in Spain, Campbell had "....developed homosexual tendencies. Brett rescued him from his associates."[105] Sarason echoes the comment.[106] This conclusion is drawn from a sentence which, except for the change of name, reads identically in manuscript and in the discarded start: "Pat (Michael) had various habits that Duff felt sorry for and did not think a man should have and cured by constant watchfulness and the exercise of her then very strong will." (Item 194-1, p.3.) In This Must Be The Place, Morrill Cody and James Charters suggest that Guthrie was addicted to drugs and in fact, died of a drug overdose.[107] This is confirmed in the fifth notebook of the manuscript, and Baker and Sarason disproven, when Jake tells Bill Gorton, "It seemed when Duff took Mike up he was using dope or something. She cured him." (Item 194-5, p. 46.) These lines were deleted from what is now the very end of Chapter XVII, when Bill tells Jake that he had a row the night before "with a fellow....that had helped pay Brett and Mike out of Cannes, once." (204)

[105]Baker, Life, p. 153.

[106]Sarason, Hemingway and the Sun Set, p. 59.

[107]Charters, This Must Be The Place, p. 228.

Despite his weakness, his alcoholism, his history of drug use (known to the writer but not to the reader), Campbell proves acceptable to the group while Cohn, with all his apparent virtues, does not. This illustrates again the capricious nature of the code. Campbell, who gets terribly drunk when Brett leaves him but does not cry, who escapes censure by never pretending to be something he is not, who readily acknowledges his deficiencies and removes himself from competition, maintains those qualities which make him inherently acceptable to the others. He has a reserve of self-control which commands the respect of his companions.

MINOR CHARACTERS

The prototypes of the minor characters in The Sun Also Rises were among the most abused of the real-life figures whose personal histories were used in the novel. The characterizations are frequently spiteful, and seem often to be the result of Hemingway's anger. The characters will be discussed in the order of their appearance in the novel.

FRANCES CLYNE

Frances Clyne, so unkindly described in the first chapter, is generally assumed to have been modeled on Kathleen Cannell. Mrs. Cannell suggests that Hemingway combined some of her characteristics with those of another real person in creating the character of Frances Clyne.

> In making me Frances Clyne, he teamed me up with a little Jewish secretary who had accompanied Harold Loeb and Alfred Kreymborg from American to found Broom.
>
> I am of English and Irish descent with a touch of Red Indian and mostly educated in France. Frances and I were poles apart in background, looks, manner and temperament. But Hemingway gave Frances my conversation. From family wheezes, jokes and so on I had developed practically an individual language.[108]

However, just as Frances Clyne and Robert Cohn had lived together for several years, Mrs. Cannell lived with Harold Loeb in Paris, and broke with him when he desired more freedom.[109]

Morrill Cody also denies that there is any fundamental accuracy in Hemingway's portrait of Kathleen Cannell as Frances Clyne, and remembers Mrs. Cannell as one of the most respected women in Paris.[110] And curiously, when Hemingway was writing the novel, he told Mrs. Cannell that he had at last decided to take her advice and write a book about life, instead of moods, but that she would not be in it. "But not you Kitty. I've always said you were a wonderful girl! I'm not going to put you in."[111] However, Mrs. Cannell concludes, he did put her in.

BRADDOCKS

Braddocks, first introduced as Robert Cohn's literary friend (5), is Hemingway's portrait of Ford Madox Ford, written in highly acidulated ink. When Hemingway returned to Paris in 1924, Ezra Pound introduced

[108]"Scenes With A Hero," p. 9.

[109]Loeb, The Way It Was, p. 232.

[110]"The Sun Also Rises Revisited," p. 8

[111]"Scenes With A Hero," p. 8.

him to Ford, who had moved to the Continent to start the transatlantic review. Pound arranged for Hemingway to be installed as Ford's assstant. While he was affiliated with the magazine, Hemingway persuaded Ford to publish some portions of Gertrude Stein's The Making of Americans, and some of his own stories.[112] In August 1924, Ford went to New York and left the review in Hemingway's charge. Arthur Mizener, who is the author of the massive biography of Ford, notes,

> As soon as Ford left Paris, Hemingway began chopping up the August number....By the time Ford got back it was too late to do anything about these changes.... All Ford could do was put a few words in the editorial he had already written. "(The August) number is entirely of Mr. Hemingway's getting together. It must prove an agreeable change for the Reader and it provides him with an unusually large sample of the work of that Young America whose claims we have so insistently--but not with such efficiency--forced upon our readers.[113]

Hemingway was enraged by Ford's comment, and, though Ford later apologized, Hemingway became even angrier when, in the November 1924 issue, Ford printed a retraction of Hemingway's assault on T.S. Eliot which had been published two months earlier. The supplement to the September transatlantic was a Joseph Conrad memorial number, in which Hemingway wrote that if, "by grinding Mr. Eliot into a fine dry powder and sprinkling that powder over Mr. Conrad's grave," he could bring Conrad back to life, he would "leave for London early tomorrow morning with a sausage grinder."[114]

[112]Baker, Life, pp. 123, 124.

[113]The Saddest Story: A Biography of Ford Madox Ford (New York: World, 1971), p. 339.

[114]Ibid., p. 341.

Hemingway took the retraction as a personal insult. "He dropped all outward semblance of friendship with Ford and went out of his way to be as insulting as possible."[115]

The process carried from his personal life into his writing. Deleted from the final text, though present in the handwritten manuscript and even in the galleys is Hemingway's description of an incident on the terrace of the cafe the Closerie des Lilas. In manuscript, the narrator, who is not named, sits with a companion called Dos. (In the typewritten copies and the galleys, the companion is not John Dos Passos but Alec Muhr.) They are soon joined by Braddocks. As the three men sit together at a table, "Along the sidewalk came a tall, gray lantern-jawed man, walking with a tall woman wearing a blue Italian infantry cape. They looked at our table as they passed, saw no one they knew, and went on." (Item 200, discarded start, p. 14.) Braddocks boasts that the man is Hilaire Belloc and that he has cut him. But the next afternoon, when the narrator sits with friends at the Cafe de la Paix, he sees the same couple and identifies the man as Belloc, only to have a companion inform him that he is in fact, Aleister Crowley. Much embellished, this incident is recounted in the chapter in A Moveable Feast called "Ford Madox Ford and the Devil's Disciple," and Crowley is described as a diabolist. "He's supposed to be the wickedest man in the world."[116]

In manuscript, Braddocks illustrates a variant English snobbery, not aristocratic, but nationalistic. After he has telegraphed Brett

[115]Baker, Life, p. 136.

[116]p. 88.

that he would meet her in Madrid, Jake Barnes thinks to himself, "There was no use bellyaching about it. That was not the way 'good people' acted. It was that ass Braddocks that started to good people phrase. Braddocks was translating his own works into French. He explained to me....'Of course being an American you have absolutely no conception of what that means....The words good people could only have a meaning to an Englishman.'" (Item 194-6, p. 42.) However, Jake does know.

There is yet another unpublished fragment in which Hemingway's dislike for Ford is apparent. The item, now assigned number 271 in the Hemingway papers, was dated by Carlos Baker as having been written early in 1924.[117] It is an unpleasant description of Ford and Stella Bowen quarreling over the wine during dinner; the characterizations of both are unappetizing. Ford criticizes the narrator's choice of wine. Stella recalls that Ford had ordered the same wine the previous evening. They quarrel and Ford leaves the restaurant. The narrator later encounters Ford at a café, and Ford seems to have no memory of the incident. And this, in fact, may have been true. Ford was gassed during World War I, and suffered severe memory loss thereafter.[118] The fragment underscores Hemingway's antipathy toward Ford.

Braddocks's custom of hiring a bal musette to which he invited his friends was Ford's, one which he began in the summer of 1924.[119] And Barnes's mockery of Hudson's The Purple Land, was directed, as Sarason has noted, as much against Ford as against Cohn.[120] For this

[117]Baker, Life, p. 128.

[118]Mizener, p. 286.

[119]Ibid., p. 343.

[120]Hemingway and the Sun Set, p. 74.

was Ford's favorite among Hudson's books, and he had some years earlier praised Hudson as a master of the English language.[121]

Braddocks's real identity must have been clear to anyone who knew the literary scene in Paris in 1925. Clear too is Hemingway's dislike for Ford which had as its result, this hostile characterization.

LETT

Hemingway's distaste for homosexuals was pronounced, and matched only by his own lack of taste when he used the real name of someone he knew for one of the characters in The Sun Also Rises. Arthur Lett-Haines was, in fact, a friend of Duff Twysden's. Harold Loeb wrote that when he returned to Paris in June, 1926, he saw Duff at the Select and "she was with Lett, Cedric's boyfriend."[122] No motive other than maliciousness can be ascribed to Hemingway's action.

ROBERT PRENTISS

In manuscript, Robert Prentiss was called Robert Prescott, but the name was changed at the request of Maxwell Perkins who found this character's name too close to that of the prototype, Glenway Wescott.[123] Wescott, like Prentiss, had been born and raised in Chicago, but unaccountably spoke with an English accent. Gertrude Stein too was

[121]Sarason, p. 74.

[122]Harold Loeb, "Hemingway's Bitterness," Connecticut Review I, No. 1 (1967), p. 19.

[123]Baker, Life, p. 594.

intrigued by his accent. "Glenway impressed us greatly by his English accent. Hemingway explained. He said, when you matriculate at the University of Chicago you write down just what accent you will have and they give it to you when you graduate."[124]

ZIZI

Zizi, "the little Greek portrait-painter who called himself a duke," (28) was identified by James Charters as the Duke of Mitzicus of Greece, who was known in the Latin Quarter as Mitzy."[125]

COUNT MIPPIPOPOLOUS

Robert McAlmon suggested that both Zizi and the Count were "just characters around the quarter....but I believe the count was Spanish."[126] Carlos Baker, however, notes that the Count's identity has been the subject of much inconclusive debate.[127] Firm identification of a prototype for Count Mippipopolous has never been made.

[124]Gertrude Stein, The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas (New York: Vintage Books, 1933), p. 165.

[125]James Charters, "Duke Zizi," in Hemingway and the Sun Set, p. 273.

[126]McAlmon, in Hemingway and the Sun Set, p. 226.

[127]Baker, Life, p. 179.

HARVEY STONE

Harold Stearns, Baker writes, was "perfectly recognizable as the fictional Harvey Stone." [128] Stearns had been a prominent member of the New York intellectual community before he went to Paris. Malcolm Cowley cites him as a mentor of the younger generation in search of new goals, the editor of the influential Civilization in the United States: An Inquiry byThirty Americans.[129] But in Paris he drank heavily and dressed shabbily, and he was the "Peter Pickem of the Paris edition of the Chicago Tribune....who picked the winners at the race course."[130] He had much deteriorated from his New York days, and Hemingway's portrait was superficial, but apparently accurate.

WILSON-HARRIS

One of the rare minor characters to be portrayed in a wholly positive light was Wilson-Harris, modeled on Eric (Chink) Dorman-Smith, a Hemingway acquaintance from his wartime days in Milan.[131] Even after the war, Hemingway and Dorman-Smith maintained their friendship, and Dorman-Smith, who had remained an officer in the British Army, arranged his furloughs so that he could ski and fish with Hemingway.[132]

[128]Baker, Life, p. 179.

[129]Cowley, Exile's Return, p. 79.

[130]Robert McAlmon, Kay Boyle, Being Geniuses Together (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1968), p. 328.

[131]Baker, LIfe, p. 85.

[132]Ibid., p. 96.

Hemingway described him in Death in the Afternoon.

> Capt, D.S. -- British....education, Public Schools and Sandhurst; went out to Mons in 1914 as infantry officer....wounded....brilliant record. Recreation; hunting, skiing, mountaineering....Suffered sincerely and deeply at what happens to horses at first bull-fight. Said it was the most hateful thing he had ever seen.[133]

Wilson-Harris is yet another example of a British type in The Sun Also Rises. He is the very best type, understated and sincere, and intuitively in harmony with the code.

His appearance as Wilson-Harris was not Dorman-Smith's first contribution to Hemingway's fiction. Most critics agree that Chapter IV of In Our Time, which begins, "It was a frightfully hot day. We'd jammed an absolutely perfect barricade across the bridge. It was simply priceless,"[134] is written in imitation of Dorman-Smith's speaking style.

In his appreciation of fishing and wine and the company of good comrades, and his understanding of fellowship, Wilson-Harris is automatically a member of the little group who subscribe to the code.

MONTOYA

In the handwritten draft of The Sun Also Rises, the hotel keeper is named Juanito Quintana, and the hotel at which Jake Barnes and his companions stay in Pamplona is called the Hotel Quintana. The hotel was a real one; its owner was, in Baker's words, a "veteran aficionado,"

[133] Pp. 496-497.

[134] P. 37.

and matadors often stayed there.[135] Except for the encounter in the café in which the hotel owner sees Romero drinking brandy, and thereafter scorns the narrator, the sole change in the characterization in the name.

Juanito Quintana remained a hotel keeper until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, when he went into exile in France for eight years.[136] He remained friendly with Hemingway and in 1959 the two men travelled around Spain together to see the bullfights.[137]

There are no known models for the other minor characters. Georgette, the Belgian prostitute whom Jake takes to dinner, Edna, Bill Gorton's friend who appears in Pamplona, Hubert and his parents, who share Jake and Bill's compartment on the train to Biarritz seem to be the products of Hemingway's imagination. Others, insistent that The Sun Also Rises is nothing more than reportage, have searched without success for a prototype for each of these characters.

However, for the great majority of characters in The Sun Also Rises, and certainly for all the major ones, it has been demonstrated that Hemingway followed the same pattern in creating each of them. He began always with the known and with the real, and then carefully developed around it an invented structure. He started with real people, but soon added fictional elements to their personalities and characters, and set them into a story which, initially, closely paralleled real occurences, but ultimately moved entirely into the realm of fiction.

[135]Baker, Life, p. 148.

[136]Leah Rice Koontz, "'Montoya' Remembers The Sun Also Rises," in Hemingway and The Sun Set, p. 210.

[137]Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

SETTING AND INCIDENT

In his role as reporter/narrator, Jake Barnes has a professional obligation to report his story accurately. He fulfills it best when he presents facts, detailed descriptions of setting, route and location. These well-described scenes are drawn from Hemingway's own life experience.

As Jake travels through Paris by taxi and bus he methodically records his journeys, which can be traced on any map of the city. In Chapter III, so accurately does Barnes describe his ride from the Cafe Napolitain on the right bank to Lavigne's restaurant on the left, that the only question left unanswered is the name of the bridge on which the taxi crossed the Seine. (The most probable choice is the Pont Royal.)

In Chapter IV Jake directs the taxi driver to go from the rue de la Montagne Sainte-Geneviève, the street on which the bal musette is located, to the Parc Montsouris. Again he records his route. Plan de Paris[1] in hand, the taxi can be followed as it turns left onto the rue Clovis, then right onto rue Descartes leading through the Place de la Contrescarpe onto the rue Mouffetard. Even when Jake takes one of his infrequent walks, as he does after he leaves the Café Sélect to return home(29), he supplies the reader with street directions. Whether of ambulatory or vehicular travel, the descriptions are accurate for each of Jake's trips through Paris.

[1]A. Leconte, ed. Plan de Paris par Arrondissement. (Paris), n.d., n.p.

Hemingway had no need to resort to guide book descriptions or city maps in order to furnish the reader with precise details of setting. Carlos Baker notes that in the winter of 1922 Ernest and Hadley Hemingway lived in the same area of the left bank of Paris in which the bal musette, visited by Jake Barnes in The Sun Also Rises, was located.

> It was a fourth-floor apartment at 74, rue du Cardinal Lemoine, a plebian street that wound up from the Seine near Pont Sully and ended in a cobblestoned square called the Place de la Contrescarpe. Beside the front entrance at 74 was an angular building which housed a workman's dance hall or Bal Musette. Around the corner was the Cafe des Amateurs.[2]

The Hemingways remained in Europe for a year and a half, and then in September, 1923, sailed to Canada. They returned to Paris in January, 1924, three months after the birth of their son John. This time they found an apartment at 113 rue Notre Dame des Champs, just up the street from Ezra Pound's studio. As Carlos Baker describes it,

> It was a pleasant street sloping down from the corner of the Avenue de l'Observatoire and the Boulevard du Montparnasse, an easy stroll from the Luxembourg Gardens....a stone's throw from an unspoiled cave called La Closerie des Lilas, and much closer to Gertrude Stein's than the former walk-up apartment in the rue du Cardinal Lemoine.[3]

And while Hemingway spent less time in Spain than in France, his knowledge of the different locations in Spain described in The Sun Also Rises was also acquired first-hand. The feria of 1925 was the third that Hemingway had attended. He had first travelled to Pamplona to see the bulls in 1923, and returned the following year.[4] And in the company of

[2]Baker, Life, p. 85.

[3]Ibid., p. 122.

[4]Ibid., pp. 112, 129, 149.

a number of friends, Ernest and Hadley Hemingway had traveled to Burguete in both 1924 and 1925 to fish for trout on the Irati River.[5]

Several commentators have recognized that the descriptions of setting offered by Hemingway through Barnes are exceptionally precise. Morrill Cody verified the accuracy of the part of the novel which is set in Pamplona.

> A few years ago I took the Sun with me to the San Fermin and read it there while the fiesta was exploding all around me. I was interested in seeing if the events today had changed, perhaps been watered down, or whether Hemingway had really portrayed them as they were, "true," as he would have said. I was not really astonished to find that his description of every event, the religious procession, the desencajonada, the encierro, the dancing the bullfight, was deadly accurate, practically photographic, in the detail of its reporting. If you have ever been to the San Fermin and enjoyed it, you can live it all over again by sitting down for an evening with Hemingway's novel.[6]

Another writer, Leah Rice Koontz, found her trip to Burguete to be astonishingly like the one which Hemingway had described forty-five years before.

> Coming over the Pyrenees to see the "grey metal sheathed roof of the monastery at Roncesvalles," going into Burguete with its old inn and houses....following the same road that was there fifty years ago, winding up and down the mountains where "the grainfields went up the hillsides," coming at last to the ruined castle on the hill, one feels on this little-travelled road that nothing has changed....What startles is that....riding along, phrase after phrase from the book comes to mind. Round a bend and there it is! With his eye for a few selective details, Hemingway gives us a complete picture. One can hardly believe that forty-five years have passed over this land since the bus Jake and Bill were riding ground steadily up the hills.[7]

[5]Baker, Life, pp. 130, 149.

[6]"The Sun Also Rises Revisited," pp. 5-6.

[7]"Montoya Remembers The Sun Also Rises," p. 207.

The accuracy of presentation is so consistent, the conveying of physcial detail so precise, and the overall quality so insistently realistic that a level of expectancy is established for the reader. Inevitably, the story as a whole acquires an air of authenticity. If the routes Jake Barnes takes through France and Spain can actually be mapped, if so many of the characters and so much of the fiction can be demonstrated to have been based on fact, then how much fiction can be found in The Sun Also Rises? It seems likely that such considerations have helped to minimize the fictional status of The Sun Also Rises, especially for those readers who were personally familiar with the events on which the work is based,

The impression of realism conveyed by Hemingway's careful delineation of physical setting is heightened by his use of detail in the treatment of incident. Much of the authentic material on which Hemingway based the broad outlines of the plot of The Sun Also Rises has been documented in earlier chapters. A close examination of many of the minor incidents in the novel reveals that they too are based on actual occurrences.

In Chapter VIII, an inebriate Bill Gorton stops on the sidewalk of the Boulevard St. Michel, announces to Jake that they are in front of a taxidermist's shop, and suggests that he buy a stuffed dog. (72) Though incidental to the progress of the story, the reference is based on a real occurrence. At the end of the summer of 1924, Mme Chautard, the Hemingway's landlady, found her dog dead in the courtyard and promptly accused her tenants of having poisoned it. However, an autopsy revealed that the animal had been run over. "She hired a taxidermist to

stuff and mount it as a sentimental trophy, never dreaming that the dog would one day be obliquely immortalized in American literature."[8]

In the same chapter, Jake tells the driver of the taxi in which he is riding to proceed to the Closerie des Lilas, so that he, Bill and Brett can have a drink. (74) This café was, in effect, Hemingway's neighborhood pub, and he often spent the entire morning there working on his writing. There are several references to the Closerie des Lilas in A Moveable Feast.[9]

Other incidents based on actual occurrences are changed to meet the needs of the story. Donald Ogden Stewart told Carlos Baker that at the feria of 1924 he had joined the riau-riau dancers and performed so well that "some of the other dancers lifted him to their shoulders in triumphant tribute to so capable an alien."[10] In The Sun Also Rises, Brett Ashley is surrounded by the dancers who refuse to let her join them but instead, place her in the center of their circle. (155)

Stewart comments in By A Stroke of Luck that the feria of 1924 "wasn't the one that Ernest wrote about in The Sun Also Rises: that was to come the next year."[11] Most of the story line of The Sun Also Rises follows the outline of the trip of 1925, but in creating the fiction, Hemingway used details and events recalled from other trips in other years. This combination conforms completely to his definition

[8]Baker, Life, p. 131.

[9]"Evan Shipman at the Lilas," pp. 131-140.

[10]Baker, Life, p. 123.

[11]Stewart, p. 131.

of "made up," of the joining in fiction of a number of real events unrelated in time and place. Thus while the Irati fishing trip of 1925 was marred by ruined pools and broken dams, the idyllic conditions described in the novel were recalled from the trip made the previous year. Sheridan Baker illustrates another deviation from the calendar of 1925, and suggests that as a fictional device, Hemingway tried to set the story in 1924. This, he says, is

> dated by Romero's age and birth year, and oddly authenticated by mention of Charles Ledoux (Chapter IX) who forfeited his European feather-weight title on June 15, 1924 by refusing a challenge: for this non-existent fight Hemingway supplies a fictional opponent, apparently a version of "Ad Francis" in "The Battler."[12]

Other incidents in the novel, while minor, contribute greatly to the book's flavor. Included in this category are Jake's meeting with the Belgian prostitute Georgette, Bill and Jake's encounter on the train with the pilgrims and with the American couple en route to Biarritz. The tone of these accounts is strongly realistic, and they seem so authentic that it is tempting to include them in the category of barely fictionalized incident. However, they have never been authenticated.

[12]Ernest Hemingway: An Introduction and Interpretation (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1927), p. 48.

CHAPTER V

FROM FACT TO FICTION

Distinct from any real or apparently real incidents are those which are clearly fictional. They arise naturally out of the carefully constructed blend of fact and ficiton which comprises the first two-thirds of the book. These wholly fictional incidents comprise the last portion of The Sun Also Rises, from the point at which Brett confesses to Jake her infatuation with Pedro Romero, to the novel's conclusion. Remarkably, this wholly fictional ending grafted onto an essentially factual story provides a perfectly reasonable conclusion to the events which had preceded them. To accomplish this, Hemingway carefully re-directed his story and progressively narrowed its scope. The transposition from a factual to a fictional mode is carefully accomplished. The fictional episodes do not in any way seem forced or contrived. Rather, the actions of the characters in the last part of the novel are consonant with their prior actions, actions which were at least in part based on fact.

Harold Loeb's description of his argument with Hemingway, cited earlier in this text, closely parallels the scene described in Chapter XVI of The Sun Also Rises (177). In manuscript, the scene is found on the unbound sheets on which Hemingway began the story--it was one of the first scenes he wrote. These sheets conclude as Pat and Harold, as they are called in this early draft, come close to blows but are pacified by the narrator. The story is somewhat changed in the final text. Jake describes how he and Mike left the hotel for the Cafe Iruna.

> We started off. I looked back as Mike stumbled up the stairs and saw Cohn putting his glasses on again. Bill was sitting at the table pouring another glass of fundador. Brett was sitting looking straight ahead at nothing. (178)

The account differs in manuscript.

> We started off. I looked back as Pat stumbled on the stairs and saw Harold putting his glasses back on. Hadley and Duff followed us. They were talking, I believe, about their mothers. (Item 193, p. 31.)

The key difference between the accounts in the final text and in manuscript is the inclusion of Hadley in the first version. By dropping her from this episode (and from the story as a whole) Hemingway has established a situation of dramatic tension. When the group at Pamplona included a married narrator named Ernest, his departure from the hotel dining room in the company of his wife, his inebriate friend and the friend's companion was commonplace. However, when Jake Barnes leads Mike Campbell from the scene, they leave behind them a significantly different situation, one in which nothing has been resolved. Cohn replaces his glasses, Bill pours another drink, and Brett is still caught between Cohn and Campbell, both of whom she regards with increasing antipathy.

The real conclusion, in which everyone peacefully left Pamplona, certainly did not meet the dramatic needs of the story. The fiction demands an explosive dénouement. Cohn "ready to do battle for his lady love," has surely received enough provocation. Up to now, Cohn has been non-combative and even meek, and has patiently endured the malicious comments of the others. The event that finally breaks his reserve is Jake's arrangement of Brett's affair with Romero. For Robert Cohn, this is the

ultimate betrayal of trust and friendship. It is unreasonable to expect Cohn to realize that Jake has been motivated by needs of his own which are far more deeply rooted and compelling than Cohn's. Jake, always reticent about his inner life and personal affairs, has never indicated to Robert Cohn the real nature of his relationship to Lady Ashley. From Cohn's viewpoint, his best friend has joined all the others and turned against him--and picked a particularly malicious way to show his enmity. Cohn's fury erupts, and he assaults all his tormentors. But by now, his status in the novel has changed. Now he is not simply a tennis-playing expatriate novelist, but, as Mark Spilka has noted, an actor in a scene of greater consequence. For The Sun Also Rises may be read as an allegorical account of the effect of World War I on the perception of love. And within this framework, "Jake Barnes and Brett Ashley are two lovers desexed by the war; Robert Cohn is the false knight who challenges their despair, while Romero, the stalwart bullfighter, personifies the good life which will survive their failure."[1] Spilka's argument is interesting, but can be extended further. Robert Cohn is indeed the false knight, but Pedro Romero has a role more significant than simply to represent the good life. Pedro Romero, the code hero, is the true knight. The battle which Romero wins by refusing to lose is not, as Spilka argues,[2] the defeat of the romantic hero Cohn by the code hero Romero, for the code hero is the romantic hero--nothing could be more romantic than such a superhuman conception. Cohn is the false knight because he is the false romantic. He wears the usual attributes of the

[1]Mark Spilka, "The Death of Love in The Sun Also Rises," in Hemingway: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Robert P. Weeks (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), p. 127.

[2]Ibid., p. 134.

romantic hero like a veneer, but he lacks the inner strength and resolution, the fundamental courage of the real thing.

In this artful transition from fact to fiction, the power of the situation is derived from the imputation of consequences larger than those which grow out of the basic story. That is, in fiction the story grows beyond its potential in fact and establishes truth fundamental to a world more extensive than that of the small group at Pamplona. Only in fiction does Cohn's real role become clear. The real reasons why his companions find him irritating are now apparent. It is not only that he pines and primps for a woman who has rejected him. It is not only that he thinks love more important than fishing and that he is sickened by bullfights, though these are the obvious causes of the wrath of the others. Robert Cohn is at once symptomatic and symbolic of an age of failed values. The wounded generation--those who came of age during the war--inhabit a moral wasteland and share a permanent incapacity to believe in the values which had sustained earlier generations. Those who survived physically sustained injury to their ideals and illusions. They are, like Jake Barnes, doomed to skepticism and cynicism. They would like to believe that honor, courage, loyalty and personal worth have some real meaning, but they have seen too many horrors to pretend to such naivete. These remain admirable, but impossible ideals. In this world of limited possibility, a quiet celebration of decency and moderate pleasure is the most that any of them can hope to achieve. As Brett says after she renounces Romero, "It's sort of what we have instead of God." (245) Against this is set the figure of Robert Cohn who pretends that he has been untouched, who pretends that he has seen no war and no

horror, and that the old values are still meaningful. Cohn pretends to be a hero; the bullfights make him sick. It is left to Romero, who is young enough to have been spared the trauma of the war, to be the standard-bearer of traditional values, for he has never had any reason to doubt them. Passing from fact into fiction, from reality into allegory, Robert Cohn abandons his prototype Loeb, and establishes a symbolic identity which transcends any finite one.

By far the most important of the fictional incidents is Brett Ashley's liaison with Pedro Romero. Again, there is no surprise, no inconsistency with the incidents that preceded it. The reader has been well prepared; Brett has a history of impetuous romantic involvement illustrated by her brief affair with Robert Cohn, and later confirmed by Mike Campbell. "Mark you. Brett's had affairs with men before. She tells me all about everything." (143) And as Jake notes in Chapter XVI, Brett is obviously attracted to the young torero. "She had not stopped looking at Pedro Romero." (175) Apparently, Brett has already told Michael of her interest in the young bullfighter, for he, by now very drunk, announces it to the group. "Tell him Brett is dying to know how he can get into those pants." At the same time, he tries to impugn the courage and profession of his newest rival. "Tell him bulls have no balls!" Michael shouts three times. (175-176) "Balls" is an euphemism for courage. If bulls lack courage they cannot be threatening, and Romero must then be less of a man and less of a competitive threat to Michael for Brett's affections. Brett, however, is not about to be persuaded by Michael's desperate diminution of Romero. Her response is

simple. "My God he's a lovely boy....And how I would love to see him get into those clothes. He must use a shoe horn." (177)

Mike's immediate reaction to Brett's statement is to try to initiate an argument with Jake Barnes, and then, turning to a more likely antagonist, with Robert Cohn. In this context the conflict seems an obvious displacement of his anger which arises in advance of what he can assume to be, on the basis of his prior experience, yet another of Brett's affairs. He is, in fact, so sure of Brett's next move that before Brett asks Jake to help her initiate this new affair, Mike goes off with Bill and Edna to "festa the English." (180)

Again in these few critical pages, so deftly has pure fiction been spliced to material grounded in fact that the link is not noticeable. Brett's behavior seems plausible because it is consistent with her previous behavior. And in the course of her attachment to Romero, the positive aspects of her character, only hinted at before, are emphasized.

When he describes Cohn's fight with Romero to Bill and Jake, Mike rather euphemistically tells them that Brett is now "looking after this Romero lad." (203) Brett can be relied upon to show a spontaneous concern for the people she meets. Mike continues, "But she loves looking after people. That's how we came to go off together. She was looking after me." And another suggestion of these impulses was offered earlier when Brett told Barnes that she had gone off with Robert Cohn because "I rather thought it would be good for him" (83) The depth of Brett's concern for Pedro Romero is shown when she postpones returning to his hotel room so that she will not awaken him (207), goes to church to try to pray for him (208) and finally, gives him up because she feels she is bad for him. (243)

At the point at which Brett Ashley deserts Duff Twysden and steps irrevocably onto fictional ground, she abandons the two mainstays of religion and traditional femininity. Before, she had found the religious atmosphere merely oppressive. Now, though she wants to pray for Romero she is unable to do so, and is nervous and uncomfortable in church. "I'm damned bad for a religious atmosphere,' Brett said. 'I've the wrong type of face.'" (208) Unquestionably, Brett will not find salvation through grace. And her short hair sets her off from other women and makes her the subject of considerable attention. She declines to walk through the park with Jake, saying, "I don't want staring at just now." (207) The length of her hair is symbolic--Romero will later ask her to let it grow out so that she will have a more womanly appearance, will express a desire to marry her, but only after she has become more womanly. But she will refuse, for she cannot assume the pose of the traditional woman any more than she can be comfortable in church. For her, both would be shams. By renouncing Romero, Brett transcends that part of herself which is devoted only to the fiesta concept of life, and shows her own complete understanding of the demands of the code.

Brett's affair with Romero dominates the last portion of the book. The actions of the other characters are not undertaken independently, but are a reaction to her actions. Yet the actual space devoted to this episode is small. Most of the last part of The Sun Also Rises is devoted to Romero's triumph over his own wounds and over the bulls, and is a didactic effort on the part of the author in the service of the cor corrida. The rest is the conclusion of Jake's story.

From the book's beginning, Jake has been a more completely fictional character than have any of the others. There is no point at which his transition into absolute fiction can be readily isolated. Throughout the book he can be associated with Hemingway, for he continues to share the author's profession, interests and experience. And from the end of the third chapter, the reader is aware of his love for Brett Ashley. Indeed, his overwhelmingly romantic, hopelessly impossible love for Brett is the prime source of his motivation throughout The Sun Also Rises. As do Cohn and Campbell, Jake suffers through Brett's liaison with Pedro Romero, but he suffers more keenly than they do and for a different reason. Not only is Jake unable to satisfy Brett's sexual desires, but he must suffer the personal ignominy of helping her find someone who can. (Though to be sure, the implications of the pandering are mitigated to the degree that Jake is serving the worthy cause of the code hero.) This action is one that causes Barnes considerable pain, and one which he does his best to ignore. He resorts to his usual strategy of trying to be "hard-boiled." His first reaction is very much like Mike's: he gets very drunk, "drunker than I ever remembered having been." (233) At this point in the manuscript, Jakes shows emotions which do not appear in the final text. He drinks absinthe. "'How is it?' Bill asked. He resented the fact that I was not happy. It seemed like that, anyway.'" When Jake says he feels aight and Gorton responds that he ought to, Jake lashes out at him. "'That's what you wanted, wasn't it?' I felt angry at Bill." (Item 194-6, p.22)

Just as Mike became angry with Barnes and Cohn when he realized that Brett was on the verge of another affair, so Jake takes out his anger on Bill Gorton. This emotion is brought under greater control in the final

text, as is his own impetus to self-pity. At the very end of Chapter XVIII, Barnes, who has pretended to be asleep when Bill and Mike come to his room to fetch him down to dinner, decides instead to get up and join them. He finds the world "clear and bright and inclined to blur at the edges." (224) Deleted from the final text are the lines which reveal his despair. "Why not go downstairs and eat, I thought. What is the use of staging this sort of thing. What is the use of any of it? Go on downstairs and eat." (Item 194-6, p. 24.)

From these depths, Barnes sets out to try to rebuild his world, though it is clear that his world will never be very different. Brett has only to call and Jake, the faithful lover, will rush to her side.

CHAPTER VI

FINAL REVISIONS

The reader of the published text of The Sun Also Rises will find not trace of the serious organization problems which Hemingway had to overcome when he revised the first draft of the novel. These problems included establishing a starting point for the story, the choice of narrative voice, and the overall direction the story was to take.

Frequent reference has been made to the unbound sheets on which Hemingway began to write The Sun Also Rises. This, the original start, begins.

> I saw him for the first time in his room at the Hotel Quintana in Pamplona. We met Quintana on the stairs as Bill and I were coming up to the room to get the wine bag to take to the bullfight. "Come on," said Quintana. "Would you like to meet Nino de la Palma?" He was in room number eight. I knew what it was like inside, a gloomy room with the two beds separated by monastic partitions....Quintana knocked and opened the door. The boy stood very straight and unsmiling in his white shirt and gold pants. He was dressed all except his coat and his sash had just been wound. (Item 193, p. 1.)

The incidents on these thirty-four unbound sheets include the meeting with Romero, the arrival of the American ambassador and the quarrel between Pat and Harold (as they are called in this first draft). Though discarded from the beginning of the novel, these are later worked into Chapters XV and XVI. At the appropriate spots in the handwritten text, Hemingway noted, "insert Ambassador and party," "insert Quintana talk," "insert Guerrita part at café." But before he reached the decision to introduce these incidents at a later point in the narrative, Hemingway first tried to include them in the order in which they were originally written.

His first effort, (Item 195) is a two-page typewritten fragment which reads exactly like the handwritten original version, except that the fictional names of the characters have been substituted for the real ones of the prototypes. The narrator and his friend, who have taken rooms at the Hotel Montoya, are taken by Montoya, the owner of the hotel, to meet the young bullfighter, Pedro Romero. This fragment may be assumed to be a first and quickly rejected effort to type the handwritten manuscript.

Item 197, also a two-page typewritten fragment, is the second discarded start, and presents essentially the same facts as the first start, but the manner and focus of the narrative are immediately changed.

> It was half past three in the afternoon in a dark bedroom in the Hotel Montoya in Pamplona Spain. It was a cheap room because the boy who lived in it had not yet learned to appreciate luxury. He stood under the electric light and he seemed quite alone, although there were five people in the bedroom. Two Spanish newspapermen sat on the bed. They were amused. The boy, who was a bullfighter, was talking English.

Two features make this fragment notable: it is third person narrative, written in terse newspaper style, and in consequence, the narrator has disappeared, leaving the reader to focus completely on the figure of the young bullfighter. This effort also proved unsatisfactory, and Hemingway made still another attempt to write a satisfactory beginning for his novel.

What is now the first page of <u>The Sun Also Rises</u> was originally the sixteenth page of the completed typescript of the novel as it was sent to the publisher. In fact, the original galley proofs of the book show that Scribner's had set and was prepared to print the first fifteen.

pages as Hemingway had written them. They did not, because Hemingway asked that these be omitted from the final text, and this he did on the advice of F. Scott Fitzgerald.

The Hemingway-Fitzgerald friendship had developed in the course of 1924-25, but despite Hemingway's admiration for Fitzgerald, he did not ask the other author to read his first novel until after he had sent it to his publisher. When Hemingway arrived at Juan les Pins in June, 1926, he brought with him the carbon copy of the typescript, and offered it to Fitzgerald to read.[1] Fitzgerald's critique of the novel, discovered among the Hemingway papers, shows how Fitzgerald's incisive reading of The Sun Also Rises persuaded Hemingway to change the novel. On the whole, Fitzgerald wrote, the work was fine, brilliant in fact, but marred by a casualness and lack of care. When he began to list the deficiencies of the novel, Fitzgerald concentrated on the first chapter, criticizing the use of specific words, the ready acceptance of certain shopworn phrases. He disapproved strongly of the inclusion of Brett Ashley's personal history. "That biography from you who allways [sic] believed in the superiority (the preferability) of the imagined to the seen not to say to the merely recounted."[2] In fact, Fitzgerald suggested cuts more extensive than those which Hemingway ultimately made.

> Why not cut the inessentials in Cohen's [sic] biography. His first marriage is of no importance. When so many people can write well + the competition is so heavy I can't imagine how you could have done these first 20 pps. so casually. You can't play with peoples [sic] attention--a good man who has the power of arresting attention at will must be especially careful.

[1]Baker, Life, p. 170.

[2]"Letter to Ernest Hemingway," p. 11.

> From here. Or rather, from p. 30 I began to like the novel but Ernest I can't tell you the sense of disappointment that beginning with its elephantine facetiousness gave me. Please do what you can about it in proof. Its [sic] 7500 words--you could reduce it to 5000. And my advice is not to do it by paring but to take out the worst of the scenes.[3]

It was on the basis of this advice that Hemingway eliminated the pages which began,

> This is a novel about a lady. Her name is Lady Ashley and when the story begins she is living in Paris and it is Spring. That should be a good setting for a romantic but highly moral story. As everyone knows, Paris is a very romantic place. Spring in Paris is a very happy and romantic time. Autumn in Paris, although very beautiful, might give a note of sadness or melancholy that we shall try to keep out of this story. (Item 200, discarded start, p. 1.)

The reader of this deleted portion of the manuscript finds no reason to disagree with Fitzgerald's evaluation.

[3]Fitzgerald,"Letter to Ernest Hemingway," p. 12.

CHAPTER VII

WHO IS THE NARRATOR?

The evidence provided by the false start catalogued as Item 197 in the Hemingway papers shows that when he revised the novel, Hemingway tried first to use a third, rather than a first person narrator. Carlos Baker notes that early in January, 1926, Hemingway was trying unsuccessfully to change from first to third person narrative,[1] though it is not clear from Baker's notes how he ascertained the precise time at which Hemingway worked on these revisions, or the nature of the revisions. That Hemingway was not wholly satisfied with a first person narrator is made clear to the reader of the fifteen-page discarded start. Jake Barnes, who has in the first chapter described Brett and Mike and their life together in Paris, opens the second chapter in an apologetic manner.

> I did not want to tell this story in the first person but I find that I must. I wanted to stay well outside of the story so that I would not be touched by it in any way and handle all the people in it with that irony and pity that are so essential to good writing. I even thought I might be amused by all the things that are going to happen to Lady Brett Ashley and Mr. Robert Cohn and Michael Campbell, Esq. and Mr. Jake Barnes. But I made the unfortunate mistake, for a writer, of first having been Mr. Jake Barnes. So it is not going to be splendid and cool and detached after all. (Item 200, discarded start, p. 7.)

The manuscripts examined by this writer show no other signs of Hemingway's effort to change from a first to a third person narrator. There is evidence in the notebooks of an attempted change in narrator, but the thrust of the change is in a different direction. A number of passages

[1] Baker, Life, p. 163.

indicate that at one point Bill Gorton was considered for the narrator's role. The Ledoux-Kid Francis fight is mentioned briefly at the start of Chapter XI in the final text. In manuscript, the fight is described in detail. Evidently it was an exciting bout.

> There were twelve rounds of this and after the first one we saw I was hoarse. Jake lost his voice: we had missed three rounds.
>
> "My God," said Jake. To think of missing that."
>
> "We might have missed it all."
>
> "My God," said Jake. "What fools people are." (Item 194-3, p. 10)

This is an isolated axample, and may reasonably be considered to have been accidental. However, further in the manuscript there is evidence of consistent experimentation with Bill Gorton as the narrator. This occurs in what is now Chapter XIII, in the scenes at Burguete. In mansucript, the letter which the men receive from Michael Campbell is addressed not to Jake but to Bill. In the same chapter, in a passage which corresponds to one on page 127 of the final text, the two men sit together after breakfast. The sentence reads in manuscript, "After breakfast Jake and I were...." then Jake's name is crossed out and Bill's name is substituted for it. And when Cohn's telegram arrives, the narrator reads it and then informs the reader, "I handed it to Jake." Again Barnes's name is crossed out, and Gorton's written in.

In subsequent pages, however, the names of the speakers are used just as they are used in the final text. In this chapter, Hemingway seems to have made a short-lived attempt to supply the story with a new narrator. It was an attempt which he consciously made and rejected. A

note at the beginning of the chapter which was so effectively crossed out that it is now difficult to decipher reads, "1st pers. Bill now friend, now change to Jake throughout." (Item 194-4, p. 14)

Destined to remain forever unanswered is the question of why Hemingway ever thought it desirable to change the narrative voice. When he began to revise The Sun Also Rises, why did he try to remove from the story the personal imprint of Jake Barnes?

Certainly, one part of the answer is that as a professional reporter, Hemingway was accustomed to writing in the third person, and he may have thought it appropriate that Jake Barnes, a newspaperman, not participate in a story and report on it at the same time. Possibly, Hemingway may have been concerned that he would be completely identified with the character of Jake Barnes. Ultimately, however, Hemingway's close affiliation with Barnes and his intimate participation in so many of the events of the novel made it impossible for him to substitute a different voice for one that was in part his own.

CHAPTER VIII

ORGANIZATION

Even before he completed the third notebook, Hemingway had a sufficiently clear idea of the direction the narrative was to take to enable him to write a brief outline of the remainder of the story. It is fascinating to compare the outline with the ultimate shape of the novel, for while Hemingway did not adhere to it absolutely, the outline proves that even as he was writing that part of the novel for which there are distinct factual antecedents, he envisioned a wholly fictional conclusion. The contents of the third notebook (Item 194-3), correspond to the final text from the middle of Chapter VIII to the middle of Chapter XII. (Because of the deletion of the first fifteen pages in the typescript, comprising two chapters, and Hemingway's error in numbering chapters at one point in manuscript, the chapter numbers in manuscript do not correspond to those in the final text. Thus, Chapter XI in the final text corresponds to Chapter XIV in manuscript, Chapter XII to Chapter XV and so forth.) Hemingway's outline, written on the inside of the back cover of the notebook offers a plan for manuscript Chapter XIII through XVIII, which he envisioned at that point as the concluding chapter.

> Chap XIII - fishing with Gerald [Cohn] not going.
>
> Chap XIV - ride to Burguete. Fishing, return to Pamplona.
>
> Chap XV - Duff, Gerald and Mike there. Desencajonada even we get in. The party at the wine shop. Mike's first outburst.
>
> Chap XVI - Encierro, first corrida brings back to point where book starts. Goes on with that night -- the South American. The dancing place. Noel Murphy. Count shows up.

> Chap XVII - Duff sleeps with Nino de la Palma. [Romero] Gerald fights with Nino.
>
> Chap XVIII - Corrida. Duff goes off with Nino. Count refuses Mike job. Bill goes to Paris. Mike talks, goes to St. Jean de Luz to wait for Duff. Gerald talks, goes to San Sebastian, afterwards Paris. I get her letter, go on down into Spain to bring Duff back.

Midway through the manuscript, Hemingway outlined many of the incidents on which he would later elaborate. And though it took many more than the eighteen chapters of which he originally conceived, the remainder of The Sun Also Rises generally conforms to the outline. But how tantalizing to imagine the return of Count Mippipopolous to join the revels at Pamplona. Who was the South American? And who was Noel Murphy? Was this to be some fictional version of Gerald or Sara Murphy, Hemingway's new friends? It is clear from the outline that many possible chapters of the novel were left unwritten. The best explanation for the omission of these elements is that as the story evolved, Hemingway realized that they did not contribute to its forward movement. As Jake Barnes tells the reader in the discarded start,

> I am writing the story, not as I believe is usual in these cases, from a desire for confession.... but because I believe it is a good story.
>
> Like all newspapermen, I have always wanted to write a novel. (Item 200, pp. 8-9.)

CHAPTER IX

TECHNIQUE AS A PRODUCT OF INFLUENCE

The genesis and development of Hemingway's technique were for many years the subject of hot critical debate. Opinion was polarized, and his style judged to be either wholly original or wholly derivative. Partisans of each opinion marshalled impressive evidence to support their contentions. The emotional aspects of the discussion have cooled with the passage of time, and contemporary writers chart a more reasonable course between the two poles. Hemingway's style is now acknowledged to be simultaneously unique and derived from the styles and principles of other writers whom he knew and admired. And at the core of his technique is the rigorous training he received as a reporter early in his career. Hemingway's methods of adapting to his own needs reportorial techniques and the techniques of other writers are similar to his use of fact as the basis for his fiction. A given style is carefully studied and assimilated, then changed and personalized and given different dimensions from those it originally had.

JOURNALISM

Charles Fenton contends that the most significant element in Hemingway's apprenticeship was the discipline imposed on his writing style by journalism. Fenton's study, The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway,[1] was one of the first books to provide a balanced appraisal of the different elements which contributed to the formation of Hemingway's style.

[1](New York: Viking Press, 1954).

In October, 1917, Hemingway, who had graduated from high school the previous June, went to Kansas City to take a job as a cub reporter on the Kansas City Star. While he remained at the Star for only six months before he joined the World War I Red Cross Ambulance Corps, it was in the course of this experience that Hemingway received almost all his formal training as a newspaper reporter. Fenton explains that it was a great coup for an inexperienced reporter to get a job on the Star.

> The Kansas City Star was in 1917 one of the....great American newspapers....Like the revered New York World with which it was often compared, the Star infected its staff with a curiosity about mankind and a craftsmanlike regard for clear provocative good writing. The Star insisted, when possible, on training its own men.[3]

His analysis of the style of the Kansas City Star emphasizes the editorial goal of "crisp declarative style as well as....stress on the colloquial." Pete Wellington, the paper's assistant city editor, insisted that "narrative be clear and interesting and precise." Wellington encouraged his reporters to compose in a flexible narrative style and to avoid the "who-what-when-where" of traditional journalism.[4] Editorial policy was strictly enforced, and a reporter was expected to tailor his writing to conform to it.

The writing exercises which Hemingway begin in Paris in the early 1920s and which were ultimately published as in our time are clearly linked to the kind of news stories which he wrote at the Kansas City Star. Some of them, including the two which are reprinted at the beginning

[2]Baker, Life, p. 32.

[3]Fenton, p. 29.

[4]Ibid., pp. 42-43.

of Chapters VIII and XV of the American edition, might, in fact, have appeared on the newspaper's front page. "They contain all the characteristics Pete Wellington valued....Hemingway had retained the entire technique of the Star, even to the idiosyncracies of spelling and the terminology of streets and precinct."[5]

Affixed to the inside of the back cover of Matthew J. Bruccoli's collection, Ernest Hemingway, Cub Reporter.[6] is a copy of the September, 1925 version of the style sheet of the Kansas City Star. This sheet was the codification of editorial policy.[7] In all, there were 110 rules, some valuable, others merely idiosyncratic, but a reporter was required to adhere to them all. Within the manuscript of the novel, there is substantial evidence that in six months Hemingway had learned his lessons.

Rule one urged succinctness. "Use short sentences. Use short first paragraphs. Use vigorous English. Be positive, not negative." Rule nine urged compression; "Eliminate every superfluous word." A comparison of two passages, one in manuscript, the other in the final text, shows how systematically Hemignway removed unnecessary words and tightened the narrative. The effect is a clear and precise prose.

The second bull-fight we saw Guerrita in was much better than the first. Duff sat with Mike and I at the barrera and Gerald and Bill went up into the high seats. I do not	The bullfight on the second day was much better than the first. Brett sat between Mike and me at the barrera, and Bill and Cohn went up above. Romero was the

[5]Fenton, p. 45.

[6](Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970).

[7]Pete Wellington, whom Fenton calls "the keeper of the Star style sheet," joined the paper in 1912. Fenton contines: "In the early 1940's, when it became necessary to expand the old style sheet, it was to Wellington....to whom the chore was automatically handed." p. 31.

think that Duff saw any other bullfighter. No one else except the hard-shelled technicians did either. It was all Guerrita. He ran it all anyway. There were two other matadors but they did not count. I watched Duff sometimes and I explained to her just what it was Guerrita was doing each time and where the technical value was. Duff got the esthetic value. (Item 194-5, p. 16.)

I do not think Brett saw any other bullfighter. No one else did either, except the hard-shelled technicians. It was all Romero. There were two other matadors, but they did not count. I sat beside Brett and explained to Brett what it was all about. I told her about watching the bull, not the horse when the bull charged the picador. (p.167.)

In good Star style, Hemingway tightened the prose of the final text and corrected grammatical errors. Whole sentences are eliminated. Descriptions are rendered precisely in short, declarative sentences. The overall effect of the paragraph is achieved by the use of crisp, carefully crafted prose in which facts are presented in an orderly manner. but without intruding on the forward movement of the story.

Rule three advised, "Never use old slang. Such words....have no place after their use becomes common. Slang to be enjoyable must be fresh." Fifty years after Hemingway completed The Sun Also Rises, it is difficult to evaluate the freshness of the language at the time of publication. Hemingway seems to have used very little slang in writing the novel; linguistically, the book has aged gracefully. In fact, the only part of the novel which seems dated is that effort at smart conversation between Jake Barnes and Bill gorton in Chapter XII, where topical references to Menken and Frankie Fritsch, Bryan and the Anti-Saloon League, are well on the way to being matters of quaint historical interest.

The twenty-first rule adjured all reporters to "Avoid the use of adjectives, especially such extravagent ones as splendid, gorgeous, grand, magnificent." At their most expressive, Hemingway's characters find things to be fine, admit that they've had a "grand time," and think that other

people are "nice." When discussing people or topics they dislike, they are slightly more eloquent, but substitute expletives for adjectives. Descriptions of the most appealing country scenes are written in the same carefully controlled language; grass is green, but never verdant, old beech trees are big, but not majestic. Even in the presence of violent death, when Vicente Girones is gored in the back and lifted into the air on the horns of a bull, the language remains austere. This fact is deposited on the page along with all the others, and the story moves on.

Rule 71 cautions writers against the unexplained use of words in foreign languages. In Chapter XVI, a fireworks specialist and his son try to detonate their devices in the rain. At this point in manuscript, the specialist is called a pyrotechnico, and while this word does appear in The Sun Also Rises, Hemingway did not use it until he had first made its meaning clear. And Mike Campbell does not speak of globos illuminados until after the reader has read the sentence, "The people shouted as each new luminous paper bubble careened, caught fire and fell...." (179)

Despite the shortness of Hemingway's tenure at the Star, it is apparent that the lessons he learned in that intensive six-month period proved to be critically important to his development as a writer. There he first learned to tell a story simply and directly, and with a minimum of artifice.

Hemingway was severely wounded in Italy in 1918, and returned to the United States the following January, limping badly and using a cane. He spent many months at home in Oak Park recuperating from the immediate physical and psychological effects of his injury.[8] By the summer he had

[8]Baker, Life, pp. 56-59.

recovered sufficiently to travel to northern Michigan, and he remained there throughout the fall. After spending Christmas with his family, he travelled to Toronto where he had been hired to be the companion to the lame son of Ralph Connable, the head of the Canadian branch of the F. W. Woolworth company.[9] At Hemingway's request, Connable introduced him to the manager of advertising layout for the Toronto Star; within a week, Hemingway had been hired at space rates in the paper's weekly edition.10

Hemingway maintained a spasmodic association with the Toronto Star from 1920 to 1924. Writing for the Toronto paper was qualitatively very different from his experience in Kansas City. Editorial standards were low, particularly in the Star Weekly, which was, Fenton says, "dedicated largely to the indiscriminate entertainment of its subscribers."[11] However, in the four years in which he was associated with the Star, Hemingway had the opportunity to compose material in a wide range of styles including satire, burlesque, and mimicry, and so had a chance to broaden the range of his own skills. Further, he was for the first time able to think of himself as a professional writer.

A final element that Hemingway brought with him from newspaper work to fiction was "cablese," the extraordinarily compressed language in which news stories were telegraphed by an overseas correspondent to his home office. With the exception of the few telegrams which are

[9]Baker, Life, pp. 63, 66-67.

[10]Ibid., p. 68.

[11]Fenton, p. 76.

exchanged by the characters of The Sun Also Rises, there is no concrete evidence of such concentration of language in the novel. However, the need to eliminate unnecessary words from these reports surely reimposed on Hemingway a discipline which might have been relaxed by the difference in editorial demands of the two papers for which he worked.

ANDERSON, STEIN, JOYCE, POUND

While he was in his early twenties, already committed to a career as a serious writer, but still in the first formative stages of establishing his own methods, Hemingway had the good fortune to come to know a number of writers who helped and encouraged him. His meeting with one famous writer led to introductions to others. Working his way through this chain of association, Hemingway established a pattern. He listened carefully, adopted such technical innovations as met his developing sense of style, and then went on.

In the fall of 1920, Hemingway went to Chicago where he lived in the apartment of Y.K. Smith, an old friend from Horton Bay, and Bill Smith's older brohher.[12] It was at this apartment that Hemingway met Sherwood Anderson, who was working as an advertising copywriter at the same agency as was Y. K. Smith.[13] Hemingway's initial reaction to Anderson contrasted with what would follow. In Anderson's presence, Smith said, Hemingway was always polite, respectful and attentive.

[12]Baker, Life, p. 75.

[13]Ibid., p. 78.

Hemingway and Smith later quarreled bitterly, and Smith's remarks cannot be regarded as impartial, but apparently Hemingway's silence was not necessarily a positive sign.

> "It probably means a storm's brewing," he said, explaining that in his experience Hemingway handled certain personal relationships like a good boxer, encouraging his opponent to overextend himself, growing more tense and silent as a situation developed.[14]

Anderson, however, was unconstrained in his praise of the younger man, and even thanked Smith for the introduction. Bill Horne, Hemingway's roommate at the Chicago apartment, noted that on Anderson's subsequent visits, "Hemingway continued to be polite and respectful, but occasionally he revealed a little of what he was thinking. He was thoroughly hostile, inevitably, to Anderson's concept of unconscious art. Once or twice he was vocally critical of Anderson's style."[15] Whatever his professional reservations, Hemingway held Anderson in high personal regard. Frank Mason, a Hearst correspondent in Paris with whom Hemingway frequently lunched in 1922, thought that "Hemingway's admiration for Anderson centered on the life Anderson led as much as on the work he produced and on his attitudes as a writer as much as on his treatment of material."[16]

There is little in Hemingway's work that justifies the assertion in The Autobiography of Alice B.Toklas that he was nothing more than the product of a collaboration between Sherwood Anderson and Gertrude Stein.

> Gertrude Stein and Sherwood Anderson are very funny on the subject of Hemingway. The last time that Sherwood was in Paris they often talked about him

[14]Fenton, p. 104.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., p 150.

> Hemingway had been formed by the two of them and they were both a little proud and a little ashamed of the work of their minds. 17

Anderson himself was somewhat more subtle, though scarcely more modest.

> It was a thing Hemingway couldn't stand. When he began to write he began with the short story and I had already published by Winesburg, Ohio. I had published by Horses and Men and my Triumph of the Egg, and I dare say more that one critic, speaking of his work, attributed his impulse to me. They had even perhaps intimated that I was his master.
>
> It is a thing that happens to every writer when he begins.... Anyway it is sure that if others had said that I had shown Hemingway the way, I had not said so. 18

Most critics agree that the early story, "My Old Man," included in In Our Time is the only example of Hemingway's serious fiction in which Anderson's influence can be seen. The use of language, the device of a young boy narrating the story in the first person, are all reminiscent of Anderson. In fact, the story is more like something of Anderson's that anything else of Hemingway's.

Hemingway's affinity with Anderson places him squarely within the tradition of American literature. Some critics have seen Hemingway's Nick Adams as the twentieth century successor to Tom Sawyer. Anderson too, though in a minor key, is within this tradition. Clearly apparent in Anderson's work is "a singular loyalty to the heritage of a Middle Western boyhood, and the people of Anderson's boyhood in the Middle West

[17]Stein, p. 104.

[18]Sherwood Anderson, Sherwood Anderson's Memoirs: A Critical Edition, ed. Ray Lewis White (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969, pp. 462-463.

were but a single generation beyond Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn and there was an unbroken continuity between the two generations."[19] There were other areas of similarity. Anderson felt that it was important to write only of things which he had seen or experienced. Late in his career, Hemingway was to say, "I only know what I have seen."[20] Anderson insisted on treating sex as a basic human drive. Hemingway, especially in his earliest work (and consequently that most influenced by Anderson) equated sex with naturalness. Fenton judges the treatment of sex in "Up in Michigan"(a story which Gertrude Stein thought "inaccrochable"), to be "wholly Andersonian."[21]

It is fair to conclude that though there are enormous technical differences between Anderson and Hemingway, there is a shared feeling of the importance of a number of subjects as suitable topics for fiction.

On December 30, 1925, F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote to Maxwell Perkins, his editor at Scribners,

> Hemingway's book (Not his novel) is a 28,000 word satire on Sherwood Anderson and his imitators called The Torrents of Spring....Liveright have refused it.... Hemingway thinks....that their refusal sets him free from his three book agreement with them. In that case I think he'll give you his novel The Sun Also Rises on condition you'll publish satire first.[22]

"Well reader, how did you like it?" Hemingway asks in the author's final note to The Torrents of Spring. "It took me ten days to write it. Has

[19]Sherwood Anderson, The Portable Sherwood Anderson, ed. Horace Gregory (New York: Viking Press, 1949), intro., p. 4.

[20]Baker, The Writer as Artist, p. 48.

[21]Fenton, p. 149.

[22]The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald, ed. Andrew Turnbull (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963), p. 195.

it been worth it?"[23] Apparently it was worth it to Hemingway. With The Torrents of Spring he forcefully declared his independence from Anderson, secured a contract with a new publisher, and achieved a certain measure of notoriety. Anderson's Dark Laughter, the butt of Hemingway's satire, was published in 1925.[24] There is little that can be said in praise of Dark Laughter: it is marred by technical and artistic flaws and gross sentimentalities which in contemporary writing would be quickly branded as racist and sexist. The narrative moves abruptly backward and forward across time with little explanation of the shifts. In an apparent effort at self-revelation, characters present their inner thoughts in tedious parade. With devastating accuracy, Hemingway imitated all the idiosyncracies of Anderson's prose, parodied his characterizations and assailed the reader's sense of time and sequence with at least equal success. The Torrents of Spring is occasionally funny, but fundamentally sophomoric and tasteless.

The Torrents of Spring was written in November, 1925, just six weeks after Hemingway had completed the first draft of The Sun Also Rises, but before he began to revise it. It would be intriguing if there were a relationship between the two, but there is none. Neither in setting, plot,characterization,story nor theme is there any similarity between The Torrents of Spring and The Sun Also Rises. In technique the two are completely different. And careful study of the parts of the story which Hemingway deleted when he revised the novel shows that they are in no way reminiscent of anything of Anderson's. While some of the passages

[23](New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 89.

[24](New York: Liveright, 1925).

which Hemingway removed do reveal something of Jake's interior life, in purpose and style they are far removed from either the parody r its target.

When Hemingway showed the manuscript of the parody to his friends, many were appalled that he was planning to publish so brutal a satire,[25] but he went ahead. The Torrents of Spring is the concrete evidence of the end of Hemingway's apprenticeship. With the manuscript of a promising novel in hand, Hemingway proclaimed his emancipation from two of his mentors. For while The Torrents of Spring satirizes a novel of Anderson's it is also directed against a figure even more important to Hemingway's development as a stylist. The last chapter of the satire is called "The Passing of A Great Race and the Making and Marring of Americans." This is an unmistakeable reference to The Making of Americans, Gertrude Stein's long book which sat unpublished on the shelf of her library until Hemingway arranged with Ford Madox Ford to have it issued serially in the transatlantic review. In fact, Hemingway himself transcribed it, since Gertrude Stein had only one copy.[26]

GERTRUDE STEIN

When Ernest and Hadley Hemingway arrived in Paris early in 1922, they brought with them a number of letters of introduction which Sherwood Anderson had written to some of his friends. Several weeks later, they mailed Anderson's note to Gertrude Stein.

[25]Baker, Life, p. 129.

[26]Ibid., p. 124.

> I am writing this note to make you acquainted with my friend Ernest Hemingway....
>
> Mr. Hemingway is an American writer instinctively in touch with everything worthwhile going on here.[27]

Miss Stein responded by inviting Mr. and Mrs. Hemingway to tea. Soon thereafter, she and Alice B. Toklas paid their first visit to the Hemingway's apartment on the rue du Cardinal Lemoine.

> We spent the evening there and he and Gertrude Stein went over all the writing he had done up to that time. He had begun the novel that it was inevitable he would begin and there were the little poems afterwards printed by McAlmon in the Contact edition. Gertrude Stein rather liked the poems, they were direct, Kiplingesque, but the novel she found wanting. There is a good deal of description in this, she said, and not particularly good description. Begin over again and concentrate. 28

Implicit in Miss Stein's criticism is an injunction to work not only harder but more carefully.

There is no question of Gertrude Stein's importance to Hemingway's development as a stylist. The mere fact of having been regularly invited to vist an avant-garde literary salon must have been an extraordinary experience for an aspiring young writer.[29] In reading and transcribing The Making of Americans, as well as in conversation with Gertrude Stein,

[27]Sherwood Anderson and Gertrude Stein, Correspondence and Personal Essays, ed. Ray Lewis White (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972), p. 11.

[28]Stein, p. 213.

[29]In A Moveable Feast, Hemingway wrote that in the winter of 1923-24, he was invited "to come to the studio any time after five in the winter time....I accepted her invitation....and had taken to stopping in at the studio, and she always gave me the natural eau-de-vie, insisting on my refilling my glass and I looked at the pictures and we talked. The pictures were exciting and the talk was good. She talked, mostly, and she told me about modern pictures and about painters, and she talked about her work." pp. 16-17.

Hemingway learned to regard language as an entity in itself, and not just a vehicle for narrative.

Gertrude Stein is a difficult writer whom most critics approach hesitantly. Her work is based on a series of complex theories which evolved from her early studies in the psychology laboratories at Radcliffe College. She was interested in perception, in automatic writing, in the consciousness.[30] She came early to the theory that a personality did not develop over the course of time, but instead persisted unchanged through the events of time. It is this conception which dominates much of her early work, especially 3 Lives and The Making of Americans. The stress in this conception is therefore on the present. Since the consciousness persists through time, the focus must be always on its current existence, on its current thinking. To do this, the consciousness or the object being considered must be disconnected from its memory and purpose. This is the concept of the continuous present, which Gertrude Stein achieved in The Making of Americans.[31]

Present time, then, is the only time of importance, and writing must reflect the tempo of its time. In Gertrude Stein's view, the two conceptions unique to the twentieth century, are that of the wholeness of experience, which contrasts with the nineteenth century view of experience as a collection of fragmented parts,[32] and that of movement. Stein saw her own writing as the natural expression of these two ideas. "You see, she told an audience at the Choate School in 1935, "I had this new concep-

[30]Donald Sutherland, Gertrude Stein: A Biography of her Work (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), pp. 1-2.

[31]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[32]Gertrude Stein, "How Writing is Written," in How Writing is Written, ed. Robert Bartlett Haas (Los Angeles: The Black Sparrow Press, 1974), p. 152.

tion: I had this conception of the whole paragraph and in The Making of Americans I had this idea of the whole thing."[33]

To convey this conception she evolved a kinetic mode of expression. She began first to avoid using nouns, for they gave no feeling of movement.[34] To better present the continuous present, she began to invent grammatical constructions. "I was trying to get this present immediacy without trying to drag in anything else. I had to use present participles, new constructions of grammar. The grammar constructions are correct, but they are changed, in order to get this immediacy."[35]

There was finally a use of repetition, which would at first glance seem contradictory to the needs of movement and immediacy. But it was repetition of a particular kind.

> The question of repetition is very important. It is important because there is no such thing as repetition. I conceived the idea which is, funnily enough, the same as the idea of the cinema. The cinema goes on the same principle: each picture is just infinitesimally different from the one before. If you listen carefully, you say something, the other person says something; but each time it changes just a little And in The Making of Americans....you will see that when I kept on saying something was something or somebody was somebody, I changed it a little bit until I got the whole portrait. What I was after was this immediacy. A single photograph doesn't give it. I was trying for this thing, and so to my mind there is no repetition. 36

The short stories which Hemingway wrote during this period offer proof of the impact of Stein's theories on his own style. Repetition is used in "Soldiers Home," which he wrote in 1924.

[33]Stein, "How Writing is Written," p. 152.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid., p. 155.

36Ibid., pp. 158-159.

> When he was in town their appeal to him was not very strong. He did not like them when he saw them in the Greek's ice cream parlor. He did not want them themselves, really. They were too complicated. There was something else. Vaguely he wanted a girl but he did not want to have to work to get her. He would have liked to have a girl but he did not want to have to spend a long time getting her. He did not want to get into the intrigue and the politics. He did not want to have to do any courting. He did not want to tell any more lies. It wasn't worth it." 37

In this paragraph, the phrase "he did not want" is used six times, and "he did not like" once. The repetition of the words both helps to define Harold Krebs's dissatisfaction with the world to which he returned after the first World War and emphasizes it. At the heart of this story is the young veteran's feeling of revulsion which is clarified and summarized in this one paragraph. Each time Hemingway writes "he did not" he releases a little more information about the cause of Krebs's dissatisfaction, until it is clear that he is uneasy with the false values of the society to which he returned.

There are no such clear-cut examples of Hemingway's use of repetition in The Sun Also Rises, though there are occasional paragraphs in which sounds are repeated to convey a particular effect. At the start of Chapter VI, Jake taxis around Paris. As usual, he carefully describes his route until the taxi turns up the Boulevard Raspail. Then he sits back.

> The Boulevard Raspail always made dull riding. It was like a certain stretch on the P.L.M. between Fontainebleau and Montereau that always made me feel bored and dead and dull until it was over. I suppose that it some association of ideas that makes those dead places in a journey. (41)

[37] In Our Time, p. 71.

The repetition of the words "dead" and "dull" as well as the "d" sound at the end of "bored" are deliberate. In manuscript, similar sentences convey the same sense, but the language has not been shaped to lull the reader into the same state of boredom as that felt by the narrator.

Repetition is used in a broader and more subtle manner in The Sun Also Rises to define and help establish character. Most of the major characters have tag lines, typical expressions which they use throughout the novel and which summarize some aspect of their personality or outlook. Any of Michael Campbell's drunken repetitions, "swell" as it is used ironically by Jake Barnes, Brett Ashley's phrase "one of us" and Bill Gorton's "utilize" can all be cited as examples of deliberate repetition.

Hemingway's presentation of character is close to Stein's conception of a fully develped consciousness which moves unchanged through time. The characters in The Sun Also Rises show no signs of development in the usual sense. They are presented quickly, and as fully as the author cares to do so, and are then left to move on.

Hemingway did not try to convey the sense of the continuous present with any of the verbal eccentricites to which Miss Stein resorted. In The Sun Also Rises, however, he did give the sense of continuous movement, of potential and real volatility. This is gained in part by the quick shifts from one mode of narration to another, from the juxtaposition of description and exposition, monologue and dialogue, and the use of different points of view.

Action is restricted to the present by Hemingway's unwillingness to provide subjective insights into the minds of any of the characters' except Jake Barnes. Insight into Barnes's emotional state is presented

by a series of objects which correspond visually to his state of mind. At the start of Chapter VI, Jake leaves the Hotel Crillon after a futile wait for Brett, who has failed to keep an appointment. The feeling of emptiness he has after not seeing her is echoed by the empty barges he sees being towed down the Seine. In Chapter XVI, Jake introduces Brett to Romero, then makes a tactful exit. Twenty minutes later, he looks through the door of the cafe and finds that Brett and Romero have gone. "The coffee glasses and our three empty cognac glasses were on the table. A waiter came with a cloth and picked up the glasses and mopped off the table." (187) The empty glasses mirror Jake's own emptiness, the finality of his decision to pander for Brett is emphasized by the finality of the waiter's action in removing the glasses and wiping the table clean of all traces of its last patrons. By the time he wrote these lines, Hemingway was no longer writing verbal exercises in the manner of Gertrude Stein. Rather, he had incorporated as his own those of her principles which were consonant with his own developing concept of style. There is evidence in the manuscript of The Sun Also Rises that he had tired of the role of devoted pupil which characterized his relationship to Gertrude Stein.

> Probably any amount of this does not seem to have anything to do with the story and perhaps it has not. I am sick of these ones with their clear sustained writing and I am going to try to get in the whole business and to do that there has [sic] to be things that seem as though they had nothing to do with it just as in life. In life people are not conscious of these special moments that novelists build their whole structures on....
>
> Now when my friends read this story they will say it is awful. Gertrude Stein once told me that

> remarks are not literature. All right, let it go at that only this time all the remarks are going in and if it is not literature who claimed it was anyway. (Item 194-1, p. 9.)

Hemingway was certainly deeply indebted to Gertrude Stein, but three years after his arrival in Paris, he had begun to achieve what he had set out to do, and he was impatient to be free of old ties.

JOYCE AND POUND

Neither Joyce nor Pound was so important to Hemingway's development as Anderson or Stein. Yet Hemingway was to a small degree influenced by each of them, and their effect on his style merits discussion.

Sylvia Beach recalled that Hemingway "was a great pal of Joyce's."[38] Though this seems an unlikely description of two very different men, their personal relationship is of little importance. In the 1920s, Paris was filled with aspiring young writers who found in Joyce's work a ready example of the new directions which prose might take. Many years after he had left Paris, Hemingway talked to George Plimpton about Joyce's influence on him.

> Interviewer: When you are writing, do you ever find yourself influenced by what you're reading at the time.
>
> Hemingway: Not since Joyce was writing Ulysses. His was not a direct influence. But in those days when words we knew were barred to us, and we had to fight for a single word, the influence of his work was what changed everything, and made it possible for us to break away from the restrictions. 39

Joyce was a presence, a challenge, a possibility. Hemingway read and admired his work but did not accept it uncritically. In the manuscript

[38] Shakespeare and Company (New York: Harcourt, 1956), p. 78.

[39] Writers At Work, The Paris Review Interviews, Second Series. (New York: Viking Press, 1963), p. 226.

of "Big Two-Hearted River," he considers Joyce's use of experience. "That was the weakness of Joyce. Daedalus in Ulysses was Joyce himself, so he was terrible. Joyce was so damn romantic and intellectual about him. He'd made Bloom up. Bloom was wonderful. He'd made Mrs. Bloom up. She was the greatest in the world." (Item 274, p. 91.) This statement is part of Nick's consideration of the invented component of fiction, the fusion of elements which results in a "made up" whole, It is peculiar to read this condemnation, for the criticism which Hemingway directed at Joyce was the same one he would receive throughout his career. Yet he always insisted that his work was "made up."The ruminations and digressions in this manuscript, and that of The Sun Also Rises, suggest that Hemingway experimented with a stream of consciousness technique, but found it uncongenial to his style and rejected it.

In the manuscript of The Sun Also Rises, Jake Barnes reveals parts of his inner life which he never shares with the reader of the final text. These are conveyed in a series of rambling interior monologues in which he considers his religon, his relationship with his mother and his love for Brett Ashley. All are awkward attempts to emulate the carefully controlled flow of Joyce's writing: Hemingway and Jake Barnes are temperamentally far removed from Joyce and Leopold Bloom. Hemingway soon realized that this style of composition was alien to him and to his final conception of Jake Barnes as a hard-boiled newspaperman, unwilling to acknowledge the roots of most of his emotions.

Another of Sherwood Anderson's letters of introduction brought Hemingway to Ezra Pound's studio on the rue Notre Dame des Champs. It seems almost inevitable and wholy appropriate that early in his career

Hemingway should have known Ezra Pound. Pound's relationship to Hemingway was typical of his relationships with other young writers: he helped him find a job (it was on Pound's recommendation that Ford installed Hemingway as the assistant editor of transatlantic in 1924[40]), arranged for the publication of his work (by William Bird's Three Mountains Press, entitled Three Stories and Ten Poems, 1922[41]), and offered advice and criticism about his writing. Lewis Galantiere told Baker that soon after he had met Pound, Hemin way reported, "He's teaching me to write and I'm teaching him to box."[42]

Pound's pugilistic accomplishments have not gained the same recognition as have Hemingway's innovations in prose. By the 1920s, Pound's theories of language and literature were well established. Ten years before, he had, with Richard Aldington and Hilda Doolittle (H.D.), worked out the principles which formed the basis for the Imagist movement in poetry.

> 1. Direct treatment of the 'thing' whether subjective or objective.
>
> 2. To use absolutely no word that does not contribute to the presentation.
>
> 3. As regarding rhythm: to compose in the sequence of the musical phrase, not in sequence of a metronome. 43

In Poetry Magazine in March 1913, Pound offered further guidelines on

[40]Baker, Life., p. 123.

[41]Ibid., 100.

[42]Ibid., p. 86.

[43]Ezra Pound, The Literary Essays of Ezra Pound, ed. T. S. Eliot, (London: Faber and Faber, 1950), p. 3.

the use of language in poetry. "Use no superfluous word, not adjective which does not reveal something....go in fear of abstractions."[44] Though Pound was more concerned with the language of poetry that with that of prose, Hemingway would have paid close heed to these principles, for he was writing poetry at that time. But his real abilities were in prose.[45] And even if he cherished hope for Hemingway as a poet, Pound would not have discouraged his experiments in prose. "Good prose will do you no harm and there is good discipline to be had by trying to write it."[46]

While there is no indication that Pound actually edited Hemingway's work, there is no doubt that his comments were well received. His role as friend and mentor is acknowledged in A Moveable Feast, where Hemingway wrote of him as "the man who had taught me to distrust adjectives."[47] But the essence of Pound's theory was not new to Hemingway, for it is, fundamentally, a forceful repetition of many of the principles which he had already learned.

[44]"Some Don'ts by an Imagist," Poetry Magazine, March 1913.

[45]In his review of Three Stories and Ten Poems, Edmund Wilson stated, "Mr. Hemingway's poems are not particularly important," in William White, ed. Studies in The Sun Also Rises (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1969), p. 84.

[46]Pound, Essays, p. 7.

[47]P. 143.

DOING THE COUNTRY LIKE CÉZANNE

Early in August, 1924, Hemingway wrote to Gertrude Stein that he was trying to "do the country like Cézanne," and was finding it difficult.[48] As anxious as Hemingway always was to disavow the influence of others on his own artistic evolution, his debt to Cézanne was one which he readily acknowledged and reiterated in the course of his career. In 1950 he told Lillian Ross,

> I can make a landscape like Mr. Paul Cézanne. I learned how to make a landscape from Mr. Paul Cézanne by walking through the Luxembourg Museum a thousand times with an empty gut, and I am pretty sure that if Mr. Paul was around he would like the way I make them and be happy that I learned it from him. 49

Hemingway's first attempt to express in words what Cézanne did in painting was in "Big Two-Hearted River," and the manuscript of that story offers additional information about Hemingway's specific concerns and valuable insight into the nature of the process.

> He wanted to write like Cézanne painted. Cézanne started with all the tricks. Then he broke the whole thing down and built the real thing. It was hell to do. He was the greatest. It wasn't a cult. He, Nick, wanted to write about country so that it would be there like Cézanne had done it. (Item 274, p. 93.)
>
> He could see the Cézannes. The portrait at Gertrude Stein's. She'd know it if he ever got things right. The two good ones at the Luxembourg, the ones he'd seen every day at the loan exhibit at Bernheims. The soldiers undressing to swim, the house through the trees, the one of the trees with a house beyond, not the lake one, the other lake one, the portrait of the boy. (Item 274, p. 95.)

[48] Baker, Life, p. 132.

[49] "How Do You Like It Now, Gentlemen?" in Ernest Hemingway: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Robert P. Weeks (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 36.

The portrait at Gertrude Stein's, more formally entitled "La Dame a L'Eventail," is a portrait of Mme. Cezanne painted between 1879-1882. It is listed as Number 369 in Lionello Venturi's two volume catalogue raisonné of Cézanne's work.[50] The picture is one which Miss Stein had bought with her brother Leo in the winter of 1904-05. Leo Stein had first seen Cézanne's work several years earlier while he was living in Florence. When he and his sister moved together to Paris in 1904, they went to the gallery of Ambroise Vollard, who was at that time the only dealer in Paris who sold Cézanne's work.[51] Gertrude Stein notes in The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas. that in the course of a year they acquired a small green landscape, two tiny canvasses of nudes, and finally, the large portrait. "In those days," Miss Stein wrote, "practically no big Cézanne portraits had been sold. Vollard owned almost all of them."[52] After much debate between sister and brother--there were eight canvasses from which to choose--they selected the portrait, which proved to be of great importance also to Gertrude Stein's development as a writer, for she continues,

> It was an important purchase because in looking and looking at this picture Gertrude Stein wrote 3 Lives.
>
> She had begun not long before as an exercise in literature to translate Flaubert's Trois Contes, and then she had this Cézanne and she looked at it and under its stimulus she wrote 3 Lives. 53

[50]Lionello Venturi, Cézanne: Son Art--Son Oeuvre (Paris: Paul Rosenberg, 1936).

[51]Stein, p. 29.

[52]Ibid., p. 33.

[53]Ibid., p. 34.

Not only did the portrait inspire Gertrude Stein, it later sustained her in a very material way. On Christmas Day, 1946, Alice B. Toklas wrote to Carl and Fania Van Vechten, "We ate Mme. Cézanne." Her cryptic comment is clarified by Edward Burns, who collected and edited her letters.

> When World War II broke out Stein and Toklas were at their country house at Bilignin. Early in the autumn they received a twenty-four hour pass to go to Paris. Once there they collected a few essential household items and brought back to Bilignin with them two pictures, the portrait of Gertrude by Picasso and Cézanne's portrait of Mme. Cézanne. During the war, unable to receive funds from American, Stein and Toklas....made a dangerous journey to the Swiss frontier where they met a Swiss art dealer and sold him the Cézanne portrait....The portrait....shortly thereafter entered the collection of Emile Burhle in Zurich. 54

By examining the provenance supplied by Venturi for each picture in the catalogue, it has been possible to identify most of the other Cézanne paintings which Hemingway remembered. "The two good ones at the Luxembourg," in fact the only two of Cézanne's paintings at the Luxembourg, were "Cour d'une Ferme a Auvers," (Venturi 326) and "Le Golfe de Marseille vue de L'Estaque." (Venturi 428) It has been possible to make positive identification of only three of the five paintings which Hemingway remembered that he had seen at the loan exhibit. "The house through the trees is "Maison du Dr. Gachet a Auvers," (Venturi 146) and was last known to be in the Staechlin collection in Berlin. "The one of the trees with the house beyond is "Les Petites Maisons a Auvers," (Venturi 156) and is now at the Fogg Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts. "The portrait of the boy" is a portrait of the artist's son Paul (Venturi 519),last known to be in the collection of Chester Dale in New York. While Cézanne

[54] Staying On Alone: The Letters of Alice B. Toklas, ed. Edward Burns (New York: Liveright, 1973) pp. 42-43.

painted many studies of bathers, none of these pictures can be conclusively associated with Hemingway's description of "the soldiers undressing to swim" and it has also proven impossible to identify "the lake one."[55]

It is of course impossible to ascertain the nature of Gertrude Stein's insights into Cézanne's technique, just as it is impossible to know precisely what it was that she told Hemingway about it. But Miss Stein was a perceptive collector an surely saw, and helped Hemingway to see, the important technical innovations in the painter's work.

Art historians call Cézanne the first of the post-Impressionists, but emphasize that this label cannot be applied to his total ouevre. Roger Fry wrote that at the beginning of his career, Cézanne tried to emulate the styles of earlier periods, but was unable to do so successfully, for even then, he displayed an "instinctive, though as yet unconscious bias towards severe architectural disposition and an almost hieratic austerity of line."[56] Even in his earliest work, Cezanne presents people and objects in a simple and almost primitive fashion. It was many years before he established a personal style.

The great period of Cézanne's life came in the mid-1880s. He was then in his forties and had passed through twenty years of apprenticeship. emulating the Baroque painters whose works he had studied in the Louvre, working by the side of Pisarro in Auvers-sur-Oise in the summers of 1873 and 1874, experimenting with the techniques of the Impressionists.[57]

[55]Hemingway may also have seen some other Cézanne paintings at the Louvre, including "La Maison du Pendu," (Venturi 133) Dahlias," (Venturi 179) and "Les Joueurs de Cartes," (Venturi 558).

[56]Rober Fry, Cézanne: A Study of His Development (New York: Macmillan, 1927), p. 26.

[57]Ibid., p. 33.

In the still-lifes of this period he was finally able to bring together his concept of color as itself expressive of form and that of the basic structural quality of objects. Cézanne is firmly associated with the concept of the importance of the shape of mass. In a letter to Emile Bernard, which he wrote on April 15, 1904 he wrote,

> May I repeat what I told you here; treat nature by the cylinder, the sphere, the cone, everything in proper perspective so that each side of an object or a plane is directed towards a central point. Lines parallel to the horizon give breadth....Lines perpendicular to the horizon give depth. 58

And in subsequent discussion with Bernard he reiterated, "One must first of all study geometric forms: the cone, the cube, the cylinder and the sphere. When one knows how to render these things in their form and their planes, one ought to know how to paint."[59]

In his discussion of the Compotier (1877), Fry emphasizes the importance of clearly defined shapes and forms in the composition of the picture, the rectilinear lines of a napkin and knife which give a sense of horizontal extension. "And this horizontal supports the spherical volumes, which enforce, far more than real apples could, the sense of their density and mass."[60] There are few forms, but they are repeated again and again. It is a picture, not of objects, but of forms and masses.

In other pictures of this period, Cézanne further defined his concerns. Objects are reduced to pure shapes: tree tops resemble pyramids, tree trunks are pronouncedly cylindrical. The geometric aspect

[58] Paul Cézanne: Letters, ed. John Rewald (London: Bruno Cassirer, 1941), p. 234.

[59] Erle Loran, Cézanne's Composition (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 8-9.

[60] Fry, p. 47.

is emphasized; the straight line of a tree exactly divides a scene, a pleat covering a row of buttons runs down the center of a woman's dress and bisects her portrait. Traditional perspective is completely disregarded: planes are enlivened by texture, are given depth by the use of color applied in myriad tiny brush strokes. A characteristically flat foreground directs the viewer's attention to the strong linear shape of a group of trees, to the interlocking rectangles formed by the walls and roofs of closely placed houses, to the shape of a hill, to the emphasized angularity of the terrain.

What Hemingway gained from his close observation of Cézanne's paintings was an understanding of the importance of line and shape in landscape. The first evidence of Hemingway's successful assimilation of Cézanne's principles is found in the manuscripts of "Big Two-Hearted River," which exist in both handwritten and revised typewritten versions. These differ slightly from each other, and very much from the final published text. A comparison of two paragraphs in the handwritten and typewritten manuscripts provides initial evidence of the elements which Hemingway wished to stress. The paragraphs immediately follow Nick's declaration of intent to emulate Cézanne's landscape technique. In the handwritten manuscript,

> Nick, seeing how Cézanne would do the stretch of country stood up. The water was cold and actual. He waded across the stream, moving in the picture. It was good. He kneeled down in the gravel at the edge of the stream and reached down into the trout sack. The old boy was alive. Nick opened the mouth of the sack and skinned it back. He slid the trout into the shallow water and watched him move off through the shallows, his back out of the water, threading toward the deep current at the center of the stream. (Item 274, pp. 96-97.)

Excepting the last line, the tone of the paragraph is flat. The simple declarative sentences are abrupt, and while the actions they describe proceed in logical sequence, the quality of the prose makes them seem jerky and disconnected. It is only in the brilliant final sentence, which leads the eye of the reader to follow the rod-like shape of the trout's back to a central point in the picture that the language assumes a dimension which evokes a palpably sensory response. The typed revision shows Hemingway's awareness of the paragraph's deficiencies.

> Nick, seeing how Cézanne would do the stretch of river and swamp stood up and stepped down to the stream. The water was cold and actual. He waded across the stream, moving in the picture. He kneeled down in the gravel on the bank and reached down into the trout sack. It lay in the stream where he had dragged it across the shallows. The old boy was alive. Nick opened the mouth of the sack and slid the trout into the shallow water and watched him move off through the shallows, his back out of the water, threading between the rocks toward the deep current. (Item 275, p.20.)

As it is used in the first sentence of the handwritten paragraph, the word "country is appropriated from common speech in which it generally connotes an area of clean streams and untouched wilderness. But the term is not specific and does not convey to the reader a clear sense of the scene which Hemingway wished to describe. The substitution of "river and swamp" in the revision defines a precise terrain into which Hemingway sets the figure of Nick Adams. Nick moves from where he has been standing, somewhere on the side of the picture, across the stream and into a more central position. When he kneels in the gravel, the more precise word "bank" is substituted for the first phrase, "the edge of the stream." A sentence is added to locate and give substance to the trout sack. The final sentences of the handwritten draft are combined

into one, eliminating the rough description of Nick folding back the sack, and causing the flow of language to parallel the smooth progress of the trout into the water.

These manuscripts show the beginning of Hemingway's efforts to solve a creative problem. Both paragraphs suggest the broad outlines of a landscape in which the principal elements are river, swamp, man and fish. But however clearly Hemingway may have been able to visualize the landscape, at this point he was still unable to translate his vision into language. This scene does not appear in the published text of "Big Two-Hearted River," and deleted also from the final version are the paragraphs in which Nick shares with the reader his aspirations to emulate Cézanne. But in the final text his mastery of the technique is strikingly apparent.

In the first paragraph of the second part of the story, Hemingway sketches the outline of the picture in which Nick Adams will move during the day.

> The sun was just up over the hill. There was the meadow, the river and the swamp. There were birch trees in the green of the swamp on the other side of the river.
>
> The river was clear and smoothly fast in the early morning. Down about two hundred yards were three logs all the way across the stream. They made the water smooth and deep above them.[61]

Some pages later, Hemingway sets Nick into the picture and carefully balances the different elements of the scene.

> He wallowed down the stream above his knees in the current, through the fifty yards of shallow water above the pile of logs that crossed the stream....

[61] In Our Time, p. 145.

> Ahead was the smooth dammed-back flood of water above the the logs. The water was smooth and dark: on the left, the lower edge of the meadow; on the right the swamp.62

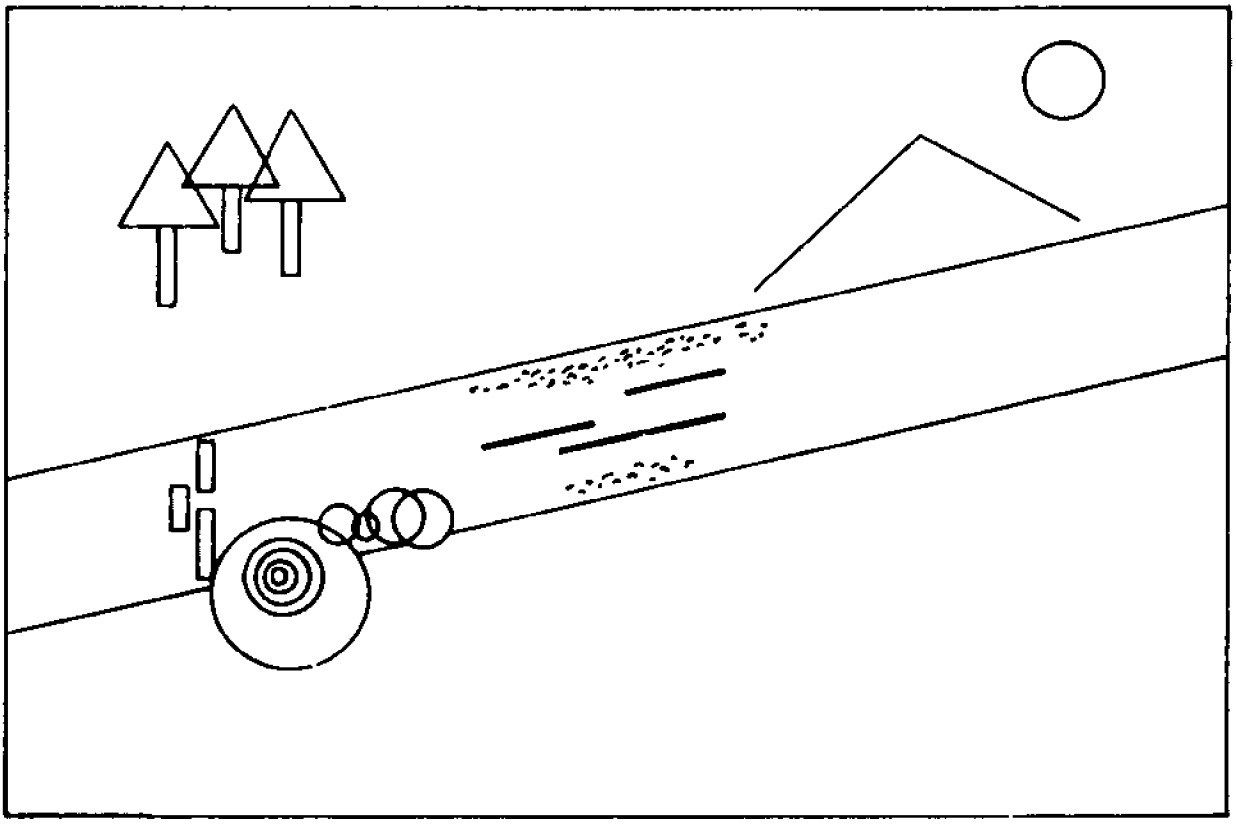
Nick hooks and loses a large trout, steps out of the stream to smoke a cigarette and repair his line, and then rises to return. Detail is added to complete the landscape.

> On the left, where the meadow ended and the woods began, a great elm tree was uprooted. Gone over in a storm it lay back into the woods, its roots clotted with dirt, grass growing in them, rising a solid bank beside the stream. The river cut to the edge of the uprooted tree. From where Nick stood he could see deep channels, like ruts, cut in the shallow bed of the stream by the flow of the current. Pebbly where he stood and pebbly and full of boulders beyond; where it curved near the tree roots, the bed of the stream was marly and between the ruts of deep water green weed fronds swung in the current. 63

A picture has been painted. A rough drawing of the scene shows how carefully the different elements of the landscape have been balanced. Swamp and meadow are separated by the long form of the river. While the sun does not remain suspended over the hill in the course of the day, the hill is fixed at the upper right corner and is balanced by the mass of the large uprooted tree. Pebbles, boulders and the deep channels in the river bed add depth and detail.

[62] In Our Time, p. 149.

[63] Ibid., pp. 151-152.



The picture is indeed a landscape in the manner of Cézanne. It is dominated by geometric shapes: the spherical masses of the sun, of the root ball of the tree, of pebbles and boulders; the pyramid of the hill, the cylindrical shapes of the trunks of the beech trees and the longs on the surface of the water. Like a Cézanne landscape, the picture is divided by the line of the river, though it is probable that Cézanne would have painted a vertical and not a horizontal line.

By the following year, when Hemingway wrote The Sun Also Rises, he had so thoroughly incorporated these techniques into his style, that he was able to reduce a scene it its visual essentials with apparent ease. It is astonishing to compare a descriptive passage in the final text with the same passage in manuscript: the original is reproduced virtually unchanged. The occasional alteration is one of grammar or sentence structure, but the vision remains the same.

Jake Barnes's and Bill Gorton's long journey from Paris to Burguete is carefully documented, and filled with fine descriptions of the countryside through which they travelled. Only the outstanding elements of any scene are described: rocky hills, long roads, the effect of the wind on dust or on grain fields, sudden patches of color which enliven a bleak surface. The description of the road to Burguete is a complete picture.

> We went through the forest and the road came out and turned along a rise of land, and out ahead of us was a a rolling green plain, with dark mountains beyond it. These were not like the brown, heat-baked mountains we had left behind. These were wooded and there were clouds coming down from them. The green plain stretched off. It was cut by fences and the white of the road showed through the trunks of a double line of trees that crossed the plain toward the north. As we came to the edge of the rise we saw the red roofs and white houses of Burguete ahead strung out on the plain, and away off on the shoulder of the first dark mountain, was the grey metal-sheathed roof of the monastery of Roncesvalles. (108)

Here the narrator is not set into the picture, but describes it as if he were perched on the lower left edge of the picture frame. Like the scene it describes, the picture itself rises before his eyes. First, there is an expanse of green plain which leads the eye up to the brown mountains beyond. Imposed upon the pyramid shapes of the mountains are

the small and barely individuated pyramids of the trees. Clouds, if not spherical than certainly rounded, may partially obscure the peaks of some of the mountains. Fences form a wide-gauge web of horizontal and vertical lines across the plain. Three prominent lines are made by the two rows of trees with a road between: they emphatically divide the expanse of green. The narrator now walks carefully along the molding, then stops and looks up again. At the right side of the picture the red and white colors of Burguete contrast sharply with the brown and green, the walls and roofs of the houses are an assembly of geometric shapes af different size. Beyond them the mountain balances those on the other side of the picture, and the grey metal roof of the monastery forms another pyramid within a pyramid.

A city is inherently unsuited to this style of descrition, but Hemingway's technique was sufficiently flexible to enable him to reduce the spatial configurations of a city to an austere architectural purity, and convey this to the reader. Midway in Chapter XIII, the assembled company goes to see the unloading of the bulls. They sit on the wall above the corral, look down into the ring, and up toward the rest of the city.

> Beyond the river rose the plateau of the town. All along the old walls and ramparts people were standing. The three lines of fortifications made three black lines of people. Above the walls there were heads in the windows of the houses. At the far end of the plateau boys had climeed into the trees. (138)

In this picture geometry is dominant. Three strong black lines run from one side to the other. Cube-shaped houses contain rectangular windows which inturn contain the spherical shapes of heads. Other forms,

cylinders and spheres are suggested by the boys who stand or crouch in the pyramidal tops of trees.

The Sun Also Rises is filled with many other examples of this technique. In any picture, the elements which are given greatest emphasis are the same: plains,mountains, roads, tree trunks, walls, roofs. The cone, the cube the cylinder and the sphere.

CHAPTER X

FRANCE AND SPAIN

When he sat down to write in Valencia on July 21, 1925, Hemingway began by describing the narrator's introduction to a young bullfighter; the episode now appears in the middle of Chapter XV of The Sun Also Rises. But in manuscript, it was the original start, and was entitled "Cayetano Ordonez--Nino de la Palma." Another of the false starts (Item 197) is simply a rewritten version of the same scene in the third person. Despite the subsequent reorganization of the manuscript and the change in focus away from Romero, it is clear that Hemingway's original intention was to focus on the bullfighter, and, of course, a substantial part of the novel is devoted to just such an effort. But the importance of the bullfighter and the corrida goes beyond Romero himself; the traditional ritual of the bullfight and its code of honor are central to the value system and theme of The Sun Also Rises and to all of Hemingway's fiction.

The values most highly esteemed by Jake Barnes and his companions are integral to the corrida and are personified by Pedro Romero. Implicit in this is a contrast between Romero and Barnes. The personal differences between the two are obvious, but they are played out on a larger scale by the contrasting values accorded to France and Spain. In the scheme of The Sun Also Rises, the two countries are given symbolic status analogous to the positions of Jake Barnes and Pedro Romero. France represents predictability, order, control and the close regulation of emotion, precisely the same qualities which Barnes cultivates in an effort to

regulate his own life. But the qualities he attributes to Spain, courage, vitality, intense emotionalism, honor and the glorification of ritual, are those which he most admires and those which are also identified with Romero. The view presented by Hemingway is not a realistic portrait of either country, but a portrait of the country as he sees it.

Throughout The Sun Also Rises, France is associated in Jake Barnes's mind with stability and order. When Barnes leaves Pamplona, his world is in total disarray; he goes immediately to France to begin to restore it. He starts by re-establishing familiar routines. "At a newspaper kiosque I bought a copy of the New York Herald and sat in a cafe to read it. It felt strange to be in France again. There was a safe suburban feeling." (232) France is a refuge, a bastion of security. The stability is a necessary part of Barnes's defense system. Barnes pretends not to take himself seriously, he pretends that he is resigned to his life as it is. It is a pretense he works hard to maintain, for, without it, he would be overtly hysterical much of the time. Jake Barnes possesses astonishing self-control, but the control is not easily achieved. He lives a carefully structured life: there is time allotted for work and for sport, for reading and for conversation. He plans carefully, writes ahead for hotel reservations, buys his bullfight tickets months in advance. Barnes is methodical and finds comfort in order. He finds it reassuring to be in France, a country where order and structure are valued. This is made clear when he talks of the "clear financial basis" of all affairs in France. (233) France is a country in which the reactions of individuals are predictable; a waiter can be relied upon to appreciate a generous tip. "It felt comfortable to be in a country

where it is so simple to make people happy." There are no such certainties in Spain. Jake continues, "You can never tell whether a Spanish waiter will thank you."

But the differences between the two countries are profound byeond the depth of such simple transactions. In Spain, Jake is unsure of himself; situations and events are beyond his control. When he decides to go to San Sebastian, he has misgivings. "I hated to leave France. Life was so simple in France. I felt I was a fool to be going back into Spain. In Spain you could not tell about anything." (233) In manuscript, substituted for the sentence which begins, "I felt I was a fool," is the sentence, "Never in France have I had any trouble, nor have I had any adventures." (Item 194-5, p. 4) For while Jake is an expatriate in France, he is at home there. (Though to be sure, he is at home with other expatriates. HIs contacts with the French seem limited to waiters and taxi drivers.) He is surrounded by familiar objects and people and knows his terrain. In France he is able to maintain his personal values.

Jake's perception of Spain is more complex, for in The Sun Also Rises, there are two versions of Spain. The first is Hemingway's conception of everyday life in Spain, and the seconc is the fiesta.

In a critical evaluation of For Whom The Bell Tolls, Arturo Barea contended that Hemingway lacked an understanding of the fundamental nature of Spain and the Spanish character and that he knew (though he knew it well) only a narrow section of Spanish life--the world of the bullfight and its hangers-on.[1] Barea illustrates this with examples of Hemingway's

[1]"Not Spain But Hemingway," in The Literary Reputation of Hemingway in Europe, ed. Roger Asselineau (New York: New York Univerility Press, 1965), pp. 197-210.

misrepresentation of the Spanish character; he argues that stolid Castilian peasants would never have accepted Pedro and Pilar, "the old gypsy tart and the horse dealer of the bull ring" as their leaders, and that a girl of Maria's class could never have been so naive or so brazen as she is shown to be. Most convincingly, Barea illustrates Hemingway's lack of understanding of the Spanish language and people by his misuse of the Spanish idiom; the use of a particularly vulgar word to describe Jordan's and Maria's sexual union proves, says Barea, that "Hemingway is unaware that the use of the word by Agustin and its acceptance by Jordan gives away the fact that his own real knowledge of Spaniards is still confined to Death in the Afternoon."[2]

There is no reason to think that Hemingway's view of Spain was any broader in 1925 than it was in 1939 when he wrote For Whom the Bell Tolls. If anything, his understanding of the country and its people should have deepened with the passage of time and with the wider exposure he had had to different aspects of Spanish life. In 1925, his contact with Spain was limited almost entirely to the world of the corrida, and for him the whole of the Spanish character was contained in that spectacle. It is this view which dominates Hemingway's concept of Spain in The Sun Also Rises, the mixture of pageantry and violence, the magnificently embroidered matador's cape stiffened with blood, courage and the willingness to confront real danger, the maintenance of honor at any cost. All of these qualities are embodied in the single figure of Romero, but they are implicitly associated with all activities set in Spain. It is in

[2]"Barea, "Not Spain But Hemingway," pp. 207-208.

Spain that Jake Barnes has his finest moments; the bus ride to Burguete and the encounter with the Basque peasants, the fishing trip, and of course, the bullfights.

But this is the tourists's eye view of Spain, a land of romantic fantasy in which everyday life seems impossible. The climate is unusual and extreme. It is a place suited only to heroes. It is embodied in the ritual of the corrida, but when, during the fiesta, the ritual and pageantry spill out of the tight confines of the bullring and into the streets and touch the lives of ordinary mortals, the effect is disorganizing and destructive. Some, like Vicente Girones, are killed. Others sustain spiritual wounds but survive. For this is too intense an environment for anyone but a hero to survive. During the fiesta, all conventions of behavior, the fundamental rules of social order, are cast aside. It is, in psychoanalytic terms, the triumph of the id over the superego. The result is emotional disorder bordering on chaos.

The fiesta is a strongly pagan force which appeals to the primitive side of the personality. In tone and spirit the fiesta encourages complete disregard for conventional societal mores. It is to this that Jake Barnes alludes when he says, "The things that happened could only have happened during a fiesta. Everything became quite unreal finally and it seemed as though nothing could have any consequences. It seemed out of place to think of consequences during the fiesta." (154) This carelessness is certainly very different from Jake's own approach to most situations. In mansucript, this sense of strangeness is made more explicit.

> I do not think English or Americans have ever had any seven day fiestas. A prolonged fiesta does strange things to them. Pamplona is a reckless fiesta and it can be dangerous. It can be just a dangerous fiesta. Whether the danger grew up out of the recknessness or the recklessness out of the danger I do not know. (Item 194-5, p. 2.)

Jake continues to struggle to convey to the reader the disorganizing impact of the fiesta on the protagonists of the story. It is a force which he can recognize, but can only partially describe.

> How much of what happened can be laid to the fiesta and how much must be laid to the natural progress of events starting in Paris I cannot decide. The fiesta made everything a little crazy, certainly, but it had the effect of speeding up the natural tendencies through this insistence on the unimportance of consequences. (Item 194-5, pp. 2-3.)

Ultimately Jake forgets what he had recognized initially, that the fiesta can prove as disorienting to a Spaniard as it can to an expatriate American. In the course of the fiesta, even money would lose its meaning to those who had worked hard to earn it.

> The peasants were in the outlying wine-shops. There they were drinking, getting ready for the fiesta. They had come in so recently from the plains and hills that it was necessary that they make their shifting in values gradually. They could not start in paying cafe prices. They got their money's worth in the wine-shops. Money still had a definite value in hours worked and bushels of grain sold. Late in the fiesta, it would not matter what they paid nor where they bought. (152)

The word <u>value</u> is critical to this discussion, as it is to the work as a whole. All the characters are to some degree concerned with values. The conflict of their different value systems is the basis of the underlying tension of the book.

One way to clarify the different value systems in <u>The Sun Also Rises</u> is to superimpose on the fiction the outline of a very different book,

Salvador de Madariaga's Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards[3] which categorizes the dominant forces of the three societies. For the English, adariag argues, the distinctive attitude is the idea of fair play, a term taken from sport which means "the perfect adaptation of the player to the game as a whole. It regulates the player's relations with this team-partners but also with his adversaries."[4] When this concept is brought to The Sun Also Rises, it is clearly the code and is exemplified by Wilson-Harris, the quintessential Englishman. (It is more than a little interesting to remember Bill Smith's comment about the roots of the code, "We tended to buy the English gent's code of gallantry as revealed in fiction."[5]) Madariaga's definition of the term "fair play" suggests another dimension for Robert Cohn's role as well. Fair play makes the actions of the individual "fit in with the actions of the others in a perfect system of co-operation. This intuitive and instantaneous sense of balance between the individual and the community is the essence of fair play."[6]

In the novel, the community is comprised of Barnes, Gorton, Campbell, Ashley, and ostensibly, Cohn. But Cohn does not play by the rules; he violates this system of perfect cooperation by his ill-timed and ill-considered actions. It is precisely because he is obtuse and not intuitive that he fails from the outset to perceive Jake's love for Brett Ashley.

[3](New York: Hill and Wang, second edition, 1969).

[2]Ibid., p. 4.

[5]"Interview With Hemingway's Bill Gorton'" in Hemingway and the Sun Set, p. 164.

[6]Madariaga, p. 5.

He is himself so drawn to Brett that he discounts the obvious preference she shows for Jake in Chapter III, when she refuses to dance with Cohn at the bal musette and then leaves with Barnes. When Cohn and Barnes lunch together the day after the dance, and Cohn tries to get Jake to talk about Brett Ashley, he seem oblivious to what he had seen the night before. In fact, because of Jake's physical impairment, he has dismissed him as a rival for Brett's affection; this show of insensitivity surely helps to change Jake's attitude toward him. Bill Gorton, however, is a model of sympathetic behavior in similar circumstances. After he meets Brett (Chapter VIII), it is clear that he too finds her attractive, but he is immediately aware that the subject is a sensitive one for Jake. On the basis of much less evidence than that presented to Cohn, Gorton senses the closeness between Barnes and Brett Ashley. As the two men rest on the banks of the Irati, Gorton asks, "What about this Brett business?" (122) Jake's response is noncommital, but permits Bill to probe further. "Were you ever in love with her," he asks, and when Jake responds affirmatively, quickly shows an instinctive appreciation for Jake's plight. Cohn's self-interest far outweighs any concern for others--he lacks a sense of fair play. This is one of the fundamental differences between Cohn and the others and forms the basis for his exclusion from the community.

Cohn's inability to comprehend the concept of fair play is illustrated again in Chapter X, when he waits almost an entire day to tell Barnes and Gorton that he does not expect Mike and Brett to join them in Pamplona at the appointed time. Their irritation with Cohn is caused

more by his manner of informing them, with his "air of superior knowledge," (95) than by the content of his message. Cohn so much enjoys keeping his secret that he does not see how withholding the information from the others could have irritated them. HIs attitude is based on a childlike selfishness, an unwillingness to considerthe needs and feelings of others, a fundamental lack of understanding of the concept of fair play. Yet if Cohn does not observe the rules of fair play, neither do the others in their treatment of him. In The Sun Also Rises, the concept receives selective application.

Madariaga characterizes fair play as a flexible concept which adapts easily to changing situations. In contrast, the fundamental force of French life is a rigid set of rules to which all actions must conform. This he calls le droit: it is a system which precedes action, "a system in which nature bows to reason....le droit is coldly objective. To life's rebellions its answer is that the intellect is infallible. Le droit is intellect."[7] It is no wonder then that Jake finds life in France so appealing. For France is proof positive that his struggle can be successful, that the intellect can impose its own order on an unruly universe. But Jake is not coldly objective and he does not really believe that the intellect is infallible. Nothing could be more inimical to Jake's carefully developed system of defenses than a fiesta, but despite the obvious dangers, he continues to find it attractive. In truth, though Jake tries to adopt as his own a wholly rational approach to the problems of living his life, the French solution affords him only temporary respite. Jake does not have absolute faith in the power of the intellect. Jake is not French. The system is a borrowed one and does not satisfy all of his needs.

[7]Madariaga, p. 5.

Jake's ideal is his own extension of a third system, the Spanish concept of el honor. It is important to distinqiish between the meaning of the term in Spanish society, and Jake's (and Hemingway's) more limited interpretation of it. "El honor," Madariaga writes, "consists in the setting up of a subjective law of conduct above all objective laws, whether spontaneous and natural (fair play) or calculated and intellectual (droit). This subjective law is an imperative sense which the well-born man feels pointing clearly to what he must do in each case." It is, however, a privilege limited only to the well-born man, who would not abuse it for his own benefit. In exchange for his word, he offers himself as a guarantee. "The limit of his liberty is his life. The sword answers for the action."[8] If the characteristic English mode is action, and the French is intellect, then the characteristic mode of the Spanish is a spiritual state which Madariaga calls passion. Passion, he continues, is the opposite, indeed the negation of action....."passion is a state of union with the life-stream which we let pass in us....in passion we let ourselves go with the speed and direction of the life stream."[9] Most of the time, however, a man of passion is not active, but contemplative. When he finally takes action, he does so wholeheartedly and freely, and gives the impression of acting spontaneously; this action is likely to be of a highly individualistic nature. "The tendency towards moral-social disorder allied to a remarkable facility for sudden discharges of energy explains why Spain is the typical country for personal achievements.

[8]Madariaga, p. 7.

[9]Ibid., p. 40.

in contradistinction to the country of collective enterprises. Cromwell is England, but Hernan Cortes in Hernan Cortes."[10] The term usually applied to glorious individual action is heroism. By the terms of this defenition, it is an uncalculated and spontaneous action, arising from the overflow of powerful emotion.

Jake finds this tendency to heroism attractive. He sees it, however, not as a basic facet of Spanish character, but particular to the bullring. Madariaga's definition, confining the sense of passion to the well-born man would, in any event, exclude Romero (and probably most bullfighters), a nineteen year old from Ronda who learned to speak English when he worked as a waiter in Gibralter.

But there is a more significant difference between Hemingway's code hero and Madariaga's man of passion. The code hero does not wait to be moved, but is inherently active and courageous. The man of passion is essentially passive, but erupts occasionally into action. When he acts, he does so spontaneously. The ritualized order of the corrida, so admired by Jake and by Hemingway, is a rigidly programmed activity in which each participant has an assigned role and well-defined tasks. Only the bull is permitted spontaneous action.

For Jake Barnes, and integral to the code and to Hemingway's perception of Spain the essential feature of Spanish life is honor. It does not have the spiritual quality which, Madariaga says, characterizes el honor. It is a mode of behavior, not an idea. Honor is a quality inherent in every Spanish male, an active quality close to the idea of

[10]Madariaga, p. 45.

fair play, but individual in character. For Hemingway, honor is the soul of Spain. Every man in Spain is honorable, but the bullfighter is the essence of personal honor. It is the bullfighter who can be battered but arise to vanquish his opponent with one blow. He is the one whose sense of honor, discipline and obligation are so great that despite the pain of the beating inflicted on him, he fights bravely in the bullring on the following day.

Jake's idealization of Romero, and Hemingway's persistent fascination with bullfighting, illustrate the fundamentally romantic quality of the code. Despite the cirsumstances of his life, Barnes does not despair, but instead seeks a hero in whom he can believe. His romanticism is unfailingly optimistic; he refuses to accept things as they are, but always believes in the hero and the possibility of heroism. Romanticism is fundamentally an American quality; it reflects as accurately as do fair play or le droit, the society from which it springs. The American value system is Jake's own system on a larger scale, a compound of the values of many other nations. Jake's system is personal and selective, but results in the same confusion as does the more haphazard national one. There is a melting together of many concepts which never quite fuse into a unified whole. Thus there are national attitudes and characteristics, but no dominant trait, except, perhaps, the need to romanticize particular aspects of the other systems.

The discomfort of the expatriate, of the man away from his homeland, is more intense than that of the immigrant. He has rejected without committing himself to another choice. He is separated from the one culture

in which he might function comfortably and does not have a firm place in any of the others. But this problem is not so explicit in The Sun Also Rises as is the basic conflict between the values of France and Spain which dominate Jake's life and the theme of the novel. It is of greater consequence for Hemingway, who spent so much of his adult life as an expatriate, far enough from his own roots to put them in perspective in fiction.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

Many years after the publication of The Sun Also Rises, Hemingway commented on the book's beginnings, "Everybody my age had written a novel and I was still having a difficult time writing a paragraph."[1] But this is not literally true. When he sat down to write on that day in July, Hemingway brought to his task a complete vision and a well-developed style of composition. He had learned to write by considering the value of each word on the printed page. He had set out in January 1922 to write one true sentence,[2] a sentence which would completely and forcefully convey an experience, a thought, and emotion. He brought to the task his inherent ability, the experience of newspaper work, and great self-discipline. By the middle of 1925, he had written many true sentences. He had completed his preparatory studies and was ready to attempt a synthesis of all that he had experienced, and had learned from others and had taught himself. Hemingway's art and professional skill are evident in the polished final text of The Sun Also Rises. A careful study of the manuscripts on which Hemingway wrote the first draft and the typewritten revisions of the novel provides important insights into Hemingway's methods of composition and character creation, and into the formation of the writing style itself. It reveals too, the links between the first novel, the earlier short fiction, and Hemingway's later novels.

The critical point in Hemingway's maturation as a writer is "Big Two-Hearted River," for it is in that story that he was for the first time able to extend plot beyond a single incident, to develop situations

[1] Writers at Work: The Paris Review Interviews, Second Series, (New York: Viking, 1963), p. 231.

[2] Baker, Life, p. 91.

and treat them in depth. In "Big Two-Hearted River," he goes beyond striking vignette to sustained narrative. This story is the bridge that leads away from the early and fundamentally journalistic work which Hemingway did until 1924 (and until he left journalism) to the later, longer and artistically mature work. And it has a very clear-cut thematic relationship to The Sun Also Rises.

"Big Two-Hearted River" is experience imposed on innocence, the return of Nick Adams to northern Michigan. Adams is no longer the adolescent acquiring knowledge of the adult world, but a grown man who has known evils beyond the reach of the boy's imagination. Nick returns to northern Michigan to rid himself of unvoiced memories. "He felt he had left everything behind, the need for thinking, the need to write, other needs."[3] It is a ritual purge which will be accomplished by immersion in country and fishing. He alights from the train into desolation; Seney has burned to the ground and the landscape is a real-life wasteland. But Adams will not be caught in this scene of destruction. Seney may be gone, but the river is there, and there are big trout in the river. He walks on across the countryside, away from the scorched earth and into the living woods. Nick makes a camp in a good place, pitches his tent perfectly, and finally, when all is in order, he eats. Apparently, the past has been tranquilly recaptured.

However, by the next morning, it is clear that despite the perfect scene, something is wrong. Nick lacks spontaneity; his actions are a series of compulsive responses to an unarticulated imperative. He is, for example, "too excited to eat breakfast, but he knew he must."[4] At

[3] In Our Time, p. 134.

[4] Ibid., p. 145.

such a moment, he might simply eat a slice of bread, but instead, he cooks pancakes and coffee, carefully stores the leftovers, prepares his lunch and tidies up his camp before he begins to assemble his fishing equipment. He establishes extraordinary physical order, but this exterior stability barely masks the chaos within. Nick's fragility is demonstrated by his reaction to the huge trout he hooks and loses. "The thrill had been too much and he felt, vaguely, a little sick, as though it would be better to sit down."[5] Nick climbs out of the stream and rests in the meadow. The need for order is paramount. "He did not want to rush his sensations any."[6] Finally, it becomes clear that his fear is associated with the swamp, where it is never fully light and where fishing becomes a "tragic adventure." He does not confront the darkness, but returns to his camp. The cause of Nick's uneasiness is not revealed; in 1924 Hemingway was experimenting with his "iceberg" theory, which held that a writer could omit vital information from a story, so long as he knew it, and the story would still be effective.[7] There is a looming and unexplained presence in "Big Two-Hearted River;" the story is haunted.

It is but a short step from this swamp in northern Michigan to the room in which Jake Barnes kept the light on all night because he was afraid of the dark. While the external world in which Barnes lives is

[5]In Our Time, p. 150.

[6]Ibid., p. 151.

[7]Baker, Life, p. 127.

physically complete, it is as desolate as burned-out Seney. It is a world of failed values and moral confusion, a world destroyed by the emotionally searing experience of the war. It is a wasteland and a moral vaccuum. Barnes's vision is one of futility, of the individual's loss of importance and control. Jake Barnes, the first of Hemingway's heroes to have this dismal view, is an impotent man in an impotent world, characteristics he shares with the subsequent heroes of Hemingway's fiction, all of whom are unable to control their own destinies in a world governed by fickle forces which may at any time engulf them.

Barnes inherits Nick Adams's need for external order, and his reliance on routine procedures to maintain his equilibrium in a chaotic world. He shares Nick's pleasure in fishing, his interest in food, and he is, like Nick, a writer. But Barnes is older than Nick Adams and he has learned that it is impossible to live wholly without hope, even in a hopeless world. Irony is essential to such a position, and integral to Jake's attitude. He creates a code, a refuge for ravaged beliefs, a way to affirm old values, to behave decently in an indecent world. With the recognition of the hopelessness of his own position, itself a small-scale view of the human condition, Barnes might well despair. He turns instead to a view that is overwhelmingly romantic, and creates in the code hero an image of man as he was meant to be: strong and proud, untroubled by nightmares and self-doubt, a man of honor and action.

Not only can Barnes be linked to Nick Adams, but to the heroes of Hemingway's later fiction as well. He is closer to Colonel Cantwill and Thomas Hudson than he is to Frederick Henry or Robert Jordan. Barnes is no dashing romantic figure, no blower of bridges, no engineer of

incredible escapes. He does not woo and win the beautiful maiden, only to lose her in the end. These two are heroes of the romantic imagination. Barnes, like Cantwill and Hudson who will follow him, is drawn on a more human scale and embodies those contradicitons inherent in the human temperament. He is admirable, but flawed; he tries to be courageous, but he is frightened. He idealizes a bullfighter, a figure whose moments of triumph negate individual frailty and mortality. Jordan and Henry, however, are so idealized that they verge toward the territory of the code hero. They are implausible figures where Jake is credible.

In the summer of 1919, his first summer in Michigan after his return from the war, Hemingway made a camping trip to the Upper Peninsula. It was this trip which gave him the background for "Big Two-Hearted River."[8] The Sun Also Rises too, is based on real occurences. Though neither story nor novel is literally true, both convey the impression of realism. Both are grounded in concrete physical detail in which specific features are isolated and emphasized. Hemingway always acknowledged the realistic bases of his fiction, and stressed the importance of the writer's own experience to his work. As Baker notes, "'I only know what I have seen' is a statement which comes often to his lips and pen."[9] But experience is not fiction, and Hemingway's fiction is more than his experience. Hemingway later qualified this apparent insistence on the exclusive importance of verifiable fact. "A writer, if he's any good, does not

[8]Baker, Life, p. 63.

[9]Baker, The Writer As Artist, p. 48.

describe. He invents or makes out of knowledge personal or impersonal and sometimes he seems to have unexplained knowledge which could come from forgotten racial or family experience."[10] In this statement Hemingway acknowledges the need for source (though its roots may not be demonstrable) and also the need for imagination. It is very far from the literal representation suggested by the first statement. And this is the process of creating fiction which Hemingway employed in The Sun Also Rises.

The novel's setting is always realistic: travelers sleep in real hotels, eat meals in real restaurants, travel in taxis on traceable routes. The novel is as carefully documented as a guidebook. But interjected into these well-described scenes are incidents clearly fabricated; an invented prizefight, an encounter with a prostitute, Brett Ashley's affair with Pedro Romero, Robert Cohn's moral defeat at the hands of the bullfighter. Fact is the warp of the book, as it is of all of Hemingway's fiction. Fact provides the basic countours, and fiction is woven around these strands of fact, sometimes a fiction of great color and complexity, at other times a fiction so thin and bare that the warp of fact can be plainly seen.

In creating character, Hemingway followed much the same pattern as he did for incident. Models have been found for virtually all the characters of The Sun Also Rises. Interestingly, there is a correspondence between the degree to which a character is fictionalized, and the success of the fictional portrait. Of all the major characters, Pedro Romero is the most credible and the most consistent; his role in the novel is

[10] Writers At Work, p. 237.

clear, as are his motivations and actions. He is also the character whose prototype, Nino de la Palma, was, among the major characters, least known to the author. The actions of the others, most notably Brett Ashley, Robert Cohn and Jake Barnes, are not so clear or consistent, in part because Hemingway had much more difficulty in establishing distance between prototypes and fictional constructs, and in separating his own relationship with the character's real-life model from the fiction.

In the seven year period of his apprenticeship (1917-1924) Hemingway was bonded out, not to a craftsman, but to a craft; he had many different mentors, each of whom stressed different aspects of writing. And Hemingway listened carefully to each of them; to Pete Wellington at the Kansas City Star, who urged discipline and succinctness; to Sherwood Anderson, whose understanding of the possibilities of subject broadened Hemingway's own; to Gertrude Stein, whose concerns were precision and effect; to Ezra Pound who enjoined against the use of superfluous words. Each reinforced the instruction of the others, while having his own impact. But while others helped Hemingway to formulate his style, plot and theme were entirely his own and were truly the products of his own experience.

Little attention has been focused in this study, to that most critical part of Hemingway's apprenticeship, a period in which he did little writing, but one which influenced his work at least as much as all the rest. This was of course his wounding on the Italian front during the first World War, and his subsequent recovery. It was an experience which he would use consistently in subsequent writing. Philip Young's wound theory, pertinent both to Hemingway's own wound and to those of his fictional protagonists, is the most coherent explanation yet offered of

Hemingway's major concerns as a writer. It was a theory which infuriated Hemingway. Young has written of the enormous obstacles which Hemingway placed in his path when he tried to secure permission to publish his book, which included quotations from Hemingway's novels.[11] And long after the book had appeared, Hemingway continued to speak disparagingly of what he called Young's "trauma theory of literature."[12] Not withstanding Hemingway's objection, it is a theory which has gained wide acceptance. Some writers, including Carlos Baker[13] suggest that the wounded hero makes his first appearance in "Big Two-Hearted River;" that it is a wounded Nick Adams who returns to northern Michigan after the war. It is true that Hemingway made that trip when his wounds had healed sufficiently for him to do so, but there is no explicit suggestion in the story that the fictional Adams shares this particular part of Hemingway's past. The first of the wounded heroes is Jake Barnes, who makes his first appearance in the first novel, and all subsequent protagonists are also wounded, though not in kind.

Though it is linked to the earlier short fiction, in The Sun Also Rises Hemingway introduced for the first time, certain figures and concepts which would ultimately become the hallmarks of his fiction. The code, the code hero, the wounded protagonist would all be reintroduced and redeveloped in subsequent novels. Each figure would differ from the one before, but all would share a common background, common interests

[11]Philip Young, Ernest Hemingway: A Reconsideration (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1963).

[12]Writers At Work, p. 223.

[13]Baker, Life, p. 63.

and common fears. In writing his first novel, Hemingway also learned that there was some material which did not meet his needs as a writer of fiction. The nature of Jake Barnes's wound limits the fictional potential of The Sun Also Rises. It is clear from the manuscript version of the last scenes of the book, that it was Hemingway's strong inclination to create a sexually sound hero, though this was wholly contrary to the established facts of the story. When he revised the manuscript, Hemingway omitted the sexually suggestive elements of the final scenes between Jake Barnes and Brett Ashley. But Hemingway's later heroes are all notably virile. The restrictions placed on Barnes's activity by the nature of his wound, imposed other restrictions on Hemingway and complicated the course of the fiction. Subsequent heroes fall into a pattern from which Barnes is automatically exempt.

With increasing frequency, critics state that The Sun Also Rises is the best of Hemingway's novels, that he never again rote so striking or effective a work of fiction. And even Hemingway's most ardent admirers acknowledge that with the exception of The Old Man and the Sea, the later novels, Across the River and Into the Trees and Islands in the Stream, are less perfect examples of Hemingway's skill and craft than are the earlier ones. The flaws of the late Hemingway novels are not technical. He retained always the ability to write smooth and progressive narrative. The novels are flawed because over the years Hemingway lost the ability to detach himself from his work, to look at it with a coldly critical eye, and cut.

It is an extreme irony that as Hemingway's reputation grew, he was increasingly unable to impose upon his work the strict standards that had

made it distinctive to begin with. If it had been published as it was originally written, The Sun Also Rises would have been denounced for serious artistic flaws, for the manuscript is filled with digressions about boxing and bullfighting, occasional summaries of Jake's reading material, his malicious thoughts about his mother and Braddocks, and his long confessions of love for Brett Ashley. These lapses in taste and vision in the manuscript seem to foreshadow the published text of Across the River and Into the Trees. But this first novel does not resemble the history of Colonel Cantwill, because, in 1925, Hemingway had a surer sense of what to include and what to delete. In 1925 Hemingway was a beginner, and not a revered "great writer." He had barely completed his apprenticeship; the lessons he had learned still sounded loudly in his ears. It was surely easier for him to recognize the flaws in his own work at that time, than it would have been after thirty years of continuous praise. And it was certainly easier for a friend or editor to offer criticism of his work then, than it was later.

Fifty years after Hemingway wrote it, The Sun Also Rises remains fresh and vital. It is a work of fiction based on fact and experience which transcends those facts and goes beyond their truth to a truth fundamental to the world at large. The novel endures because it is a vision beyond verification.

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