

The University of North Carolina  
at Greensboro

JACKSON LIBRARY



CO

no. 822

Gift of:  
Sylvia Nelson Edmondson  
COLLEGE COLLECTION

EDMONDSON, SYLVIA NELSON. Allusions in Ernest Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises. (1971) Directed by: Dr. Robert O. Stephens. Pp. 112.

The Sun Also Rises represents Ernest Hemingway's first serious endeavor as a novelist. For that reason alone, an extended study is meaningful. However, in this novel, Hemingway has made extensive and effective use of the technique of allusion, a literary device seemingly at odds with his characteristic simplicity of style. The allusions are so numerous and varied that they almost defy categorization. Some highly creditable studies have been made but have been limited to a particular allusion or a set of related allusions. No comprehensive study has been made, and this work is an attempt to meet that need.

The use of allusion is first related to Hemingway's literary aims, showing it to be a device well suited to his method of saying much while adhering to his self-imposed simplicity and restraint. The allusions are then organized as they relate to tone, structure, characterization, setting, and meaning in The Sun Also Rises. Here the allusions are identified, explained in context, and related to the development of each of these elements. As many of the allusions serve multiple roles, some repetition has been unavoidable.

A close study of the allusions in The Sun Also Rises negates many criticisms of this work. Rather than nihilistic, Hemingway's tone is shown to be irony and pity. Instead of lacking structure, the novel's architecture is multiple, interrelated, and meaningful. The characterization is unconventional, as Hemingway uses "real people" rather than creating caricatures to populate his novel. The emphasis on setting results from its multiple purposes: to show "the way it was," to develop characters,

to set mood and to illustrate tone, and to provide meaning. There is significant meaning in The Sun Also Rises; Hemingway develops one action in one time while suggesting through allusion that the earth abides forever while man from past to present only endures.

ALLUSIONS IN ERNEST HEMINGWAY'S

THE SUN ALSO RISES

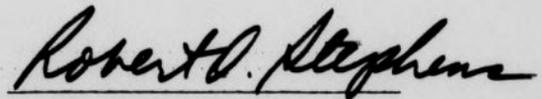
by

Sylvia N. Edmondson

A Thesis Submitted to  
the Faculty of the Graduate School at  
the University of North Carolina at Greensboro  
in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

Greensboro  
1971

Approved by



Thesis Adviser

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Thesis Adviser Robert D. Stephens

Thesis Committee Robert D. Stephens  
James Ellis  
Wanda J. Frank

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Dr. Robert O. Stephens. As an instructor, he awakened my interest in the life and works of Ernest Hemingway, and he suggested the topic of my thesis and offered good counsel as my thesis advisor during its preparation.

I would like to thank the members of the Thesis Committee for their time and consideration.

To the other people who made it possible for me to complete this work, I owe a debt of gratitude: to Dr. John W. Kennedy, who granted me an extension of time; to Dr. Lincoln Ladd, who gave understanding; to my family, who gave up much; to my typist, who suffered silently.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. RELATION OF ALLUSIONS TO HEMINGWAY'S LITERARY AIMS . . . . .	1
II. ALLUSIONS AS GUAGE OF TONE . . . . .	10
III. ALLUSIONS AS FOUNDATION OF STRUCTURE . . . . .	19
IV. CHARACTERIZATION THROUGH ALLUSION . . . . .	34
V. REFLECTION THROUGH ALLUSION OF 'THE WAY IT WAS' . . . . .	48
VI. MEANING THROUGH ECHOES OF THE PAST . . . . .	83

384893

CHAPTER I  
THE RELATION OF ALLUSIONS TO HEMINGWAY'S  
LITERARY AIMS

"Read anything I write for the pleasure of reading it. Whatever else you find will be the measure of what you brought to the reading."<sup>1</sup> Though speaking in a different context, Hemingway might have been commenting on the allusions in The Sun Also Rises (1926)<sup>2</sup> when he made this statement. Although TSAR was actually Hemingway's third novel, it is generally read, studied, and criticized as his first venture into that genre. The manuscript of the first novel was lost, and The Torrents of Spring (1926) has more value as a parody of Sherwood Anderson than as a serious novel. One can enjoy TSAR without recognizing or understanding the allusions, yet they are used deliberately and reveal the hidden complexity of the author's literary aim. The degree of pleasure is increased through recognition and understanding of allusions in proportion to the measure of knowledge and experience the reader brings to the readings. Sheldon Grebstein noted these different levels of reading as the reason that Hemingway

---

<sup>1</sup>George Plimpton, "An Interview with Ernest Hemingway," The Paris Review, XVIII (Spring, 1958) in Carlos Baker, ed., Hemingway and His Critics: An International Anthology, American Century Series, 36 (New York, 1961), p. 29. Latter work hereafter cited as Baker, Hemingway and His Critics.

<sup>2</sup>Ernest Hemingway, The Sun Also Rises, The Scribner Library (New York, 1954). Subsequent references to the novel will be to this edition and will be parenthesized in the text. The title will hereafter be abbreviated TSAR.

became "one of the rare artists in our time who have gained both critical respect and a mass audience."<sup>3</sup> The surface level can thus be read with clarity by the casual reader, yet another, deeper level yields complex elements for the more critical reader.

A study of the allusions in TSAR is important in analyzing the method, tone, structure, characterization, setting, and meaning in this first novel. Allusion is an important aspect of his paradoxically simple style and is a device which Hemingway continued to use. Allusions emphasize the tone of irony and pity used consistently throughout TSAR. Sometimes they are examples of irony; at other times they allude to works, authors, or rituals which display the same method. The intricate and interwoven framework of three methods of structure is developed, unified, and made significant by means of allusion. Characters are created and developed by this technique. Setting gains significance, scope, and meaning in terms of allusions. Finally, through allusions to other works, rituals, and patterns, Hemingway gives a greater depth of meaning to TSAR. Most importantly in terms of Hemingway's deceptive style, each of these elements is so intricately interwoven with the others that it is difficult to look separately at just one. The unity of these artistically interlocked elements is found through the patterns of allusions.

The allusions in TSAR are references to literary works, to arts, to history, and to then contemporary figures, which he subtly fuses

---

<sup>3</sup>"Reply to Otto Freidrick, 'Ernest Hemingway: Joy through Strength,'" American Scholar, XXVII (Spring, 1958), 230.

into the conversation, narration, and description. Some are used as an appeal to the reader to share some experience or knowledge with the author. Some enrich the material by merging the text with mythic echoes of the past. Hemingway's use of the technique of allusion thus requires a close author-reader relationship and a shared appreciation and knowledge of literature and literary tradition. Among the types of allusions Hemingway employs are the following: (1) Topical, a reference to a recent event; (2) Personal, a reference to the personal experiences, facts, and philosophies of the author himself which are widely known or easily grasped; (3) Imitative, in a generic sense rather than specific, parodic, or synthetic; (4) Literary, references to literary works or writers, including the Bible, poetry, and fiction; and (5) Structural, allusions which give form to the novel by suggesting the structure of an older work.<sup>4</sup> In addition to these categories, Hemingway's allusions can also be broken down further. Some are direct, explicit allusions to specific works, events, or characters which suggest qualities; some qualities are developed which suggest the source of the implicit, indirect allusion--the work, event, or character that originally possessed that quality.

Charles R. Anderson has commented most explicitly on the two aspects of Hemingway's style. The surface style he calls "hard and bare, secular, and insistent non-literary"; the opposing style, which offers a deeper,

---

<sup>4</sup>Alex Preminger, ed., Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics, (New York, 1965), p. 18.

more complex reading, Anderson points out as "warmly human, richly allusive, and at least suggestive of spiritual values."<sup>5</sup> Hemingway's allusions then add a lyric beauty and warmth to what might otherwise be viewed as an example of the "hard-boiled" school of literature.

Hemingway's literary aim was to depict life truly.

All good books are alike in that they are truer than if they had really happened and after you are finished reading one you will feel all that happened to you and afterwards it all belongs to you: the good and the bad, the ecstasy, the remorse and the sorrow, the people and the places and how the weather was. If you can get so you can give that to people, then you are a writer.<sup>6</sup>

He refused to overintellectualize his literary aim. At one time he stated that his aim was to "'Put down what I see and what I feel in the best and simplest way I can tell it.'"<sup>7</sup>

Lee Wilson Dodd interpreted Hemingway's aesthetic purpose as to make a literal report, to write a direct transcript of life, to record on paper a series of artistically accurate statements--all records of aspects of life, impressions of environmental factors, responses of the senses which Hemingway had experienced and which he wished to record as a permanent record of "the way it was." It was his desire "To make something so humanly true that it will outlast the vagaries of time and change,

<sup>5</sup>"Hemingway's Other Style," Modern Language Notes, LXXVI (May, 1961), 434-442 in Carlos Baker, ed., Ernest Hemingway: Critiques of Four Major Novels, Scribner Research Anthologies (New York, 1962), p. 41. Latter work hereafter cited as Baker, Critiques.

<sup>6</sup>Ernest Hemingway, "Old Newsman Writes," Esquire (December, 1934) in William White, ed., By-Line: Ernest Hemingway (New York, 1967), pp. 159-160. Latter work hereafter cited as White, By-Line.

<sup>7</sup>Samuel Putnam, Paris Was Our Mistress (New York, 1947), pp. 128-129 in Carlos Baker, Hemingway: The Writer as Artist, 3rd ed. (Princeton, 1963), p. 54. Latter work hereafter cited as Baker, Writer as Artist.

yet it will still speak directly to one's own changing times. . . ."<sup>8</sup>  
 To do this, Hemingway used a set of allusions which were designed to produce responses in the reader, responses not limited to the literary world but inclusive of the things experienced by the author and his world.<sup>9</sup>

To be more honest, Hemingway created a subtle style which allowed him to tell more than one truth. As Cleveland B. Chase puts it, "He says one thing, implies another, while the whole atmosphere of a passage implies infinitely more than is found in its individual parts."<sup>10</sup> Between the lines of TSAR lie allusions which are indications of Hemingway's intellect, humor, culture, sophistication,<sup>11</sup> and his honesty and "awareness of the unworded, half-grasped incomprehensibilities of life."<sup>12</sup> Through allusions, Hemingway renders what E. M. Halliday called "the ambiguity of life itself."<sup>13</sup>

The significance of Hemingway's use of allusions lies in his mastery of the "unsaid." It was Hemingway himself who best explained

---

<sup>8</sup>"Simple Annals of the Callous," Saturday Review of Literature, IV (November 19, 1927), 322.

<sup>9</sup>Baker, Writer as Artist, p. 56.

<sup>10</sup>"Out of Little, Much," Saturday Review of Literature, III (December 11, 1926), 421.

<sup>11</sup>Baker, Writer as Artist, p. 34.

<sup>12</sup>Lawrence S. Morris, "Warfare in Man and among Men," New Republic, XLIX (December 22, 1926), 142.

<sup>13</sup>"Hemingway's Ambiguity: Symbolism and Irony," American Literature, XXVIII (March, 1956), 1-22 in Baker, Critiques, p. 74. Former work hereafter cited as Halliday, "Hemingway's Ambiguity."

how the "unsaid" relates to his literary aims, although he said it in a later book, Death in the Afternoon.

If a writer of prose knows anything about what he is writing about he may omit things that he knows and the reader, if the writer is writing truly [sic] enough, will have a feeling of those things as strongly as though the writer had stated them. The dignity of movement of an ice-berg is due to only one-eighth of it being above water. A writer who omits things because he does not know them only makes hollow places in his writing.<sup>14</sup>

Through allusion Hemingway can leave much half-said, said without explanation or editorial comment, or merely implied. In doing so, Hemingway creates a communication in depth which brings writer, work, and reader in closer relationship. Recognizing the responsibility of the reader in this relationship, Emerson said,

There is then creative reading as well as creative writing. When the mind is braced by labor and invention, the page of whatever book we read becomes luminous with manifold allusion. Every sentence is doubly significant, and the sense of our author is as broad as the world. We then see, what is always true, that as the seer's hour of vision is short and rare among heavy days and months, so is its record, perchance, the least part of his record.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, Hemingway's method seems to be reporting; he tells what was said and done and leaves the conclusion to the reader. Like Jake in the novel, Hemingway might have said, "You'll lose it if you talk about it." (p. 245) It was through this method that Hemingway hoped to create fiction which carried implications of conscious

<sup>14</sup>(New York, 1932), p. 192.

<sup>15</sup>Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The American Scholar" in Major Writers of America, ed. Perry Miller et al. (New York, 1962), p. 504.

and unconscious meaning and emotions that made it an aesthetic work of art of honesty and permanency. The style which Hemingway developed was deceptive according to John Atkin's analysis. He pointed out that the "ease is in the reading, not in the writing. Simple writing is the hard way, leaving the author naked."<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps the basic misunderstanding of Hemingway's special brand of simplicity arises because Hemingway "states very little and implies a great deal, and because his work is conceived within a stark and simplified framework which derives from man's epic struggle with physical existence," which was Geoffrey Moore's conclusion in "The Sun Also Rises: Notes Toward an Extreme Fiction."<sup>17</sup> In any case, Hemingway was an artist who possessed the talent to make "the impossible look easy."<sup>18</sup> As John K. M. McCaffery put it, "If the artist excludes the didactic, the accidental, and the irrelevant as Hemingway does, the artist becomes difficult, if not impossible, to pigeonhole and to predict."<sup>19</sup>

The important relation between this aspect of Hemingway's style and literary aim and his development of tone, structure, characterization, setting, and meaning in TSAR can be seen in Joseph Warren Beach's comment: "He is one of the war generation, who have learned to dislike big words

---

<sup>16</sup>The Art of Ernest Hemingway: His Work and Personality (New York, 1953), p. 56. Hereafter cited as Atkins, The Art.

<sup>17</sup>Review of English Literature, IV (October, 1963), 40.

<sup>18</sup>John Ciardi, "Manner of Speaking: The Language of an Age," Sewanee Review, XLIV (July 29, 1961), 32.

<sup>19</sup>"Introduction," Ernest Hemingway: The Man and His Works (New York, 1950), p. 13. Latter work hereafter cited as McCaffery, Man and His Works.

because they were so much abused both during the War and in the age that prepared the War."<sup>20</sup> Hemingway illustrates the unfavorable reaction of the war generation to abstract words in A Farewell to Arms (1929), when Frederic Henry muses,

I was always embarrassed by the words sacred, glorious, and sacrifice and the expression in vain. . . . I had seen nothing sacred, and the things that were glorious had no glory and the sacrifices were like the stockyards at Chicago if nothing was done with the meat except to bury it. There were many words that you could not stand to hear and finally only the names of places had dignity. Certain numbers were the same way and certain dates and these with the names of the places were all you could say and have them mean anything. Abstract words such as glory, honor, 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.<sup>21</sup>

This disillusionment with abstract words (or other literary tricks) can be seen implicitly in practice in TSAR before Hemingway expresses it explicitly in A Farewell to Arms. "It is a remarkedly unintellectual style. Events are described in the sequence in which they occurred; no mind reorders or analyzes them, and perceptions come to the reader unmixed with comment from the author. The impression, therefore, is one of intense objectivity; the writer provides nothing but the stimuli."<sup>22</sup>

Hemingway could say less than he meant through the device of allusion, yet his insistence on lack of editorial comment leaves the recognition,

---

<sup>20</sup>American Fiction: 1920-1940 (New York, 1941), p. 110.

<sup>21</sup>The Scribner Library (New York, 1929), pp. 184-185.

<sup>22</sup>Philip Young, Ernest Hemingway. University of Minnesota Pamphlets on American Writers, I (Minneapolis, 1959), p. 33.

significance, and meaning of the allusion to the reader. If the reader shares with Hemingway the experience necessary for full enjoyment, this is excellent. If he is curious enough to find the significance, good. If he misses the allusion altogether, but still gains pleasure from the novel and grasps the meaning of the "unsaid," Hemingway would be the last to condemn.

## CHAPTER II

### ALLUSIONS AS GAUGE OF TONE

Hemingway clearly stated his literary method when he explained the ice-berg theory in Death in the Afternoon. The one-eighth of the ice-berg above the surface in Hemingway's style is the misleading part unless one is aware of the hidden seven-eighths below the surface. The surface quality of Hemingway's work led to criticism of Hemingway's nihilism in tone, lack of structure, shallowness of characterization, over-emphasis on setting, and lack of meaning. However, one should probe beneath the simple, clear surface to seek the hidden complexities of Hemingway's work. Here one discovers irony, understatement, the "unsaid," the assumption of readers' knowledge--all that which involves the reader in an intimate communication with the author, and here one finds allusions. They might be implied or direct, but they serve to say much in a small number of words without footnotes or commentary. Thus allusions are directly related to Hemingway's economical style. The method of TSAR is characteristically ironic; the flat, unadorned comment has a great deal in common with allusion. In fact, the allusions themselves are so ironic that they explain the tone of the entire work. "It is the ambiguity of life itself that Hemingway has sought to render, and if irony has served him peculiarly well it is because he sees life as inescapably ironic."<sup>23</sup> Through a tone of irony

---

<sup>23</sup>Halliday, "Hemingway's Ambiguity," p. 74.

including litote and understatement as well as opposite statement and the device of allusion, Hemingway was able to show discord, illuminate complications, and make analytical comments on life in the 1920's.<sup>24</sup>

Life is ambiguous and irony is ambiguous and allusion is ambiguous. Hemingway recognized this similarity and utilized it in his tone in TSAR. Allusion and irony were literary devices highly suited to Hemingway's purpose and to the view of life he depicted.

The ironic gap between expectation and fulfillment, pretense and fact, intention and action, the message sent and the message received, the way things are thought or ought to be and the way things are--this has been Hemingway's great theme from the beginning; and it has called for the ironic method to do it artistic justice.<sup>25</sup>

Explicit allusion is made to the literary figures, Anatole France and Thomas Hardy, in TSAR. It is Frances Clyne who says angrily and derisively to Robert Cohn,

You're 34. [sic] Still I suppose that is young for a great writer. Look at Hardy. Look at Anatole France. He died just a little while ago. Robert doesn't think he's any good though. Some of his French friends told him. (pp. 50-51)

Anatole France was a French novelist, poet, and critic who died in 1924 at the age of eighty. Thomas Hardy, English novelist and poet, was eighty-four at that time and died in 1928 at the age of eighty-eight. In the Century Magazine in 1925, Carl Van Doren described France and Hardy as "'two men who have lately divided between them the honors of

---

<sup>24</sup>Halliday, "Hemingway's Ambiguity," p. 74.

<sup>25</sup>Halliday, "Hemingway's Ambiguity," p. 70.

literary eminence'" in France and England.<sup>26</sup>

Through allusion Hemingway recognizes the greatness of these two writers but records the changing literary trends, especially of the new generation of French writers who found Anatole France lacking in the surrealist qualities they now found desirable, seeking to radically transform present social, scientific, and philosophical values through freeing the unconscious. This literary and artistic movement was initiated in 1924 by Andre Breton, a French poet who was then twenty-eight. The American expatriate writers also failed to be influenced by France's style of "loose-strung idea-narratives, the insistent abstraction of the politically-minded later France."<sup>27</sup> By implication then, Hemingway brings to mind Gustave Flaubert, the French writer whom he acknowledged in Green Hills of Africa as "'the one that we believed in, loved without criticism.'"<sup>28</sup> Daniel Fuchs points out Flaubert's control, clarity, rage, and irony as the qualities which appealed to the advance-guard American expatriates.<sup>29</sup> Reference to those greats, abandoned by the new generation, is one way Hemingway shows changes in values. He also points out the vulnerability of certain styles; he wanted his work to be so true that it would achieve immortality.

---

<sup>26</sup>Century Magazine, CX (January 25, 1925), 419 as quoted in Daniel Fuchs, "Ernest Hemingway, Literary Critic," American Literature, XXXVI (January, 1965), 444. Latter work hereafter cited as Fuchs, "Literary Critic."

<sup>27</sup>Fuchs, "Literary Critic," 444.

<sup>28</sup>Fuchs, "Literary Critic," 444.

<sup>29</sup>"Literary Critic," 444.

Second, through allusion to France and Hardy, Hemingway establishes a parallel between these wise old writers and Solomon, the wise old author of Ecclesiastes. However, a contrast is also developed for Jacob Barnes, in the role of the Ecclesiast in TSAR, is a young man.

Solomon was an old man when he expressed the dim, retrospective view (France and Hardy were always old), but this did not inhibit the young American who, it is clear, had just cause for a pessimistic view. The discrepancy between venerable wisdom and eternal youth is one that would become telling when Hemingway would get only chronologically older.<sup>30</sup>

In another allusion to Anatole France, Hemingway verbalizes his tone in the words from France's The Garden of Epicurus. The occasion is the Burguete interlude when Jake questions Bill's continued references to "Irony and Pity."

"What's all this irony and pity?"

"What? Don't you know about Irony and Pity?"

"No. Who got it up?"

"Everybody. They're mad about it in New York. It's just like the Fratellinis used to be." (p. 114)

France's prose ramble, The Garden of Epicurus, the source of the words "Irony and Pity," clarifies Hemingway's adoption of them as his tone in TSAR.

The more I think over human life the more I am persuaded we ought to choose Irony and Pity for its assessors and judges, as the Egyptians called upon the goddess Isis and the goddess Nephtys on behalf of their dead. Irony and Pity are both of good counsel; the first with her smiles makes life agreeable; the second sanctifies it with her tears. The Irony I invoke is no cruel diety. She mocks neither love nor beauty. She is gentle and kindly

---

<sup>30</sup>Fuchs, "Literary Critic," 447.

disposed. Her mirth disarms anger and it is she who teaches us to laugh at rogues and fools, whom but for her, we might be so weak as to hate.<sup>31</sup>

It is with this combination of irony and pity, explicitly stated through allusion, that Hemingway and Jake view the ambiguities of life.

Bill's reference to the Fratellinis is another allusion and a second way of defining Hemingway's tone. The Fratellinis were a comic team whose circus act depicted the disemboweling of the picador horses during a bullfight, using roles of bandages, sausages, and other things to represent the viscera. Hemingway comments on the ironic contrast of comedy and tragedy in the bullfight in Death in the Afternoon. The comedy of the disemboweled picador horse is not his death. It is his appearance, as he stiffly gallops around the ring like an old maid. The important qualities in a bullfight are courage, grace, and dignity. The death of the bull is tragic because the bull possesses these characteristics. The horse, on the other hand, lacks all three as he gallops stiffly around the ring, trailing intestines and other viscera behind him. It is his undignified appearance rather than his death which is comic. An ironic attitude makes it possible to see the real event as comic; if the real event is comic, so is the act of the Fratellinis who depict it.<sup>32</sup> The irony implies that one act is important and the other is not. One has to learn to laugh at little tragedies in life. In a like manner, one can not waste pity on little tragedies; it is the real tragedy which deserves pity.

---

<sup>31</sup>Anatole France, The Garden of Epicurus, trans. Alfred Allison (New York, 1923), p. 112 in Fuchs, "Literary Critic," 446.

<sup>32</sup>pp. 6-7.

The Spirit of the Pities and the Spirits Ironic in Hardy's The Dynasts, an epic drama about the Napoleonic War, published in three parts in 1904, 1906, and 1908, echo the tone of irony and pity which Hemingway uses and explains through allusion to the two writers who understood and wrote about these qualities in life.

If irony and pity were the rage in New York, or anything resembling it, Hardy, too, most explicitly in The Dynasts, would be a reason why. Though Hemingway would never dream of a spirit world, even as an artistic device, the Spirit of the Pities and the Spirits Ironic express a sense of life that paralleled and lent imaginative impetus to post-war themes.<sup>33</sup>

In The Dynasts, the two spirits act as choral voices who interpret the action with modern language and outlook.

"Irony and Pity" certainly apply to Hemingway's tone. It implies a balance between two contrasting attitudes, a balance necessary for sanity in the post-war years. It is Jake who most characteristically illustrates irony and pity in practice. Jake, because of his physical wound and insecure emotional state, is the classic example of irony and pity. His condition is ironic; his attitude is ironic; his relations with others, including Brett, is ironic. Yet he is the narrator around whom the action revolves. Through use of irony, life is humorous, bearable, even enjoyable. He is an object of pity only to the reader. However, he is human and suffers self-pity at times. He can also recognize this quality in others. Thus, when Bill commands Jake to say something pitiful, Jake answers, "Robert Cohn." (p. 114)

---

<sup>33</sup>Fuchs, "Literary Critic," 446.

Bill enacts his role as a Spirit Ironic: "Don't you read? Don't you ever see anybody? You know what you are? You're an expatriate. Why don't you live in New York? Then you'd know these things. What do you want me to do? Come over here and tell you every year?" (p. 115) Thus he interprets the current American clichés, alludes ironically to current events, reinterprets history in new Freudian terms, and explains current American opinions, especially about expatriates. Like France, Bill's irony is deliberately indulgent, playfully nihilistic, almost despairing.<sup>34</sup>

After the "Irony and Pity" conversation, which Americans "got up" and are "mad about," Bill refers ironically to the Spanish military dictator Primo de Rivera, whose military coup in 1923 was motivated by a desire for political reform, including a withdrawal from Morocco.

"Say something ironical. Make some crack about Primo de Rivera."

"I could ask her what kind of jam they think they've gotten into in the Riff." (p. 114)

As Primo de Rivera's army resisted his withdrawal proposal in 1925, he was forced to take the opposite tactic of overcoming the rebellion by combining French and Spanish forces and defeating the Riff leader, Abd-el-Krim. This reversal was one of the many which Rivera initiated and King Alfonso XIII supported.

American history, too, gets its share of Bill's Spirit Ironic:

"Listen. You're a hell of a good guy, and I'm fonder of you than anybody on earth. I couldn't tell you that in New York. It'd mean I was a faggot. That was what the Civil War was about. Abraham Lincoln was a faggot. He was in love with General Grant. So was Jefferson Davis. Lincoln just freed the slaves on a bet. The

---

<sup>34</sup>Fuchs, "Literary Critic," 446.

Dred Scott case was framed by the Anti-Saloon League. Sex explains it all. The Colonel's Lady and Judy O'Grady are Lesbians under their skin." (p. 116)

Bill reflects the new cynical view of human emotions and reinterprets history in this view, while at the same time he utilizes the current jargon and attitude.

Bill is a successful American writer who is cheerful, who finds the United States and New York wonderful, who made a financial success of his last book and has excellent prospects for continued success. He is not an expatriate although he is attracted to the group, finds the code behavior satisfying, and enjoys his close friendship with Jake, with whom he has much in common. Ironically and humorously Bill expresses the current American opinions about expatriates, a type of criticism typified by works of moral diagnosis of American cultural ills such as Van Wyck Brooks, The Wine of the Puritans (1908).<sup>35</sup>

"You know what's the trouble with you? You're an expatriate. One of the worst type. Haven't you heard that? Nobody that ever left their own country ever wrote anything worth printing. Not even in the newspapers."

. . . "You're an expatriate. You've lost touch with the soil. You got precious. Fake European standards have ruined you. You drink yourself to death. You become obsessed by sex. You spend all your time talking, not working. You're an expatriate, see? You hang around cafes." (p. 115)

While the humor is obvious, the ironic truth is also stressed. Ironically, the New York definition of expatriates fits only those phonies whom Jake abhors. In addition, the definition deals only with surface appearances; Jake's group of friends concentrated on creating the appearance of casual, irresponsible gaiety. Under the surface, however, there was turmoil, misery, lostness.

<sup>35</sup>Frederick J. Hoffman, The Twenties: American Writing in the Postwar Decade. rev. ed. (New York, 1962), p. 152.

Jake's role as a Spirit Ironic is closely related to the technique and tone in Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn, about which Hemingway made the following comment in Green Hills of Africa: "All modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called Huckleberry Finn."<sup>36</sup>

Hemingway owes much to Mark Twain's peculiarly American expression. . . the sensitive, responsible though apparently amoral initiate, the leaving of society, the violence giving over to bad dreams, the mistrust of abstractions, the deflation of the chivalric, the vernacular voice, the lonely equilibrium of self. . . .<sup>37</sup>

The two books differ in the way the irony is expressed: Huck is the author's spokesman and indirectly expresses the author's irony; Jake is his own spokesman and recognizes the ironies he sees and expresses. Among the subjects he finds ironic are philosophy, literature, the English language and people, politics, religion, and values.

Hemingway's tone is not nihilistic; it is a tone of irony and pity. Hemingway gives various clues that this is his tone; important among these clues are allusions.

---

<sup>36</sup>The Scribner Library (New York, 1935), p. 22. Also cited in William Gifford, "Ernest Hemingway: The Monster and the Critics," Modern Fiction Studies, XIV (Autumn, 1968), 264. Hereafter cited as Gifford, "The Monster."

<sup>37</sup>Fuchs, "Literary Critic," 447-448.

CHAPTER III  
ALLUSION AS FOUNDATION OF STRUCTURE

The best offense and defense for criticism of Hemingway's structure in TSAR can be found in a later book, Death in the Afternoon, where Hemingway writes, "'Prose is architecture, not interior decoration and the Baroque is over.'"<sup>38</sup> Though this statement has been cited as evidence "out of the horse's mouth" to condemn the structure in TSAR as episodic, chaotic, formless, and uncontrived, the study of allusions shows a positive indication of significant structure, significant in relation to plot (structural pattern of tragedy), theme (circularity), and analogy (ritualistic structure) which are explained or developed by allusion.

The treatment of the novel as a tragedy is aesthetically anticipated in the epigraphs which introduce the book. Hemingway quotes Gertrude Stein's condemnation of the postwar generation: "You are all a lost generation." It is followed by a second quotation, the Biblical counterpart in the cynical words of Solomon: "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth forever. . . ." (Preface, iii) Hemingway stated that he meant to emphasize the latter idea, which he saw as a "'damn tragedy with the earth abiding forever as the hero.'"<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup>Robin H. Farquhar, "Dramatic Structure in the Novels of Ernest Hemingway," Modern Fiction Studies, XIV (Autumn, 1968), 271. Hereafter cited as Farquhar, "Dramatic Structure."

<sup>39</sup>Carlos Baker, Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story (New York, 1969), p. 179. Hereafter cited as Baker, Life Story.

Based on the idea of tragedy as expressed in these two allusions, a study written by Robin H. Farquhar traces in TSAR the classic structure of tragedy, with its five recognizable stages of movement and development: introduction, rising action, climax, falling action, and denouement. Having established his structural formula, Farquhar explains the "architecture" in TSAR as an inherent and important element.<sup>40</sup>

Book I serves as the first stage, introducing the main characters, the Paris setting, the cynical tone, the frustration theme, and the major conflict.

Thus the reader meets the sexually incapacitated cynic from whose point of view the story is told, the titled nymphomaniac, the maladjusted romantic, the bankrupt alcoholic, and a number of minor characters who appear as a parade of freaks, illustrating the frustration of the Montparnasse society by means of several stultifying ironies based largely upon sexual deviance.<sup>41</sup>

The conflict between Jake's quest for meaning and order and his involvement with the meaningless society of Brett is established in Book I as a major problem in plot.

Book II, the rising action in the structure, traces the journey of Bill, Jake, and Robert to Spain, identifies sports and nature as a means by which Jake pursues his quest for meaning and order, and reunites Jake and Bill with Brett and her entourage in Pamplona where the conflicts become more intense.

Chapter 15 represents the tri-part climax of the tragical structure of TSAR. The first climax is reached when Jake meets Romero who plays the role of the priest in the bullfight ritual. Farquhar points out the

---

<sup>40</sup>Farquhar, "Dramatic Structure," 273-274.

<sup>41</sup>Farquhar, "Dramatic Structure," 273.

significance of this climactic meeting: Romero is the medium through whom it is possible for Jake to find meaning and order; he is responsible for lifting Jake above mere physical involvement and for enabling him to experience a feeling of elation; and he acts as a contrast to the aimless decadence of Brett.

The second climax is reached when Jake introduces Brett and Romero and, in doing so, introduces sacrilege into his "religion." Jake's action clarifies the conflict between Jake's personal involvement with Brett and his philosophical search for meaning in life and demonstrates his capitulation to the former. The final climactic peak occurs when Brett and Romero depart.

The fourth stage in the tragical structure is the falling action, represented by the first part of Book III, which chronicles Jake's frustrated attempt to salvage something of value from his quest. During his trip to San Sabastian, he gains temporary physical satisfaction from swimming before being recalled to the decadent world of Brett.

The denouement is epitomized in the short final scene. Although the setting is Madrid rather than Paris, Jake and Brett are once more in a taxi, "returning to the 'nada' in which they were found at the beginning of the book."<sup>42</sup>

The result of the structure of tragedy in TSAR is the "balance and symmetry in the novel's architecture."<sup>43</sup> The introduction and denouement balance each other. The condition of Jake is essentially the same. The rising action and falling action balance also. Both involve the physical

---

<sup>42</sup>Farquhar, "Dramatic Structure," 274.

<sup>43</sup>Farquhar, "Dramatic Structure," 274-275.

counterparts to Jake's philosophical quest. In the former, it is fishing; in the latter, swimming. The first and third climactic peaks are lesser, antithetical levels which symmetrically flank the apex or second and highest climax. Peaks one and three relate the introduction of Jake and Romero and the departure of Brett and Romero. The highest peak is Jake's action of introducing Brett and Romero. The structure then is significant and follows a classical pattern of tragedy. Thus, the structure supports and emphasizes the theme of the novel<sup>44</sup> which is stated in the introductory allusions, the "lost generation" and Ecclesiastes epigraphs.

One interpretation of the meaning of the two epigraphs establishes the novel as a tragedy; in terms of plot development, the pattern fits, but the architecture is not complete. The juxtaposition of the two epigraphs is ironic. The former allusion condemns the postwar generation; the latter seems to offer hope. This idea is indicated in the title, TSAR, an allusion to the second epigraph in the novel. It is the first and strongest allusion to the circularity of the structure of the novel as a means of developing the theme of hope.

One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth forever. . . . The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to the place where he arose. . . . The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north; it whirleth about continually, and the wind returneth again according to his circuits. . . . All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full; unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again. (Ecclesiastes 1: 4-7)

The circular structure is suggested in the cycles of nature and life. There

---

<sup>44</sup>Farquhar, "Dramatic Structure," 275.

is a suggestion that "although one generation considers itself uniquely lost, it is a part of a succession of generations on earth."<sup>45</sup>

Furthermore, the novel itself is episodic, which does not mean a lack of meaningful form, but a less conventional approach to form. The plot of an episodic novel consists of a series of separate, fairly complete episodes, unified by a recurrent character who links the episodes and usually is the means of clarifying the themes and issues of the novel. Unity is also achieved through reoccurrence of qualities and issues in the various episodes.<sup>46</sup> Thus, each episode represents a significant and necessary element in the novel's structure.

The circularity of the novel is beautifully illustrated by the two taxi scenes, the first in Paris (pp. 25-28) and the second in Madrid. (pp. 246-247) These two scenes which act as the first indication of the basic conflicts and the final condition of Jake after meeting these conflicts show how the book comes full circle, back to the place where it begins.

The design of the circle gives the writer control, unity, and, in this case, meaningful form. Aesthetically this design enables Hemingway to create suspense and intensity and enables the reader to delve into the

---

<sup>45</sup>Robert O. Stephens, "Ernest Hemingway and the Rhetoric of Escape," The Twenties: Poetry and Prose, ed. Richard E. Langford and William E. Taylor. (Deland, Fla., 1966), p. 85. Hereafter cited as Stephens, "Rhetoric of Escape."

<sup>46</sup>Robert Stanton, An Introduction to Fiction (New York, 1965), pp. 65-66.

hours between these two scenes for the nature and depth of Jake's search for meaning and order. The circular design keeps the reader's attention on this important quest, so that the focus is on Jake's growth in perception rather than on the specific events of the hours between the two taxi scenes.

This idea is underscored by the fact that Jake is the narrator of events which have already occurred; thus, he knows that the taxi scenes circle the significant story elements. The circular structure does not represent meaninglessness but meaning. Within this cycle Jake has experienced a change--in knowledge of himself, in understanding of life, and in perception of his role in life. Perhaps the best illustration of this change is his reaction to his reply to Brett's telegram from the Hotel Montoya in Madrid:

That seemed to handle it. That was it. Send a girl off with one man. Introduce her to another to go off with him. Now go and bring her back. And sign the wire with love. That was it all right. I went in to lunch. (p. 239)

Jake recognizes the circular design of his relationship with Brett. His reaction, however, does not indicate continued capitulation. In essence, he has outgrown his weakness. If he continues his role as Brett's "pimp," it will be with his eyes open. However, his new awareness has a touch of denouement, as does his reply to Brett's statement at the end of the book:

"Oh, Jake," Brett said, "we could have had such a damned good time together."  
". . . Yes," I said. "Isn't it pretty to think so?" (p. 247)

Both the words and the tone of disgust, irony, disillusionment, and realism lead to the conclusion that Jake has reached the end of his quest for meaning

and order. The goal is awareness, growth, and perception. It is not a tangible goal; thus, the novel seems to return to the place where it begins. To become aware of the end, Jake must also be aware of the beginning. The taxi scenes let the reader also become aware of the circular design of life. Failure to recognize the thematic aim of the circular design leads to a failure to recognize meaningful structure.<sup>47</sup>

A third allusion in TSAR establishes an analogy between the characters and actions in the novel and their symbolic counterparts in the bullfight ritual. The bullfight ritual is a major form of implicit allusion. Hemingway's explicit portrayal of that ritual carries the implicit allusion that the characters, qualities, and roles of the former could also be seen in parallel form in the characters and actions of the story he was telling. According to Dewey Ganzel, the symbolic structure gives the novel meaning, form, and merit.<sup>48</sup> His study points out the symbolic pattern based on the ritualistic characters, on the events of the bullfight ritual, and on the stages of the actual bullfight. The interaction of these symbolic counterparts gives meaningful structure to the novel.

In bullfight terms, the three characters in the bullfight ritual are the cabestro, the bull, and the vaquilla. The cabestro is the trained, working steer; the bull is the fighter; and the vaquilla is the bull's mate. The cabestro is a steer which is bred and trained to protect and control the violent bull before it enters the ring. It is Jake who enacts

---

<sup>47</sup>Robert W. Cockran, "Circularity in The Sun Also Rises," Modern Fiction Studies, XIV (Autumn, 1968), 297-305. Hereafter cited as Cockran, "Circularity."

<sup>48</sup>Cabestro and Vaquilla: The Symbolic Structure of The Sun Also Rises," Sewanee Review, LXXVI (Winter, 1968), 26. Hereafter cited as Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure."

the role of the cabestro in TSAR. Because he is emasculated, Jake is most closely equated with the steer; his characteristic control equates him more closely with the cabestro. Jake is the peacemaker who tries to play along and to avoid making trouble for anyone. (p. 31)<sup>49</sup>

Throughout the novel Jake befriends, aids, and protects the other characters. The cabestro plays his role during the first event of the bullfight, the desencajonada, the unloading of the fresh bulls from the breeding ranches into the corrals. The bulls have to be controlled to protect themselves and others from their violence; the steer soothes and unites them into a herd.

The steer came up to him and made as though to nose at him and the bull hooked perfunctorily. The next time he nosed at the steer and then the two of them trotted over to the other bull.

When the next bull came out, all three, the two bulls and the steer, stood together, their heads side by side, their horns against the newcomer. In a few minutes the steer picked the new bull up, quieted him down, and made him one of the herd. . . .

The steer who had been gored had gotten to his feet and stood against the stone wall. None of the bulls came near him, and he did not attempt to join the herd. (p. 140)

The symbolic counterpart of this event is evident in Jake's watchful and protective attitude toward Robert Cohn.

When Harvey Stone proclaims Cohn a moron and a case of arrested development, Jake first tries to change the subject and, after Harvey leaves, quiets Cohn by saying, "I'm fond of him. You don't want to get sore at him." (p. 44) Jake then salves Cohn's ego by discussing the progress of his second book. When Cohn disappears during the festival

---

<sup>49</sup>Ganzell, "Symbolic Structure," 27.

at the opening of the bullfight season in Pamplona, Jake insists on finding Cohn and assuring himself of Cohn's safety. (p. 158)

After the desencajonada where Mike insults Cohn by calling him a steer (p. 141), Cohn sulks in his hotel room until Jake comes to his rescue: "Mike acted as though nothing had happened. I had to go up and bring Robert Cohn down. He was reserved and formal, and his face was still taut and sallow, but he cheered up finally." (p. 146) Later Mike reaches the end of his patience and orders Cohn to go away. When Cohn refuses, Mike decides to take matters into his own hands.

"But I won't go, Mike," said Cohn.  
 "Then I'll make you!" Mike started toward  
 him around the table. . . .  
 I grabbed Mike. "Come on to the cafe," I  
 said. "You can't hit him here in the hotel."  
 (p. 178)

Jake again smoothes things over and protects Robert Cohn from violence. These actions illustrate Jake's role as cabestro.<sup>50</sup> In each case Jake protects Cohn from a man--ie., a bull; against the attacks of women, Frances Clyne and Brett, Jake has no defensive weapons.<sup>51</sup>

In other ways, too, Jake is the symbolic equivalent of the cabestro. When he is attacked by Cohn, Jake enacts the role of the steer, gored by the bull which used its horns like a boxer. Jake says, "He hit me and I sat down on the pavement. As I started to get on my feet he hit me twice." (p. 191) Like the wounded steer in the earlier scene, Jake is isolated from the herd. He relates, "I was through with fiestas for a while. It would be quiet in San Sebastian." (p. 232)<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 29-30.

<sup>51</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 30.

<sup>52</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 30.

Just as Jake enacts the role of the cabestro, Cohn represents the fighting bull. There is a strong emphasis on the fact that Cohn is a boxer and that the bull uses his horns as a boxer uses his fists. Because the bull is the major focus of the desencajonada, the first event in the bullfight ritual, Cohn is the major focus in the first thirteen pages of the novel. In this lengthy introduction Hemingway gives the pedigree of the "bull": "his parentage, early life, college career, first marriage, first divorce, writing career, affair with Frances."<sup>53</sup> Like the fighting bull, Cohn's condition changes according to the action. During a bullfight, the fighting bull's condition undergoes three stages. In the levantado, the bull is confident with his head high; he charges wildly and actually offers less danger to the bullfighter. Slowed and disillusioned in the parado stage, the fighting bull recognizes the enemy who has him at bay. The final stage is the aplomado in which the bull becomes heavy, loses his wind and speed, and attacks only if he is provoked. In the first stage Cohn is confident and superior in manner. Disillusioned about Brett and forced to defend himself against the repeated verbal attacks during the fiesta, Cohn enacts the parado stage. Finally he is brought to the aplomado stage by Brett's affair with Romero and by his blind, self-defeating attack on both Jake and Romero, the latter bringing about his complete ruin in an analogy to the bullfight.<sup>54</sup>

Paralleling the cabestro-fighting bull relationship of Jake and Cohn is the similar role of Bill Gorton and Mike Campbell. Bill has no significant attachment with a woman in the novel, and he enjoys a close, understanding friendship with Jake; both are characteristic of them as cabestros. Both are workers whose professions require responsibility and expertise.

<sup>53</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 31.

<sup>54</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 32-33.

Both are aficionados who initiate the others to the ritual of the bullfight and find their cabestro activities exhausting.<sup>55</sup> In his role as cabestro, Bill aids the Negro boxer ("bull") in Vienna and tries to quiet, soothe, and protect Mike. He changes the subject when Mike is baiting and taunting Cohn after the bullfight. (p. 166) He entertains Mike by buying him twelve successive shoe-shines in Pamplona. (p. 173) He is sensitive about the way people treat Mike.

"They can't insult Mike," Bill said. "Mike is a swell fellow. They can't insult Mike. I won't stand it. Who cares if he is a damn bankrupt?" His voice broke. (pp. 188-189)

However, like Jake's response to Cohn, Bill recognizes that Mike is not a very nice person. At one point Bill says, "Nobody ought to have a right to say things about Mike. . . . They oughtn't to have any right. I wish to hell they didn't have any right." (p. 204) Later when Bill, Jake, and Mike roll poker dice to see who would pay for the drinks, Mike loses and then confesses he has no more money. Realizing that Mike has taken advantage of strangers was hard enough to accept; realizing that Mike has taken advantage of his friends including Montoya, Brett, and now himself, "Bill's face sort of changed." (p. 229)

Mike, like Cohn, represents the sexuality of the bull; this explains the basic conflict between Mike and Cohn. Both wish to claim and to control Brett; their behavior is animalistic in contrast to the psychological or emotional motivations of Jake and Bill.<sup>56</sup>

The action goes on at two levels, one representational, one symbolic. The high point of the bullfight is the recibiendo during which Romero

<sup>55</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 33.

<sup>56</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 34-35.

ritualistically defeats the fighting bull in the ring. On the symbolic level this point is enacted when Romero defeats Cohn (as the bull) in the Hotel Montoya.<sup>57</sup>

If Jake and Bill are cabestros and if Cohn and Mike are fighting bulls, then it takes little imagination to identify Brett as the vaquilla, the mate of the fighting bull. In addition the vaquilla is trained to participate in practice bullfights, although the vaquilla is never used in professional bullfights. The vaquilla gives the impression of masculinity. Brett, though recognized by men for her beauty and sexuality, enacts her role with a masculine touch in dress, in attitude, in actions, and in speech. She wears a boyish haircut topped by a man's hat; she dresses in jersey and tweeds. She assumes the male freedom in sex, drink, and habit. In her speech she both assumes and inspires a sense of camaraderie.<sup>58</sup>

"Hello, men," I said.  
"Hello, gents!" said Brett. "You saved  
us seats? How nice." (p. 165)

As vaquilla, Brett gives temporary sexual satisfaction as mate to the fighting bulls (Cohn and Mike), yet she remains independent and arouses rather than quiets the bulls who contend for her.<sup>59</sup>

These symbolic and representational levels supplied by allusion provide a meaningful structure to the novel, but in addition, it develops theme. In playing out their roles as the symbolic equivalents to the bullfight characters, Jake and his friends also extend those roles into recognition and acceptance of their responsibilities on the religious or pagan level.

---

<sup>57</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 35-37.

<sup>58</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 37-38.

<sup>59</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 39.

The activities at Pamplona encompass the Christian Festival of San Fermin and the pagan rite of blood sacrifice in the bullring. The contrast is shown structurally in the religious procession which translates the icon from church to church and the encierro, the running of the bulls through the street to the bullring. Each is accompanied by the riau-riau dancers, ironically blending the two occasions.

Jake's position in this contrasting situation is clear. Even before he tells Brett, "I'm pretty religious" (p. 209), Jake has clarified his role as a technical Catholic. (p. 124)

I was a little ashamed, and regretted that I was such a rotten Catholic, but realized there was nothing I could do about it, at least for a while, and maybe never, but that anyway it was a grand religion, and I only wished I felt religious and maybe I would the next time. (p. 97)

Jake is both a Catholic, though admittedly a bad one, and an aficionado of the bullfight, yet it is not the difference but the similarities of the two which attract him. He seeks meaning in the church, but finds its secular counterpart in the control, beauty, and elation of the bullfight.<sup>60</sup> He describes it in the following way: "We had that disturbed emotional feeling that always comes after a bull-fight, and the feeling of elation that comes after a good bull-fight." (p. 164) Jake seeks and finds a discipline beyond his own making. He recognizes his responsibility and his failure in regard to that discipline. This represents on an intellectual level the more emotional or psychological responsibilities of his symbolic role as cabestro.<sup>61</sup>

Brett, on the other hand, cannot function in a Christian context. She is denied her request to hear Jake's confession, because it is impossible,

<sup>60</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 41-42.

<sup>61</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 42.

uninteresting, and unintelligible for an outsider. (p. 150) She is barred from the church because she has no hat. (p. 155) She goes to church to pray for Romero, finds that the religious atmosphere makes her nervous, and admits that praying does no good because she has never gotten anything she prayed for. (pp. 208-209)

On the positive side are her pagan qualities. Cohn recognizes this when he labels her as Circe because she turns men into swine. (p. 144) Following Jake's confession, Brett has her fortune told at a gypsy camp. (p. 151)<sup>62</sup> The riau-riau dancers choose her as a pagan image to dance around. (p. 155) They hang a wreath around her neck, both recognizing her as a fertility goddess and providing her with an amulet to ward off evil spirits. (p. 156) She poses as a fortune teller at her first meeting with Romero and reads his palm. (pp. 185-186) "Deciding not to be a bitch" is the closest she ever comes to a conventional Christian feeling. (p. 243)

In their cabestro-vaquilla roles, Jake and Brett serve the fighting bull; this draws them together. However, they are separated by their roles in the Christian-pagan contrast. They learn to recognize their separate responsibilities and to carry them out with restraint. Brett is good for Romero, but only if she releases him. Jake uses restraint in his relationships with others and must learn to apply this restraint to his passion for Brett. Brett's salvation is the feeling she gains from denying herself; Jake's salvation lies in having God, even if this relationship is not as close as he wishes it.<sup>63</sup>

Ganzel has effectively shown that the novel is not formless, but he has also shown that it is not nihilistic. He describes the structure as

<sup>62</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 43.

<sup>63</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 45-48.

"complex and concentrated and brilliantly sustained" and the meaning as movement toward "self-recognition and resolution"; by recognizing the pattern of life implied in Ecclesiastes and accepting the tragic demands and responsibilities of life on him, man can abide also.<sup>64</sup>

There is meaningful structure in this novel. The beauty and success of Hemingway's technique lie in the fact that the structure can at the same time fit into the patterns of tragedy, circularity, and ritual. It is through the medium of allusion that this structure is developed. The importance of the two epigraphs thus becomes clear, and so does Hemingway's insistence on making clear to the reader and the characters the ritual of the bullfight.

---

<sup>64</sup>Ganzel, "Symbolic Structure," 48.

CHAPTER IV  
CHARACTERIZATION THROUGH ALLUSION

In Death in the Afternoon Hemingway explained the philosophy behind his characterization: "When writing a novel a writer should create living people; people, not characters. A character is a caricature. If a writer can make people live there may be no great characters in his book, but it is possible that his book will remain as a whole; as an entity; as a novel."<sup>65</sup> Through topical allusions Hemingway populated TSAR with real people; he used actual living or historical prototypes to create living, realistic characters. The allusions, in this sense, are to two groups, Hemingway's contemporaries and heroes of the bullfight ritual.

Hemingway drew freely from his own acquaintances to create the characters in TSAR. It was part of his literary aim to show life as it is with reality; he also tried to make his novel truer than life, meaningful not only today but also tomorrow. In populating TSAR with recognizable people and names, Hemingway was able to show not only his experiences, but also the political, social, and historical realities of the world in which the characters lived. Read as roman á clef in which the characters could be identified by the "in" crowd, the book would have little literary value; its power would die as soon as the gossip did. "Unless the clef of a roman á clef is finally irrelevant, the novel can have no more just claim on the interest of posterity than the society pages or racing forms from last year's newspaper."<sup>66</sup> However,

---

<sup>65</sup>p. 191.

<sup>66</sup>Baker, Writer as Artist, p. 79.

the novel offers more depth to the models, for Hemingway altered them to suit his purposes, and with the passage of time, many have become secure, fascinating fictional characters who are capable of saying something of significance to future readers.

The use of actual acquaintances as characters is allusion, to a certain extent, to the writer's own experiences and as such is both fascinating and fulfilling to the reader who wishes to explore the process of creating a character from a living model--additions, omissions, combinations, juxtapositions--and thereby to appreciate and perhaps to understand more fully Hemingway's characterization.

Harsh criticism was directed toward Hemingway for apparently kidnapping real people into his novel. This attitude was demonstrated by Paris gossips who hinted that a more appropriate title for the novel would be Six Characters in Search of an Author--with a Gun Apiece.<sup>67</sup> However, Hemingway was not alone in drawing his characters from living models. Notable examples can be drawn from his own author friends and associates. Sherwood Anderson used the tenants of his Chicago boarding-house to populate his Winesburg, Ohio with supposedly imaginary characters whose frustrations, inhibitions, and loneliness made grotesques of them. Real life prototypes have been recognized for Sinclair Lewis's Main Street and for F. Scott Fitzgerald's This Side of Paradise. The method was used by poets, notably by Robert Frost, Edward A. Robinson, and Edgar Lee Masters, who did not hesitate to invent in terms of their neighbors and acquaintances. Hemingway and the other writers who used the transcription method believed that a writer must draw on his own experiences to avoid creating hollow characters. They shared the behavioristic belief that if a group of real

---

<sup>67</sup>Baker, Writer as Artist, p. 78.

people are studied carefully, they can provide the foundation for a literary work.<sup>68</sup>

Hemingway combined two people to produce Bill Gorton: Donald Ogden Stewart, the widely-traveled and witty Yale graduate who wrote humorous fiction, and Bill Smith, a boyhood friend. Stewart was the successful novelist, the world traveler, the witty and wise conversationalist. His reaction to his depiction in TSAR was amusement.<sup>69</sup> Bill Smith stayed with Hemingway in his Paris apartment where he met the prototype for Jake's concierge, Madame Duzinell. Madame Chautard, when she discovered the death of her small dog, hired a taxidermist to stuff and mount it. Bill Smith found her gesture both amusing and disgusting.<sup>70</sup> When Bill Gorton quips drunkenly about stuffed dogs (pp. 72-76), he demonstrates how TSAR is truer than true, for the stuffed dog imagery is on one hand an example of the language of the expatriates--amusing, cryptic, ironic--and on the other hand a significant allusion to the emptiness of life when men pursue pleasure in meaningless excitement, find pleasure in emptiness, and buy things of no value and no lasting qualities. Then Bill Gorton's words are not just reflections of the real Bill Smith: "Mean everything in the world to you after you bought it. Simple exchange of values. You give them money. They give you a stuffed dog." (p. 72) In this sense, Bill Gorton's words act as an ironic contrast to Jake's philosophy about money and exchange of value. He says one just had to get to know the values, to be prepared to give up one thing in order to get another, to get worth from the exchange, and to know and

<sup>68</sup>Baker, Writer as Artist, pp. 78-79.

<sup>69</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 179.

<sup>70</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 144.

enjoy the profits of the exchange. (p. 148)

The concierge who exhibits an overprotective attitude toward Jake and only admits those of whom she approves--guests who are "well brought up, which were of good family, who were sportsmen" (p. 53)--refuses to admit an "extremely underfed-looking painter," who writes to Jake asking for a pass to get by Madame Duzinell so he can visit. Hemingway's own concierge refused to admit Evan Shipman, a poet friend of Hemingway's who shared an interest in horses, writing, and painting whom he describes as tall, pale, and thin with rumpled clothes, stained hands and bad teeth.<sup>71</sup> As in the stuffed dog experience, Hemingway adjusted the facts to suit his purpose. In the second case, the concierge also refuses to admit Brett Ashley until Brett bribes her with two hundred francs. (p. 54)

Other figures recognized in TSAR are Ford Madox Ford, the editor of the transatlantic review [sic], and his wife Stella Bowen as Mr. and Mrs. Braddocks, who revive the bal musette. (pp. 17, 19)<sup>72</sup> Harold Stearns, described by Evan Shipman as "wearing a worn bowler hat and 'balancing his disreputable life like a comic juggler,'" becomes Harvey Stone who like a cat seeks solitude when he feels daunted. (pp. 42-44)<sup>73</sup> Pat Guthrie provided the prototype for Mike Campbell, the undischarged bankrupt who borrows money from Montoya, borrows money from Brett to pay Montoya, and sticks Bill Gorton with the bill for the drinks and Jake with all the rental for the car they share. (pp. 229-231) Pat Guthrie was a "tall, dissipated Scot with narrow shoulders and a wide-ranging thirst."<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup>Ernest Hemingway, A Moveable Feast (New York, 1964), p. 134.

<sup>72</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 179.

<sup>73</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 179.

<sup>74</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 145.

Lady Brett Ashley was in reality Lady Duff Twysden, who at thirty-two was seeking a divorce from Sir Roger Thomas Twysden, tenth baronet, whom she had married in 1917 and had presented a son in 1918. Her reputation slightly tarnished, she assumed a mannish appearance with tweed suits and a man's felt hat and wore no make-up; the result was a tribute to her natural chic. She did have a short affair with the prototype of Robert Cohn; her chief companion was Pat Guthrie, the thirsty, penniless Scot. There has been some speculation about the relationship between Duff and Hemingway; the evidence points to an attraction but not to intimacy, being confined to cafe meetings, secret financial assistance, and jealous behavior.<sup>75</sup> When study shows that Duff seldom washed,<sup>76</sup> the bathing motif stressed so obviously in relation to Brett becomes more than symbolic; it becomes ironically hilarious. Duff, furious at first about finding herself in TSAR, relented, but denied having slept with the bullfighter.<sup>77</sup>

The most glaring and malicious characterization, Robert Cohn had a living model in Harold Loeb, Princeton graduate, founder and editor of the little magazine Broom, and product of two prominent Jewish families in New York, the Loeb and the Guggenheims. Loeb and Hemingway boxed and played tennis together.<sup>78</sup> His favorite novel was W. H. Hudson's Green Mansions, and he was reminded of its mysterious heroine Rima by Duff's laugh. He and Duff did have a short affair; they did go to Pamplona to join the Hemingway party for the bullfights and fiesta. There Loeb was subjected

<sup>75</sup>Baker, Life Story, pp. 144-145, 157.

<sup>76</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 144.

<sup>77</sup>Baker, Life story, p. 179.

<sup>78</sup>Baker, Life Story, pp. 124, 126-127.

to scornful, verbal attacks from Hemingway and Guthrie which culminated in Loeb's challenge to Hemingway to step outside and fight. Outside their anger dissolved; but although Hemingway later apologized,<sup>79</sup> Loeb was skeptical about their continued friendship.

I hoped we would be as we had been.

But I knew we wouldn't be. Hem was sincere and I bore no grudge, but nothing we could say or do would undo what had been said and done.

The fiesta ended. Some fiesta.<sup>80</sup>

The anti-Semitism which runs through TSAR seems to be literary rather than personal, for Hemingway preferred as his nickname Hemingstein, a hang-over from his boyhood when anti-Semitic jokes were fashionable.<sup>81</sup> As a literary device, anti-Semitism emphasized a threat to social structure, a symbol of the world turned upside down. The device was used by such writers in the 1920's as T. S. Eliot, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Hemingway to reflect "a feeling of social distaste rather than a personal hatred of the Jew."<sup>82</sup> Cohn is not stereotyped as a Jew; it is only one of the qualities which show him as an outsider. Thus the fact that Cohn is a Jew gives the novel an aspect of social comment, but more significantly, it exhibits Hemingway's desire to create a human character.

There is some confusion about the prototype of Frances Clyne whom Carlos Baker identifies as Kitty Connell, a lovely blond professional

<sup>79</sup>Baker, Life Story, pp. 144, 150-151.

<sup>80</sup>Harold Loeb, The Way It Was (New York, 1959), p. 297. Hereafter cited as Loeb, Way It Was.

<sup>81</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 19.

<sup>82</sup>William Goldhurst, F. Scott Fitzgerald and His Contemporaries (Cleveland, 1963), pp. 176-178. Hereafter cited as Goldhurst, Fitzgerald.

dancer, whose reaction to her portrayal as Frances Clyne was rage. Hemingway, she said, had superimposed her individualized speech onto the character and experience of Loeb's Jewish secretary on Broom.<sup>83</sup> Loeb writes of Lilly Lubow, a British professional singer whom he met in Paris. He describes her jealous scenes and public verbal abuse which preceded his affair with Duff. Lilly was persuaded to return to England when she became aware of Loeb's new interest.<sup>84</sup> If there were three models for the character of Frances Clyne, Hemingway was a master at blending and combining his experiences.

Jake Barnes, of course, is the medium through whom Hemingway expresses his basic outlook. Hemingway spent his apprenticeship reporting for the Kansas City Star and Toronto Star. Even after he became a successful author, Hemingway continued to respond to the call of adventure, action, and romance as a foreign correspondent. Jake puts into practice as a reporter the lessons Hemingway learned: to be observant, to report what he saw, to show the thing that caused the emotion, to omit the unessential, to be objective. He, too, has become a novelist, writing an autobiographical account of his quest for a meaningful life. Like Hemingway, he enjoys drink, food, nature, fishing, bullfights; unlike Hemingway, Jake finds that these pursuits only make life endurable. Like Hemingway, Jake was wounded during World War I and fell in love with his nurse. In Jake's case, this was Lady Brett Ashley, a member of the Voluntary Aid Detachment of amateur nurses identified in TSAR as VAD's; in real life, Hemingway fell in love with his nurse, Agnes Hannah von Kurowsky.<sup>85</sup> Two other differences, the fact

<sup>83</sup>Baker, Life Story, pp. 124, 179.

<sup>84</sup>Loeb, Way It Was, pp. 64, 71, 257. Loeb also identifies Pat Swazey as Mike Campbell, though Carlos Baker names Pat Guthrie as that model.

<sup>85</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 50.

that Hemingway was an ambulance driver and Jake, a pilot, and that Hemingway was wounded in the legs while Jake was emasculated, are really more significant in their similar result: temporary loss of balance during their adjustment to society.

Although the novelistic account was actually a synthesis of trips to Spain in 1923, 1924, and 1925, the action at Pamplona and Burguete was based primarily on Hemingway's 1925 trip with his first wife Hadley Richardson and friends Bill Smith, Donald Stewart, and Harold Loeb. Loeb, still dazed by his one-week affair with Duff, chose to meet Duff and Pat Guthrie in St. Jean de-Luz while the others went fishing at Burguete. The group were reunited in Pamplona; they enjoyed the Festival of San Fermin and the opening events of the bullfight season.<sup>86</sup>

A number of allusions arise in Book II in relation to the bullfight ritual. Hemingway, as an aficionado himself, alludes to noted bullfighters, their techniques, famous breeds of bulls, and actual events of his 1925 visit to Pamplona. In doing so he stresses the almost religious quality of the bullfight at its classic best and the sacrilege of phony and degenerate matadors and uninformed spectators.

Pedro Romero is presented by Hemingway as the ideal bullfighter, whose purity of technique is contrasted with that of lesser artists. Hemingway juxtaposed the name Pedro Romero from bullfight history and superimposed the name on the appearance and technique of Cayetano Ordóñez, Nino de la Palma, who practiced the classic techniques of the eighteenth century matadors such as Pedro Romero. The historical Pedro Romero was a Spanish matador who killed five thousand six hundred bulls during the years 1771 to 1779. He died in bed at the age of ninety-five.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 148.

<sup>87</sup>Hemingway, Death in the Afternoon, p. 239.

Beginning his first season as a full matador at nineteen, Ordonez was a straight, slim gypsy from Ronda who "looked like a messiah who had come to save bullfighting," according to Hemingway.<sup>88</sup> The classic skill and purity of Romero's technique thrills Jake, who explains its significance to the reader and to the other characters.

After Romero had killed his first bull Montoya caught my eye and nodded his head. This was a real one. There had not been a real one for a long time. (p. 164)

. . . Romero's bullfighting gave real emotion, because he kept the absolute purity of line in his movements and always quietly and calmly let the horns pass him close each time. (p. 168)

. . . Romero had the old thing, the holding of his purity of line through the maximum of exposure. . . . (p. 168)

. . . "He knew everything when he started. The others can't ever learn what he was born with." (p. 168)

Through the ritualistic tradition of the bullfight, Hemingway develops in Romero an ideal character, the epitome of a significant set of values; however, Romero also stands out as an individual with dignity ("He was not at all embarrassed. He talked of his work as something altogether apart from himself." [p. 174]), with confidence ("I'm never going to die." [p. 168]), and with humanness ("He laughed and tipped his hat down over his eyes and changed the angle of his cigar and the expression of his face. . . . He had mimicked exactly the expression of Nacionel" [p. 186]), a bullfighter from Aragon.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup>Hemingway, Death in the Afternoon, p. 88.

<sup>89</sup>Robert O. Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction: The Public Voice (Chapel Hill, 1967), p. 245. Hereafter cited as Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction.

Once more Hemingway drew on real events to create meaningful fiction. Ordenez honored Hadley Hemingway by presenting her with his cape to hold and by dedicating to her one of his bulls and presenting to her its ear. Hadley wrapped the ear in Don Stewart's handkerchief and stored it in a drawer; although it began to age, she refused to either throw it away or cut it up as souvenirs for her friends.<sup>90</sup> The fictional version uses the facts but enhances their significance.

The bull who killed Vicente Girones was named Bocanegra, was Number 118 of the bull-breeding establishment of Sanchez Taberno, and was killed by Pedro Romero as the third bull of that same afternoon. His ear was cut by popular acclamation and given to Pedro Romero, who, in turn, gave it to Brett, who wrapped it in a handkerchief belonging to myself, and left both ear and handkerchief, along with a number of Muratti cigarette-stubs, shoved far back in the drawer of the bed-table that stood beside her bed in the Hotel Montoya in Pamplona. (p. 199)

Here the bull becomes a unifying device to link the events; he also provides an opportunity to point out a famous bull-breeder, which adds to the authenticity of the action. There is an allusion to Vicente Girones's death, treated almost as casually as Bill's later reaction. Upon hearing that a man was killed on the runway outside the ring, Bill says, "Was there?" (p. 204).

Brett's disposal of the bull's ear illustrates her typical lack of responsibility; its initial sensation enjoyed, the tribute is left forgotten among the other litter Brett leaves behind her, oddly reminiscent of the cafe scene following Jake's betrayal: "The coffee-glasses and our three cognac-glasses were on the table. A waiter came with a cloth and picked up the glasses and mopped off the table." (p. 187) By her renunciation

<sup>90</sup>Baker, Life Story, pp. 151-152.

of Romero later, Brett symbolically takes the bull's ear out of the drawer.<sup>91</sup>

Jake, the aficionado who understands the significance of Romero's art and purity, points out the contrast between Romero and the other bullfighters, actual matadors whose techniques were clever but usually phony. Juan Gomez y Ortega, called Gallito or more popularly Joselito, was a great bullfighter, employing the classic methods; however, he had been killed on May 16, 1920.<sup>92</sup> Since Joselito's death, Jake tells Brett, "all the bull-fighters had been developing a technic [sic] that simulated this appearance of danger in order to give a fake emotional feeling, while the bull-fighter was really safe." (p. 168) In contrast to Joselito and Romero, Hemingway presented two other famous matadors, Juan Belmonte and Marcial Lalanda.

Belmonte's specialty is working close to the bull in order to simulate greater danger.

People went to the corrida to see Belmonte, to be given tragic sensations, and perhaps to see the death of Belmonte. Fifteen years ago they said if you wanted to see Belmonte you should go quickly, while he was still alive. Since then he had killed more than a thousand bulls. When he retired the legend grew up about how his bull-fighting had been, and when he came out of retirement, the public were disappointed because no real man could work as close to the bulls as Belmonte was supposed to have done, not, of course, even Belmonte. (p. 214)

Belmonte also selects his bulls, choosing smaller ones without dangerously long horns. (pp. 214-215) Although sick with a fistula, Belmonte returns to the ring with confidence. "He had expected to compete with Marcial and

---

<sup>91</sup>Cockran, "Circularity," 304.

<sup>92</sup>Hemingway, Death in the Afternoon, p. 39.

the other stars of the decadence of bull-fighting, and he knew that the sincerity of his own bull-fighting would be so set off by the false aesthetics of the bull-fighters of the decadent period that he would only have to be in the ring." (p. 215) He had been a brilliant bullfighter, but after his return from retirement, he was accused of taking advantage of his name while delivering inferior performances. Hemingway deliberately exaggerated Belmonte's dependence on self-imposed conditions and tricks to give greater emphasis to Romero's heroism and idealism.<sup>93</sup>

The other competitor is Marcial Lalanda, whose introduction and condemnation are simultaneous. When Montoya informs Jake that the American ambassador Alex Moore has invited Pedro Romero and Marcial Lalanda to an after dinner coffee, Jake replies, "Well, it can't hurt Marcial any." (p. 171) He advises Montoya not to give Romero the message. In complete agreement, Montoya explains, "People take a boy like that. They don't know what he's worth. They don't know what he means. Any foreigner can flatter him. They start this Grand Hotel business, and in one year they're through." (p. 172) Jake recognizes the danger, for this had happened to Algabeno (p. 172) who is later hurt in Madrid. (p. 185) This understanding of the harmful effects of certain activities makes Jake's betrayal of Romero to Brett's charms all the more unforgivable and adds meaning to Brett's later renunciation of Romero: "He shouldn't be living with any one. I realized that right away. . . . I'm thirty-four, you know. I'm not going to be one of these bitches that ruins children." (pp. 241, 243)

The implication that Marcial was already ruined is underscored by the reaction of the Biarritz crowd whose lack of knowledge leads them to

---

<sup>93</sup>Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction, p. 245.

condemn Romero's technique. "They preferred Belmonte's imitation of himself or Marcial's imitation of Belmonte." (p. 218) Hemingway later reported that Marcial, with two children, a large fortune, and a good bull ranch, maintained a firm resolution to take no chances with the bulls and possessed enough skill to appear in the ring and dispatch them without danger to himself; however, the spectators did not enjoy his performance.<sup>94</sup>

When Romero sees a resemblance between Bill and Villalta (p. 176), it is complimentary because Nicanor Villalta was a tall, brave, and talented bullfighter. Hemingway and Hadley admired him so much that they named their only son--John Hadley Nicanor Hemingway, born on October 10, 1923--in honor of Nicanor Villalta.<sup>95</sup>

Finally, Jake's hotel proprietor and fellow aficionado, Juan Montoya, in Pamplona is actually patterned after Juanito Quintana, veteran aficionado, loyal friend of Hemingway, and hotel proprietor.<sup>96</sup> Hemingway builds up his admirable qualities as aficionado, befriender and protector of those bullfighters who have afición, so that Montoya can be the instrument of registering the degree of Jake's betrayal. "Montoya could forgive anything of a bull-fighter who had afición. He could forgive attacks of nerves, panic, bad unexplainable actions, all sorts of lapses. For one who had afición he could forgive anything." (p. 132) The one thing he could not forgive was Jake's deliberate betrayal of Romero, the young bullfighter they both recognized as a "real one" (p. 164):

<sup>94</sup>Ernest Hemingway, "The Friend of Spain: A Spanish Letter," Esquire (January, 1934) in White, By-Line, p. 128.

<sup>95</sup>Baker, Life Story, pp. 112, 117.

<sup>96</sup>Hemingway, Death in the Afternoon, p. 170.

"Just then Montoya came into the room. He started to smile at me, then he saw Pedro Romero with a big glass of cognac in his hand, sitting laughing between me and a woman with bare shoulders, at a table full of drunks. He did not even nod." (p. 177) Thus, without dramatizing or editorializing, Hemingway shows the reader the perfidiousness of Jake's action.

Further authenticity and idealism are added to the bullfight sections by allusions to the matador school at Malaga (p. 174), to the breeding ranch of Sanchez Taberno (p. 199), and to breeds of bulls, such as the Villar and Miura bulls. These bulls, according to Hemingway in Death in the Afternoon, were reputed to be brave, powerful, and large; through allusion Hemingway implied that the heroic age of bullfighting still existed in the action he develops in TSAR.<sup>97</sup>

Hemingway said he populated his novel with people, not skillfully created characters; these people are projections through allusions of the writer's experience, knowledge, head, heart, and entirety. If a writer "ever has luck as well as seriousness and gets them out entire they will have more than one dimension and they will last a long time."<sup>98</sup> The technique of allusion is largely responsible for populating the novel, developing the characterization, and giving a dimension of long-lasting reality.

---

<sup>97</sup>Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction, p. 253.

<sup>98</sup>Hemingway, Death in the Afternoon, p. 191.

CHAPTER V  
REFLECTION THROUGH ALLUSION OF  
"THE WAY IT WAS"

Having characterized through allusion, Hemingway also employed allusion in the speech of his characters to further develop the meaning of the novel. To a certain extent his effort to show life truly, to show it "the way it was," makes the novel a sort of social myth which is both a reflection of the way life was in the 1920's but also a literary work which takes on a dimension of deeper meaning.

Hemingway relies on the knowledge and experience of the reader to respond to the range of meanings implicit in the allusions, whether they are direct or indirect. The associations are established through language in the form of exposition, description, dialog, or narration. Hemingway assumes that the reader is an initiate who shares certain behavioral codes, beliefs, values, and knowledge. The false characters are condemned for not sharing knowledge with the author which the good characters do; Hemingway assumes that the reader does, too, which justifies the reader's identification with the hero or heroine. Only small hints, some in the form of allusions, admit the reader to the clique of initiates. The reader feels the implied pressure to know, for the method of the novel assumes that he does. The result is a closer identification with the novel's mood and point of view.<sup>99</sup>

First, Jake is particularly sensitive to the values of various languages and methods of speaking. He speaks French well enough that he tries to place

---

<sup>99</sup>Gifford, "The Monster," 258-260, 262.

the dialect Georgette Hobin speaks, guessing that her home was Liege in eastern Belgium while she was actually from Brussels, in the north-central part. Perhaps Jake meant the name ironically as well, with Georgette caught as inescapably in her role in society as the vassal in a feudal state.

His close attention to language clarifies characterization. Of Mrs. Braddocks' vivacious and too-friendly attitude, Jake explains, "She was a Canadian and had all their easy social graces." (p. 17) Frances Clyne, whose rapid French lacks the pride and astonishment of Mrs. Braddocks in her own accomplishment, talks to hear herself talking. "Frances was a little drunk and would have liked to have kept it up. . . ." (p. 19) The world-weary Georgette, who has recognized that everybody is more or less sick, rejects the falsity of their speech and condemns their lack of reality by saying to Jake, with irony, "You have nice friends." (p. 19) Consistent with this realistic outlook, Georgette proclaims herself a licensed prostitute when she displays her yellow card and insults the bal musette proprietor's daughter by demanding that she also produce her yellow card. (p. 28)

The first hint of Jake's antipathy for English coincides with the introduction of a minor character: "Mrs. Braddocks brought up somebody and introduced him as Robert Prentiss. He was from New York by way of Chicago, and was a rising new novelist. He had some sort of English accent." (p. 21) Condemned as a phony, Prentiss is further shown to be childish and empty of real emotion.

English, the reader learns, is associated with empty politeness, public display, class privileges, a pseudo-chivalric manner, and meaningless gentility. Jake's critical attitude can be seen in his allusion to Brett's title. By implication, a title is an anachronism which has no place in the new

system of values. Jake reflects, "Brett had a title, too. Lady Ashley. To hell with Brett. To hell with you, Lady Ashley." (p. 30) Count Mippipopolous reiterates Jake's opinion while Brett demonstrates one way titles are misused.

"Isn't it wonderful," said Brett. "We all have titles. Why haven't you a title, Jake?"

"I assure you, sir," the count put his hand on my arm. "It never does a man any good. Most of the time it costs you money."

"Oh, I don't know. It's damned useful sometimes," Brett said.

"I've never known it to do me any good."

"You haven't used it properly. I've had hell's own amount of credit on mine." (p. 57)

Hemingway, through Jake's allusions, condemns the decadence of English aristocracy and their manner of speaking.

When you were with the English you got into the habit of using English expressions in your thinking. The English spoken language--the upper classes, anyway--must have fewer words than the Eskimo. Maybe the Eskimo was a fine language. . . . The English talked with inflected phrases. One phrase to mean everything. (p. 149)

When the count criticizes Brett for never finishing her sentences, she explains, "Leave 'em for you to finish. Let anyone finish them as they like." (p. 58)

Jake likes to hear Wilson-Harris talk, but qualifies his statement by saying, "Still Harris was not the upper classes." (p. 149) Harris's acceptability is related to his lack of decadent arrogance; though introduced as Harris, he hesitantly admits, on the last day in Burguete, "I say. You know my name isn't really Harris. It's Wilson-Harris. All one name. With a hyphen, you know." (p. 129) Jake and Bill continue to call him Harris because they like him; he shares their war knowledge and their

simple pleasures and presents them with handtied lures, a final way of indicating he is "one of us."

Pedro Romero also expresses a distrust and distaste of English. He "had learned a little English in Gibraltar" (p. 173), but avoids speaking it very often. He explains, "But I must not let anybody know. It would be very bad, a torero who speaks English. . . . It would be bad. The people would not like it. . . . Bullfighters are not like that." (p. 186) The worldliness and corruption implied by speaking English would not be consistent with the purity demanded of a Spanish matador.

Others are condemned for just being English. After a drunken argument with an English crowd from Biarritz, Mike says, "They're just English. . . . It never makes any difference what the English say." (p. 189) While Mike's attitude might be explained by a natural Scot-English antagonism, Bill also says of the English, "They're awful" (p. 180), and he goes with Mike and Edna to watch and ridicule the English who have come to see the "quaint little Spanish fiesta."

Other English tourists from Biarritz receive Jake's scorn: the sightseeing car with twenty-five Englishwomen who preferred watching through glasses from the car rather than joining in the fun of the fiesta (p. 205) and the Biarritz bullfight experts who preferred Belmonte and Marcial over Romero. (p. 218) Jake's continued allusions to English, either as people or language, is one way Hemingway expresses the failure of society which escapes from life into an empty gentility.<sup>100</sup>

Another kind of language is the butt of Jake's irony. Through allusions to the clichés of the period, Jake exposes phony intellectualism, the hearty Chamber of Commerce spirit which hides an economic motive, and the current

<sup>100</sup>Fuchs, "Literary Critic," 438-440.

demand for equality and freedom. Bill Gorton is the instrument of scorn in exposing the intellectual cult of the popular arts in New York where one had to be "knowledgeable about Charlie Chaplin, Archy and Mehitabel, and circus performers like the Fratellinis" in order to be "in."<sup>101</sup> He parodies the stock New York intellectual attitude toward expatriate writers.

"You're an expatriate. You've lost touch with the soil. Fake European standards have ruined you. You drink yourself to death. You become obsessed by sex. You spend all your time talking, not working. You're an expatriate, see? You hang around cafes." (p. 115)

This definition is a "mixture of Van Wyck Brook's intellectualized provincialism and the sentimental Dorothy Parker irony-and-pity that found in Chaplin its ideal hero."<sup>102</sup>

The falseness of this attitude toward those who chose to live life fully creates a direct contrast to Hemingway's attitude which exhibits greater insight and understanding; his analysis rings truer, but his satirical allusions to the intellectual clichés of his time help the reader to judge for himself.<sup>103</sup> Bill further reports that everybody in New York is mad about Irony and Pity; Jake, however, who understands the real meaning of these words, fails to make an intellectual display of his knowledge in spite of the fact that Bill humorously tells him, "You ought to be ironical the minute you get out of bed. You ought to wake up with your mouth full of pity." (p. 115) The allusions to the New Yorker clichés further develop the character of Bill Gorton, the world traveler, witty conversationalist, and humorous writer.

<sup>101</sup> Arthur Mizener, Twelve Great American Novels (New York, 1967), pp. 121-122. Hereafter cited as Mizener, Novels.

<sup>102</sup> Mizener, Novels, p. 122.

<sup>103</sup> Mizener, Novels, p. 122-123.

It was an age when economic motives were often hidden behind Chamber of Commerce cliches. The American tourists on the train to Bayonne have fulfilled the plea, "See America first!" (p. 85) Bill makes a play on words, using a movie phrase: "'My son'--he pointed the razor at me--'go west with this face and grow up with the country.'" (p. 102) The ambitions of many members of the working class are represented in the wishes of newspapermen Woolsey and Krum.

"Lucky beggers," said Krum. "Well, I'll tell you. Some day I'm not going to be working for an agency. Then I'll have plenty of time to get out in the country."

"That's the thing to do. Live out in the country and have a little car." (p. 36)

The thing to do also was to express dissatisfaction with the business status quo and its material advantages and to ponder the possibilities of a new life with its vague advantages in Paris. Hemingway had earlier documented that vague desire in "So This is Chicago": "'The boys who went into LaSalle Street when you first went on a newspaper now all driving their own cars, lunching at the club, and asking gloomily if you think there is any possible way they could make a living in Paris.'"<sup>104</sup> Each man wanted to be his own boss; each individual wanted certain freedoms as well, including the woman.

The count was beaming. He was very happy.  
 "You are very nice people," he said. . . .  
 "Why don't you get married, you two?"  
 "We want to lead our own lives," I said.  
 "We have our careers," Brett said. (p. 61)

Through the cliches expressed by Jake, Bill, Woolsey and Krum, and Brett, but selected and reported by Jake, the qualities of patriotism, expansion, independence, and freedom are exposed with irony and pity.

<sup>104</sup>Toronto Star Weekly, January 19, 1924, p. 19 in Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction, p. 156.

Another aspect of language characteristic of the period Jake depicts is slang, which to today's readers are often ambiguous or obscure. Philip Young remarked that Hemingway caught every speech mannerism, including slang expressions which characterized the dialog of camaraderie, like "swell," "grand," "Old Bill," and "You bum," which have become dated and embarrassing.<sup>105</sup> Interspersed with words or phrases in French and Spanish, the reader finds the following slang expressions of British and Canadian origins: "blind," Br., for drunk; "brick," Br., for a good fellow; "ragging," Br., for kidding; "darbs," Can., for excellent or outstanding; "coves," Br., for fellows; and "nervy," Br., for worried or concerned. (pp. 54, 54, 60, 101, 135, 162)<sup>106</sup> The mood of the period is flavored with the hearty quality of these expressions and is offered as a contrast to the half-hidden fear, misery, and lostness which the characters try to hide and to avoid mentioning.

As a newspaperman-author, Jake makes use of language related directly to that profession. While the reader does not expect a definition for every unfamiliar term, the literary language does offer an obstacle to complete knowledge. An "angel" is the dupe with money who will back a literary publication; Robert Cohn was the angel of the "little magazine" located first in California and then in Massachusetts. (p. 5) This was Cohn's entrée into the profession of writing.

"Mail stories" are classified as news stories, usually feature stories, without the demand of immediacy. As a foreign correspondent, Jake has to "file" or send mail stories as well as to cable a daily news story. (p. 9)

<sup>105</sup> "The Sun Also Rises: A Commentary," in Baker, Critiques, p. 8.

<sup>106</sup> Funk and Wagnall's Standard College Dictionary (New York, 1968), pp. 148, 170, 310, 339, 908, 1112.

He signs his name or "by-line" on an article he prepares. (p. 12) Jake complains, "I had a boat train to catch with a week's mail stories, and only half of them written." (p. 9) Before the time of trans-Atlantic flights, correspondents had to know the sailing dates and times of ships in order to get their mail on in time. A boat train was an express which was destined to arrive in time to meet the sailing date of an Atlantic liner.<sup>107</sup>

Jake and Georgette hail a horse-cab to take them to a cafe.

The cab passed the New York Herald bureau with the window full of clocks.

"What are all the clocks for?" she asked.

"They show the hour all over America."

"Don't kid me." (p. 15)

The New York Herald published a Paris edition in English. It was a popular European paper. The clocks show the time zones in the United States. Georgette's scorn for the typical American's race with time is explicit.

Through direct or indirect allusions to literary figures, books, and current philosophies, Jake both characterizes an age and ironically criticizes its substitution of books as sources of secondhand values. This sensitivity is closely related to his attitude toward language. The earliest indication of Jake's skepticism in regard to books appears on the very first page when he describes Robert Cohn: "In his last year at Princeton he read too much and took to wearing spectacles." (p. 3) The books were probably escapist in character to compensate for his shyness and sense of inferiority; but escapist reading can be harmful if one does not outgrow it. Jake shows the reader that Cohn did not go beyond this

---

<sup>107</sup> The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, ed. William Morris (New York, 1969), pp. 50, 146, 183, 490.

type of reading and that he saw no discrepancies between these books and real life.

He had been reading W. H. Hudson. That sounds like an innocent occupation, but Cohn had read and reread "The Purple Land." "The Purple Land" is a very sinister book if read too late in life. It recounts splendid imaginary amorous adventures of a perfect English gentleman in an intensely romantic land, the scenery of which is very well described. For a man to take it at thirty-four as a guide-book to what life holds is about as safe as it would be for a man of the same age to enter Wall Street direct from a French convent, equipped with a complete set of the more practical Alger books. Cohn, I believe, took every word of "The Purple Land" as literally as though it had been an R. G. Dun report. You understand me, he made some reservations, but on the whole the book to him was sound. (p. 9)

The practical, worldly, efficient, and specialized qualities of Wall Street and a weekly report of business conditions by R. G. Dun in Dun's Review are ironically contrasted with the romantic, inspirational, and abstract nature of a convent education or a boy's adventure book by the American clergyman and author, Horatio Alger.

The Purple Land, published in 1885, was based on Hudson's early years in the Argentine; just as the country depicted had undergone considerable change, so had the public's taste for idealized pictures of the simple life and the beauty of nature. The qualities Jake found unrealistic in the book were Hudson's sentimentality and his preference for the inanimate to the human form; contrasted to the "irony and pity" despair of Hardy and France, W. H. Hudson represented a sugary evasion of the realities of life. "Richard Lamb's tendency to treat women as part of the local color, his wide-eyed primitivism, his political myopia, would support Jake's ironic view."<sup>108</sup>

<sup>108</sup>Fuchs, "Literary Critic," 449.

However, the effect on Cohn is even more unacceptable to Jake. Real emotion is a direct product of real experience; neither can be gained secondhand. Cohn, however, verifies in both word and conduct his dependence on secondhand values and his residence in a world of fantasy. Cohn yearns to go to South America where he, like Richard Lamb, can live a romantic, exciting life; he also wants to get away from Paris (with the possessive Frances Clyne) which he no longer likes. Jake's defeat at counseling is summed up this way: "South America could fix it and he did not like Paris. He got the first idea out of a book, and I suppose the second came out of a book too." (p. 12)

Bill Gorton's free association spoofing at Burguete exposes the psychological innocence of Rudyard Kipling, alluding to these lines: "For the Colonel's Lady an' Judy O'Grady/Are sisters under their skin." (Stanza 8, The Ladies, 1895) In context, Bill mocks the intellectual parlor game of probing into sexual motivations: "Sex explains it all. The Colonel's Lady and Judy O'Grady are Lesbians under their skins." (p. 116) The allusion illustrates the Freudian-Kraft-Ebing fad<sup>109</sup> for psychoanalysis, exposes the modern cynical view of human affection, and reinterprets history according to both. There are images such as Cohn's polo shirt and Jake's phantom suitcase which imply an allusion to the psychological dream fantasies in the works of Franz Kafka; both images represent a state of arrested development, the very words used by Harvey Stone to describe Robert Cohn. (p. 44)<sup>110</sup> The fad, then, was also practiced by literary figures.

<sup>109</sup> Stephens, "Rhetoric of Escape," p. 84.

<sup>110</sup> Mark Spilka, "The Death of Love in The Sun Also Rises" in Baker, Hemingway and His Critics, p. 89.

However, allusions to Kipling occur indirectly and more favorably. Hemingway's philosophy bears a similarity to the code of honor and courage in Kipling, and both acknowledge woman as an obstacle and temptation.<sup>111</sup> Along with the Kipling influence occurs an allusion to Joseph Conrad. "One of us" (p. 32) was a favorite expression in Conrad who also employed a similar method of irony. The phrase is used in TSAR to identify those who have experienced life, one of the clues in evaluating the characters in the novel. Hemingway was an enthusiastic reader of Conrad.<sup>112</sup> His devotion and admiration was evidenced in 1924 when he paid the following tribute to Joseph Conrad:

If I knew that by grinding Mr. [T. S.] Eliot into a fine dry powder and sprinkling that powder over Mr. Conrad's grave Mr. Conrad would shortly appear, looking very annoyed at the forced return, and commence writing I would leave for London early tomorrow morning with a sausage grinder.<sup>113</sup>

The medium of the allusion is Brett, who identifies the count as "one of us." (p. 32) The reader learns the circumstances and qualities which make the count acceptable and by the evidence or lack of these learns to evaluate the other characters as well.

Another positive contrast to the fantasy-inspiring effect of W. H. Hudson is the book Jake rereads, Turgeneff's A Sportsman's Sketches.<sup>114</sup> He "had read it before, but it seemed quite new." (p. 147) He remarks on

<sup>111</sup> Andre Maurois, "Ernest Hemingway," Revue de Paris, XLII (March, 1955) in Baker, Hemingway and His Critics, pp. 50-51.

<sup>112</sup> Oliver Evans, "The Arrow Wounds of Count Mippipopolous," PMLA, LXXVII (March, 1962), 175.

<sup>113</sup> Ernest Hemingway, "Conrad, Optimist and Moralist," Transatlantic Review [sic], October, 1924, in White, By-Line, pp. 114-115.

<sup>114</sup> Hemingway consistently uses this spelling rather than "Turgenev."

the lasting effect of the book, a tribute to the author who succeeded in meeting Hemingway's own qualifications for a good book.<sup>115</sup>

I turned on the light again and read. I read the Turgenieff. I knew that now, reading it in the oversensitized state of my mind after much too much brandy, I would remember it somewhere, and afterward it would seem as though it had really happened to me. I would always have it. That was another good thing you paid for and then had. (p. 149)

This is not fantasizing as Cohn does, for Jake does not readjust his values and actions to recreate the literary experience in real life.

Allusions to two poets help establish the mood and motifs of the novel. The most direct allusion is to these cynical lines from Christopher Marlowe's "The Jew of Malta" (1589): ". . . but that/Was in another country; and besides/The wench is dead." (Act IV, Scene 1, lines 40-43)<sup>116</sup> Bill substitutes the word "animals" for the word "wench" to fit the "stuffed animal" and "taxidermist" image (p. 75), but the effect is the same: irony, cynicism, pessimism. There is no direct allusion to Andrew Marvell's poem, "To His Coy Mistress," but the rushing search for sensation in the emotional desert of TSAR certainly suggests an implicit allusion to Marvell.

But at my back I always hear  
Time's winged chariot hurrying near;  
And yonder all before us lie  
Deserts of vast eternity. (lines 21-24)

. . .  
Thus, though we cannot make our sun  
Stand still, yet we will make him run. (lines 45-46)<sup>117</sup>

<sup>115</sup>See Hemingway's definition of a good book in Chapter I, Footnote 6.

<sup>116</sup>Christopher Marlowe, "The Jew of Malta," The Complete Plays of Christopher Marlowe, ed. Irving Ribner (New York, 1963), p. 217. Latter work hereafter cited as Complete Plays.

<sup>117</sup>The Literature of England, I, 4th ed., ed. George B. Woods et al. (Chicago, 1958), p. 673.

The allusion appears more explicitly in Hemingway's next novel, A Farewell to Arms. Hemingway admitted his allusion to this poet in Death in the Afternoon when the Old Lady admired his quotation: "It came from Andrew Marvell. I learned how to do that by reading T. S. Eliot."<sup>118</sup>

Some of Hemingway's literary allusions are a direct reflection of dissension among writers. Two of the character models had written books in a similar vein. Donald Ogden Stewart wrote A Parody Outline of History (1921), a satire on literary life in the 1920's in which he parodied Sinclair Lewis, James Branch Cabell, and F. Scott Fitzgerald. The portrayal of writers in fiction was a prominent feature of the period. It was also used by Harold Stearns who edited Civilization in the United States (1922). This work is a solemn and pessimistic representation of the writers and thinkers of the time. Both these writers found themselves, in turn, as characters in a literary work.<sup>119</sup>

Among those writers whom Hemingway castigated in TSAR through characterization were the real life counterparts of Robert Cohn and Robert Prentiss. Both, the reader finds, lack feeling and fail to create authenticity as a result of their self-consciously artistic roles.<sup>120</sup> Robert Prentiss was the name given to Glenway Wescott, an American writer from the midwest whom Hemingway had met in Paris and for whom he had developed an antipathy resulting from Wescott's pseudo-British accent and fundamentally unsound work.<sup>121</sup>

---

<sup>118</sup> p. 139.

<sup>119</sup> Goldhurst, Fitzgerald, pp. 19-20, 23, 26-27.

<sup>120</sup> Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction, p. 248.

<sup>121</sup> Baker, Life Story, p. 164.

Though for different reasons, Hemingway also submits to the reader's scorn Henry James, A. E. W. Mason, and H. L. Mencken. The allusion to Henry James occurs at the imin Burguete when Bill tells Jake, in referring to Jake's accident, "That's the sort of thing that can't be spoken of. That's what you ought to work up into a mystery. Like Henry's bicycle." (p. 115) Jake, ever sensitive to the nuances of language and feelings of others, realizes that Bill fears he has hurt Jake inadvertently and picks up the allusion until Bill says, "Let's lay off that. . . . I think he's a good writer, too." (p. 116) The mystery was a vague injury which left Henry James impotent, exempting him from service in the Civil War. To Jake and Bill, as well as to Hemingway, Henry James and his values were of another, mysterious, outdated period although he had only been dead ten years.<sup>122</sup>

A. E. W. Mason, like W. H. Hudson, represents the romantic writer of the marvelous which Hemingway and Jake, as realists, find ridiculous. Nothing more was needed to explain the justice of Jake's attitude.

. . . I sat against the trunk of two of the trees that grew together, and read. The book was something by A. E. W. Mason, and I was reading a wonderful story about a man who had been frozen in the Alps and then fallen into a glacier and disappeared, and his bride was going to wait twenty-four years exactly for his body to come out on the moraine, while her true love waited too, and they were still waiting when Bill came up. (p. 120)

The bride, too, was living a storybook life, empty of real experience and real emotion.

Literary critic and co-editor first of The Smart Set and then of the American Mercury, H. L. Mencken became the cynical prophet of the

<sup>122</sup>Robert O. Stephens and James Ellis, "Hemingway, Fitzgerald and the Riddle of 'Henry's Bicycle,'" English Language Notes, V (September, 1967), 47-48.

intellectual set. Hemingway's In Our Time was first submitted by Donald Stewart to Mencken to read and to submit to Alfred Knopf for publication; its subsequent publication by Boni & Liveright implied that Mencken must not have liked the stories and had not submitted the book.<sup>123</sup> Thus, Hemingway had a personal reason for mistrusting Mencken's critical ability.

Mencken is criticized first by Jake, then by Harvey Stone, and finally by Bill. Jake wonders where Cohn got his dislike for Paris and then guesses, "Possibly from Mencken. Mencken hates Paris, I believe. So many young men get their likes and dislikes from Mencken." (p. 42) This is the same Cohn who takes The Purple Land as a guidebook to life and who neither reads nor admires Anatole France because he does not read French well and his French friends tell him France is not any good. (pp. 50-51) Harvey Stone condemns Mencken by saying, "He's through now. . . . He's written about all the things he knows, and now he's on all the things that he doesn't know." (p. 43) Bill's sally, "'Don't eat that, Lady--that's Mencken'" (p. 122) led Arthur Mizener to explain that because Hemingway's works were genuine, representative, and sincere, Bill's "Lady" could still eat Hemingway safely whereas Mencken spoiled quickly like an egg.<sup>124</sup> All three genuine writers in the novel were instruments of satire to further develop TSAR as a reflection of its time, in this case, the literary dissension.

Allusions move smoothly through the pages of TSAR in the form of geography. Assuming the reader to be "one of us," Jake cites cafes, streets, cities, and scenes familiar to the initiated to whom only the mention of a landmark evokes the total scene and all its implications.<sup>125</sup> "Few writers

<sup>123</sup>Baker, Life Story, pp. 139-140.

<sup>124</sup>Novels, p. 123.

<sup>125</sup>Stephens, "Rhetoric of Escape," p. 84.

have been more place-conscious. Few have so carefully charted out the geographical groundwork of their novels while managing to keep background so conspicuously unobtrusive. Few, accordingly, have been able to record more economically and graphically"<sup>126</sup> the way it was in France and Spain the summer of 1925. A lover of names, Hemingway used them to develop his sense of place, exhibiting strict control over them, however, as he did over the other aspects of language. The freshness of Hemingway's sense of place arises from his love for continental cities, his artistically perceptive knowledge of them, and his personal travel which enabled him "to see and retain those aspects of a place that made it that place, even though, with an odd skill, he manages at the same time to render these aspects generically."<sup>127</sup> Hemingway's sensitivity to place and appreciation of atmosphere exposes his more gentle nature as he colloquially tells the reader what he should know.<sup>128</sup>

One purpose of the geographical allusions is to establish on a different level a counterpoint to the basic motifs of the book, the lost generation and the heroic earth. In trying to explain why he felt bored, dead, and dull riding down the Boulevard Raspail, Jake muses, "I suppose it is some association of ideas that makes those dead places in a journey." (p. 41) An association of ideas can also make certain scenes pleasant: "Crossing the Seine I saw a string of barges being towed empty down the current, riding high, the bargemen at the sweeps as they come toward the bridge. The river

---

<sup>126</sup> Baker, Writer as Artist, p. 49.

<sup>127</sup> Baker, Writer as Artist, p. 50.

<sup>128</sup> Atkins, The Art, pp. 198-199.

looked nice. It's always pleasant crossing bridges in Paris." (p. 41) The empty barges and Jake's noticing them suggest a correspondence to his empty life, his loneliness, his temporary emotion; the solidity and permanence of his enjoyment of nature provide a thematic counterpoint to the "lost" motif. Jake's personal loneliness is directly related to people and is an impermanent emotion in contrast to his lasting perception of nature's pleasantness.<sup>129</sup>

A sense of authority is a second result of geographical allusions. Jake chronicles his walk with Bill from Madame Lecomte's restaurant crowded with American tourists seeking a quaint, undiscovered cafe, down the Seine, around the island, pausing on a wooden footbridge to look downriver at Notre Dame, and continuing up the Rue du Cardinal Lemoine to the Place Contrescarpe, passing the Negre Joyeux and the Cafe Aux Amateurs, turning onto the Rue du Pot de Fer, south on Rue Saint Jacques, past Val de Grace to the Boulevard du Port Royal until it became Montparnasse where they by-passed the Lilas, Lavigne's, Damoy's, and the Rotonde to reach their destination the Select. (pp. 76-78) Jake does not explain the significance of the catalog of names; their authenticity is verified by Jake's sense of authority. This was the way it was, and he assumes the reader appreciates the sights, scenes, and sounds as he does.<sup>130</sup>

This sense of authority in place serves to develop the narrative as well. The unspoken secrets of the time and places are found in implicit

<sup>129</sup>Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction, pp. 247-248.

<sup>130</sup>Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction, p. 46.

allusions, hints of real facts in the lives of the people of the novel which Hemingway barely mentions. Thus, the correspondents Woolsey and Krum express an interest in the Quarter with its dives like the Dingo and the Select, envying the supposed free and unconventional life of the expatriates who reside there; at the same time they talk of their wives and children, of their dreams for professional independence, of their desire for a house in the country and a little car--conventional values which they brought to Paris with them. They demonstrate Jake's earlier warning to Cohn that "You can't get away from yourself by moving from one place to another." (p. 11)<sup>131</sup>

Woolsey and Krum, like the Americans who had discovered Madame Lecomte's restaurant and the Englishwomen who viewed the quaint Spanish fiesta from their touring car, seek the sensational thrills associated with such places while retaining their old values and conventions. They see only the surface geography; Jake gently exposes the hidden currents. Geography is, therefore, a means of distinguishing between the real and phony characters. The Braddocks invite Jake and Georgette to join their crowd at the dancings which they have "revived." (p. 17) "The dancing-club was a bal musette in the Rue de la Montagne Saint Genevieve. Five nights a week the working people of the Pantheon quarter danced there. One night a week it was the dancing-club." (p. 19) The Braddocks' revival constituted the cafe-hopping crowd taking over the bal musette one night out of the six it was open. They saw something genuine and claimed it as their own, an index to their falseness, affectations, and meaningless ritual.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>131</sup>Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction, pp. 239-241.

<sup>132</sup>Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction, pp. 241-242.

Another kind of falseness receives attention through allusion. Jake as a realistic newspaperman sees through the surface appearances to the hidden and often rotten core of things. Jake, along with about a dozen other correspondents, attended a news conference at the Quai d'Orsay, the French Foreign Office, where

. . . the foreign-office mouthpiece, a young Nouvelle Revue Française diplomat in horn-rimmed spectacles, talked and answered questions for half an hour. The President of the Council was in Lyons making a speech, or, rather, he was on his way back. Several people asked questions to hear themselves talk and there were a couple of questions asked by news service men who wanted to know the answers. There was no news. (p. 36)

What is felt by the reader without understanding the reason is that the whole briefing seems to be a meaningless ritual, a complete waste of time and energy. No facts are presented; some of the correspondents are phonies, and the ones who are sincere are evaded. Hemingway and the readers familiar with Paris news practices in the 1920's knew that the French government bought columns in French papers to publish their own version of the news; the source of this "canned news" was the Quai d'Orsay. Thus, the briefing corresponds to other examples of futility and meaningless ritual in the context of the novel.<sup>133</sup>

Hemingway, as one with inside knowledge of the time and place in the novel, uses this knowledge to develop other motifs as well. The allusion is direct, but while the meaning is implied, the exact reasons are obscure. Hurt and bitter over Cohn's betrayal of her, Frances Clyne tells Jake how her friends will respond to her forced and unplanned visit.

"I'm going to England. I'm going to visit friends.  
Ever visit friends that didn't want you? Oh, they'll

<sup>133</sup>Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction, p. 240.

have to take me, all right. 'How do you do, my dear? Such a long time since we've seen you. And how is your dear mother?' Yes, how is my dear mother? She put all her money into French war bonds. Yes, she did. Probably the only person in the world that did." (p. 49)

Hemingway was familiar with the French government's manipulation of war bond financing, converting short-term bonds into long-term bonds which were paid in devalued currency. Frances' mother had put her faith and money in the bond investment in hopes of a future pay-off; Frances had invested her time, youth, and love in Robert Cohn in hopes of a future pay-off in marriage. Frances voices her bitterness in both betrayals. The sense of betrayal is one of the moods underlying the surface atmosphere of the novel.<sup>134</sup>

The special qualities of Hemingway's description of scene suggests a close relationship to painting and artists, to Cezanne in particular. Hemingway admitted that he was heavily influenced by him: "I learned how to make landscape from Mr. Paul Cezanne."<sup>135</sup> Among the qualities which suggest an allusion to Cezanne are an undercurrent of romanticism almost hidden by a deliberate coldness, a resulting simplification by omitting all but the essential, a sensitive but realistic response to nature, and a sense of immediacy which involves the viewer or reader as "one of us."<sup>136</sup>

The scene on the way to Burguete illustrates these qualities.

We passed through a town and stopped in front of the posada. . . . Then we started on again, and outside the town the road commenced to mount. We were going through farming country with rocky hills that sloped into the fields. The grain-fields went up the hillsides. Now as we went higher there was

<sup>134</sup>Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction, p. 241.

<sup>135</sup>Robert L. Lair, "Hemingway and Cezanne: An Indebtedness," Modern Fiction Studies, VI (Summer, 1960), 168.

<sup>136</sup>Lair, "Hemingway and Cezanne," 168.

a wind blowing the grain. The road was white and dusty, and the dust rose under the wheels and hung in the air behind us. The road climbed up into the hills and left the rich grain-fields below. Now there were only patches of grain on the bare hill-sides and on each side of the water-courses. . . . Up here the country was quite barren and the hills were rocky and hard-baked clay furrowed by the rain. (p. 105)

The descriptive passage functions in two ways: it shows the spatial progress of Bill and Jake as they travel from Pamplona to Burguete, and it underscores the calming influence of the natural scene on Jake's nerves and tensions. This type of description advances the novel and provides meaning. In this case, the scene is a contrast to the society and civilization Jake leaves behind him and prepares for the archetypal design of his destination in Burguete. The Burguete interlude represents a return to the Garden of Eden, an escape from society and civilization, a return to adolescence; it is a temporary journey, however, and Jake is soon recalled to the world and problems he had sought to escape.<sup>137</sup> Jake's description of his walk with Bill through the fields, across the stream, into the woods, and over hills to reach the Irati River (pp. 116-117) where they planned to fish is an example of the classic restraint which created a generic landscape in which the reader inserts his own idea of its uniqueness. Though filled with precise, observed fact, the descriptive passage avoids exaggerated adjectives and complex syntax.<sup>138</sup>

In his description of the inanimate, Hemingway presents a carefully designed picture, as the scene at the bull corral exhibits:

---

<sup>137</sup> Louis D. Rubin, Jr., "The Self Recaptured," Kenyon Review, XXV (Summer, 1963), 411-412.

<sup>138</sup> Baker, Writer as Artist, pp. 50-51.

"Look up there," I said.

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

Jake as narrator directs the eyes of his friends from one level to another of Hemingway's description which like a painting directs the eye to rest or to follow a certain plane.<sup>139</sup> The artistic allusions in description invite the reader to share in the artistic perception of scene--its details, its influence, its purpose.

Hemingway's provision of such a carefully plotted geographical background in TSAR owed much to the travel writer tradition. As journalist, author, and traveler, Hemingway took pleasure in places and the things that made them unique. His protagonists usually exhibit a similar interest. Jake's chronicles of trips and catalogs of places, and his explanations of customs and national character draw on the techniques of travel writing.<sup>140</sup> Hemingway's travel technique led to a description of TSAR as "One of the most famous 'migrations' in modern fiction. . . ." <sup>141</sup>

A less literary but still significant type of allusion relates to the quest for sensual pleasure in the Dionysian tradition of drinks. Implied as a matter of common knowledge, the values of certain drinks

<sup>139</sup>John Graham, "Ernest Hemingway: The Meaning of Style," Modern Fiction Studies, VI (Winter, 1960-1961), 307.

<sup>140</sup>Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction, p. 82.

<sup>141</sup>Robert E. Knoll, ed., McAlmon and the Lost Generation: A Self Portrait (Lincoln, 1962), p. 225. Hereafter cited as Knoll, McAlmon.

are taken for granted.<sup>142</sup> The techniques of drinking are developed as parallels to the techniques of bullfighting. Practiced correctly, both give pleasure; undertaken incorrectly either through lack of knowledge, skill, or self-control, both are ludicrous and pitiful and bring scorn to the performers. "The ability to distinguish the correct from the incorrect, the genuine from the non-genuine, whether in drinking or bull-fighting, is the mark of the 'good' character."<sup>143</sup> Hemingway shared with the expatriates an appreciation of the finer, "liquid" things of life. In Death in the Afternoon, he wrote:

Wine is one of the most civilized things in the world and one of the natural things of the world that has been brought to the greatest perfection, and it offers a greater range of enjoyment and appreciation than, possibly, any other purely sensory thing which may be purchased.<sup>144</sup>

In TSAR allusions to drinking serve in a functional manner to show "the way it was," to develop characterization, to underscore meaning. It is, on one hand, "a simple physical act, hard to sentimentalize," and, on the other hand, "suggests without comment the rather desperate and disillusioned state" of the characters.<sup>145</sup>

The importance of drinking<sup>146</sup> as a motif and gauge of character is

<sup>142</sup>Stephens, "Rhetoric of Escape," p. 84.

<sup>143</sup>Joseph Beaver, "Technique in Hemingway," College English, XIV (March, 1953), 326-327.

<sup>144</sup>p. 534.

<sup>145</sup>Joseph Warren Beach, The Twentieth-Century Novel: Studies in Technique (New York, 1932), p. 534.

<sup>146</sup>Information relating to the nature of the drinks cited in the text is from the following sources:

Frederick C. Appel, "Just Slip This into Her Drink," Playboy, VII (August, 1970), 84.

Patrick Gavin Duffy, The Bartender's Guide, rev. ed. (New York, 1970), pp. 201, 202, 206.

Matty Simmons, The New Diner's Club Drink Book, rev. ed. (New York, 1968), pp. 30, 143, 165, 258, 265, 267.

introduced early in the book when Jake takes Cohn to a bar for a drink because Jake "had discovered that was the best way to get rid of friends. Once you had a drink all you had to say was: 'Well, I've got to get back and get off some cables,' and it was done." (p. 11) In the bar where they order whiskey and soda, "Cohn looked at the bottles in bins around the wall. 'This is a good place,' he said. 'There's a lot of liquor,' I agreed." (p. 11) The passage serves a two-fold purpose. Cohn's naivete and Jake's irony tell the reader that quantity does not make quality in liquor, but still it is something in a world otherwise empty and meaningless.

Later the count, who is identified as "one of us," orders a bottle of Napoleon brandy, laid in 1811 (the year of the comet), marked with a star to denote its quality, and extremely limited in quantity. When Brett protests, Count Mippipopolous explains, "Listen, my dear. I get more value for my money in old brandy than in any other antiques." (p. 62) In addition, he instructs Brett about drinking Mumm's champagne, one of the great names in champagne. He prefers to drink champagne from magnums (the size of two fifth bottles) because the wine is better, but magnums would have taken too long to cool. When Brett proposes a toast, the count warns, "This wine is too good for toast drinking, my dear. You don't want to mix emotions up with a wine like that. You lose the taste." (p. 59) Though expert enough to write a book about wines, the count says that "... all I want out of wines is to enjoy them." (p. 59)

Jake echoes this appreciation of wine and adds an additional value which he associates with it: "I drank a bottle of wine for company. It was a Chateau Marguax. It was pleasant to be drinking slowly and to be tasting the wine and to be drinking alone. A bottle of wine was good company." (p. 233)

Drinking alone, Jake follows a disciplined ritual, selecting carefully and enjoying slowly the drink of his choice, whether it be Chateau Marguax, one of the finest among Bordeaux red wines (p. 233); vieux marc, a French liqueur (p. 233); or a glass of lemon-juice and shaved ice followed by a long whiskey and soda (p. 235). Solitude and isolation, while they refresh and restore Jake, represent escape and therefore weakness, and the world in which he is forced to live alters the value of drinking: "It was like certain dinners I remember from the war. There was much wine, an ignored tension, and a feeling of things coming that you could not prevent happening. Under the wine I lost the disgusted feeling and was happy. It seemed they were all such nice people." (p. 146) The main purpose for drinking becomes, in this case, anesthetic rather than aesthetic.

At its worst, the sole purpose of drinking in TSAR is to become drunk, and by doing so the characters admit total despair and defeat. While the expatriates condemn each other when they become drunk and behave badly, a worse condemnation results when one never becomes drunk. Mike damns Cohn with these words: "Perhaps I was drunk. Why aren't you drunk? Why don't you ever get drunk, Robert?" (p. 142) When Robert does pass out from drinking Anis del Mono, a licorice-tasting liqueur, he excuses himself, saying he must have been sleeping and comments with amazement, "What a lot we've drunk." Mike corrects him, "You mean what a lot we've drunk. You went to sleep." (p. 159) Mike and Jake, however, find that drunkenness is a necessary escape during the Brett-Romero affair. First, Mike explains his unbearable situation. "'I'm rather drunk,' Mike said. 'I thing I'll stay rather drunk. This is all awfully amusing, but it's not too pleasant. It's not too pleasant for me.'" (p. 203) Then he orders a half dozen bottles of beer and a

bottle of Fundador and goes to his room, where Jake finds him later lying on the bed "looking like a death mask of himself." (p. 210)

Jake controls his despair until the last night of the fiesta when he admits he feels "low as hell" and drinks too much although he says, "It won't do any good." (p. 223) Ironically, his choice is absinthe. An absinthe drip cocktail is made by pouring one and a half ounces absinthe (or Pernod) into a special drip glass, placing a cube of sugar over the hole of a drip spoon, packing the spoon with cracked ice and then filling it with cold water. When the water has dripped through, the drink is ready. "The absinthe made everything seem better. I drank it without sugar in the dripping glass, and it was pleasantly bitter. . . . I poured the water directly into it and stirred it instead of letting it drip. Bill put in a lump of ice. I stirred the ice around with a spoon in the brownish, cloudy mixture." (pp. 222, 223) His choice is a poisonous liqueur, his technique is deliberately incorrect, and his purpose is to become drunk. The result was that he became drunker than he ever remembered having been. (p. 223) However, he finds it impossible to stay in his room alone or to sleep, so he joins Bill and Mike though "it seemed as though about six people were missing." (p. 224) Later Brett begs, "Don't get drunk, Jake. You don't have to." (p. 246) Jake answers, "How do you know?" (p. 246) The difference is a matter of vision; to the one seeking a haven from pain, drunkenness is sometimes necessary.

Drinking usually brings pleasure and is appropriate to the purpose and the company. Just as the count associates the Mumms orchards with champagne, so Jake associates Jack Rose (a cocktail made of one ounce apple brandy, juice of one half lime, and one teaspoon Grenadine shaken in cracked ice) with the

Crillon bar where George the barman mixed them expertly. (p. 41) Bill is automatically accepted as "one of us" when the reader finds that Bill had sought out George at the Crillon to enjoy a Jack Rose when he arrived in Paris. (p. 73)

At times the expert drinkers have to give instructions on the preparation of drinks. In order to get hot rum punches at the inn in Burguete, Jake has to tell the woman "what a rum punch was and how to make it." (p. 110) At the Palace Hotel in Madrid, Brett and Jake are served martinis in coldly beaded glasses. Jake tells the barman, "I like an olive in a martini." (p. 244) The gentility of the bar and politeness of the barman are noted by Brett and Jake.

Certain drinks are especially ordered to accompany foods. Jake chronicles these choices: hors d'oeuvres and beer at Wetzel's in Paris (p. 37), sandwiches and Chablis (a white, full-bodied Burgundy) on the train to Bayonne (p. 87), shrimps and beer at Pamplona (p. 205), and roast young suckling pig with rioja alta, a Spanish tart, dry red table wine. (p. 246) To relax with friends, the expatriates usually drank brandy (finés, brandy and soda, cognac, Napoleon brandy, and Fundador, a Spanish brandy), aperitifs or dessert wines (porto, a rich, sweet red Portuguese wine; sherry, including smooth amontillado, a dry, nutty Spanish sherry, and Jerez sherry, a fortified wine; vermouth, a spiced aromatic wine; champagne), absinthe (or pernod as a substitute absinthe), beer, cocktails (martinis), and whiskey and soda.

Some drinks stand out in TSAR because of their recognizably bad qualities. The first "bad" drink noted in TSAR is pernod, which Jake says is "not good for little girls" (p. 14) and which Georgette says shouldn't be drunk if one has a venereal disease. (p. 16) The description of the drink is given in the context: "Pernod is greenish imitation absinthe. When you add water

it turns milky. It tastes like licorice and it has a good uplift, but it drops you just as far." (p. 15) Absinthe contains a narcotic called wormwood which makes the drink stultifying as well as intoxicating. It was believed to be habit-forming and the cause of nervous disorders and sterility; another ironic aspect of absinthe was its use as an aphrodisiac. Before it was banned by the usually tolerant French, absinthe was the favorite drink of the artistic crowd of the Left Bank. Absinthe is drunk first by Jake and Georgette in Paris (pp. 14-15), by Bill in Paris (p. 73), by Bill, Jake, Brett, Mike, and Cohn after the bullfight in Pamplona (pp. 164, 166), and finally by Bill and Jake when both concentrate on getting Jake drunk. (pp. 221-223)

Next in the list of "bad" drinks, the reader finds Jake condemning the beer at the bar next to the bal musette as "not good"; its immediate successor, a cognac, as "worse." (p. 20) Brett, too, expresses a distaste for the quality of certain drinks, labeling the brandies in an unnamed Paris bistro as "rotten" (p. 74) and referring to the drinks of Jake, Mike, and herself as "poisonous things." (p. 144) Jake, however, stands out as connoisseur, whose condemnation is specific and authoritative.

The waiter recommended a Basque liqueur called Izzarra. He brought in the bottle and poured a liqueurglass full. He said Izzarra was made of the flowers of the Pyrenees. The veritable flowers of the Pyrenees. It looked like hair oil and smelled like Italian strega. I told him to take the flowers of the Pyrenees away and bring me a vieux marc. (p. 233)

His knowledge of the three liqueurs--Basque, Italian, and French--leads the reader to accept both his condemnation of the "bad" liqueurs and his appreciation of the "good" one.

Allusions to drinking, then, develop the atmosphere and setting and

show the "way it was," support the characterization, and unify the meaning through development of teacher-student techniques, by stressing the qualities of knowledge and self-control, and by developing the parallel motif of doing things the right way or by following the correct ritual.

The purpose of allusions to drinking was neither sensationalism nor criticism. It was a necessary aesthetic tool in developing the novel as both a reflection of its time and a literary work. Hemingway selected in other ways too from the elements of society to present a picture not only authentic, but also aesthetic. There are allusions to names in the world of sports. Spider Kelly (pp. 3, 4) was actually the boxing coach at Princeton, and Harold Loeb (Robert Cohn) was one of his pupils.<sup>147</sup> Further allusions to the boxing world occur in the reference to the Ledoux-Kid Francis fight. (p. 81) The New York Times (June 10, 1925) reported "'Young Kid Francis, a bantamweight who learned to box in Argentina, tonight defeated the veteran Charles Ledoux, former bantamweight champion of Europe in a 12-round bout.'"<sup>148</sup> Jake's evaluation of the bout is "It was a good fight." (p.81) Bill predicts that the new crop of young light featherweights in the United States might produce a good prospect to defeat Jack Dempsey (p. 70), who was world boxing champion from 1919 to 1926. Baseball is represented in TSAR by an allusion to Frankie Fritsch (p. 122), a famous New York second baseman whose nickname was the Fordham Flash.<sup>149</sup> Jake's

<sup>147</sup>Loeb, Way It Was, p. 218.

<sup>148</sup>J. F. Kobler, "Confused Chronology in The Sun Also Rises," Modern Fiction Studies, XIII (Winter, 1967-1968), 519.

<sup>149</sup>Hy Turkin and S. C. Thompson, The Official Encyclopedia of Baseball, 2nd rev. ed. (New York, 1959), p. 156. Player's name is given as Frank Francis Frisch.

comment that Cohn "probably loved to win as much as Lenglen" (p. 45) is clarified by the knowledge that Suzanne Lenglen was then the women's world champion in tennis and was known for her competitive spirit.<sup>150</sup> The allusions to sports identify Jake and Bill as sportsmen who enjoy and know about the experts in this field.

The social and political world appears in TSAR through the medium of allusion. The statements made were not always accurate for the mood was often playfully ironic or satirical. For instance, Bill in his early morning, exhilarated spoofing about "irony and pity" tells Jake to demonstrate his irony by asking the waitress if she had any "jam," and when Jake fails to show sufficient irony, Bill tells him, "Say something ironical. Make some crack about Primo de Rivera." (p. 114) Jake takes the two allusions and combines them by saying, "I could ask her what kind of a jam they think they've gotten into in the Riff." (p. 114) The irony becomes understood only with the knowledge that Primo de Rivera was the military dictator of Spain who had seized control in 1923 by a military coup. Having planned to withdraw from Morocco as part of a reform movement, Rivera found himself instead pressured into destroying the Riff rebel Abd-el-Krum in 1925.<sup>151</sup> Bill and Jake, as worldly men, see the irony of Rivera's "jam."

The content of their lunch basket sets off the William Jennings Bryan allusions in a witty exchange between Bill and Jake. "Bill laid down the egg he was peeling. 'Gentlemen,' he said, and unwrapped a drumstick from a piece of newspaper. 'I reverse the order. For Bryan's sake. As a

<sup>150</sup>"Suzanne Lenglen," Webster's Biographical Dictionary, 1st ed. (Springfield, Mass., 1960), p. 883. Latter work hereafter cited as Biographical Dictionary.

<sup>151</sup>Raymond Carr, "Miguel Primo de Rivera y Orbaneja, Marques de Estella," Collier's Encyclopedia (1963), XX, 100.

tribute to the Great Commoner. First the chicken; then the egg.'" (p. 121)

Bryan had published a weekly The Commoner from 1901 to 1913, had been a strong fundamentalist in religion, had campaigned for state legislation for prohibiting the teaching of evolution in schools, and had joined the prosecution against John T. Scopes, the Dayton, Tennessee, teacher tried in 1925 for violating such a law. He died in Dayton in his sleep on July 26, 1925.<sup>152</sup> When Jake says he read of Bryan's death in the newspaper the day before by Jake's chronology, the time difference represents one of the literary adjustments Hemingway made to suit his purposes.

When Jake asks Bill where he knew Bryan, he sets off a series of allusions which are primarily humorous rather than serious or authentic.

"He and Mencken and I went to Holy Cross together."

"And Frankie Fritsch."

"It's a lie. Frankie Fritsch went to Fordham."

"Well," I said, "I went to Loyola with Bishop Manning."

"It's a lie," Bill said. "I went to Loyola with Bishop Manning myself." (p. 122)

. . . "You're in the pay of the Anti-Saloon League."

"I went to Notre Dame with Wayne B. Wheeler."

"It's a lie," said Bill. "I went to Austin Business College with Wayne B. Wheeler. He was class president." (p. 123)

Holy Cross was a seminary in Dunkirk, New York; neither Bill, Bryan, nor Mencken attended that seminary. The Fordham Flash, Frankie Fritsch, attended Fordham University in New York. Bishop Manning as the Roman Catholic bishop of New York (1921-1946) would hardly have gone to Loyola University in Chicago with either Bill or Jake. The mixture of cynical, Protestant, and Catholic

<sup>152</sup>Ransom E. Noble, Jr., "William Jennings Bryan," Collier's Encyclopedia (1963), IV, 640.

names and schools was ironic and humorous. Having begun the spoof, Jake and Bill found it hard to let it go. The connection of Protest prohibitionist Wayne B. Wheeler<sup>153</sup> with Catholic Notre Dame is hilarious, as is the coupling of Austin Business College with the more prestigious schools.

As a man of the world, Bill advises Jake to dream, saying, "All our biggest business men have been dreamers. Look at Ford. Look at President Coolidge. Look at Rockefeller. Look at Jo Davidson." (p. 124) Hemingway had met Jo Davidson, the bearded American sculptor, on April 9, 1922, when Davidson "had come to make some portrait heads of the leading foreign statesmen."<sup>154</sup> Best known for his busts of political and literary figures, Davidson had done busts of such men as Woodrow Wilson and Anatole France.<sup>155</sup> The dreams Bill mentioned were not necessarily the kinds of dreams these leaders had cherished. The name Jo Davidson arises through the "association of ideas" method practiced by Jake and Bill during their stay in Burguete. The boyish lack of restraint in their free association spoofing builds the contrast between the idyllic world of sportsmen in Burguete and the messy world of interrelationship in Pamplona.

The result of these topical allusions was to create in fiction a way of life based on the particular circumstances of the early twentieth century. Hemingway's version is deliberately somber in his attempt to avoid the romantic veneer so many writers employed to gloss over the destructiveness of that era; he chose to place man in a position where his capacity to survive received

<sup>153</sup>"Wayne Bidwell Wheeler," Biographical Dictionary, p. 1564.

<sup>154</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 88.

<sup>155</sup>Knoll, McAlmon, p. 371.

its fullest test. In this recreated world, Hemingway invokes "the survival of the individual through the fullest realization of his own powers and in free association with comrades who react as he does."<sup>156</sup>

If art is the little myth we make and history is the big myth we live, as Robert Penn Warren suggests,<sup>157</sup> then Hemingway has created a myth using the pattern of circumstances, beliefs, emotions, and attitudes of his world. His novel is art, a little myth based on a combination of public and historical culture and personal and private reactions to it. His emphasis is on the individual who strives to find his private place in the public picture. Jake clarifies Hemingway's mythic aim: "I did not care what it was all about. All I wanted to know was how to live in it." (p. 148) Hemingway's dramatization of the "moral predicament of a small group of Jazz Age D. P.'s . . . offered a 'myth' whose extension in social space far outreached the novel's national boundaries of France and Spain."<sup>158</sup> The people who populate this mythic world are expatriates--liberated, gay, cynical, independent--and members of the postwar generation--wounded, shocked, bewildered, aimless; their condition becomes clear after repeated allusions to war which was their downfall and to the bullfight ritual which represents the untouched ideal which survived the war. From Georgette's direct condemnation "Oh, that dirty war" (p. 17) and a direct view of Jake's agonized reflections about his wound (p. 31) to the less direct but still warlike explosion of the fiesta (p. 152), war allusions abound in TSAR, reminding

<sup>156</sup>Leo Gurko, "The Achievement of Ernest Hemingway," College English, XIII (April, 1952), 375.

<sup>157</sup>Everett Carter, "The 'Little Myth' of Robert Penn Warren," Modern Fiction Studies, VI (Spring, 1960), 3.

<sup>158</sup>Baker, Writer As Artist, pp. 79-80.

the reader that to the post-war generation, the war was still real and its effects were still present and painful. Through allusion Hemingway shows that violence and unrest are contemporary elements. Mike tells that he had been invited to a big dinner which was to be attended by the Prince of Wales. He recounts, "Well, I went to the dinner, and it was the night they'd shot Henry Wilson, so the Prince didn't come and the King didn't come, and no one wore any medals, and all these coves were busy taking off their medals, and I had mine in my pocket." (p. 135) The murder of British Field Marshall Sir Henry Wilson on June 22, 1922, supposedly by Irish Sinn Fein terrorists,<sup>159</sup> helps to establish the continuing violence and to authenticate the "way it was." The medals Mike mentions represent the empty and meaningless rewards of valor, worn only when ceremony demanded it and then quickly removed. War medals, Hemingway reported, were easily and cheaply bought from any pawn shop, but even a M. C., a D. C. M., or a 1914 Star was difficult to sell.<sup>160</sup> This was the final of a series of betrayals Hemingway and the characters of TSAR present--language, literature, politics, people, war. Man can survive these betrayals; Jake does and is perhaps a better person as a result of his quest for understanding and faith. Like the martyred St. Sebastian, Jake finds that "'to be poised against fatality, to meet adverse conditions

---

<sup>159</sup>W. Menzies Whitelaw and A. Paul Levack, "Northern Ireland," Collier's Encyclopedia (1963), XIII, 261.

<sup>160</sup>"War Medals for Sale," Toronto Star Weekly, December 8, 1923, in White, By-Line, pp. 104-106.

gracefully, is more than simple endurance; it is an act of aggression, a positive triumph."<sup>161</sup>

---

<sup>161</sup>Baker, Writer as Artist, p. 267. The parallel is further strengthened by Hemingway's description of San Sebastian as a maricon ("a sodomite, nance, queen, fairy, fag") in Death in the Afternoon, pp. 204, 247. He says, "The only saint I know who is universally represented as built that way is San Sebastian."

## CHAPTER VI

### MEANING THROUGH ECHOES OF THE PAST

Though he condemned all bad writers as being in love with the epic,<sup>162</sup> Hemingway endowed TSAR with its own epic elements. The absence of footnotes illustrates that Hemingway's use of echoes from the past was neither intellectual snobbery nor literary embellishment. The method is simple, ironic, and ambiguous; he develops one action in one time while suggesting through allusion the idea that the earth abides forever while man from past to present only endures. The suggested parallels remain shadowy and do not infringe on the subject of the moment, but their presence through allusion adds a deeper dimension of time and meaning.

The parallel to T. S. Eliot's The Waste Land occurs in three ways: direct allusions to lines from the poem, contemporary development of the Fisher King legend, and a similar statement about the loss of belief in old values. The difference in method lies in the fact that while the reader cannot respond to Eliot's literary allusions in The Waste Land without knowing the origin, seeing the context of the original and the current treatment, and quickly comparing the two,<sup>163</sup> in Hemingway's version the reader feels the implied significance although he does not necessarily understand the mythical foundations underlying the treatment. TSAR provides a literal story with allusions enhancing that story whereas Eliot's method is to

---

<sup>162</sup>Death in the Afternoon, p. 54.

<sup>163</sup>Baker, Writer as Artist, p. 57.

provide a story through allusion.

Hemingway had read The Waste Land, had heard it discussed by Ezra Pound, who edited the poem, and by Gertrude Stein, who entertained and advised the expatriate writers.<sup>164</sup> Although Eliot's poem was the literary talk of the twenties, Hemingway's reaction was that he was "unable to take it seriously."<sup>165</sup> One satirical expression of his view was a take-off on Eliot's use of footnotes in The Waste Land in the form of a poem entitled "The Lady Poets With Foot Notes"<sup>166</sup>, in "A Natural History of the Dead" he parodies Eliot's type of language and method, latinate and heavily pedantic.<sup>167</sup>

However, the legend Eliot researched in Jessie L. Weston's From Ritual to Romance and developed in The Waste Land was appropriate to the story Hemingway wanted to tell. Whether the inspiration was deliberate or unconscious, Hemingway must have been aware of the Fisher King parallel. This awareness entirely agrees with his ironical approach to life and literature which he simultaneously desired and rejected.<sup>168</sup>

Notable among the direct allusions to The Waste Land are Jake's love of the mountains, his habit of reading at night when he cannot sleep, and his words, "I like this town and I go to Spain in the summertime." (p. 10)

<sup>164</sup>Paul B. Newman, "Hemingway's Grail Quest," University of Kansas City Review, XXVIII (Summer, 1962), 295. Hereafter cited as Newman, "Hemingway's Grail Quest."

<sup>165</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 107.

<sup>166</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 134.

<sup>167</sup>Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction, pp. 7, 64.

<sup>168</sup>Moore, "Extreme Fiction," 41.

He echoes the words of the Hyacinth girl in Eliot: "In the mountains, there you feel free./I read, much of the night, and go south in the winter." Brett's words, "My nerves are rotten," (p. 182) find a similar counterpart in this comment by Eliot's aristocratic Lady of Situations: "My nerves are bad tonight."<sup>169</sup> Bill Gorton, in his taxidermist role, misquotes Christopher Marlowe. "That was in another country," Bill said. "And besides all the animals were dead." (p. 75) The double allusion this time was to Eliot's "Portrait of a Lady" which quoted as its epigraph a little more of Marlowe's play: "Thou hast committed--/Fornication-- but that/Was in another country; and besides/The wench is dead."<sup>170</sup>

The second type of allusion appears in echoes of the Fisher King legend which Malcolm Cowley attributed to Hemingway's "instinct for legendary situations" as opposed to Eliot's scholarly research.<sup>171</sup> The Fisher King was wounded in the loins, and while he lay wasting, his whole kingdom became sterile and unproductive. There was thunder without rain, the rivers became dry, the flocks did not reproduce, and the women were barren. The despair and frustration of such a civilization find a parallel in the post-war Paris society Hemingway chose to depict in TSAR.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>169</sup>T. S. Eliot, The Waste Land in Modern American Poetry and Modern British Poetry, new enl. comb. ed., ed. Louis Untermeyer (New York, 1962), pp. 383, 385.

<sup>170</sup>"The Jew of Malta," Complete Plays, p. 217.

<sup>171</sup>"Nightmare and Ritual in Hemingway," The Introduction to The Portable Hemingway, ed. Malcolm Cowley (New York, 1945) in Robert P. Weeks, ed., Hemingway: A Collection of Critical Essays (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1962), Former work hereafter cited as Cowley, "Nightmare and Ritual"; latter work hereafter cited as Weeks, Critical Essays.

<sup>172</sup>Cowley, "Nightmare and Ritual," p. 49.

The most conspicuous allusion is Jake's wound; emasculation has rendered him ironically impotent and sterile though capable of feeling love and passion. The people of his "kingdom" are also sexual cripples: Georgette, the "sick" prostitute; the homosexuals at the bal musette; Brett, the nymphomaniac and self-styled "bitch"; Mike, the drunkard who understands her; and Cohn, the romantic who wants to make an honest woman of Brett. The sickness is not an attempt to sensationalize or to shock; it is an authentic motif and an integral part of both the mythic and the contemporary scene of the 1920's. The difference between the legend and the novel lies in the fact that while the Fisher King's impotence is curable, Jake's is not. Thus, the novel is not just a restatement of the old myth;<sup>173</sup> the problems of the present are more complex; the despair, more acute; and the endurance, more courageous. Like Eliot, Hemingway chronicles empty meaningless, secular rituals of the present as a contrast to the more meaningful rituals of the past.

The Homeric frame of reference is suggested by Cohn's description of Brett as Circe: "He calls her Circe. . . . He claims she turns men into swine." (p. 144) Carlos Baker notes the parallel:

Was not Brett Ashley, on her low-lying island in the Seine, just such a fascinating peril as Circe on Aeaea? Did she not open her doors to all the modern Achaean chaps? When they drank her special potion of French applejack or Spanish wine, did they not become swine, or in the modern idiom, wolves? Did not Jake Barnes, that wily Odysseus, resist the shameful doom which befell certain of his less wary comrades who became snarling beasts.<sup>174</sup>

---

<sup>173</sup> Atkins, The Art, p. 166.

<sup>174</sup> Writer as Artist, p. 87.

The allusion to Circe gains importance in the repeated allusions to swine. Jake notes her ability to capture men, saying of Cohn's attraction to Brett, "You've made a new one there." (p. 22) Brett deplores Mike's drunken abuse of Cohn and says, "But he didn't need to be a swine." (p. 181) Underscoring the derogatory use of the word, Bill repeatedly refers to the Biarritz English as swine. (pp. 188-189)

Other passages find almost exact counterparts in the Odyssey. Jake tells of his reaction to seeing Brett again: "I lay awake thinking and my mind jumping around. . . . Then all of a sudden I started to cry. Then after a while it was better . . . and then I went to sleep." (p. 31) Odysseus reports a similar reaction: "'My spirit was broken within me and I wept as I sat on the bed. . . . But when I had my fill of weeping and writhing, I made answer.'" (Odyssey, X, 490-500)<sup>175</sup>

Cohn, chided first for never getting drunk and second for passing out at the height of the gaiety of the Pamplona fiesta, is discovered by Jake. "In a back room Robert Cohn was sleeping quietly on some wine-casks. . . . Around his neck and on his chest was a big wreath of twisted garlics." (p. 158) There is a similar character and action in the Odyssey. "'There was one named Elpenor, the youngest of all; not very valiant in war nor sound in understanding, who had laid him down apart from his comrades in the sacred house of Circe, seeking the cool air, for he was heavy with wine.'" (Odyssey, X, 552-560)<sup>176</sup>

The allusions to Circe suggest the multiple hazards of Odysseus' journey from Troy; other allusions suggest another kind of hazardous

<sup>175</sup> Baker, Writer as Artist, pp. 87-88.

<sup>176</sup> Baker, Writer as Artist, p. 88.

journey, the legendary quest for the Holy Grail.<sup>177</sup> While Hemingway's distrust of abstractions and the epic would prevent his announcing such a search, he has subtly woven parallels to that legend into the characters, setting, action, and theme of TSAR. Thus, the reader finds a contrast between a romantic quest and a real one, the physical and psychic wound, self-assertion as self-destruction and self-control as self-purification, initiation into the pagan-Christian ritual wherein the Grail and Spear carry double symbolism.

Hemingway, reacting to the breakdown of individualism in the regimentation of World War I, tried to clarify the status of the individual, both romantic and realistic. Cohn is presented as the romantic individual whose quest is book-oriented. Cohn expresses fear of age: "I can't stand it to think my life is going so fast and I'm not really living it" (p. 10); he also fears death: "Do you know that in about thirty-five years more we'll be dead?" (p. 11) He wants to go to South America to find himself, but his affair with a lady of title offers a more romantic means of self-assertion. In TSAR Hemingway presents Cohn as the modern neurotic man. All Cohn's actions stem from his literary malaise; having read such romantic novels as The Purple Land, he tries to realize the plot in real life. His expatriation and literary career are romantically inspired rather than necessary. Cohn's quest is an attempt to escape himself, and, therefore, his quest must fail.<sup>178</sup>

Expressed in terms of sexual impotence, the study of the breakdown of individualism in TSAR shows the contrast between Jake's physical wound and the psychic maladjustment of the other characters. Jake as an individual

<sup>177</sup>Newman, "Hemingway's Grail Quest," 295-303.

<sup>178</sup>Newman, "Hemingway's Grail Quest," 295-296.

with an instinct for classic strictness and control is less impotent in his total being than the characters who have lost this discipline. In striking out for romantic freedom, they expose themselves to destruction; their wounds are physical reflections of their psychic impotence--Cohn's smashed nose, the count's arrow scars, Brett's nymphomania, and Mike's alcoholism.<sup>179</sup> This is the familiar pattern of the Fisher King, the Waste Land, and its impotent inhabitants that T. S. Eliot chronicled in The Waste Land. This pattern is developed in Book I of TSAR.

Book II develops a second parallel to the Grail legend, the quest for faith. The quest is reinforced by the seven carloads of Americans returning by way of Biarritz and Lourdes after a pilgrimage to Rome, whom Bill refers to as Pilgrims, Puritans, and Pilgrim Fathers (p. 86); Jake's technical and regrettably "rotten" Catholicism (pp. 97, 124); his absent-minded praying in the Pamplona cathedral (p. 97); the mock-evangelical language of Bill: "Let no man be ashamed to kneel here in the great out-of-doors. Remember the woods were God's first temples." (p. 122); and the fishing scene with its implication as a symbol in pagan and Christian myths of a search for faith.<sup>180</sup>

The Grail and the Spear, symbols of the Grail Quest, find meaning as sexual symbols in pagan fertility rites and as symbols of the rebirth of faith in the religious ceremony. In TSAR the recognition of the former is an initiation into the latter, which, in turn, heals the impotent Fisher King and prepares for the restoration of the Waste Land. The two symbols, the Grail and the Spear, unite the worship of the body in the pagan tradition

<sup>179</sup>Newman, "Hemingway's Grail Quest," 297.

<sup>180</sup>Newman, "Hemingway's Grail Quest," 298.

and the worship of the spirit in the Christian tradition. Thus they link the pagan-Christian elements of TSAR, and the understanding of their dual roles clarifies the recovery of faith through the sublimation of sexual passion.<sup>181</sup>

The bullfight is the means by which Hemingway develops the sexual connotation of the Grail quest. From the uncaging of the bulls to the final bullfight, Hemingway stresses the contrast between bulls and steers which parallels a similar contrast between Cohn and his male companions. Cohn, in his aggressive self-assertion, attacks both Jake and Romero, and his resulting defeat is a form of phallic or sexual destruction. Cohn wants to be somebody in the world, Romero is already somebody in the world, and Jake only wants to know how to live in the world. Therein lies the key to the Grail quest which Cohn fails, Romero finds, and Jake understands. Cohn undergoes self-defeat; Romero recovers from the fight and illustrates for Jake discipline, control, and identity; Jake faces self-recognition.

The climax of the Grail quest occurs when Romero defeats Cohn, takes Brett, and, in the final bullfight, presents Brett the bull's ear (the equivalent of the Grail as the matador's sword is equated with the spear). It is Jake, not Brett, who understands and appreciates the significance of this gesture in the pagan ritual. Jake's subsequent purification and acquisition of wisdom through suffering result from his initiation into the "Physical Life" and prepare him for initiation into the "Spiritual Life." Cured of vanity, false romanticism, and vain regrets, Jake can regain his individualism, his unity of being.<sup>182</sup>

<sup>181</sup>Newman, "Hemingway's Grail Quest," 299.

<sup>182</sup>Newman, "Hemingway's Grail Quest," 298-303.

Another motif suggested through allusion is that of the romantic and chivalric hero of Cervantes's Don Quixote. The parallel characters are Cohn as Don Quixote de la Mancha, Brett as Quixote's ladylove Dulcinea, and Jake (as well as other members of the group) as Quixote's down-to-earth squire. The exploits of these characters reveal the eternal conflicts between noble ideal and practical reality, dream and experience, and pure intent and ironic result.

Hemingway's appreciation of Cervantes was recalled by Leicester Hemingway in My Brother, Ernest Hemingway (1962): "'Ernest said there had been some wonderful men in the recent past. These included Cervantes, Cellini, and the Elizabethans.'"<sup>183</sup> Hemingway himself wrote in Death in the Afternoon that he "cared for" Cervantes.<sup>184</sup> As a cub reporter on the Kansas City Star, Hemingway's nickname became Ernest de la Mancha Hemingway.<sup>185</sup> Thus, the influence was early established and long lasting.

Robert O. Stephens identifies the elements which are implicit allusions to Don Quixote. First, there is a quixotic character who suffers from romantic delusions as a result of reading romantic novels. Second, there is a contrast both in actions and conversation between the pompous quixotic character and the practical character who represents Sancho Panza. Third, the idealism and vulnerability of the quixotic character are both respected and protected by the others.<sup>186</sup>

The correspondence between Cohn and Don Quixote is developed in three

<sup>183</sup>Fuchs, "Literary Critic," 432.

<sup>184</sup>Fuchs, "Literary Critic," p. 432.

<sup>185</sup>Baker, Life Story, p. 35.

<sup>186</sup>"Hemingway's Don Quixote in Pamplona," College English, XXIII (December, 1961), 216. Hereafter cited as Stephens, "Don Quixote."

ways. Although there is little biographical information on the other characters, Cohn is the exception. Hemingway carefully establishes the quasi-aristocratic background of Cohn necessary to the allusion. Cohn belongs to both the oldest and the richest Jewish families in New York (p. 4) and has attended a military prep school and Princeton. (p. 4) His actions, whether boxing at Princeton, wearing the Princeton polo shirt, or getting rid of Frances, demonstrate his quasi-aristocratic background.<sup>187</sup>

The second means of clarifying the Don Quixote allusion is Cohn's reliance on books as guidebooks to life. Jake explains the deluding effect of Cohn's reading The Purple Land (p. 9) and notes the negative influence of Menchen. (p. 42) That this influence was outdated becomes clear when Harvey Stone explains, "Oh, nobody reads him now. . . ." (p. 43) Cohn's romantic delusions are emphasized by Mike's condemnation of Cohn as "one of those literary chaps" (p. 144) and by Jake's comment that Cohn "read too much and took to wearing spectacles." (p. 3) However, his sight--attitude, outlook, point-of-view--has become too deluded to be corrected.<sup>188</sup>

The third correspondence between Cohn and Don Quixote results from the first two. He demonstrates the aristocratic tradition and his romantic delusion in his courtly attitude toward women. Jake tells the reader that Cohn failed to leave his first wife "because it would be too cruel to deprive her of himself." (p. 4) Cohn explains that he cannot tell Frances "to go to hell" because "I've got certain obligations to her." (p. 38) Frances recognizes that Cohn wants the romance of having a

<sup>187</sup>Stephens, "Don Quixote," 216.

<sup>188</sup>Stephens, "Don Quixote," 216-217.

mistress and that marriage would spoil the romantic image. (p.51)<sup>189</sup>

The fact that Cohn can only love a woman in an affair is demonstrated in his relationship with both Frances and Brett. Marriage with Frances has become possible; hence, Frances must go. Brett, the lost generation Dulcinea, is unattainable and therefore is desirable.

Cohn's windmills are ladies, and his giants, the romanticizing of them.<sup>190</sup> Brett cannot live up to the ideal image Cohn holds of her. Cohn's affair with Brett rests on this romantic image of her as a lady of title who is "absolutely fine and straight" (p. 38), who has "breeding" (p. 38), and who would not "marry anybody she didn't love." (p. 39)

Cohn still sat at the table. His face had the  
sallow, yellow look it got when he was insulted,  
but somehow he seemed to be enjoying it. The child-  
ish, drunken heroics of it. It was his affair with  
a lady of title.

. . . Cohn stood up and took off his glasses.  
He stood waiting, his face sallow, his hands fairly  
low, proudly and firmly waiting for the assault,  
ready to do battle for his lady love. (p. 178)

At other times Cohn demonstrates his courtly attitude, deluded ideas of love, formality, and devotion to his lady love. (pp. 101, 146, 199) Mike recognizes the delusion when he says that Cohn wants to rescue Brett from Romero and "to make an honest woman of her. . . ." (p. 201)<sup>191</sup>

The more realistic Sancho Panza characters try to deflate the romantic balloons of Don Quixote: Jake corrects Cohn's idealized image of Brett (p. 39), corrects Cohn's definition of a good bar as a place with lots of bottles (p. 11), and negates Cohn's name-dropping appreciation of the Pamplona cathedral with his own sensitive perception. (p. 90) The deflating

<sup>189</sup>Stephens, "Don Quixote," 217.

<sup>190</sup>Fuchs, "Literary Critic," 449-450.

<sup>191</sup>Stephens, "Don Quixote," 217.

exchanges intensify during the bullfight scenes when Bill has to identify the "foreigners" at the bullfight as themselves. (p. 154) The trio of Jake, Bill, and Mike notice that Cohn suffers sickness rather than his anticipated boredom at the bullfight. (pp. 162, 166) The fight with Romero is the final deflating exchange; Romero, who refuses to fight by the rules, defeats Cohn physically and psychologically.<sup>192</sup>

However, although the realistic characters expose Cohn's romantic pose, they each try to protect him from the results of his naivete. They are at various times embarrassed for him or sorry for him. Jake wonders "how people could say such terrible things to Robert Cohn" (p. 49) and why he takes it. (p. 50) Bill states the irony of Cohn's personality by saying, "The funny thing is he's nice, too. I like him. But he's just so awful." (p. 101) After rudely dismissing Cohn so she and Jake can have some privacy, Brett says that she's sick of Cohn, that he depresses her, that he behaved badly, and that he cannot believe that their affair meant nothing to Brett. (p. 181) Both Bill and Jake prevent fights or further insults; Bill takes Cohn away when Mike calls him a steer for hanging around Brett (p. 142); when Mike threatens Cohn and tells him to go away, Jake breaks the tension by taking Mike away from the hotel. (p. 178)<sup>193</sup>

While Cohn becomes disillusioned and defeated, Jake and Brett become more enlightened. Brett gains the moral strength to renounce Romero. Jake gains the insight which enables him to take a clear look at his relationship with Brett. The result of the Don Quixote allusions then is that TSAR represents neither the lost generation nor the spiritually certain; it is, instead,

---

<sup>192</sup>Stephens, "Don Quixote," 217.

<sup>193</sup>Stephens, "Don Quixote," 218.

a representation of the fluctuation between two ways of life and another parallel to the two epigraphs which introduce the book.<sup>194</sup>

Another allusion is the invocation of the archetypal formula of the love triangle of Tristan, Iseult, and King Mark. The allusion finds expression in the common themes of love: one suffers for it, becomes possessed by it to the point of slavery, finds it possible only outside of marriage, and finds sanity possible only if it is separated from man's animal nature.<sup>195</sup>

Both Cohn and Jake enact the archetypal roles of Tristan who loves Iseult (Brett) who belongs to King Mark (Mike). As in the Don Quixote parallel, Cohn plays the role of the medieval chivalric knight but is little concerned with idealism except in terms of love. He loves Brett, someone else's woman, and refuses to see her baser side.

Love is a sickness for the Tristan characters. They become completely dominated by it. After his affair with Brett, Cohn gets down to the business of suffering. Unlike Tristan, Cohn has to compete with numerous King Marks: Jake, her faithful but emasculated lover; Romero, her current lover; and Mike, her official lover and fiance. Cohn plays his role "by the book": he bears ridicule and wears the badge of superiority that suffering has earned him. He is in love with love. He is defeated after his fight with Romero; his defeat results from the fact that the other characters will not play the game "by the book."<sup>196</sup>

<sup>194</sup>Stephens, "Don Quixote," 218.

<sup>195</sup>Robert W. Lewis, Jr., "Tristan or Jacob: The Choice in The Sun Also Rises," Hemingway on Love (Austin, 1965) in Max Westbrook, ed., The Modern American Novel: Essays in Criticism, Studies in Language and Literature (New York, 1966), p. 100. Hereafter cited as Lewis, "Tristan or Jacob."

<sup>196</sup>Lewis, "Tristan or Jacob," pp. 96-99.

The frustrated love of Jake and Brett more exactly fits the Tristan-Iseult pattern. The hopelessness of their love rests on Jake's emasculation, his mixed allegiances, and the abundance of rivals. Tristan voluntarily restricts his physical relationship with Iseult; Jake's wound necessitates a similar restriction. In other ways he plays the role of the suffering Tristan: he accepts the terms of an ironically adulterous love, he submits to its tyranny, he recognizes the claim of Mike. However, Jake finds it hard to accept Cohn in the role of King Mark. Jake's love temporarily submerges but later intensifies his irony and bitterness. The fight with Cohn provides a catharsis for Jake: it results in calmness, cleanliness, and wisdom.<sup>197</sup>

The Biblical frame of reference cannot be overlooked in this search for meaning through allusion. From the ambiguous reference to the Book of Ecclesiastes to the introduction of Jacob Barnes and from the catalogs of churches to the Christian-pagan rites, there runs a vein of Biblical allusion. The quotation from Ecclesiastes sets the tone of the book and establishes the method by which Jacob can attain survival. Like Solomon or Koheleth, the Biblical Preacher, Jacob has become "the worldly wise acceptor of the nature of the human condition."<sup>198</sup> Jacob enacts his role as "a sort of secular preacher."<sup>199</sup>

Robert W. Lewis, Jr., in "Tristan or Jacob: The Choice in TSAR," notes the parallels between the Book of Ecclesiastes and TSAR, remarking that Hemingway must have been familiar with the whole book from which he excerpted a short

<sup>197</sup> Lewis, "Tristan or Jacob," pp. 96-103.

<sup>198</sup> Cochran, "Circularity," 297.

<sup>199</sup> Moore, "Extreme Fiction," 35.

passage as an epigraph. Like the Biblical Preacher, Hemingway and Jacob experience doubts and an awareness of the transience of life and death.<sup>200</sup> Lewis demonstrates the similar attitudes by paraphrasing significant passages from Ecclesiastes: 1) the futility of learning and wisdom in the face of God's mysterious ways (Ecc. 7:16, 8:17, 11:5, 12:12); 2) the inevitability of time and chance in the life of everyone (Ecc. 9:11); 3) the presence of desolation and death even in the presence of prosperity and life (Ecc. 12:1-7); 4) the delight of food and drink (Ecc. 2:3, 2:24-26, 5:18-20, 8:15, 9:7, 10:19); 5) the pleasure of companionship and fellowship (Ecc. 4:9-12); 6) the presence of heart in a wise man and its absence in the attitude of the fool (Ecc. 10:2); 7) the desirability of having a good name and living by a code (Ecc. 7:1); 8) the recommendation to help others (Ecc. 11:1-2); and 9) the discovery of pleasure in life in spite of impermanence and futility (Ecc. 9:4-6). As Lewis notes, the parallels are direct, extended, and consistent between the two texts.<sup>201</sup>

Seen in terms of the "iceberg theory" which Hemingway practiced, the omission of these ideas serves to develop the tone of irony; Hemingway assumes the reader, too, is familiar with the Book of Ecclesiastes. This also accounts for the absence of direct references to "Vanity of vanities" which the lives of Brett, Mike, Cohn, and other members of the Montparnasse crowd represent. As Earl Rovit puts it, TSAR "documents in full, unsparing detail the meaningless and [sic] lives of petty, ephemeral humanity making

<sup>200</sup>Lewis, "Tristan or Jacob," p. 105.

<sup>201</sup>Lewis, "Tristan or Jacob," pp. 105-106.

its small noise of pleasure and sacrifice in the boundless and unheeding auditorium of eternity."<sup>202</sup>

Carlos Baker further clarifies the "Vanity of Vanities" implication by drawing a contrast between the two groups--vanity (the lost generation) and healthy innocence of spirit. Thus, the Brett-Mike-Cohn triangle represents sick, abnormal vanity while the Jake-Brett-Romero triangle represents the moral norm of the book.<sup>203</sup> The former crowd carries its neuroses and vanity from the Montparnasse cafes to Pamplona, but the latter group carries the message of the novel--the earth abides forever. Thus, throughout the novel there runs a subtle current of contrasts--vanity versus sanity, pagan versus Christian, health and humor in Burguete versus the sickness and emptiness of Montparnasse--which develop the novel as a "qualitative study of varying degrees of physical and spiritual manhood, projected against a background of ennui and emotional exhaustion which is everywhere implicitly condemned."<sup>204</sup>

Worldly wisdom characterized by skepticism, alienation from but not abandonment of their faiths, and a hopeful and continued, if insincere, practice of religious rituals are significant parallels between Jake and the Preacher.<sup>205</sup> Thus, the book focuses on Jake's search for a renewed faith. From Jake's first comment that the Catholic Church had good advice which was hard to follow (p. 31) through his catalogs of churches, including Notre Dame in Paris (p. 77), the cathedral in Bayonne (p. 90), churches

<sup>202</sup>Earl Rovit, Ernest Hemingway, Twayne's United States Authors Series, 41 (New York, 1963), p. 161. Hereafter cited as Rovit, Ernest Hemingway.

<sup>203</sup>Baker, Writer as Artist, pp. 82-83.

<sup>204</sup>Baker, Writer as Artist, p. 93.

<sup>205</sup>Lewis, "Tristan or Jacob," pp. 106-107.

in Spain, especially in Pamplona, city of churches in Spain, (pp. 93-94), and the monastery at Roncevalles (p. 108), the site of the battles between the Crusaders and the Saracens in which Roland was killed,<sup>206</sup> the reader becomes aware that churches represent a significant part of Jake's quest; they are visual reminders of his lost religion and values and his quest for those things.<sup>207</sup>

Jake notes the steel engraving of Nuestra Señora de Roncevalles in the Burguete inn (p. 109), visits the monastery with Bill and Wilson-Harris (p. 128), and upon returning to Pamplona, goes to church quite often. Although he is ashamed of being a "rotten Catholic" (p. 97) and admits to Bill that he is only "technically" a Catholic (p. 124), Jake is the only character who is even technically religious. In the uneasy atmosphere of Pamplona he seeks the peace and simplicity he remembers in the church. He often goes alone before the fiesta starts (p. 150) and attends the morning mass the day the fiesta begins. (pp. 152-153) At other times he is accompanied by Brett, whose motive is curiosity (pp. 150-151), who is turned away for not wearing a hat (p. 155), and who gets "damned nervous" and is "damned bad for a religious atmosphere." (p. 208) Hemingway needs to make no further comment on the contrast. Although Jake jokes about praying, he admits that it sometimes works for him (p. 209), that he is "pretty religious" (p. 209), and that some people do have God. (p. 245)<sup>208</sup>

---

<sup>206</sup>The Reader's Companion to World Literature, ed. Lillian Herlands Hornstein et al. (New York, 1956), p. 419.

<sup>207</sup>John S. Rouch, "Jake Barnes as Narrator," Modern Fiction Studies XI (Winter, 1965-1966), 367.

<sup>208</sup>Lewis, "Tristan or Jacob," pp. 107-108.

Another aspect of Biblical allusions is brought to light by Brett who says, "You've a hell of a Biblical name, Jake." (p. 22) The reference to "Jacob" has various implications in the text. "Jacob" was the father of the founders of the twelve Hebrew tribes (Genesis 28:13-14); Jake is emasculated, unable to consummate even his intense desire for Brett. "Jacob" served seven years for Rachel, who was barren (Genesis 29:18, 31); Jake has served about the same period for Brett, who is a nymphomaniac and, in spite of numerous affairs, is apparently barren. Like "Jacob," Jake wrestles until daybreak with an angel that is a demon (Genesis 32:24); but "unlike his namesake, the 'blessing' that will reward his powers to endure will merely insure the prolongation of the struggle."<sup>209</sup> In TSAR Jake learns to cope, to exist, "to accept the absurd meaninglessness of his fate and somehow wrest some meaning from it."<sup>210</sup> Another parallel to Jacob's life was the cycle of sin and suffering, repentance, and exultation,<sup>211</sup> which is not completed in TSAR but which is anticipated.

The ritual of bathing assumes the significance of baptism through the medium of repetition. Several times Brett leaves Jake or the group to bathe. (pp. 74, 83, 144, 159) Cohn is overly fastidious about bathing after his affair with Brett. (pp. 81, 96, 97) However, it is through Jake that the religious implication becomes clear. During his escape to San Sebastian he renews and refreshes himself in the sea. Bathing or swimming becomes equated with baptism, rebirth, ritual; it is the means by

<sup>209</sup>Rovit, Ernest Hemingway, p. 149.

<sup>210</sup>Rovit, Ernest Hemingway, pp. 148-149.

<sup>211</sup>Lewis, "Tristan or Jacob," p. 106.

which one cleans and purifies himself. After being renewed by the sea, Jake is prepared to help those who lack even his tentative faith, in his role as priest and steer for his friends.<sup>212</sup>

The importance of rituals in the lives of the characters has been firmly established. Recognizable patterns are ritualized pleasures (eating, drinking, fishing, traveling), ritualized love (sexual intercourse), ritualized goodness and dignity (manly forbearance), and ritualized bravery and honor (bullfighting).<sup>213</sup> These secular rituals provide the necessary framework for the religious ritual of baptism and the pagan-Christian ritual represented by the bullfight. Thus, the bullfight is the "crucial part of the novel's design and meaning" and "serves as both a contrasting design and a challenge to the behavior of Jake's friends."<sup>214</sup>

The bullfight has the elements of a pre-Christian mystery play; the protagonist is a superhuman priest who conducts the sacramental drama. The play is divided into three conventional acts: trial, sentence, execution.<sup>215</sup> Hemingway describes the bullfight in terms of these divisions in Death in the Afternoon.<sup>216</sup> Jake's quest duplicates this three-step pattern. "Book I is the 'trial of the lances,' in which Jake is painfully 'pic-ed' by the barbs of his unresignable desire for a free expression of his natural wants; Book II, the act of the bandilleras at

<sup>212</sup>Lewis, "Tristan or Jacob," pp. 108-109.

<sup>213</sup>John W. Aldridge, In Search of Heresy: American Literature in an Age of Conformity (New York, 1956), pp. 153, 158.

<sup>214</sup>Frederich J. Hoffman, The Modern Novel in America: 1900-1950, Twentieth-Century Literature in America (Chicago, 1951), p. 96.

<sup>215</sup>Atkins, The Art, p. 172.

<sup>216</sup>pp. 96-97, 98.

Pamplona, goads him beyond endurance into jealousy and self-betrayal; and Book III, the final division of death, is the brave administering of quietus to that part of his life desire which he must learn to live without if he is to live at all."<sup>217</sup>

Other aspects of this pagan ritual connote a religious frame of reference. The required novitiate which the bullfighter must serve, the "monastic partition" (p. 163) between the two beds in Romero's room, and the danger of corruption by women--all suggest the priestlike role of the bullfighter. The trinities are a recurring pattern--the triple mule team, the bullfighters, the divisions of the bullfight, and the assignment of three bulls per bullfighter in the afternoon. The Crucifixion is enacted in the three stages of lancing, placing the darts, and killing in the bullfight.<sup>218</sup>

Those who have afición, meaning passion, belong to a special fellowship involving "a sort of oral spiritual examination" which concludes with a laying on of hands. (p. 132) Afición is the equivalent of faith in Christian ideology and earns those who have it a special forgiveness for any sin except that of betrayal of the faith.<sup>219</sup> Jake experiences this fellowship and is forgiven his friends by Montoya, who also underscores Jake's unpardonable sin of betrayal. Like a priest, Jake is a celibate; he is the initiate who explains the ritual to the uninitiated; he is the protector of his flock.<sup>220</sup>

---

<sup>217</sup>Rovit, Ernest Hemingway, p. 158.

<sup>218</sup>Lewis, "Tristan or Jacob," p. 109.

<sup>219</sup>Lewis, "Tristan or Jacob," p. 110.

<sup>220</sup>Lewis, "Tristan or Jacob," p. 110.

The bullfight as a carryover of ancient animal sacrifices appears in an ironical contrast to the religious Festival of San Fermin. Just as the bullfight has a pagan-Christian contrast within itself, so has the Festival of San Fermin. The latter celebration involves elements of pagan seasonal or fertility festivals--dancing, drinking, music, garlic.<sup>221</sup> Brett is acknowledged as a pagan goddess by the riau-riau dancers who desert the religious procession and select Brett as an image to dance around, a rival of Saint Fermin.<sup>222</sup> Further developing the pagan parallel, Brett is interested in fortune-telling, going to have her fortune told in Pamplona (p. 151) and reading Romero's palm (p. 185) like Madame Sosostriis of The Waste Land or some other enchantress. The original purpose of the Tarot cards was to predict "the rise and fall of waters which brought fertility to the land."<sup>223</sup> This pagan ritual gives new meaning to Brett's frequent bathing. Her exclusion from the church also emphasizes her pagan affinities. Cohn recognizes the pagan role Brett plays, calling her Circe who turns men into swine. Brett's own admission of feeling like a bitch acknowledges a similar quality.<sup>224</sup> Brett's role as a pagan goddess breaks for a time the meaningful cycle of the bullfight ritual. However, neither Jake's betrayal nor Brett's indifference alters the significance of that ritual. It retains its significance as the most meaningful and purest ritual in Jake's life.

<sup>221</sup>Richard P. Adams, "Sunrise Out of the Wasteland," Tulane Studies in English, IX (1959), 128. Hereafter cited as Adams, "Sunrise."

<sup>222</sup>Leslie A. Fiedler, "Men Without Women," Love and Death in the American Novel (New York, 1959) in Robert P. Weeks, ed., Hemingway: A Collection of Critical Essays, Twentieth Century Views (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1962), p.89.

<sup>223</sup>Adams, "Sunrise," 127.

<sup>224</sup>Adams, "Sunrise," 127.

A final means of establishing meaning in the novel is the game of poker-dice, played by groups of two to five people, usually in a restaurant or bar to decide who pays the check. The game involves five dice, each of which is marked as ace, king, queen, jack, and ten, and nine on its six faces. The goal is to roll a high poker hand.<sup>225</sup> Bill, Mike, and Jake play the game after the fiesta is over. (p. 229) Bill rolls a perfect hand: a queen, three kings, and an ace. The dice identify the roles of the major characters in the novel. Brett is the queen, aware of her power over others in the group. The three kings are Jake, Bill, and Mike--three of a kind. They are members of the code group, differing only in the degree of their injuries and perception. The ace, which can be either the highest or the lowest card, is Cohn. The ironic ambiguity of Cohn's role is thereby emphasized.<sup>226</sup> On the other hand, the ace could be Romero, the only character who finds life meaningful. The poker-dice game, like Brett's fortune-telling, is another means of stressing the irony of fate.

Through these allusions Hemingway builds an intricate and interwoven support for the surface simplicity of the meaning in TSAR. The echoes of past and contemporary frames of reference titillate the imagination; the underlying sense of the futility of life, the desire for knowledge, the search for faith, the agony of pain, the passion for belonging, the chaos of fate, the cycle of life and death are felt. Only Jake seems to grow toward a greater perception of himself, his role, and his fate among the echoes of other searches for perception and meaning.

---

<sup>225</sup> Albert H. Morehead and Geoffrey Mott-Smith, Hoyle's Rules of Games, rev. ed. (New York, 1958), pp. 227-228.

<sup>226</sup> Goldhurst, Fitzgerald, p. 179.

Thus, through allusion Hemingway has created in TSAR a cryptic language which illustrates the iceberg theory in practice. This cryptic language includes direct and indirect allusions which are topical, personal, imitative, literary, and structural. The allusions are so artistically integrated into the context that they defy categorization. This study has approached allusions in terms of the basic elements of fiction: aim, tone, structure, characterization, setting, and meaning. Even so, certain repetitions were inevitable.

Adhering firmly to his literary aim as expressed in the iceberg theory, Hemingway consciously avoided ostentatious flaunting of learned allusions, while recognizing its value as a literary technique. The direct, explicit allusions serve as a means to contrast two extreme viewpoints about the subject of the novel (the Stein and Ecclesiastes epigraphs), to illustrate irony (France's "Irony and Pity" and Jake's biblical name), to expose falseness of character (Cohn's denunciation of Brett as Circe), and to expose scorn for false intellectualism (New Yorker's adoption of the words "Irony and Pity" and their definition of an expatriate). He usually chose an indirect method of allusion, blending the technique into the other elements by means of dialog, narration, and description. The implicit, indirect allusions serve to include the reader as "one of us," to show "the way it was," to differentiate between the initiates and the uninitiated, to create a world and its people so truthfully that it would last.

Thus, the study of allusions is a rewarding method of explicating The Sun Also Rises. Allusions are closely related to the Hemingway style, as explained in the iceberg theory, and are the means by which he clarifies

his tone of irony and pity. Allusions show that rather than being meaningless and chaotic, the structure of The Sun Also Rises is carefully drawn to underscore the meaning of the novel. The confusion results from seeing only one structure, whereas there are three, interrelated structures, each of which adds a different shade of meaning. Rather than creating flat or round characters, Hemingway creates real people in The Sun Also Rises, who act, talk, think, suffer, and learn as real people do. The setting provides the cultural, geographical, political, artistic, and personal frame-work for the characters and action and is another means of developing the meaning of the novel. By suggesting through allusions parallels to past quests for meaning, Hemingway gives the dimensions of timelessness and universality to what might otherwise be viewed as just one man's quest for meaning during the post-World War I years in Paris in the 1920's; man can abide although he suffers while doing so, but abiding is something in an otherwise empty world. To his world Hemingway brought his own brand of simplicity, paradoxical but honest in its relation to his literary aims. For this quality Hemingway gained international respect and fame.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Richard P. "Sunrise Out of the Wasteland," Tulane Studies in English, IX (1959), 119-131.
- Aldridge, John W. In Search of Heresy: American Literature in an Age of Conformity. New York, 1956.
- American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, The, ed. William Morris. New York, 1969.
- Anderson, Charles R. "Hemingway's Other Style," Modern Language Notes, LXXVI (May, 1961), 434-442. Reprinted in Ernest Hemingway: Critiques of Four Major Novels, ed. Carlos Baker. Scribner Research Anthologies. New York, 1962, pp. 41-46.
- Appel, Frederick C. "Just Slip This into Her Drink," Playboy, VII (August, 1970), 84.
- Atkins, John. The Art of Ernest Hemingway: His Work and Personality. New York, 1953.
- Baker, Carlos. Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story. New York, 1969.
- Baker, Carlos. Hemingway: The Writer as Artist. 3rd ed. Princeton, 1963.
- Baker, Carlos, ed. Ernest Hemingway: Critiques of Four Major Novels. Scribner Research Anthologies. New York, 1962.
- Baker, Carlos, ed. Hemingway and His Critics: An International Anthology. American Century Series, 36. New York, 1961.
- Beach, Joseph Warren. American Fiction: 1920-1940. New York, 1941.
- Beach, Joseph Warren. The Twentieth-Century Novel: Studies in Technique. New York, 1932.
- Beaver, Joseph. "Technique in Hemingway," College English, XIV (March, 1953), 325-328.
- Cardi, John. "Manner of Speaking: The Language of an Age," Sewanee Review, XLIV (July 29, 1961), 32.
- Carr, Raymond. "Miguel Primo de Rivera Y Orbaneja, Marques de Estella," Collier's Encyclopedia (1963), XX, 100.
- Carter, Everett. "The 'Little Myth' of Robert Penn Warren," Modern Fiction Studies, VI (Spring, 1960), 3-12.

- Chase, Cleveland B. "Out of Little, Much: The Sun Also Rises," Saturday Review of Literature, III (December 11, 1926), 420-421.
- Cochran, Robert W. "Circularity in The Sun Also Rises," Modern Fiction Studies, XIV (Autumn, 1968), 297-305.
- Cowley, Malcolm. "Nightmare and Ritual in Hemingway," The Introduction to The Portable Hemingway, ed. Malcolm Cowley. New York, 1945. Reprinted in Hemingway: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Robert P. Weeks. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1962, pp. 40-51.
- Dodd, Lee Wilson. "Simple Annals of the Callous," Saturday Review of Literature, IV (November 19, 1927), 322-323.
- Doren, Carl Van. Century Magazine, CX (January 25, 1925), 419. Quoted in Daniel Fuchs, "Ernest Hemingway: Literary Critic," American Literature, XXXVI (January, 1965), 444.
- Duffy, Patrick Gavin. The Bartender's Guide. rev. ed. New York, 1970, pp. 201-202, 206.
- Eliot, T. S. "The Waste Land," Modern American Poetry and Modern British Poetry. rev. comb. ed., ed. Louis Untermeyer. New York, 1962, pp. 383, 385.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo. "The American Scholar," Major Writers of America. ed. Perry Miller et al. I. New York, 1962, 504.
- Farquhar, Robin H. "Dramatic Structure in the Novels of Ernest Hemingway," Modern Fiction Studies, XIV (August, 1968), 271-282.
- Fiedler, Leslie A. "Men without Women," Love and Death in the American Novel. New York, 1959. Reprinted in Hemingway: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Robert P. Weeks. Twentieth Century Views. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1962, pp. 86-92.
- France, Anatole. The Garden of Epicurus, trans. Alfred Allison. New York, 1923, p. 112. Quoted in Daniel Fuchs, "Ernest Hemingway: Literary Critic," American Literature, XXXVI (January, 1965), 446.
- Fuchs, Daniel. "Ernest Hemingway: Literary Critic," American Literature, XXXVI (January, 1965), 431-451.
- Funk & Wagnall's Standard College Dictionary. New York, 1968.
- Ganzel, Dewey. "Cabestro and Vaquilla: The Symbolic Structure of The Sun Also Rises," Sewanee Review, LXXVI (Winter, 1968), 26-48.
- Gifford, William. "Ernest Hemingway: The Monsters and the Critics," Modern Fiction Studies, XIV (Autumn, 1968), 255-270.
- Goldhurst, William. F. Scott Fitzgerald and His Contemporaries. Cleveland, 1963.

- Graham, John. "Ernest Hemingway: The Meaning of Style," Modern Fiction Studies, VI (Winter, 1960-1961), 298-313.
- Grebstein, Sheldon. "Reply to Otto Freidrich, 'Ernest Hemingway: Joy Through Strength,'" American Scholar, XXVII (Spring, 1958), 230.
- Gurko, Leo. "The Achievement of Ernest Hemingway," College English, XIII (April, 1952), 368-375.
- Halliday, E. M. "Hemingway's Ambiguity: Symbolism and Irony," American Literature, XXVIII (March, 1956), 1-12. Reprinted in Ernest Hemingway: Critiques of Four Major Novels, ed. Carlos Baker. Scribner Research Anthologies. New York, 1962, pp. 61-74.
- Hemingway, Ernest. "Conrad, Optimist and Moralist," Transatlantic Review [sic], II (October, 1924), 341-342. Reprinted in By-Line: Ernest Hemingway, ed. William White. New York, 1967, pp. 114-115.
- Hemingway, Ernest. Death in the Afternoon. New York, 1932.
- Hemingway, Ernest. A Farewell to Arms. The Scribner Library. New York, 1929, pp. 184-185.
- Hemingway, Ernest. "The Friend of Spain: A Spanish Letter," Esquire, I (January, 1934), 26, 136. Reprinted in By-Line: Ernest Hemingway, ed. William White. New York, 1967, pp. 125-131.
- Hemingway, Ernest. "Lots of War Medals for Sale But Nobody Will Buy Them," Toronto Star Weekly, December 8, 1923, p. 21. Reprinted in By-Line: Ernest Hemingway, ed. William White. New York, 1967, pp. 104-107.
- Hemingway, Ernest. A Moveable Feast. New York, 1964.
- Hemingway, Ernest. "Old Newsman Writes: A Letter from Cuba," Esquire, II (December, 1934), 25-26. Reprinted in By-Line: Ernest Hemingway, ed. William White. New York, 1967, pp. 155-160.
- Hemingway, Ernest. "So This is Chicago," Toronto Star Weekly, January 19, 1924, p. 19. Quoted in Robert O. Stephens, Hemingway's Nonfiction: The Public Voice. Chapel Hill, 1967, p. 156.
- Hemingway, Ernest. The Sun Also Rises. The Scribner Library. New York, 1954.
- Hemingway, Leicester. My Brother, Ernest Hemingway. Cleveland, 1962, Quoted in Daniel Fuchs, "Ernest Hemingway: Literary Critic," American Literature, XXXVI (January, 1965), 432.
- Hoffman, Frederick John. The Modern Novel in America: 1900-1950. Chicago, 1951.
- Hoffman, Frederick John. The Twenties: American Writing in the Postwar Decade. New York, 1955.

- Knoll, Robert E., ed. McAlmon and the Lost Generation: A Self-Portrait. Lincoln, 1962.
- Kobler, J. F. "Confused Chronology in The Sun Also Rises," Modern Fiction Studies, XIII (Winter, 1967-1968), 517-520.
- Lair, Robert L. "Hemingway and Cezanne: An Indebtedness," Modern Fiction Studies, VI (Summer, 1960), 165-168.
- Lewis, Robert W., Jr. "Tristan or Jacob: The Choice in The Sun Also Rises," Hemingway on Love. Austin, 1965. Reprinted in The Modern American Novel: Essays in Criticism, ed. Max Westbrook. Studies in Language and Literature. New York, 1966, pp. 93-113.
- Loeb, Harold. The Way It Was. New York, 1959.
- Marlowe, Christopher. "The Jew of Malta," The Complete Plays of Christopher Marlowe, ed. Irving Ribner. New York, 1963, p. 217.
- Marvell, Andrew. "To His Coy Mistress," The Literature of England, I, 4th ed., ed. George Woods et al. Chicago, 1958, p. 673.
- Maurois, Andre. "Ernest Hemingway," Revue de Paris, XLII (March, 1955), 3-16. Reprinted in Hemingway and His Critics: An International Anthology, ed. Carlos Baker. American Century Series. New York, 1961, pp. 38-54.
- McCaffery, John K. M. "Introduction," Ernest Hemingway: The Man and His Works, ed. John K. M. McCaffery. New York, 1950, pp. 7-12.
- McCaffery, John K. M., ed. Ernest Hemingway: The Man and His Works. New York, 1950.
- Mizener, Authur. Twelve Great American Novels. New York, 1967.
- Moore, Geoffrey. "The Sun Also Rises: Notes toward an Extreme Fiction," Review of English Literature, IV (October, 1963), 31-46.
- Morehead, Albert H., and Geoffrey Mott-Smith. Hoyle's Rules of Games. rev. ed. New York, 1958, pp. 227-228.
- Morris, Lawrence S. "Warfare in Man and among Men," New Republic, XLIX (December 22, 1926), 142-143.
- Newman, Paul B. "Hemingway's Grail Quest," University of Kansas City Review, XXVIII (Summer, 1962), 295-303.
- Noble, Ransom E., Jr. "William Jennings Bryan," Collier's Encyclopedia (1963), IV, 640.
- Plimpton, George. "An Interview with Ernest Hemingway," The Paris Review, XVIII (Spring, 1958). Reprinted in Hemingway and His Critics: An International Anthology, ed. Carlos Baker. American Century Series. New York, 1961, pp. 19-37.

- Preminger, Alex, ed. Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics. Princeton, 1965.
- Putnam, Samuel. Paris Was Our Mistress. New York, 1947. Quoted in Carlos Baker, Hemingway: The Writer as Artist. 3rd ed. Princeton, 1963, pp. 128-129.
- Reader's Guide to World Literature, The, ed. Lillian Herlands Hornstein et al. New York, 1956, p. 419.
- Rouch, John S. "Jake Barnes as Narrator," Modern Fiction Studies, XI (Winter, 1965-1966), 361-370.
- Rovit, Earl. Ernest Hemingway. Twayne's United States Authors Series, 41. New York, 1963.
- Rubin, Louis D., Jr. "The Self Recaptured," Kenyon Review, XXV (Summer, 1963), 410-413.
- Simmons, Matty. The New Diner's Club Drink Book. rev. ed. New York, 1968, pp. 30, 143, 165, 258, 265, 267.
- Spilka, Mark. "The Death of Love in The Sun Also Rises," Hemingway and His Critics: An International Anthology, ed. Carlos Baker. American Century Series. New York, 1961, pp. 80-92.
- Stanton, Robert. An Introduction to Fiction. New York, 1965, pp. 65-66.
- Stephens, Robert O. "Ernest Hemingway and the Rhetoric of Escape," The Twenties: Poetry and Prose: Twenty Critical Essays, ed. Richard E. Langford and William E. Taylor. Deland, Fla., 1966, pp. 82-86.
- Stephens, Robert O. "Hemingway's Don Quixote in Pamplona," College English, XXIII (December, 1961), 216-218.
- Stephens, Robert O. Hemingway's Nonfiction: The Public Voice. Chapel Hill, 1967.
- Stephens, Robert O., and James Ellis, "Hemingway, Fitzgerald and the Riddle of 'Henry's Bicycle,'" English Language Notes, V (September, 1967), 46-49.
- "Suzanne Lenglen," Webster's Biographical Dictionary. 1st ed. Springfield, Mass., 1960, p. 883.
- Turkin, Hy, and S. C. Thompson. The Official Encyclopedia of Baseball. 2nd rev. ed. New York, 1959, p. 156.
- "Wayne Bidwell Wheeler," Webster's Biographical Dictionary. 1st ed. Springfield, Mass., 1960, p. 1564.
- Westbrook, Max, ed. The Modern American Novel: Essays in Criticism. Studies in Language and Literature. New York, 1966.

Weeks, Robert P., ed. Hemingway: A Collection of Critical Essays.  
Twentieth Century Views. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1962.

White, William, ed. By-Line: Ernest Hemingway. New York, 1967.

Whitelaw, W. Menzies, and A. Paul Levack, "Northern Ireland," Collier's Encyclopedia (1963), XIII, 261.

Young, Philip. Ernest Hemingway. University of Minnesota Pamphlets on America, No. 1. Minneapolis, 1959.

Young, Philip. "The Sun Also Rises: A Commentary," Ernest Hemingway: Critiques of Four Major Novels. Scribner Research Anthologies. New York, 1962, pp. 7-10.