HEMINGWAY: CONCEPTS OF REALISM

by

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The paper which follows is intended to refute a marxist interpretation of the nature and function of Hemingway's realism.

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INTRODUCTION

The intention of this thesis is to discredit a marxist interpretation of the nature of Hemingway's realism. This is necessary not so much because a marxist interpretation of Hemingway's realism is wrong or even frankly unsympathetic, but because the aesthetic standpoint it is obliged to take forces one into an oversimple view of Hemingway's work. This passage from Ernst Fischer's book, The Necessity of Art: A Marxist Approach, is typical of much marxist criticism in its casual assumptions and superimposed generalizations. It reads

> Ernest Hemingway, Gertrude Stein's successful disciple, discloses the technique of this flight from reality particularly clearly in his fifteen early stories called In Our Time. In short paragraphs between the stories, the catastrophic events of our age are hinted at - war, murder, torture, blood, fear, cruelty, all things that modern obscurantists try to dismiss under the heading of the "senselessness of history"; the stories themselves consist of apparently uneventful incidents, empty of content, taking place beyond and apart from what moves the world - and this "beyond" and "apart" is regarded as the real existence. One of the stories, a poetically memorable one, describes Nick putting up his tent,

alone at night.[1]

Fischer then proceeds to quote a short extract from "Big Two Hearted River" and concludes from it that

> In a sense this is no different from "a rose is a rose is a rose". It also reflects the philosophy of a man fleeing from society. Put up your tent, far from the world. No other way is worthwhile. The world is dark. Crawl into your tent. It's lighter inside.[2]

Though one might object to certain of the points made and wonder at the relevance of some of the other critical perceptions, the analysis seems basically correct. Hemingway is indeed presenting "the philosophy of a man fleeing from society". Nick is attempting to avoid his social responsibilities. His motivated separatedness is truly regarded by him as the real existence and for him there is "no other way worthwhile". It is when Fischer continues, however, with "Hemingway's attitude is typical of a widespread longing in the late bourgeois world" that we are permitted to recognize the oversimplification that lies behind his previous analysis. He glibly equates Nick's attitude with Hemingway's and assumes the author to be advocating, generally, the escapism in which Nick here indulges.

Fischer's easy and fallacious assumption could be simply the result of a failure of perception on his part but

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[1] Fischer, E., The Necessity of Art: A Marxist Approach, trans. A. Bostock, London: Penguin Books, 1963, p.100.

[2] ibid.

the tone of his criticism and his ardent desire to condemn the escapism in which Nick indulges seem to be more the result of his critical stance than of the limitations of his literary intelligence. Fischer's criticism of Hemingway is wrong, firstly, because, as a marxist, his conception of realism is inadequate to cope with the complexities of Hemingway's particular techniques and, secondly, because his preconceptions about the nature of realism fail to allow for the specific philosophical situation in which Hemingway wrote.

The first chapter of the thesis is devoted to trying to establish why a marxist view of realism is based upon principles too limited to be appropriate to a discussion of Hemingway's realism. Once this is established, the second chapter points to the historical situation which was responsible for the evolution of the Hemingway code. The third chapter outlines this code and its root in Hemingway's conception of aficion, whilst the fourth shows how this ethic dominates Hemingway's style and ultimately governs his conception of realism.

CHAPTER I

> Uncle Tom's Cabin is a very bad novel, having in its self righteous, virtuous sentimentality much in common with Little Women. Sentimentality, the ostentatious parading of excessive and spurious emotion, is the mark of dishonesty, the inability to feel; the wet eyes of the sentimentalist betray his aversion to experience, his fear of life, his avid heart; and it is always, therefore, the signal of secret and violent inhumanity, the mask of cruelty. Uncle Tom's Cabin, like its multitudinous, hard-boiled descendants, is a catalogue of violence. This is explained by the nature of Mrs. Stowe's subject matter, her laudable determination to flinch from nothing in presenting the complete picture; an explanation which falters only if we pause to ask whether or not her picture is indeed complete; and what constriction or failure of perception forced her to so depend upon the description of brutality - unmotivated senseless - and to leave unanswered and unnoticed the only important question: what it was after all that moved her people to such deeds.[1]

This passage from Baldwin's essay "Everybody's Protest Novel" posits itself as a definition of sentimentality. Baldwin is objecting to a concern with

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[1] Baldwin, J., "Everybody's Protest Novel", Notes of a Native Son, Boston: Beacon Press, p. 14.

superficialities, which for him is the hallmark of sentimentality. It is the sentimentality of the generalization, insofar as all violence is the mere manifestation of a complex backlog of a causal thought process. Thus Baldwin can object to the representation of violence if we are not shown "all that moved her people to such deeds" because this results in the cruel oversimplification he here decries. The violence exists in a vacuum. There is no attempt, he says, to mitigate the baldness of the generalization by portraying the complex which lies behind such an assertion.

This idea of presenting all that lies behind a generalization has relevance to a discussion of Hemingway's realism, particularly in his early fiction. He implies in A Moveable Feast that his first novel was written in reaction to Gertrude Stein's description of his generation.[2] In other words, he is supplying "all that moved her people to such deeds" to put in perspective Miss Stein's generalization. Hemingway describes their conversation thus:

> "That's what you are. That's what you all are", Miss Stein said. "All of you people who served in the war. You are a lost generation."
> "Really?" I said.[3]

and Hemingway's account of her version of the title's

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[2] Hemingway, E. M., A Moveable Feast, London: Penguin Books, 1966, p. 28.

[3] ibid. p. 28.

inception, reveals that for Gertrude Stein the idea of a "lost generation" was international. The remark apparently originated in a French garage where the 'patron', supervising the maintenance of Miss Stein's old Model T Ford was given reason to reprimand one of his young mechanics for being insufficiently 'serieux' before the customer. Hemingway recounts

> The patron had said to him, "You are all a 'generation perdue'"[4]

Gertrude Stein then generalized and decided that all youth involved in the European wars was branded by that experience and rendered "lost".

If we are to believe Hemingway's account of his introduction to the term the 'lost generation' through Gertrude Stein's generalization,[5] it is clear that the implications of such a term were immediately apparent to him. In the conversation, Miss Stein glosses over anything which may belie her assertion and insists that both

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[4] ibid. p. 27.

[5] If one might enter a caveat here, it is by no means clear that we should give particular credence to Hemingway's version. His account of his friendship with Gertrude Stein in A Moveable Feast differs radically from her comments about the nature of their relationship in The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas. In particular conflict are the accounts of the friendship's cooling which Hemingway describes principally in terms of his spontaneous dissatisfaction with Gertrude Stein's "dirty easy label", the "lost generation". For Miss Stein's version see (continued next page)

Hemingway and the war-scarred garage mechanic are members of her "lost generation". Their conversation runs

> "You are," she insisted, "You have no respect for anything. You drink yourselves to death ...."
> "Was the young mechanic drunk?" I asked.
> "Of course not."
> "Have you ever seen me drunk?"
> "No, but your friends are drunk."
> "I've been drunk," I said. "But I don't come here drunk."
> "Of course not. I didn't say that."
> "The boy's patron was probably drunk by eleven o'clock in the morning," I said. "That's why he makes such lovely phrases."
> "Don't argue with me, Hemingway," Miss Stein said. "It does you no good at all. You're all a lost generation, exactly as the garage keeper said."[6]

We see Miss Stein can make the generalization about the 'lost generation' because she is a by-stander. Her term becomes a dismissive one, categorizing and accounting for the debauchery, immorality and antisociability of the younger generation. Later in the same chapter of A Moveable Feast, Hemingway makes a key statement about

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[5] (continued)
Stein, G., The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas, New York: Random House, 1962, pp. 204-208. Though not wishing to subscribe totally to Hemingway's version of his relationship with Gertrude Stein, I have used it here merely because it reveals Hemingway's reaction to the Steinian blanket term of the "lost generation", rather than because I am impressed by its overall factual accuracy.

[6] Hemingway, E. M., A Moveable Feast, op. cit., p. 28.

his reaction towards Miss Stein's generalization:

> ... I thought, I will do my best to serve her and see she gets justice for the good work she has done as long as I can, so help me God and Mike Ney. But the hell with her lost generation talk and all her dirty easy labels.[7]

He will have no truck with a term so obviously the tool of an unsympathetic older generation to describe his own. He knows as they can never know, what it means to be lost and knows too the vast complex that lies behind Gertrude Stein's dismissive categorization.

The difference in attitude between the sufferer and the watcher is exposed after Hemingway's conversation with Miss Stein. Drink is the first sign of isolation and this is all Miss Stein wants to know of the matter so that her "dirty easy label" can still fit, but Hemingway, being himself psychologically wounded, can appreciate how the boy apprentice felt. Old Model T Fords were used as ambulances in the war. Indeed we learn in the Toklas autobiography that this same car, Miss Stein's, was used for that very purpose.[8] Hemingway appreciates that the boy might have been carried in one car like that, when wounded, and is able to recognize the reality of the boy's suffering, whereas Miss Stein can only see its mani-

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[7] ibid. p. 29.

[8] Stein, G., The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas, op. cit., pp. 164-181.
Also recorded in
Hemingway, E. M., A Moveable Feast, op. cit., p. 27.

festations. The internal monologue which conveys the writer's complete awareness of the boy's mental state is the precise medium for such a revelation:

> But that night walking home I thought about the boy in the garage and if he had ever been hauled in one of those vehicles when they were converted into ambulances. I remember how they used to burn out their brakes going down the mountain road with a full load of wounded and braking in low and finally using the reverse, and how the last ones were driven over the mountain side empty so that they could be replaced by big Fiats with a good H shift and metal-to-metal brakes. I thought of ....[9]

Here we find only a tenuous line of logical progression. Memories are sparked off by details of the previous thought. There is a constant fluctuation of emphasis between the boy, the ambulance and Hemingway himself. Wondering about the boy leads Hemingway into a painful recall of his own past experiences. He does not think about the wounded in the ambulances, but forces himself to focus his mind upon the details of the brakes and of mechanical details of the new type of ambulance. The interior monologue sustained is tense; it excludes all externals. Nothing of the present, of Paris, is allowed to intrude upon the strictly factual reminiscence. We find, in fact, that this internal recapitu-

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[9] ibid. p. 28.

lation serves not only to express Hemingway's involvement with the garage mechanic but also to convince us that this involvement is genuine. The paragraph, whose ideas flow without overt logical connection has a correspondingly loose syntax, and serves to express a habit of mind which is genuinely a product of the "lost generation" consciousness for the tensely sustained series of inconsequential memories are carefully disciplined to exclude all but the facts and helps to release the painful memories without involving the necessity of undergoing the emotional horror of full recall. It is a wholly convincing account which serves to expose the great gulf between Gertrude Stein, the generalizer about, and Hemingway, the participator in, the lost generation.

Perhaps we can appreciate Hemingway's desire to portray the truth behind Miss Stein's generalization most clearly in what Lawrence saw as a fragmented novel, In Our Time.[10]

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[10] Lawrence's account of the "novel" is contained in Lawrence, D. H., "Four American Novels", Selected Literary Criticism, ed. A. Beal, London: Mercury, 1961, p. 427.
and though it is useful to accept his theory about the totality of the work in order to allow it to demonstrate Hemingway's reaction to Gertrude Stein's generalization, any ultimate judgement about its validity is withheld. The complicated publishing history of In Our Time, particularly the advance publication of in our time, being a collection of the italicized passages as they appear in the total volume, is sufficient to make one suspicious of adhering totally to Lawrence's concept of In Our Time.

(continued on next page)

This novel alternates between the horror of war and the trial of a childhood spent in peace time.

These are the essential temporal locations though occasionally, as in that story dealing with Krebs, "A Soldier's Home", the scene is shifted to the post-war world.[11] The novel presents us with a series of pictures, sometimes narratively related and sometimes only thematically connected. All parts of the novel comment upon each other, those on peace augmenting those snapshots of war and vice versa. To begin reading the novel is to enter into a roomful of mirrors with one object in the centre of the room. This object itself has a surface of reflecting facets which serve to duplicate the reflected images innumerable times. In this case, the one object is the sensitive and wounded consciousness of any of the stories' similar protagonists[12] and we are left with no definite centre to the novel, but rather an accumulation of complimenting images.

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[10] (continued)
A detailed discussion of the circumstances of the publishing of In Our Time is contained in Fenton, C. A., The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway, New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1961, pp. 179-180.

[11] Although this is strictly true, my discussion of "A Soldier's Home" in Chapter IV in terms of Hemingway's use of symbolic landscapes shows that the state of Krebs after the war is in part the product of his childhood environment before it. Thus, like most other stories in the volume, it is equally concerned with pre-war experiences even though its motif is is that the the returning anti-hero. See p. 47

[12] As in the previous footnote, my later discussion of (continued on next page)

This technique of refusing to allow our attention to become wholly focused on the fortune of one character, operates within the individual stories as well as becoming the artistic principle pervading the whole.

In the first story "Indian Camp" we are introduced to Nick, the sensitive innocent of the Wisconsin backwoods whom we are to see tortured into madness as the novel progresses. Here he accompanies his father to an Indian camp where the latter is to perform a Caesarian operation upon a labouring squaw. The operation is a success, but at the end Nick's father discovers that the woman's husband, who has remained on the bunk above hers throughout her two agonizing days in labour, has cut his throat with an open razor. He is dead with his head hanging half off, but the story never focuses upon him or upon his ordeal. His tragedy only serves to underline the birth of his son. Neither is Nick allowed to become the emotional centre of the story for he is more a spectator than a participator in the action. Similarly, Nick's father, his drunken uncle and the indian woman, though central to the action only dwell on its emotional periphery. We are left without a character on whom to focus our attention and we find that only the understated horror latent in the

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[12] (continued)
Hemingway's use of symbolic landscapes tends to indicate a slight dissimilarity between Nick Adams and Krebs. However, as my analysis is here concerned with the stylistic method in the stories and its relationship with Miss Stein's generalization, the characters are, in fact, "similar" in terms of their dramatic function in the stories.

starkly described incident draws the story together. It is Nick's first acquaintance with the cruelty of the world and highly sensitive, he absorbs the experience into his basic view of life.

A similar absence of central focus occurs in the story "The Battler". This is another episode in the Nick Adams cycle within the novel, and despite its title the punch drunk old boxer only shares the emotional crux. The story line here is extremely simple. Nick is thrown from a train by a guard in the middle of nowhere. He walks along the tracks until he comes to a hobo camp where he is given a meal, and one of the hobos, an ex-pug, tries to fight Nick. The other, a civilized Negro, knocks his companion unconscious and advises Nick to leave. This he does. Again, we find Nick in the midst of the story without being its central protagonist. He is the passive character doing nothing to provoke the attack and little to prevent it. Nick with his naive sensitivity is again subjected to brutal experience but it is the peculiar and diverse quality of the experience involved which is here important. Cruelty oppresses Nick throughout the episode, from the deliberately planned and overtly sadistic act of the train guard, to the irrational and spontaneously mindless cruelty of the mad ex-pug and finally to the always sinister and menacing

presence of the supercilious Negro,[13] Nick is the victim of three distinct types of cruelty, none of which he has done anything to deserve and all of which try to harm him. This is the focus. Again it is the experience involved rather than the interaction of the characters participating which forms the crux of the episode.

Within the novel, and mirroring Nick's progress into madness, is the story "My Old Man". Here a young American, in many ways like Nick, is similarly exposed to brutalizing experience as he follows the fortunes of his father on the European race tracks. We see the youth moving with brash self-confidence, blasé about his glamorous life and utterly cock-sure. He says

> I learned to talk French quick. It's an easy language.[14]

We see this self-assurance and sensitivity smashed by his

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[13] It seems that the function of the negro in this story may be open to question. The film, scripted by A. E. Hotchner, entitled Hemingway's Adventures of a Young Man, though it twisted this incident out of its context in the story and prolonged it to give it a greater plotting significance than its position in In Our Time warrants, consistently portrays the negro as a force for good. On the evidence of the text this seems almost justified. My view of him as an evil agent in the story is based upon his secretiveness and desire to keep his relationship with his mad companion as private as possible. One can justify this, but he nevertheless seems evil in comparison with the naive Nick for the negro possess a knowledge of evil which is denied the young visitor. In this way, he represents a different type of evil from that of the guard or the boxer, but still a type of evil, even if only definable in terms of knowledge of evil, which confronts Nick in this story.

(footnote 14 continued on next page)

father's fatal riding accident. Hysteria lies just beneath the surface as the boy, half-articulately, tries to express his emotions

> I lay down beside my old man, when they carried the stretcher into the hospital room, and hung onto the stretcher and cried and cried and he looked so awfully white and gone and so awfully dead, and I couldn't help feeling that if my old man was dead maybe they needn't to have shot Gilford. His hoof might have got well. I don't know. I loved my old man so much.[15]

On top of this comes the sudden realization of his father's dishonesty:

> "Well Butler got his, all right"
> The other guy said, "I don't give a good goddam if he did, the crook. He had it coming to him on all the stuff he's pulled."
> "I'll say he had," said the other guy and tore the bunch of tickets in two."[16]

The story ends with young Butler being led away by one of his father's friends. Despite his reassurances, the lad, his brash self-confidence crushed by these twin experiences, realises

> But I don't know. Seems like when they get started they don't leave a guy nothing.[17]

Butler's experience epitomizes Nick Adams' loss of innocence and his recognition that this innocence is lost.

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[14] Hemingway, E. M., "My Old Man", The First Forty-Nine Stories, (12th ed.; London: Jonathan Cape, 1962, p. 156.
[15] ibid. p. 164.
[16] ibid. p. 164.
[17] ibid. p. 164.

Both are eventually disillusioned by the experience that befalls them and both eventually realize that the winner takes nothing.[18]

The principle effect of this stylistic approach in the novel is central to our present purpose of appreciating Hemingway's reaction to Stein's generalization, the "lost generation". The device of allowing no person to take over the centre of the component stories, permits the horror of the experiences involved to become the crux of the novel, whilst the interweaving of episodes of war and peace reveals a pervading core of horror common to both. In this context the title becomes ironic for we realize that the exhortation from the Church of England's Book of Common Prayer, "Give us Peace in our time o Lord!" is an impossible and slightly irrelevant sort of request.[19] Hemingway shows us in In Our Time that peace complements war, that the experiences of both vary only in degree. Our last glimpse of Nick in this "novel" emphasizes this. In "Bit Two Hearted River" we find the hero returning to his native Wisconsin. Nick is a member of the "lost

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[18] This summation is, of course, in reference to Hemingway's volume of short stories, Winner Takes Nothing, first published by Scribners in 1937.

[19] Though not making the same point as I am, Philip Young has a detailed discussion of the sifnificance of the title to the stories. See Young, P., Ernest Hemingway, New York: Rheinhart, 1952, p. 2.

generation" in a way which Gertrude Stein could never be able to appreciate. He absorbs himself in the minutiae of his second to second existence so as to preclude his numbing memories. Yet we are never sure how far the necessity for this painfully detailed extraspection is the result of the war. The whole tale is fraught with echoes of previous episodes in the novel. Leaving the train in the wilderness reminds one of "The Battler", the fishing scenes of the early episodes, particularly perhaps "The End of Something" and the ritualistic killing of crickets for bait comes in heightened contrast to the irrational killing of the war passages. These are but some of the echoes to be heard in the tale and partly as a result of them we begin to see "Big Two Hearted River", the expression of a "lost generation" consciousness, as a product of both war and peacetime experiences.

It would seem from this brief analysis of In Our Time that Hemingway rejects the Steinian blanket term the "lost generation". He refuses to see the amorality of the post-1918 years simply as an outcome of the war. Both the mass slaughter of the war and the problems of a peacetime adolescence have produced this attitude. War, it is true, has heightened the awareness of both its own and previous experiences, but Hemingway seems to be showing that it cannot be seen in isolation. He is, if you like, showing the

complex that lies behind the generalization. The war and the social apathy that followed must never be seen in a direct cause and effect relationship and this is the implication of Miss Stein's "All of you people who served in the war".[20] This apathy must be seen to be the product of a far broader pattern, that of growing into maturity. Yet what Hemingway is doing is to demonstrate, partly by means of the complexity of the anfractuous narrative texture, the inability of a simple solution, a simple term like the "lost generation", an over simple attitude like that of Miss Stein's, to cope with the problems presented by what happened in the immediate post-war years.

Even if this previous analysis of In Our Time has been correct, I think it has inevitably been a trifle naive. Inevitably so, because the definition of sentimentality upon which it was based is altogether a too limited one to hope to account for the complexities of Hemingway's particular technique of realism. Baldwin's objection to Stowe's violence is that the generalization which this embodies is not sufficiently explained in terms of the causes behind it and his objection is one which is fundamentally marxist. His concern that Stowe leaves

> unanswered and unnoticed the only important question: what it was after all that moved her people to such deeds.[21]

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[20] vide supra, n. 3.
[21] vide supra, n. 1.

echoes the perennial battle cry of the marxist aesthetician that "action is not enough"[22] An explanation of the motivations involved is essential to any portrayal of action. This is a familiar theme in marxist criticism from such diverse writers as Lenin and Bernstein, and may be very well in terms of indicating the inadequacies of Uncle Tom's Cabin which purports to be didactic in intent and has a specific social context in which to work.[23]

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[22] A succinct account of this aspect of marxist aesthetics is contained in
Fischer, E., "Art and Capitalism", The Necessity of Art - A Marxist Approach, trans. A. Bostock, London: Penguin Books, 1963, pp. 106-107.
Fischer's central point here is that reality is not contained merely in terms of what exists in the work of art, as he says "things that can be measured and weighed", but is in part the result of the artist's political commitment. He envisages reality, as expressed in art, as being governed by the awareness of the past on the part of the writer. In this way Fischer makes the point that what is real in art is only so by virtue of the fact that we are aware that the artist is conscious of that action's past heritage and future potential. A much more detailed discussion of the possibilities of this concept is contained in Caudwell's chapter on "The Future of Poetry". See Caudwell, C., Illusion and Reality, London: MacMillan & Co., 1937, pp. 303-336.

[23] I think that Fischer's remarks upon the nature of social realism might be useful here. Fischer maintains that social realism is in fact two styles, " a critical realism" and "socialist realism" or that branch of social realism in which "outlook" rather than the "method" is stressed and which emphasizes "attitude" rather than "style". It is clear that Uncle Tom's Cabin stands condemned by marxist aesthetics because by not producing the historical evidence, the what "moved her people to such deeds", it fails to be realistic and have as its style "critical realism" and as a result it has to resort

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My contention, however, is that this interpretation just will not work for Hemingway, principally because the obvious corollary to such a definition of sentimentality involves one in too circumscribed a view of what realism is allowed to involve. If we say Hemingway avoids sentimentality by deflating generalizations and by presenting a valid patterning of behaviour, we must accept too, along with the marxist argument, that this involves the writer in social realism.[24] Because if the writer avoids generalizations and presents action in terms of the reason behind it, then the only way he can accomplish this is by a trite and circumscribed adherence to the principle of verisimilitude, and to a realism which is composed solely of the details of why things happen. Edmund Wilson criticized A Farewell to Arms[25] precisely because it lacked social realism. Though I shall deal in a little more detail with Wilson's objections later, it is clear that Hemingway is not writing within Wilson's terms. He is not

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[23] (continued)
to "propagandist idealizations". One can only assume from what Fischer says that this must be the fate of all "socialist realism" where the dominant "attitude" is not a marxist one.
Fischer, E., The Necessity of Art - A Marxist Approach, op. cit., pp. 107-108.

[24] By the use of this term I wish to mean what Fischer means by "critical realism". Though I by no means agree wholly with Fischer's distinction between the two branches of social realism, his discussion of "critical realism" as "implying a criticism of the surrounding social reality" seems, given his
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attempting to reproduce the social realism which Wilson is demanding of him. In order to appreciate the aesthetic ideals which govern Hemingway's conception of realism it is necessary to avoid the perhaps too obvious snares of marxist aesthetics and attempt to see Hemingway in terms of a more specifically American tradition.

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[24] (continued)
beliefs, an adequate summation of the aims of social realism. See Footnote 23.

[25] Wilson, E., "Letters to the Russians about Ernest Hemingway", The Shores of Light, London: W. H. Allen, pp. 616-629.

CHAPTER II

The inadequacies of a marxist, or crypto-marxist view of Hemingway are not so much revealed in their flagrant naivety when faced with criticizing his individual works[1] as by their failure to recognize his response to the particular problems which America was facing in the Twenties. The American decadence, manifested in the wholesale expatriation of its intellectuals during the decade was something which Hemingway and his contemporaries realized. In Hemingway's case, this realization involved him in a reaction so strong that it became the motive force in moulding his aesthetic and ethical standards.

The America which was deserted by the expatriates of the Twenties can be described in terms of events that betray its general nature. First, the official closing of the frontier in 1890 had by 1920 taken a practical effect; second, in 1920, the end of unrestricted immigration; third, the participation in the First World War; fourth, the Red Scare, and the strikes of 1919 and 1920 and, fifth, the Prohibition Amendment of 1919. These seem to sum up the social and intellectual atrophy of America at the time [2] and to the artists and pseudo-artists of

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[1] See Chapter I, pp.18-21 and Introduction

[2] This skeletal account of the state of America in the Twenties is indebted to three books which in their different ways provide adequate information about the period:
Allen, F. L., Only Yesterday, New York: Harpers, 1957.
Cowley, M., The Exiles Return, op. cit.
Hoffman, F. J., The Twenties, New York: Colliers, 1962.

of Paris, America seemed to be increasingly dominated by the middle class, middle-aged and middle-browed. This quotation from Dos Passos' U.S.A. perhaps helps to illustrate the point.

> At supper they were pretty drunk, and G. H. Barrow kept saying that the Mexicans understood the art of life and that was meat for Salvador who talked about the Indian genius and the Latin genius....[3]

George H. Barrow's account of "the art of life" here as elsewhere in the novel[4] presents in travesty many of the qualities associated with "latin" Europe, with a somewhat literary primitivism, with a rather furtive sensual pleasure, with drinking and with an absolute aim. All, or some of this, is what the expatriates were looking for in Paris. Bill Gorton's flippant, hyperbolic account

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[3] Dos Passos, J., U.S.A., op. cit., p.264.

[4] It is important to note that in the course of the novel Dos Passos allows G. H. Barrow three more references to the "art of life". As they recur, we become increasingly aware of the author's irony. They occur as follows:

> It was a relief to argue with Barrow who was saying that if the ruling classes knew as much about the art of life as those old Italians he wouldn't be a socialist. ibid. p.644.

> "You're the only girl I've ever known who seemed really a beautiful pagan at heart....[who can] appreciate the art of life." Then he kissed her wetly on the ear. ibid. p.677.

> That was the great thing about the other side-having wine with your meals; they really understood the art of life. ibid. p.833.

of expatriation in The Sun Also Rises contains a good deal of truth. He ribs Jake with

> You're an expatriate. You've lost touch with the soil. You get precious. Fake European standards have ruined you. You drink yourself to death. You become obsessed with sex. You spend all your time talking not working. You're an expatriate see you hang around cafés.[5]

The pursuit of "the art of life" often took the form of hanging around cafés and became, for Hemingway at least, not so much a reaction to America as a reflection of the American decadence. Hemingway's dispatches of the time[6] and his reminiscences in A Moveable Feast bear out Bill Gorton in their description of the social and artistic riff-raff on the Left Bank. From Hemingway's point of view, the most serious danger in Bohemia was the temptation to sit around and gossip in the café coteries instead of

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6 In this context see Hemingway's dispatch
Hemingway, E. M., "American Bohemians in Paris a Weird Lot", By-Line: Ernest Hemingway, ed. W. White, New York: Scribners, 1967, pp.23-25. Written in 1922 its vitriolic attack upon the expatriate is a far cry from the whimsical and rather urbane acidity of the retrospective A Moveable Feast and perhaps better exposes Hemingway's feelings at the time than does the later book. For an excellent analysis of the quality of the journalism of this dispatch, see
Fenton, C. A., The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway op. cit., pp.108-109.

getting down to write fiction. However, his work as a journalist set him apart from the other expatriates and also kept him in direct contact with some of the more serious events in Europe and with the sharper truths of life that had been forgotten in the edgeless flux and precocity of café-society. In "The Snows of Kilimanjaro", Harry looks back to the Graeco-Turkish war and describes the death of the Greek evzones in the opium fields:

> Later he had seen things that he could never think of and later still he had seen much worse. So when he got back to Paris that time he could not talk about it or stand to have it mentioned. And there in the café as he passed was that stupid American poet with the pile of saucers in front of him and a stupid look on his potato face talking about the Dada movement with that Roumanian who said his name was Tristan Tzara and who always wore a monocle and had a headache.[7]

For Hemingway the atmosphere that encouraged Dada and other aesthetic irrelevancies was the same one that encouraged casual drinking and promiscuity. That atmosphere permeated the driftless group life of the expatriates and it was this life that produced much of what passed for art among them. Malcome Cowley's account of the time contains, for example, glowing reminiscences of himself and a handful of friends participating in automatic writing, the latest "experimental rage".[8] The emphasis is on the

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[7] Hemingway, E. M., "The Snows of Kilimanjaro", The First Forty-Nine Stories, London: Jonathan Cape, p. 65.

[8] Cowley, M., The Exiles Return, op. cit., p. 158.

small scale social potentialities rather than on any intrinsic quality of the technique. Cowley also describes how Hart Crane wrote poetry as an immediate response to his "ecstacy", occasioned by contact with wine, jazz, machines, talk and the result" "a rhythm like a tom-tom and a few startling images".[9] This is exactly what Hemingway called in Death in the Afternoon "erectile writing" and "bedside mysticism"[10] and when he here warns "all bad writers are in love with the epic"[11] he might well have been thinking of Crane's epic.[12] There is more to Crane than this, but it is still possible to see Hemingway's point and to appreciate his objection to the incestuous life "pour l'art". His stricture

> writers should work alone....otherwise they become like angle worms in a bottle....trying to derive knowledge and nourishment from their own contact and from the bottle[13]

can be seen as a reaction to Paris and the type of writing that Paris encouraged.

Hemingway's response to the Paris of the expatriates,

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[9] ibid., p. 229.

[10] Hemingway, E. M., Death in the Afternoon, London, Penguin Books, 1966, p. 53.

[11] ibid., p. 54.

[12] This must remain purely speculative. I can find no comment that Hemingway makes directly to Crane. Neither do Singer nor Hotchner in their biographies record any comment made by Hemingway about the poet. It is just possible that earlier quotation from "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" could be referring to Crane in the guise of the American with the "potato face". This seems a fairly accurate description of Crane's physiogomy and even in the late Twenties, Crane's drinking was becoming something of a legend in American artistic colonies on both sides of the Atlantic. See: Cowley, M.,The Exiles Return, op.cit., p.231.

[13] Hemingway, E. M., Death in the Afternoon, op. cit., p.83

though, is not so much revealed in his diatribes against their artistic excesses as in his serious attempt to find a solution to the problems presented by American decadence in his creative fiction. This he does in The Sun Also Rises for this novel presents and evaluates four attempts to avoid the consequences of the American atrophy and the debilitating effects of the war. Cohen's witless romanticism, the dissipation of Brett and Mike Campbell, Bill Gorton's cheerfully American acceptance of "things as they are" and Jake's consciousness of aficion, are these four attempts. All these come into head-on conflict in the physical and emotional hotbed of Pamplona in July. From this conflict comes a spiritual and ethical code that becomes characteristic of Hemingway since it is applicable not only to the particular circumstances of its birth.

Cohn is set apart from the rest of the group at the outset. Much space, for instance, is devoted to his background, family and past history; things which are only possessed in fragments by the others.[14] In more ways than

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[14] It is significant, for instance, that the book opens with Jake's incredulous search through Cohn's history for, from the start we are allowed to see Cohn as the product of debilitating forces: his boxing, his

(cont'd on next page)

one, Cohn is the "hanger on". In a world that seems completely dominated by the immediate impulse, he hangs on to the romantic ideals that, like his South America idea, he "probably got out of a book".[15] He will stick to his romantic preconceptions in spite of all the evidence to the contrary:

> "I don't believe she would marry anybody she didn't love".
> "Well," I said, "she's done it twice."
> "I don't believe it."[16]

Cohn's capacity for illusion and self-deception is insisted upon and it is his refusal to accept as a fact the nature of Brett's life that brings about the climax in Pampalona.

In complete contrast, Brett and Mike live entirely by their momentary whims and pleasures. Mike stresses the difference between them and Cohn with "I know when I'm not wanted. Why don't you know when you're not wanted."[17] Mike shows no great regret when Brett goes away with Pedro

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[14] (continued)
popular success as a writer, his failed marriage. The others seem to be the product of either their immediate environment, like Brett and Mike in their glib slavery to ephemeral impulse, or of some specific event in the past, like that particular moment when Jake was wounded during the war.

[15] Hemingway, E. M., The Sun Also Rises, op. cit., p.9.
[16] ibid. p.39.
[17] ibid. p.142.

Romero,[18] seeing it as only to be expected in the pattern of dissipation within which they live. Although the popular appeal of The Sun Also Rises was as a celebration of this pattern, and although Hemingway, in fact, shows a bias towards Brett's extreme, this interpretation falsifies Hemingway's intentions. Although drink is recognized as a source of enjoyment, one indictment of Cohn is that he is never drunk, and as a sign of masculine competence,[19] its ultimate effect is falsifying and nihilistic. Hemingway had realized before Scott Fitzgerald phrased it in "Babylon Revisited", "the meaning of the word 'dissipate' to dissipate

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[18] Although Mike is clearly not grief stricken by the news of his fiancee's desertion, there seems a possible ambiguity in his statement "'Bad thing to do,' Mike said. 'She shouldn't have done it'". By allowing Mike to be drunk when he says it, Hemingway enables us to ascribe several meanings to the utterance. Possibly, it is a "bad thing" to do because Brett has treated Mike badly which interpretation would allow us to assume that Mike is pained by the news. On the other hand, Mike could be speaking selflessly and regretting that Brett has done a "bad thing" because her action will make her subsequently unhappy as, in fact, happens. In the context of Mike's drunkenness, though, another possibility, however whimsical it seems, is that it was a "bad thing" in Mike's opinion for Brett to have caught the seven o'clock train. These ambiguities make it impossible for the critic to resolve Mike's attitude precisely though it is clear that he does not respond deeply to the news and seems to greet it with a fair measure of inebriated resignation. See ibid. pp.223-224.

[19] This idea is developed to a greater extent in A Farewell to Arms, particularly in the mess scene where drink serves to unite all the officers into an idyllic Hemingwayesque masculine freemasonary. See Hemingway, E. M., A Farewell to Arms, op. cit., pp.14-15.

into thin air, to make nothing out of something."[20] Mike and Brett have made this transition. In their reckless pursuit of the "art of life" they have overtaxed their capacity for enjoyment so that they need a pattern of drink and promiscuity to survive. From using the pattern for enjoyment, it now has complete control over their actions and judgements. Their lives consist only of this and are carried on in a formless and dissipated moral wasteland.

If Cohn, Mike and Brett have all lost their capacities for enjoyment and discretion, it would seem that Bill Gorton's cheerful cynicism, shunning of extremes while still remaining capable of healthy affection and friendship, is the obvious solution. Bill is normal, maintaining a good-natured tolerance to abnormality and responding to normal pleasures both physical and social. "Don't you detach me from the herd"[21], he says at one point.

Jake, of course, is not normal and so cannot take Bill Gorton's position. The war has destroyed his normality and his detachment from the herd is enforced by his incapacity. Jake's wound serves, in some way, to represent the wound of the War and the ache of the realization of the American decadence of a generation. His involuntary

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[20] Scott-Fitzgerald, F., "Babylon Revisited", Echoes of the Jazz Age and Other Essays, London: Penguin Books, 1967, p.78.

[21] Hemingway, E. M., The Sun Also Rises, op. cit., p.136.

detachment and perspective force him into formulating the aficion that is the true "art of life" and the valid answer to the problems of existence in the historical situation.[22]

That aficion is at the root and core of the book is emphasized by Hemingway's own statement of intention, which I take at face value. In 1926 he wrote to Maxwell Perkins that the point of the book and its epigraph was "that the earth abideth forever" and that he had "a great deal of fondness and admiration for the earth and not a hell of a lot for my generation."[23] The earth is the only stability in the meaningless cyclic pattern of the generations and in Brett's cyclic pattern of promiscuous dissipation. In the context of the whole Hemingway canon these patterns are reflections of the meaninglessness and vanity of any exclusively human existence. The worthwhile existence is the one that comes closest to an understanding of and sympathy with the earth and the things of the earth.

This sense of cutting down into the bedrock of human experience is the source of Hemingway's "primitivism".

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22 It seems to me that the validity of Jake's position is emphasized by making him a Catholic and thus investing all his acts and thoughts with a certain spiritual significance. Though not wishing to enter into a debate of the particular pros and cons of such an interpretation, as a subjective judgement it is perhaps relevant to my later discussion of the latin element in American life and with William Carlos William's view about the sensual qualities of Catholicism and the abstractions of Puritanism.
See Chapter II , p. 39.

23 This is quoted in
Baker, C., Hemingway: The Writer as an Artist, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963, p.81.

In spite of his satire, Torrents of Spring, there is a good deal of Scripps O'Neill with the bird under his shirt in Hemingway himself.[24] Yet a fundamental difference resides in the care that is employed in evoking in prose the contact with the tangible, material thing, whether it be an animal, a gun or a brief moment of action. This care comes to represent a closeness to material life at its sharpest and sympathetic early critics of Hemingway detected this peculiar quality, Ford Madox Ford writing of his"prose like pebbles in a brook".[25] It is this quality, too, that has served to make Hemingway the master of a more consciously "aesthetic" school of the roman nouveau.[26]

The account of trout fishing or the bullfighting in The Sun Also Rises could serve as an example of this quality; or any of the numberless instances from the storeis, or that fine evocation of Pilar and Finito in Valencia from

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[24] Hemingway, E. H., The Torrents of Spring, London: Penguin Books, 1966, p.25.

[25] Quoted in Poli, B. J., Ford Madox Ford and the Transatlantic Review, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1967, p.162.

[26] It is interesting to compare Ford Madox Ford's comment with one from Grillet. Grillet writes that "All around us and in spite of our adjectives meant to endow them with soul and purpose things are there. Their surface is clean and smooth, it is intact but without ambiguous brilliance or transparence." Both Ford and Grillet seem to be emphasizing the same point that words meant to describe the natural environment must be as plain and as calculatedly divested of external connotation as those facets of nature which they purport to describe. See Grillet, A. R., For a New Novel, trans. R. Howard, New York: Grove Press, 1965, p.19.

For Whom the Bell Tolls. The description is quite matter of fact, with no larding of the prose or soul endowing adjectives and the power of the image arises slowly from the existential quality of the things and actions described.[27] It runs

> "We made love and then sent for another pitcher of beer with the drops of coldness on the glass and when the girl brought it I took it from the door and placed the coldness of the pitcher against the back of Finito as he lay" ... "You," she said to Pablo, "do you know aught of such things".[28]

It is the knowing of such things that gives birth to aficion. This Jake expresses in The Sun Also Rises with

> Aficion means passion .... Somehow it was taken for granted that an American could not have aficion. He might simulate it or confuse it with excitement but he could not really have it.[29]

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27 That the technique of eschewing adjectives was an entirely conscious one on Hemingway's part is demonstrated by a consideration of the evolution of "chapter 3" of in our time. In his analysis of the vignette Fenton demonstrates that it contains only ten "legitimate" adjectives whilst these are yet again cut to four in the final draft. The stark quality of this final draft is in startling contrast to the original story as it appeared in a cable sent to the Toronto Star though this cable is by no means over-written. For a more detailed analysis, see
Fenton, C. A., The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway, op. cit., pp.181-182.

28 Hemingway, E. H., For Whom the Bell Tolls, London: Penguin Books, 1963, p.87.

29 Hemingway, E. H., The Sun Also Rises, op. cit., p.102.

Not a formless excitement, aficion, whether for the bullfight or for anything else and for life in general, comes from control, the control that is necessitated by Jake's wound, and from a knowledge born of experience. Aficion is a "serious" passion and the aficionado is serious about the truth of material facts and actions and about the validity of the morality and aesthetic deriving from them. This is the overshadowing positive concept presented in The Sun Also Rises.

With its reliance on material fact, aficion is also the quality of the "inner directed".[30] There is a good case for a linear theory of the development of a unified Hemingway "character".[31] If we trace this character back to the childhood of Jake/Nick we can find an indication of the existence of a nascent sense of aficion in the story "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife". In the story, Nick's mother, a Christian Scientist, denies the truth of a material fact, the action of the Indian in avoiding payment of his medical fees. Nick then makes a conceptual choice between his parents, choosing to look for black squirrels rather than be subjected to his mother's abstract and truth-denying conceptions of the world and of life. The other stories in In Our Time, too, present an oblique statement both of the historical situation in

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[30] See Appendix I and Appendix II.

[31] The case is, in fact, argued by Philip Young. The idea of a developing single character throughout Hemingway's novels is one of the central theses of his book. See Young, P., Ernest Hemingway, op. cit.

which Nick finds himself and his resources for coping with the problems it presents.

In this context it is scarcely possible to over-emphasize the environment of the Michigan stories in the development of the Hemingway character and the Hemingway code and it is also important to emphasize the regional bias within America that they betray:

> Nick is a type one meets in the more wild and woolly regions of the United States. He is the remains of the lone trapper and the cowboy.[32]

Notwithstanding his idiosyncratic wording, Lawrence is right in perceiving this aspect of Nick, his affinities and their slightly anachronistic quality. In the personal-historical sense, Nick is very close to the frontier and several writers have documented the qualities they feel to be associated with a frontier culture.

William Carlos Williams, for instance, in his In the American Grain sees the westward movement with its emphasis on the material, concrete and sensual as a counter-balance to the abstract theological conception of America held by the Puritans.[33] This is the "line of intellectual force" that Pound writes of as following the frontier movement and setting itself up in contrast to the sedate

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[32] Lawrence, D. H., Selected Literary Criticism, op. cit. p.427.

[33] Williams, W. C., "Pere Sebastian Rasles", In The American Grain, New York: New Directions, 1966, pp.105-130.

European culture of the Eastern seaboard.[34] Turner's classic thesis, too, includes a statement of the frontier characteristics of the American intellect. These are characteristics which we recognize in Hemingway, in Hemingway's Nick and which also link Hemingway's America to Whitman's:

> ....coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends....that dominant individualism working with good and evil; that buoyancy and exuberance that comes with spacial freedom - these are the traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier.[35]

Although Nick and, in various ways, all the Hemingway heroes after him are of the frontier, the Michigan of Nick's childhood is caught at the moment of this frontier's passing. This is indicated most directly by the characterization of the Indians in the stories. Turner places a possible undue emphasis on the importance of the Indian Wars in denoting frontier lines and in the popular imagination the connection is assured. The official date of the closing of the frontier, 1890, is also the date of the death of Sitting Bull in the

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[34] Pound, E., Patria Mia, op. cit. p.33.
[35] Turner, F. J., The Frontier in American History, New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1940, p.185.

Ghost Dance Rising and of the final surrender of Geronimo. It is interesting, therefore, that the new century that opens Dos Passos' U.S.A. should begin with a picture of General Miles, conqueror of both the Sioux and the Apache, "with his gaudy uniform and spirited charger", falling from his horse.[36]

There is a sense, and it is an important one for Hemingway, that the whole style of American life represented by General Miles has passed with the end of the Indian Wars and the closing of the frontier. In The Bridge, Crane uses the figure of the Indian as an inclusive symbol of his sensual conception of the American land[37] and although this is perhaps layered beneath Hemingway's "Fathers and Sons", his basic attitude to the Indian is far from complimentary. Admittedly the Objibway could never be used symbolically in the same way as could the plains or mountain tribes[38] but they still hold an association with the noble red man image. This background serves to point Hemingway's perhaps only half-conscious irony. Hemingway's Indians shoot themselves because "they can't stand things",[39] blackmail the doctor[40] and in "Light of the World", sit dustily with whores, silently waiting for a train.[41] The nearness to the frontier is here

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36 Dos Passos, J., U.S.A., op. cit. p.2.

37 Crane, H., "Indiana", The Complete Poems and Selected Letters and Prose of Hart Crane, op. cit., pp.76-79.

38 Owen, R. C., Deetz, J. J. F. and Fisher, A. D., The North American Indians, London: Macmillan, 1967, pp.68-76. This section of the book offers insights into the history of the Objibway which substantiate my point.

39 Hemingway, E. H., The First Forty-Nine Stories, op.cit.,pp.269-2

40 ibid. pp.91-95.

41 ibid. pp.315-321.

but so too is the sense of its imminent passing and with it the end of a style of life.[42]

The closing of the frontier and the end of its Whitmanesque style, the result of contact with the sensual and concrete aspects of life and utilizing the direct

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[42] An interesting, fresh facet of Hemingway's attitude towards Indians is contained in David Garnett's introduction to Hemingway's Torrents of Spring. Garnett's central point, once he manages to stop excusing the ephemerality of the satire in terms of Hemingway's impecunious exasperation with literary Paris, is that the main target for attack is not so much a stylistic as an ideological one. Though Hemingway does poke fun at the idiosyncracies of Anderson's style, he is really concerned with exposing to ridicule the fundamental belief behind Anderson's Dark Laughter that negros, in being closer to nature, are somehow superior to the sophisticated whites. Garnett believes that Hemingway is principally attacking the implicit conceit behind Anderson's attempt as a semi-civilized town dweller to sentimentalize primitive peoples.

There would seem to be some justice in Garnett's claim as the the motivation of the book's irony in view of its sub-title, "A Romantic Novel in Honour of the Passing of a Great Race" and in view of Hemingway's general treatment of the indians throughout. They are far from being the earthy innocents of Anderson's negros and are rather callow white men than of separate racial integrity. The hillarious scene in the club shows the indians to be just as foolishly, though cruelly, snobbish with their paltry dignity and ludicrous behavioural niceties as could be their white counterparts. See
Hemingway, E. H., The Torrents of Spring, London: Penguin Books, 1966, pp.9-14.

capabilities of men, form an important background to the flight to Europe. This is a flight not to discover but to recover "the art of life". For Hemingway the Europe of value is not the literary Paris but the rural and uncontaminated places of the south, Burgette, the Vorarlberg, Abruzzi, the mountains above Montreux. This Europe becomes the repository of the direct "natural", "primitive" life that had been lost in America. William Carlos Williams is unambiguous about investing Europe with this quality:

> To eat, to drink; wines, the delicious flesh,
> the poets - all good things of the world -
> these we must learn again to enjoy.[43]

The rediscovery of life in Europe is linked in this piece with a bias towards the latin element in American history as appreciating the value of the sensual and the concrete. He contrasts the Jesuit father who converted the indians by going among them "touching them every day" with the puritans "who drew back and told them to direct themselves to God alone".[44]

That Hemingway finds in his Europe a return to childhood sensibility, and beyond that to Whitman's image of the direct life of the senses is evident in countless little reminiscences and comparisons. Consider the fishing

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[43] Williams, W. C., In the American Grain, op. cit., p.106.
[44] ibid., p.125.

at Burgette and Horton's Bay, the "pine needle floor of the forest" and the hemlock needles of the wood in "Fathers and Sons", or Frederick Henry in the barn after the retreat from Caporetto:

> The hay smelled good lying in the barn and the hay took away all the years in between. We had lain in the hay and talked and shot sparrows with an air-rifle....I looked down and there was Piani standing on the haying floor. He had a long sausage, a jar of something and two bottles of wine under his arm.[45]

The "good things of life" in an Italian barn immediately recall the lost childhood in Michigan.

By a series of quite plausible extensions of association and reference, both these accounts, Hemingway's and Williams', can be seen as setting up a contrast between the direct life of the senses in Europe and in the America of the frontier and the abstract, hypocritical confusion of all that lies between. Hemingway's treatment of the First World War is partly a presentation of the negative side of this contrast. Here formlessness must disguise itself in grandiosity:

> Abstract words such as glory, honour, courage or hallow were obscene beside the concrete names of villages, the numbers of roads, the names of rivers, the numbers of regiments and the dates.[46]

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[45] Hemingway, E. H., A Farewell to Arms, op. cit., pp.168-169
[46] ibid., p.144.

In a general Hemingway scheme the war, with its meaningless violence, waste, confusion, and qualification, comes to stand as a presentation of the same vices in society as a whole. Hemingway's objection to war is not so much moral and pacifist as much as an aesthetic objection. Meaningful death, after all, is man's greatest potential in a secular universe. However, the war as it is waged in Italy and described in A Farewell to Arms and "A Natural History of the Dead" reduces individual death to the status of that of the comic-grotesque horse in the bullfight. In both A Farewell to Arms and later in For Whom the Bell Tolls there are unhappy comparisons with old wars fought by soldiers like General Miles. Catherine Barclay, in A Farewell To Arms, describes the death of her fiancé.

> I remember having a silly idea he might come to the hospital where I was, with a sabre cut....or ....something picturesque....People can't realize what France is like. If they did it couldn't all go on. He didn't have a sabre cut. They blew him all to bits. [47]

Even Nick's exposure to pain and horror in Michigan has a certain wholesome simplicity, as a natural part of a boy's growing up, when placed beside this. The propagandists still talked of this war using the same terms of reference that they had used for old wars when, perhaps, they might

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[47] ibid., p.20.

have had some semblance of truth.

The reaction to the "abstract words" and "old men's lies" leads, besides much else in the Twenties, to Hemingway's documentary, "way it was" technique that is paradigmed in the description of the course of events that lead to the bull's ear being left with the cigarette stubs in the hotel in Pamplona.[48] Hemingway is from first to last a naturalist, both in his stylistic devices and in his attention to the material environment. In this school he had many masters from Goya, who is strangely invoked in Death in the Afternoon, to Ring Lardner.[49] He also owes a considerable debt to Pound, whom Hemingway acknowledges as teaching him control, discipline and clarity together with an objective sense of "le mot juste".

Yet the sources of Hemingway's naturalism are perhaps most profitably seen as existing within an American tradition. Naturalism has respectable origins in America as it is seen as the "democratic" style. When Hawthorne placed a distinction between the external fact and the inner "truth of the human heart",[50] Whitman countered him; "let facts and histories speak for themselves; there is no need of romance". However, Whitman's defence of "facts" and documentary is based on the

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[48] See Hemingway, E. H., The Sun Also Rises, op. cit.

[49] A fairly detailed summation of Lardner's effect upon Hemingway is contained in Fenton, C. A., The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway, op. cit., pp.55-58.

[50] Quoted in Waggoner, H. H., Hawthorne: A Critical Study, Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1955, p.247.

belief that material fact is in a complete analogue with spiritual truth. Hemingway's naturalism is justified by the inherent truth and value of the "thing itself", unencumbered by spiritual and aesthetic swathings. The American sense of the exuberant validity of material fact and the control and discipline of the European tradition are combined in the "Hemingwayesque". Hemingway, however, deepens his naturalism from, say, that of Dos Passos by two characeristic techniques, the creation of sympathetic verbal rituals and of a sympathetic natural symbolism. It is a sign of his quality that he can do this without encroaching on his all-important fidelity to natural and material fact. It is to examine the depth of his naturalism in its relation to his central philosophical concept of aficion that the next chapter is dedicated.

CHAPTER III

For the "ritual" quality of Hemingway's writing, and for its close relationship with the concept of aficion, the text is "Big Two Hearted River". Nick is described as "awkward and professionally happy with his equipment hanging from him".[1] It is very much as a "professional", with professional and meticulous care, that Nick engages in his trout fishing and the language of the story intensifies this professionalism. As with the bull-fighting accounts in The Sun Also Rises, many paragraphs could be taken out of the story, the third person exchanged for the second and the past tense for the present, and placed in a text book on the subject:

> There was a tug on the line. Nick pulled the taut line. It was his first strike. Holding the now living rod across the current, he brought in the line with his left hand. The rod bent in jerks, the trout pumping against the current. Nick knew it was a small one. He lifted the rod straight up in the air. It bowed with the pull.[2]

This quotation illustrates both the scrupulous documentary that reproduces Nick's technique and the end of that technique,

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1 Hemingway, E. M. The First Forty-Nine Stories, op. cit. p.166.

2 ibid. p.177.

the material closeness to the facts of nature that is the end of aficion. Nick becomes a living mechanism, while the rod becomes mechanically alive with the trout at the end of the line. All are fused into one action and man, fish and machine become inseparable. The story is not intended as a textbook, however, and Frank O'Connor notes in connection with another story that the characteristics of the prose tend to destroy the objective reality of the description replacing

> ...it with a series of verbal rituals which are intended to evoke the object as it may be supposed. At an extreme point it attempts to substitute the image for reality.[3]

Nick's fishing is not an extension of any outside reality but a completely different and competing phenomenon to fulfill Nick's needs in his social and historical situation. Nick is in flight from society, a society which is typified by the meaningless destruction and hypocrisy he has experienced during the war, and which is symbolically transferred to the burnt land around the town of Seney.

There are, however, two stories of homecoming in In Our Time and, though both their protagonists have lost their ideals and their sense of meaningful human relationships in war, there is a great difference in effect between

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[3] O'Connor, F., "A Clean Well-Lighted Place", The Lonely Voice, New York: World Publishing Co., 1962, p.157.

"Big Two Hearted River" and "Soldier's Home". To trace the reason for this difference we can turn to two other stories of loss in the volume. After the loss of his father in "My Old Man" the boy Joe says, and I quote again, "seems like when they get started they don't leave a guy nothing".[4] In the sequence "The End of Something" and "The Three Day Blow", Nick concludes an adolescent love affair with the words, "It was a good thing in reserve". Both Krebs and Nick Adams have apparently nothing left but Nick has his "thing in reserve". He is able to break away from the sentimental religiosity of his mother and the disillusions of his war experience. He can go into the woods and set his fishing up as a desperate psychological exorcism of the ghosts of meaningless, stifling and truth-denying society. It is the one thing he has left, untarnished by that society, and in the fishing activity he invests all his physical, mental and spiritual capacity. In this intensification of the activity its image takes over as a complete and meaningful reality. Krebs, on the other hand, has nothing at all. He comes from Oklahoma, literally and schematically a flatter land than Michigan, and Krebs is one for whom nothing has ever been clean and bright:

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[4] Hemingway, E. M. The First Forty-Nine Stories, op. cit. p.164.

> There is a picture which shows him on the Rhine with two German girls and another corporal. Krebs and the corporal look too big for their uniforms. The German girls are not beautiful. The Rhine does not show in the picture.[5]

He must lie, "and even his lies were not sensational",[6] to please his mother, whereas Nick is able to turn his back on his mother and her , presumably, similar demands. Krebs does not wish to re-enter society but is unable to make the conscious flight from it. "Soldier's Home" is an unsympathetic story for it is not Krebs' fault that he has never been fishing as a child and so cannot cultivate a closeness with something that remains completely unaffected by the war or the society that produced it. Hemingway unambiguously makes the point that Krebs lacks Nick's aficion, his dedication to his something in reserve. He lacks any sense of the "art of life"; even on the superficial level of dissipation, that the expatriates found to see them through the disillusions and qualifications brought on by the war and was inherent in their society itself.

Hemingway's use of natural symbolism fulfills the same conceptual role as ritual intensification of meaningful factual experience. Carlos Baker notes the "choice between two sets of moral and emotional atmospheres" in The Sun Also

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5 ibid. p.122.
6 ibid. p.123.

Rises:

> Something tarnished is opposed to something bright; vanity is challenged by sanity; a world of mean and snarled disorder is set off against a world clear of entangling alliances.[7]

In a complex pattern of symbolic oppositions the healthy and natural is pitted against the unnaturally "social", clarity against confusion, the desirable against the undesirable in a system of unambiguous alternative choices.

It is in A Farewell to Arms, however, that this symbolic pattern is exploited to its fullest extent. After the chaos of the retreat across the plains from Caporetto, Frederick Henry escapes to Switzerland with Catherine. They live a brief but idyllic existence in the winter snows above Montreux until they come down to Montreux where Catherine dies in childbirth. The novel ends: "After a while I went out and left the hospital and walked back to the hotel in the rain."[8] The pattern of contrasting associative symbolism is integrated very closely with the narrative, even to the extent of "snow" being the name of the pain-killer used in the hospital. Snow and highland are associated with happiness, order and continuing life while rain and lowland have associations of defeat, death and horror. By the working

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[7] Baker, C., Hemingway: The Writer as Artist, op. cit., p.83.
[8] Hemingway, E. M., A Farewell to Arms, op. cit., p.256.

of association, clear ethical and aesthetic alternatives are offered by the contrasting symbolism. The priest tells Henry of his highland home and invites him to visit his family:

> I had wanted to go to the Abruzzi. I had gone to no place where the roads were frozen and hard as iron, where it was clear and dry and the snow was dry and powdery and haretracks in the snow and the peasants took off their hats and called you Lord and there was good hunting. I had gone to no such place but to the smoke of cafes and nights when the room whirled and you needed to look at the wall to make it stop, nights in bed, drunk, when you knew that was all there was, and the strange excitement of waking and not knowing who it was was with you.[9]

Casual, therefore, meaningless dissipation and promiscuity appear again as the social concomitant of war and are placed in contrast with the life suggested by the Abruzzi. It is important and characteristic that the contrast is evoked in aesthetic terms, those of visual clarity; the hard, cold description of the winter countryside against the foggy confusion of drunkenness and cigarette smoke in the cafes and hotel rooms. Even the style suggests this; the direct use of the "and" conjuction in the Abruzzi description is replaced by the haphazardly contorted syntax appropriate to the way of life of the cities. The priest's

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[9] ibid. p.14.

positive faith, with its association with the sensual, ritual nature of catholicism, is presented as an extension of the direct physical clarity of the Abruzzi. Like that of William's Jesuit missionary, it has nothing to do with abstraction and mystification. These are reserved for the "old men's lies" and war propaganda.

In constructing a general mountain-plain symbolic scheme for Hemingway's work, Carlos Baker makes use of what he calls the "nada concept" from the dichotomy set up in the story "A Clean Well Lighted Place".[10]

He characterises the lowland as the world outside the cafe in this story, a world of "brutality and darkness". In A Farewell to Arms and in all Hemingway's work, nada is less specific than this. The plain and the values of the plain are not so much "nothing" as "too much"; they present an inability to focus on a truth, in fact, because they are continually crowded out by so many pseudo-facts and pseudo-truths, dissipation, meaningless death, propaganda and so on. It is to escape from this confusion, directly rendered as a threat to Henry's life in the chaos of the retreat, that Henry and Catherine flee to isolation in the clear winter light of the mountains. This is only one of the many flights into clarity that Hemingway's work portrays:

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[10] Baker, C., Hemingway: The Writer as Artist, op. cit. pp.123-125.

Nick's journey to "Big Two Hearted River" is another. With the possibility of a direct and unambiguous relationship with the woman and with the natural setting of their life together, Henry has become an aficionado and the description of this life is a statement of that aficion.

But their life together, both literally and metaphorically, is built on snow and snow must melt as it does at Catherine's death. There is a certain desperation in their whole gesture, seeming a defiance of fate in a personal sense, a defiance of natural inevitability and a defiance of history. The hideout above Montreux is a symbolic reminiscence of Abruzzi where the aesthetic and ethical clarity is seen as a consequence of the survival of an almost mediaeval social order. The implication is that when this order breaks up, as it must do under the inevitable pressure of the society of the plain, the quality of life associated with it will also disappear. Frederick Henry's flight is one back into history, again to recover a lost "art of life". It is seen as both as necessary and as anachronistic as Nick Adams' reliance on the "frontier" values of his inheritance, the values that Turner enumerated at their moment of incipient decline but that Whitman had formed into an embodiment of the American spirit.

The foregoing analysis of A Farewell to Arms perhaps

allows us to focus upon the two principal, general objections to Hemingway's work; one from the right, as it were, and one from the left - the Hawthorne side and the Whitman side, following the divergence cited earlier. From the right it is "filmic", an "art of the surface", "journalism", while from the left, Hemingway is criticized for a tendency to deal in stylized abstractions. There is a certain amount of empirical truth in both and a certain amount of coincidence for both are concerned with an inability or an unwillingness to consider "reality", whether this is the inner and deeper reality of the right or the social reality of the left.

They can be dealt with in terms of Frederick Henry's career in A Farewell to Arms as a reaction to a specific but generally indicative historical situation. As a result of the experiences in Italy, social reality is rejected as unworthy of human beings and the idealized lyric relationship in Switzerland is the form of this rejection. The movement of the novel that Carlos Baker notes from concretion to abstraction[11] is paralleled by the conscious movement of the characters from complexity to simplicity and from confusion to clarity. This clarification is that of aficion for the material situation and the abstraction takes the form of an almost ritual intensification of the concrete.

[11] ibid. p.104.

The relationship lives entirely on its surface of words, actions and material presences and so achieves a completeness and stability that is abstract, in that, by normal standards it is unreal. The relationship is set apart from "what moves the world", achieving a position of stasis in the midst of flux and the conscious idealization of their own situation by the lovers is a result of this motivated separatedness.

Hemingway's abstractions arise somewhat paradoxically then from the importance placed on the concrete and rational. In the same way, the pattern of natural symbolism is never allowed to threaten the novel's verisimilitude. This is because the nature of different human activities taking place within its circumscriptions are genuine reflections of the natural qualities of their respective landscapes. Highland is healthier than lowland. Snow is a source of order and stability, enforcing isolation and impeding movement. That rain which accompanies so many of Hemingway's disasters is legitimized by the possibility of rain causing them, as at Caporetto or in the retreat from Asia Minor. Clarity is facilitated by snow and mountain climates while it is obscured by rain and lowland mist.

Thus, if Hemingway's work is filmic in the sense

that everything is connected with this level of the recognizably actual, it is filmic in the sense that many products of the American cinema allow this same relationship. The film, as it has developed in America, is the ultimate form of naturalism, for although it can allow selection, patterning and intensification of images, these must always take the form of the presentation of material fact. This is the characteristic of Hemingway's larger technique and I find it in no way detrimental. It is Hemingway's great strength, perhaps, that in his intense faithful celebration of rational facts, actions, forms of speech and apparent thought he can extract greater relevance from them than could any amount of "erectile obscurantism".[12]

This picture is slightly complicated by the time we reach For Whom the Bell Tolls though the complication involved is that of Hemingway finding an aesthetico-philosophical grounding for that which he had already resolved through a search in his fiction. As early as 1926, Zelda Fitzgerald described Hemingway as a "seeming sort of materialistic mystic". At the end of For Whom The Bell Tolls, Robert Jordan thinks over the lessons of his four days in the mountains with

> She said La Gloria. It has nothing to do with glory nor La Glorie that the French write

[12] See Chapter II, p. 26.

> and speak about. It is in Greco and in San Juan de la Cruz, of course, and in others. I am no mystic but to deny it is as though you denied the telephone or that the earth revolves around the sun or that there are other planets than this.[13]

Although characteristically Jordan rejects it later on, Maria's "La Gloria" is the nearest thing to a coherent explanation of Jordan's discovery of his relationship to the abiding earth.

"La Gloria" is the same thing as the duende described by Garcia Lorca from whose lecture "On the Nature and Function of the Duende"[14] it seems likely that Hemingway gleaned his title for Death in the Afternoon. The lecture using the same examples and, apparently, the same tone as Jordan, was given in Havana whilst Hemingway was living at Key West and its feeling is also sensed in Pilar's account of "the smell of death".[15] Lorca's duende presents the Spanish spirit as a great celebration of the physical world and the sensual capacity of man, whether expressed in the exploitation of colour, music, dance, sex, as in Maria's original use, or the activities of the corrida.[16] We find it even in such

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13 Hemingway, E. M., For Whom the Bell Tolls, op. cit., p.359.

14 Lorca, G. M., Selected Poems, trans. J. L. Gili, London: Penguin Books, 1961, pp.127-140.

15 Hemingway, E. M., For Whom the Bell Tolls, op. cit. pp.242-247.

16 The connection between duende and the activities of the corrida is made explicit in Lorca, G. M., "Llanto por Ignacio Sanchez Mejias", Selected Poems, op. cit., pp.101-112.

Hemingwayisms as "the kill", "the wound" and "the straight fight with the creator at the edge of the wall". All this is undertaken with a clear but unspoken consciousness of the presence of an all-negating death and so the duende has a certain desperate defiance of inevitability. It has the same defiant quality noted in Nick's fishing or in the Alpine idyll in A Farewell to Arms. Lorca's account of the duende comes near to describing Hemingway's material mysticism, his conception of Spanish life, the serious passion of aficion and the ideal of the Hemingway aesthetic and world.

Hemingway's aesthetic attraction to the bullfight offers a very real appreciation of an activity that includes many of his characteristic values. When he proposes the bullfight as a "meaningful ritual for our time", he is indicating that he finds there all the qualities lacking in the world outside and specifically in the Parisian ethos of the expatriates. He finds there clarity, a direct confrontation with the material facts of life and death, the combination of serious planning and the recognition of the power of chance, the supreme testing of exclusively individual capacities, a classic grace under pressure and a recognition of the value of aficion. In The Sun Also Rises all these qualities of the corrida are evoked in complete contrast to that of the expatriate party. Pedro Romero is

the one who will lose most by contimination with Brett and her values. Brett or no Brett, Romero's prototype Nino de la Palma appears in Death in the Afternoon as "cowardice in its least attractive form; its fat rumped, prematurely bald from using hair fixatives, prematurely senile form".[17] He has been put to the test and found wanting and the reasons given are his early elevation to messiahood and his lack of serious training and self discipline. With one and without the other it is impossible to become an afficionado, as a matador, a writer, or even a trout fisherman.

The world of the bullring is the perfect setting for the cultivation of aficion and this is the sense of Jake's "Nobody lives their lives all the way up except the bullfighters"[18] and of Hemingway's simple but powerful evocation of Manuel Garcia Maera: "He loved to kill bulls and lived with much passion and enjoyment."[19] It is this love, passion and enjoyment that bring Maera to his death from tuberculosis and nothing indicates the nature of aficion more than its end in death. The major in "In Another Country" advises Nick not to marry:

> If he is to lose everything, he should not place himself in a position to lose. He should find things he cannot lose.[20]

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17 Hemingway, E. M., Death in the Afternoon, op. cit. p.126.
18 Hemingway, E. M., The Sun Also Rises, op. cit. p.47
19 Hemingway, E. M., Death in the Afternoon, op. cit. p.73
20 Hemingway, E. M., The First Forty-Nine Stories, op. cit. p.217.

The Hemingway conception of life, however, as aficion duende or gloria accepts eventual loss as a fact as material as present possession. Life itself culminates in the overwhelming loss of death. After the great loss in the war, Krebs, in "A Soldier's Home", is in the same position as the major after the loss of his wife. Consequently, he will accept nothing for fear of losing it. Nick goes out and consciously builds himself a whole world of security from the material facts of the trout stream, though he does so in full knowledge of its illusory character.[21]

Hemingway's characteristic scaling down of life to its individual objects, moments and actions, the direct physical impression on the senses and the consequent intensification of these many instances of life only emphasize the unspoken desperation in the technique. Of bullfighting itself, Hemingway writes

> But it is an impermanent art, as singing and dancing are, one of those that Leonardo advised men to avoid, and when the performer is gone the art exists only in the memory of those who have seen it and dies with them..[22]

The classic ritualized statuary of the matador is only in existence for an instant and will never again exist in

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[21] In "Big Two Hearted River", op. cit., p. 183.
[22] Hemingway, E. M., Death in the Afternoon, op. cit. p.95.

exactly the same form. Hemingway's fidelity to material fact includes a recognition of the fleetingness of that fact. The only eternal, real quality of material truth is in its constant recurrence in different forms: "The Sun also rises and the Sun goes down" on the abiding but ever-changing earth. The point of this is that it is unspoken. Hemingway's material "illusions", Henry and Catherine in the mountains, Nick in the woods, refuse to recognize the "reality" that surrounds them in the form of loss, death, the war and society and so exist complete and unqualified in themselves.

APPENDIX I

An interesting aspect of the American decadence is revealed if we consider it in terms of a collapse of Whitman's vision for the new country. A verse like this from Whitman's Leaves of Grass epitomizes his vision of America's potential:

> I hear American singing, that varied carols
> I hear,
> Those of the mechanics, each one singing
> his as it should be - blithe and strong,
> The carpenter singing his as he measures
> the plank or beam,
> The mason singing what belongs to him or
> her and to none else
> The day what belongs to the day - at night
> the party of young fellows robust, friendly,
> Singing with open mouths their strong
> melodious songs.[1]

Leaves of Grass can be seen to embody the values which are continually hackneyed as the formal manifestations of America's strengths, particular qualities and aspirations. Whitman in this way becomes the prophet of all that the American ideal believes itself to hold dear: democracy, energy and throughout the equation of individualism with a limitless scale and sense of opportunity. Whitman's image of America, concentrated in "I Hear America Singing" is an evocation of the potential of man overcoming matter.

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[1] Whitman, W., "I Hear America Singing", Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose, New York: Random House, 1950, p. 11.

Because this is the particular quality and significance of his work, it is useful to examine what two writers of the Twenties made of Whitman's vision.[2] The two works, both of which we may determine as being "Whitmanesque", use Whitman's vision of America in different ways and reveal an approximate degree of polarity in the attitude which they take towards Whitman's concept. They are a valid indication of the Twenties' recognition of its own decadence and offer, in their implicit conclusions, attitudes towards America which Hemingway's work of the Twenties is, in a very real sense, faced with reconciling.

Hart Crane takes Whitman and Whitman's vision as his inspiration for his poem, The Bridge[3], specifically invoking him in "Panis Angelicus"[4], in "Cape Hatteras"[5] and writing elsewhere, in his Modern Poetry, that he

> ... better than any other, was able to co-ordinate those forces in America which seem most intractable, and fusing them into a universal vision which takes on additional significance as time goes on.[6]

Crane with his post-symbolist techniques creates[7] his own ecstatic vision of America's past and of its present and future potential. Crane's vision, because it is such an intensely and predominantly personal one becomes at the

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2 The original dates of publication were in fact
U.S.A. - between 1930 and 1936
The Bridge - 1930

3 Crane, H., "The Bridge", The Complete Poems, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1966, p. 46.

4 ibid. pp. 94-95.

5 ibid. pp. 89-90.

6 ibid. p. 263.

7 A detailed discussion of Crane's specific techniques is contained in
Weber, B., Hart Crane - A Biographical and Critical Study, New York: The Bodley Press, 1948.

same time an energetic and violent statement on the poet's part of his own potential as an American.[8] The quality of Crane's subject matter has almost definitively not altered from Whitman's own. He can still see the America of the machine age having the potential of Cathay and can still hear "whispers antiphonal in azure swing"[9] , and can still accept Whitman's twin role as a cosmic and national poet as being socially and artistically valid.

Yet if Whitman is the presiding genius of The Bridge he is also, though with ironical intent, felt to be the motive power behind John Dos Passos' U.S.A. Consider, for instance, the tone and scope of the epic's opening invocation:

> U.S.A. is the slice of a continent. U.S.A. is a group of companies, an aggregation of trade unions, a set of laws bound in calf, a radio network, a chain of moving picture theatres, a column of stock quotations rubbed out and written in by a Western Union boy on a blackboard, a public library full of old newspapers and dog-eared history books with protests scrawled in the margin in pencil - U.S.A. is the world's greatest river valley fringed with mountains and hills. U.S.A. is a set of bigmouthed officials with too many bank accounts. U.S.A. is a lot of men buried in Arlington cemetery. U.S.A. is the letters at the end of an address when you are away from home. But most of all U.S.A. is the speech of a people.[10]

Whatever conceptual difficulties this may lead him into,

[8] In this context it is useful to bear in mind those utterances which Cowley reports of Crane. The painfully self-assertive quality of Crane's judgements about his own poetry make it clear that his concept of himself and of his role as cosmic and national poet were things in which he had a total faith. See
Cowley, M., The Exiles Return, New York: The Colonial Press, 1956, pp. 221-235.

[9] Crane, H., The Complete Poems, op. cit. p. 72.

[10] Dos Passos, J., U.S.A., London: Penguin Books, 1966, pp. 6-7.

the intent of Dos Passos' introductory piece is obvious. An irony fitting the author's political conviction is apparent though the influence of Whitman is still clearly detectable. The notion, or conceptualized image, of America is presented as some sort of apparently chaotic amalgum which is nevertheless a viable organic whole. Whatever the faults of this whole, Dos Passos apparently believes that for justice to be done to the individual, whether as artist or protagonist, justice must be done to that whole.

It is the limitations placed upon individual action which are here dwelt upon, however. Individual action and with it, personal truth, are impinged by lying history books, the business interests and corrupt bureaucracy. There is a detectable difference between Hart Crane with his inviolable cosmic protagonist:

> Yes Walt
> Afoot again and onward without
> halt[11]

and the heroes of Dos Passos' novel. In U.S.A. the one who retains his intrinsic individuality against the background of flux, qualification and compromise is prefigured in the introduction and documented in the narrative. He is the "vag", the hobo and hitch-hiker. Standing on the side of a vast, anonymous and unsympathetic highway, he is

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11 Crane, H., The Complete Poems, op. cit., p. 96.

at odds with the stream of American society which flows along it. Although Hart Crane does present his hobos in "The River" as some sort of true American spirit, free of urban, commercial and bureaucratic taint[12], there could be no greater difference between his general concept and that of Dos Passos.

The presented situation of America in U.S.A. is not really the result of a changed character of industrial America so much as the simply bureaucratic quality of that process. The movement against Whitman's vision of America is one from a direct and startling clarity of the evocation of individual power over matter to a direct and depressing presentation of a hypocritical and frustrating social opacity. In "Big Money", for instance, we find Charley Anderson, the inventor, existing as one of Whitman's mechanics. We see his vital capacity destroyed by the necessity of his becoming an administrator and an acquirer of false social graces. Dos Passos, like Crane, sees the potential glory of an industrial America but sees it insidiously undermined by social injustice and social elements.

Yet it is not only those writers of the Twenties who in the epic, inclusive scope of their work are most obviously "Whitmanesque", such as Hart Crane and Dos Passos,

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[12] ibid. p. 62

who felt an observing of Whitman's vibrantly clear vision of America's potential. In 1912 Pound's "Patria Mia" [13] had, perhaps only half-consciously, harked back to a "Whitmanesque" standard in voicing his fears about the future of America. For though the poem can delight in the "animal vigour" of American society, Pound fears that it has been led into the trite and irrelevant niceties of the salon and the literary magazine. He finds this a very real danger to the American civilization and notes that a certain dynamism has left its culture with a fatal decline even in business incentive between 1870 and 1910. "Patria Mia" is a strange reworking of Democratic Vistas for, less than twenty years after writing Leaves of Grass, Whitman was finding the qualities of the America he had there celebrated in great danger. He found it a valid question to ask in horror

> Shall a man lose himself in countless masses of
> of adjustments and so be shaped with reference
> to this, that and the other that the simply good
> and healthy and brave parts of him are reduced
> and clipped away like the bordering box in the garden.[14]

He found it necessary to insist upon the preservation of his America from the insidious attacks of the business and administrative taint and that of the "fashionable world":

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[13] Pound, E., Selected Prose, New Haven: The Nodal Press, 1949, p.27.

[14] Whitman, W., Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose, op. cit., p. 488.

> ...a programme of culture drawn out not for the parlours or lecture rooms but with an eye to the practical life, the west, the working men, the facts of jack-planes and engineers.[15]

The situation in the Twenties was that programme of culture which Whitman had advocated and Pound had reiterated had been ignored. Their worst fears had come true and were realized in the situation of Dos Passos' U.S.A., American of the "bordering boxes".[16]

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[15] ibid. p. 489.
[16] See Appendix 3.

APPENDIX II

An interesting aspect of the downfall of Whitman's America is contained in David Reisman's study of "the changing American character", The Lonely Crowd. Reisman distinguishes between three character types, the tradition-directed, the inner-directed and the other-directed, and he sees the American character in the Twentieth Century as being in transition from the inner-directed to the other-directed, as he phrases it "from morality to morale". The inner-directed type is one possessing firm practical morality, deriving from early parental influence and from contact, at a basic level, with practical life. This type, as a national character, is associated with economic expansion, population growth and capital accumulation. With the coming of incipient population decline, increasing industrialization and urbanization and the shift of emphasis from production to management and administration that comes with a complex economic structure, the other-directed takes over as the national type. The style is that of the"manipulator", the "fixer":

> The enduringness and enterprize of the inner-directed types are somewhat less necessary under

> these new conditions. Increasingly, other people are the problem not the material environment.[1]

Whereas the inner-directed are rooted in a firm psychological "home", the social facility of the other-directed enables them to "feel at home everywhere and nowhere and to suffer the diffuse anxiety of the rootless". It is only a schematic approximation, but Reisman identifies the predominance of the retreating inner-direction with rural America, with the west and mid-west, and the increasingly dominant other-direction with the cities of the east and with the administrative middle class as its vanguard.

This is obviously an inadequate account of The Lonely Crowd but it has been included here because it presents a very relevant insight into Hemingway's writings. The "changing American character" offers a pattern that can be imposed with very little forcing or distortion on the work of Hemingway, providing a perspective for his "lostness"[2] and, although Reisman's book was only published in 1950, these writings illustrate many of the factors that bring about Hemingway's conclusions.

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1 Riesman, D., The Lonely Crowd, New York: Doubleday, p.27.

2 This is of course in reference to Hemingway's membership in the "lost generation". See Chapter I.

APPENDIX III

It is useful in discussing the aesthetic and ethical ramifications of aficion to provide an adequate definition of its specific meaning. De Cossio's classic discussion of bullfighting in all its aspects, provides a sound statement of what aficion entails

> Se usa el termino la aficion, para designar no solo el gusto e inclinacion a presenciar la fiesta taurina, sino el conjunto de aficionados presentes y ausentes de la fiesta.[1]

The use of De Cossio for authority is sanctioned not only by the book's manifest and crushing authority on the subject of bullfighting, but also, in this specific instance, by the similarity of his definition to that which Hemingway provides in his appended Glossary to Death in the Afternoon. De Cossio's definition seems to be relevant to the discussion of Hemingway's use of aficion because it stresses the fact that an aficionado is not merely a spectator at a corrida. He is an active participant in a sense which renders the legitimate English translation of aficionado

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[1] De Cossio, J. M., "Vocabulario Taurino Autorizado", Los Toros; Tratado, Tecnico e Historico, vol. 1, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1964, p.14.
My unwieldy translation of the passage runs
The term aficion is used to designate not only the taste and affection to attend the celebration of the bulls, but also the whole group of enthusiasts, present at and absent from the celebration.

as "enthusiast" only half meaningful. He is not only someone who attends bullfights but someone who appreciates their finer points regardless of whether or not he is present. Presumably, one who was moved by the description of a bullfight would qualify as an aficionado. De Cossio goes on to emphasize this in two ways. Firstly in substantiating his definition he quotes from Francisco Rodriguez Marin's Cincuenta cuentos anecdoticos:

> Alli era de ver como la aficion le consultaba a cada triquitraque.

The aficionados are here no passive spectators but almost the helpers of the bullfighter. They "consult" with him at each encounter or, at least, "agree" with the technical quality of his confrontations with the bull. Secondly, De Cossio insists that the aficionado is either, "El entusiasta de la fiesta de toros e intelligente en su tecnica" or "El que lidia sin ser profesional", an equivalence which again seems to promote the notion of the aficionado's intense degree of involvement in the bullfight. The same term embraces the supremely knowledgeable spectator and the amateur bullfighter.

Apart from stressing the active quality of the aficionado's passion, De Cossio's former definition of the term aficionado is relevant to Hemingway in that it insists upon a distinction being placed between mere enthusiasm

and enthusiasm when it is allied with a technical appreciation. The idea of knowledge as a basis for the excitement experienced by the aficionado is an essential one in Hemingway.[2] It is this knowledge, after all, which prevents the aficionado from a formless excitement and which renders afición a "serious" passion.

[2] See Chapter III, f.n.17.

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