

A SIMPLE EXCHANGE OF VALUES: MONEY IN *THE SUN ALSO RISES*

A Thesis
by
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Submitted to the Graduate School
at Appalachian State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

December 2016
Department of English

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Abstract

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Throughout *The Sun Also Rises*, money is a central metaphor. Although scholars have paid a great deal of attention to money in the novel, they have largely failed to move beyond its explicit mentions to examine economics more broadly or to analyze money outside the context of the Hemingway ‘code.’ In this essay, I argue that the characters’ use of money classifies them socially in terms of gender, titles, and religion, and that these social classifications form their own economies beyond explicit monetary exchange. Additionally, I argue that money positions the expatriates culturally, since the majority of their interactions with French and Spanish nationals are mediated by money and since characters such as Jake Barnes even evaluate France and Spain in terms of the function of money in those countries. Together, these modes of analysis expand the critical conversation surrounding money in *The Sun Also Rises* to incorporate new perspectives and to move beyond simplistic readings of a central metaphor in a novel, which so rarely provides simple answers.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my special appreciation to Dr. Carl Eby for his tremendous support and flexibility throughout this project. Without his immense knowledge of Hemingway's life and works this project would have been impossible. You have continually challenged my thinking and writing throughout my academic career and have served as an excellent mentor. Additionally, I would like to thank my committee members Dr. Başak Çandar and Dr. Germán Campos-Muñoz for supporting me through this process and for introducing me to many of the theories that function in the background of my analysis. Your willingness to adapt to the changing goals and timelines of this project has been nothing short of heroic, and your support and guidance have helped me navigate a daunting semester.

I want to express my gratitude to my family for their emotional support through a busy period. Your consistency and willingness to be understanding about my busy schedule have relieved a great deal of pressure. Finally, I want to thank my lovely fiancé for always being there to give advice or to provide emotional support regardless of my mood or the hour.

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List of Abbreviations

CSS *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway*

SAR *The Sun Also Rises*

Foreword

Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 of this thesis will be submitted to *The Hemingway Review*, an international peer-reviewed journal owned and published by The Hemingway Society; it has been formatted according to the style guide for that journal.

Introduction:

“A Simple Exchange of Values”: Money in *The Sun Also Rises*

Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity. What *profit* hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun? One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth forever ... The sun also ariseth. – Ecclesiastes

Money, from the opening prologue to the novel’s last pages, plays a central role in *The Sun Also Rises*. Hemingway uses money to characterize Robert Cohn as “a member ... of one of the richest Jewish families in New York,” Brett Ashley as “too expensive,” Mike Campbell as a bankrupt, and Bill Gorton as a gambler (SAR 4 and 273). Money lubricates the otherwise potentially problematic relationships between the expatriates and the Spanish and especially the French nationals—who, as Jake describes it, will “like you,” if you only “spend a little money” (188). Money defines the social classes of Count Mippipopulous, who jokes that his title “never does [him] any good. Most of the time it costs you money,” the peasants in Pamplona, who buy their wine in the outlying wine shops to “get [their] money’s worth,” and of the expatriates who fall somewhere between the two categories, though admittedly much closer to the Count’s class than that of the peasants (47; 119). Money buys relationships with women, including buying Jake’s companionship with *poules* such as Georgette, buying Mike Campbell’s ability to marry Brett, and paying off Robert Cohn’s guilt when he jilts Frances Cline. Money allows Jake to bet on whether Georgette will ask for him or at the end of an evening in the *bal musette* or leave with another gentleman, and it enables him to bail Harvey Stone out of his gambling debts. Money is both Bill’s reason for

attending a prizefight in Vienna and the source of “injustice everywhere” for the prizefighter himself (59). Money facilitates the expatriates gambling on cards, drinks, dice, trains, and anything else except war and bullfighting.

Beyond these more traditional roles of money throughout *The Sun Also Rises*, perhaps its most peculiar is in its tie to religion and philosophy in a novel that seems to be so self-consciously anti-religious and amoral. Jake literally prays for money. After entering an unidentified Cathedral on the day before he and Bill depart to fish in Burguete, he notes the beauty of the cathedral and the lingering smell of incense, before thinking, “I wondered if there was anything else I might pray for and I thought I would like to have some money, so I prayed that I would make a lot of money, and then I started to think how I would make it” (78).¹ Besides praying for money, Jake only mentions praying for people that he cares about—“Brett and Mike and Bill and Robert Cohn and [himself], and all the bull-fighters, separately for the ones [he] liked”—which makes the inclusion of his praying for money even more peculiar (78). In this context, Jake seems to elevate money to equal footing with his closest relationships and with his problematic religion. Even more significantly, one of the only monologues in the novel and the only explicit mention of philosophy centers on payment, reciprocation, and “getting your money’s worth.” After thinking about his inability to be with Brett sexually and the impossibility of their romance or even friendship, Jake reflects on his position:

¹ The Cathedral that Jake enters is most likely Iglesia de San Saturnino based on his locale. Immediately preceding his scene in the unidentified Cathedral, he picks up his bullfighting tickets at the Ayutameinto, and says he “At the end of the street I saw a Cathedral” (78). The only Cathedral on that street in Pamplona that he could possibly see from the Ayutameinto is Iglesia de San Saturnino.

I had been getting something for nothing. That only delayed the presentation of the bill. The bill always came. That was one of the swell things you could count on. I thought I had paid for everything. Not like the woman pays and pays and pays. No idea of retribution or punishment. Just exchange of values. You gave up something and got something else. Or you worked for something. You paid some way for everything that was any good. I paid my way into enough things that I liked, so that I had a good time. Either you paid by learning about them, or by experience, or by taking chances, or by money. Enjoying living was learning to get your money's worth and knowing when you had it. You could get your money's worth. The world was a good place to buy in. It seemed like a fine philosophy. In five years, I thought, it will seem just as silly as all the other fine philosophies I've had. (119)

Defying the stylistic mode of the rest of the novel by explicitly outlining his moral philosophy, Jake's monologue also serves as perhaps the most important mention of the role of money in *The Sun Also Rises*. Although money, morality, and the Hemingway 'code' are obviously intertwined throughout the novel—as noted by critics such as Scott Donaldson in 1971, George Cheatham in 1992, and Michael Leland in 2004—the role of economics in *The Sun Also Rises* extends beyond considerations of morality into identity formation in terms of social positioning and cultural positioning.²

² The Hemingway 'code' is a conception of a particular set of behaviors and attitudes, which determine correct action for the characters in the story. The characters that most successfully abide by this code serve as "Hemingway code heroes." For many years these notions were a staple of Hemingway scholarship—especially early scholarship—though they have since fallen out of vogue and proven largely to be overly simplistic. The Hemingway code was first observed and adequately defined by Delmore Schwartz. See Schwartz's review of *The Sun Also Rises* in *The Southern Review*.

What emerges, finally, through the collective consideration of these complex, seemingly contradictory, and nearly ubiquitous inclusions of money and economics throughout *The Sun Also Rises* is a rich set of questions, which deserve more formal consideration. Of course, I am not the first to notice the significance of money and economics in this novel. Scholars, as early as 1936, but beginning seriously in the 1960's, have considered the issue of money in *The Sun Also Rises* and have engaged in a rich critical conversation to better illuminate the complexity of money's role in the novel. In this study I seek to situate my own argument in this same critical conversation in order to further develop the critical consideration of this crucial question. To that end, it is useful to begin with a broad overview of scholarship on the role of economics in *The Sun Also Rises*.

Although a great deal has been written on money in *The Sun Also Rises* by a multitude of scholars over a span of eighty years, the vast majority of this scholarship follows certain dominant patterns. First, scholars on money in *The Sun Also Rises* have been obsessed by the question of the morality of the novel, as well as that of the novel's author and its narrator. Numerous scholars have asserted that money, and the ways in which the characters spend it, earn it, and save it, functions as a precise metaphor and useful benchmark for characters' morality. In variations of this argument, especially throughout the 1970s, critics often suggest that money and its proper expenditure serves as a methodology for character development in the novel. Almost equally prevalent to scholars' attention to morality, however, is scholars' attention to uncovering the 'code'—in the sense of the Hemingway Code Hero—of the novel. The failure to abide by the Hemingway 'code' marks characters as tourists, who are morally irresponsible, but also, and perhaps more importantly, broadly

ineffectual. Finally, with few exceptions, scholars have tended to focus exclusively on the explicit mentions of money in the novel, rather than acknowledging the importance of the model of economic exchange to all of the relationships therein. Despite these broad trends, many scholars have made significant contributions to a rich a complex conversation that deserves a closer look.

The first scholar to observe Jake's affinity for "things [that] have a value that can be expressed and paid for in paper money" was John Peale Bishop in his 1936 essay, "Homage to Hemingway," though he did very little to expound on that observation (200). But it wasn't until 1969 that scholars began to seriously investigate, rather than only to observe the role of money in *The Sun Also Rises*. Claire Sprague, in her essay "*The Sun Also Rises*: Its 'Clear Financial Basis'" analyzes money's various roles in the novel in broad strokes and calls attention to some of the issues that later scholars develop more fully. Sprague supports her thesis—that "Hemingway's symbolic language of payment is ... based on literal payment ... [and] becomes a subtle index to character, an additional means of moral measure"—by cataloguing money's impact on both the structure of and characterization within the novel (259). Sprague establishes the centrality of money in *The Sun Also Rises* primarily by contrasting its function across the three books of the novel. In Book 1, Sprague argues that money functions mainly as a tool for characterization. She notes the division between Cohn, Mike, and Brett, all of whom rely on others for their money versus Jake, Bill, and Romero, who are self-sufficient, and suggests that this division is moral as well as financial. Sprague argues that, taken collectively, these characterizations expose the moral 'code' of the novel, which, according to Sprague, is most clearly exemplified in what she calls "Jake's midnight

soliloquy:” the passage quoted above in which he notes his philosophy that “You gave up something and got something else ... You paid in some way for everything that was any good” (Sprague 260; *SAR* 119).

Based on this characterization as well as Jake’s delineation of the novel’s ‘code’—that pleasure requires payment—in his midnight soliloquy, Sprague suggests that Book 2 of the novel represents a suspension of value and payment, while Book 3 reinstates these elements. According to Sprague, in both Burguete during Bill and Jake’s fishing trip and Pamplona during San Fermin—though for very different reasons in each location—money and values more broadly lose their value, highlighting the tie between money and morality. In Burguete, money loses its value because of the “innocence” and “pastoral environment” in which there are no consequences (263). In Pamplona, on the other hand, the suspension of value is the result of “the suspension of standards of behavior” (263). This second instance of suspended values, Sprague argues, results in the payments that are emphasized in Book 3. Sprague notes the emphasis on payment with regard to Mike, Bill, and Jake betting on drinks, Jake paying for taxis, and Romero paying for Brett’s room, among other instances in order to highlight that the characters *do*, in fact, “pay for all the things [they] do” (*SAR* 22). Money, therefore, provides the vehicle through which the moral ‘code’ of *The Sun Also Rises*, which Sprague so often cites, is manifested: that, in order to be morally sound, you must work for what you get.

In spite of her critical insights into the relationship between money and morality in the novel, Sprague’s essay has a number of shortcomings, the most profound being her lack of specificity. This vagueness especially manifests in her assessment of Jake’s impotence.

Sprague rightly assesses the breakdown of Jake's "theory of exchange" in the face of the absurdity of his being wounded in the war, but she fails to explore the implications of this breakdown beyond simply writing it off as irony and suggesting that Jake's values are in spite of this wound. She writes, "Morality cannot long survive on a 'clear financial basis.'" Thus, Jake's adherence to his theory of value is uncertain and the novel's exploration of value finally ambiguous" (266). Along these same lines, Sprague stops short in her claims regarding money's role in characterization, which culminate in her statement that "on the whole those who earn come off better than those who do not earn" (263). Additionally, Sprague's assertion of "the total absence of payment or talk about payment in the Burguete fishing interlude" and her subsequent assessment of the suspension of values on Bill and Jake's fishing trip breaks down in light of Jake's haggling with the innkeeper and making sure to "not lose any money on the wine" (*SAR* 89; Sprague 263). Ultimately, though, Sprague's essay successfully draws attention to many of the key issues regarding money in *The Sun Also Rises* and sets the stage for further exploration of the topic by scholars such as Delbert Wylder, Earl Rovit, and Scott Donaldson.

Delbert Wylder's chapter on *The Sun Also Rises* in his 1969 book *Hemingway's Heroes* covers a number of topics including Jacob's similarities to biblical characters, his impotence, and the influence of *The Great Gatsby* on *The Sun Also Rises*. He does, however, identify several key components for later critics approaching the topic of money in *The Sun Also Rises*. First, Wylder notes that Jake is distinct from many of the other expatriates because he works. Furthermore, Wylder observes that Jake abides by a "'cash nexus' type of philosophy" of which France is the appropriate, materialistic locale and Count

Mippipopolous the high priest (37). Wylder echoes Sprague's assessment that Jake outlines his philosophy in his midnight soliloquy about getting "your money's worth," but, unlike Sprague, Wylder argues that Jake moves beyond this philosophy. Jake's progression from, as Wylder argues, preferring the simplicity of France, "the country of statues," over the vivacity of Spain, "the country of live animals," is manifested in the fact that he starts the novel in Paris and ends it in Madrid. Similarly, Wylder contrasts Count Mippipopolous and Jake's concierge with Montoya and Pedro Romero, both of whom are more concerned with living beings than monetary desires, to suggest that a sort of warmth, friendliness, and humanity exists in Spain in a way that it does not in France.

On the whole, the chapter in Wylder's book is fairly typical of early scholarship on money in *The Sun Also Rises*. He notices some key trends, which later scholars more fully develop, and he helps to form many of the terms of the critical conversation. Notably, Wylder is the first to assess Jake as being significantly different than the other expatriates with regard to his philosophy and development—a notion that many future scholars echo. By and large, though, Wylder's critical contributions in terms of economics in the novel are limited, even in comparison with his contemporaries like Claire Sprague and Earl Rovit, who attend to money as the focus of their essays rather than merely one topic of interest among many.

More akin to Sprague than to Wylder, Earl Rovit—in the chapter "*The Sun Also Rises: An Essay in Applied Principles*" of his 1963 book, *Ernest Hemingway*—provides a cursory examination of many of the themes regarding money, particularly through the lens of

the Hemingway Code, which largely shaped the critical discussion of future scholars.³

Rovit's primary purpose is to uncover the basis for assessing the degree to which the characters of *The Sun Also Rises* successfully assimilate to their environments and, thus, to situate the novel amongst Hemingway's other works. Despite Rovit's less obvious engagement with money in *The Sun Also Rises*, even this approach is directly relevant to the critical conversation on money in the novel because of Rovit's understanding of the novel's specific "code." Rovit argues, much like Sprague, that Jake outlines the 'code' of the novel in his midnight soliloquy (to borrow Sprague's terminology) to be "learning how to live in the world while getting his money's worth of enjoyment for the price that is exacted from him (149). From this basis, Rovit proceeds to evaluate each of central characters' abidance by this code. Here, Rovit differs from Sprague somewhat in his assessment of the characters. For Rovit, Count Mippipopolous serves as Jake's "tutor" for how to get his money's worth, whereas Sprague views the Count as only fitting in as "one of us," and this only ironically (*SAR* 49). Additionally, unlike Sprague's clear delineation of moral and immoral characters, Rovit does not assess Mike or Brett in terms of the code—which certainly includes a certain morality, but also addresses patterns of correct behavior, which have no moral implications whatsoever, a sort of embodiment of "speak softly and carry a big stick"—and views Jake as the only expatriate to successfully embody the code, Bill as partially successful, and Cohn as the novel's "anti-tutor" (149).

³ Although Rovit's book precedes Sprague's and Wylder's essays, his engagement with money in *The Sun Also Rises* is limited and does not truly represent the beginning of more serious scholarship on the topic.

Although these delineations are important in themselves to Rovit's reading, his primary contribution in terms of the role of money in *The Sun Also Rises* comes in his explanation of his view of the Count, Bill, and Cohn's roles relative to Jake. For Rovit, Count Mippipopolous serves as a veteran of the code because he has "stripped his stockpile of illusions to the barest minimum," as displayed by his emotional control both in terms of never falling in love and not mixing emotions and champagne, and because he is willing to take risks to take part in the "gusto of living," as displayed by his scars. Bill, according to Rovit, is similar to the Count in that he is willing to gamble for pleasure, but to a far diminished degree. Rovit argues, "[Bill] is willing to forgo the supreme risk of paying for 'life,' by pursuing the pleasures that he can momentarily extract in the meaningless excitement of his 'stuffed animals'" (151). In other words, Bill still pays for what he gets, he just pays less and thus receives less. Rovit contrasts Bill's willingness to engage in meaningless excitements with Cohn's unwillingness to pay, and especially to gamble—at least without inside knowledge—for anything at all. As Rovit puts it, "[Cohn] demands that his experiences be measurable in terms of absolutes" (153). Taken collectively, these assessments reveal Rovit's view of the role of money in *The Sun Also Rises*. Though his standpoint is similar to that of Claire Sprague insofar as both suggest that money is directly tied to the 'code' of the novel, Rovit takes this argument a step further to suggest that money, beyond characterization or structural concerns, is a central factor in constructing meaning in the novel. Furthermore, Rovit more thoroughly engages with war and trauma broadly to suggest that events like Vincente Girones's death are representative of the risks present in

attempting to get your money's worth, suggesting, though not explicitly exploring, economic exchange as a model of interaction in the novel.

Although Scott Donaldson's assertion that the "metaphor [of money] ... has not before been perceived" is clearly false, since both Sprague and Rovit undoubtedly provided valuable contributions to the exploration of the role of money in *The Sun Also Rises*, Donaldson's landmark 1971 essay "Hemingway's Morality of Compensation" significantly expanded on many of their early explorations to establish the terms, if not the specifics, of all subsequent debate on the topic (400).⁴ In fact, Donaldson's essay has been by far the most influential on the topic, and scholars such as Nancy Comley, Michael Reynolds, George Cheatham, and Jacob Michael Leland all cite "Hemingway's Morality of Compensation" in their own contributions. Donaldson's entrée to the topic of money in *The Sun Also Rises* closely mirrors that of Sprague and especially Rovit, insofar as all three suggest that Jake outlines the implicit 'code' of the novel in his notion of getting your money's worth and paying for what you get. Donaldson takes this assessment a step further, though, to position money as *the* central metaphor in the novel. Donaldson argues that morality in the novel depends on the "conviction that you must pay for what you get, that you must earn in order to be able to buy, and that only then will it be possible, if you are careful, to buy your money's worth in the world" (402).

After delineating the moral 'code' of *The Sun Also Rises*, Donaldson applies it as a litmus test to each of the main characters in the novel, who, Donaldson notes, Hemingway

⁴ Whether or not Donaldson was aware of Sprague's contributions on the topic of money in *The Sun Also Rises* is unclear. But Donaldson certainly was aware of Earl Rovit's book and even cites Rovit in his own argument.

describes more in terms of “[their] financial condition and spending habits than ... their appearance” (402). Broadly, Donaldson shares Sprague’s assessment of the division of the characters into two groups, noting

[A] contrast between Barnes-Gorton-Romero, who constitute the ‘moral norm’ of the book, and morally aberrant trio of Ashley-Campbell-Cohn ... [and] that money and its uses form the metaphor by which the moral responsibility of Jake, Bill, and Pedro is measured against the carelessness of Brett, Mike, and Robert. Financial soundness mirrors moral strength. (406)

He begins his more detailed individual character analyses by looking in depth at Jake’s spending habits, citing him economizing by sharing a taxi, “[doing] the right thing ... by Georgette” by leaving fifty francs with the patronne to compensate her for her wasted time, and taking time to get the best bullfighting tickets among other examples as representative of Jake’s care over his checking account balance (404). For Donaldson these examples mark “Jake’s meticulousness about money,” which, combined with the fact that he works as a newspaperman for his own money, positions Jake as the Hemingway Code Hero of this novel, since he is financially, and thus morally, sound.

For Donaldson, the most direct contrast to Jake’s financial and moral soundness is Mike’s bankruptcy. In fact, Donaldson notes that Brett’s introduction of Mike, saying, “This drunkard is Mike Campbell. Mr. Campbell is an undischarged bankrupt” includes “the two most important and typical things about the man:” his bankruptcy and that he drinks too much (*SAR* 65; Donaldson 410). Beyond not paying for what he gets, Mike incurs another strike against his character because his money is inherited, not earned. Coupled with

bragging about giving away another soldier's war medals, his inability to pay for Bill and Jake's drinks after losing a bet, and his general carelessness about money, Mike, according to Donaldson, serves as the precise antithesis to Jake's meticulous financial and moral soundness. If Jake's spending habits categorize him as the Hemingway Code Hero in this novel, then Mike's habits mark him as the villain.

With regard to the other expatriates of the novel, Donaldson seems to assess Bill, Brett, and Cohn on a spectrum somewhere between Jake and Mike, and none of these other characters' position as moral or immoral is quite so clear-cut. Donaldson's reasons for each characters' placement along this spectrum adds a degree of nuance to his argument, which is absent from the essays of Sprague and Rovit, and develops the specifics of the tie between money and morality more fully. For example, Bill earns points with Donaldson because "he is disturbed by a world where fights are fixed and debts go unpaid," but his propensity for senseless spending on sequential shoeshines and stuffed dogs situates him as somewhat more ambiguously (407). Donaldson, then, leaves his assessment of Bill at an "[illustration of] the principle of exchange of values: to obtain stuffed dogs, shoeshines, or drinks, you must deliver payment" (407).

Shifting more toward Mike Campbell's end of the financial and moral spectrum, Donaldson's assesses Brett's morality as perhaps the most ambiguous. She is careless personally, when she misses appointments and when she leaves her hotel room in Madrid in disorder; she continually allows others, from the gay men at the beginning of the novel, to the Count or Jake or Mike, to pay for her drinks; and she "satisfies her demanding sexual appetites at the expense of others, effectively turning Robert into a steer, Mike into a swine,

and Jake into a pimp” (412). On the other hand, Brett does have a moral code by which she abides, since she will not accept money for her sexual favors, and she has paid—through suffering—for her actions as exemplified in her first love’s death in the war, and the mental breakdowns of her first husband. Though Donaldson positions her to be more akin to Mike and Cohn than Jake and Bill, he is equitable in his assessment. He writes,

Brett’s case is far more ambiguous than that of Robert Cohn or Mike Campbell. If she recklessly imposes nearly insupportable burdens on others, she carries an even heavier burden herself. Morally, she is neither angel nor devil, but somewhere, rather fascinatingly, in between. (413)

Unlike Brett, Donaldson firmly places Cohn alongside Mike as morally bankrupt. Donaldson notes that Cohn inherited most of his money and squandered it; he cheats when he gambles, holding cards in bridge and betting Bill when he has inside knowledge; and he frequently pays his way out of obligations to women. All of these habits, but especially this last one, violate Donaldson’s principle of paying for what you get. As Donaldson puts it, “In his attempt to buy his way out of entanglements, without expending anything of himself . . . Robert Cohn most viciously breaks the moral code of compensation” (409). Robert is not a bankrupt, and is able to pay for his own enjoyment—though with inherited money—so he is not quite as morally reprehensible as Mike, but, for Donaldson, he is close.

Unlike the expatriates in the novel, who fall on a spectrum between Jake and Mike, Romero, in Donaldson’s assessment, occupies a position akin to Jake, insofar as both represent financial and moral responsibility, but for rather different reasons. Romero

certainly embodies many of the qualities that Donaldson so values in Jake. He is skilled in his craft. He pays his own way with his work. And, as a result, he gets his money's worth in the world. But in addition to these qualities, Romero, for Donaldson, also possesses the quality of being "immune to the disease of commercialism—and the caution unto cowardice it is likely to breed" (415). Donaldson, then, seems to amend his qualifications for morality in the novel to include a critique of materialism. To this end, Donaldson notes the effect of having too much money on Belmonte and attaches much of the blame for the character flaws in Mike, Brett, and Cohn to their wealth. Donaldson also notes Montoya's disdain for "the commercial bullfighters" as indicative of the novel's stance against commercialism (414). Romero—who certainly is not one of the commercial bullfighters—represents, for Donaldson, the opposite of commercialism because, although "he wants and expects to make money as a bullfighter ... he has not yet begun to compromise his bullfighting" (415). Donaldson, then, asserts that the desire for money is not wrong and spending it, even on frivolous desires in the mode of Bill Gorton, is not wrong, but in order to do so morally, you must have a specific code of values, which guide your actions and your spending.

The stakes of all of Donaldson's meticulous assessment of the role of money in *The Sun Also Rises* are twofold: Donaldson, like Sprague and Rovit before him, seeks to uncover the basic 'code' of behavior in the novel with the implicit conviction that there is such a code and that this is the correct way to read this novel as well as Hemingway's works more generally; and Donaldson seeks to reframe the novel, which had been historically read as vile and immoral, as a "very moral" novel (401). These stakes, more than the specific examples or modes of argumentation that Donaldson employs, form the foundation and terms of nearly

all of the subsequent critical discourse on money in *The Sun Also Rises*. Many scholars, such as Nancy Comley, Michael Reynolds, George Cheatham, and Michael Leland, directly cite Donaldson in their own contributions to the critical discourse on money in *The Sun Also Rises*, but even the scholars who do not cite him follow the pattern of his argument: money is, in some way, directly tied to the moral code of the novel, and characters' spending habits are the most appropriate measure with which to assess them.

Despite the breadth of its influence, "Hemingway's Morality of Compensation" does contain some notable flaws. Donaldson's reading of Jake's wound in the war and resulting impotence as a type of payment that he enjoys is overly simplistic at best, insofar as it attempts to assign a specific and equally limited meaning to an incredibly traumatic, and ultimately senseless event. Furthermore, taking Jake's assessments of Spain and France at face value is equally problematic. Donaldson in both of these instances fails to read Jake critically and fails to assess his flaws beyond saying, "Though physically impotent and mentally tortured, Jake Barnes remains morally sound" (406). Donaldson's uncritical reading of Jake's account of his expenditures in a month, of which Donaldson merely notes that "the surprising thing . . . is that Jake should have spent as much as \$600 in any given month, for he is a man who tries very hard always to get his money's worth" before moving on, follows this same tendency to read Jake as unfailingly heroic (405). Donaldson's uncritical approach to this last point, in particular, has drawn attention from scholars such as Michael Reynolds and George Cheatham, who fruitfully explore that issue in their respective works. In spite of its flaws, though, "Hemingway's Morality of Compensation" remains the most influential

scholarly analysis of the role of money in *The Sun Also Rises*, as proven by the close critical attention it continues to receive even forty years later.

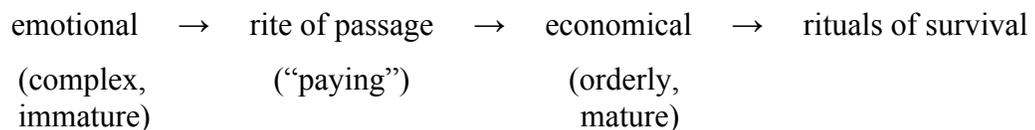
Contemporaneously with “Hemingway’s Morality of Compensation,” Richard Sugg, in his 1972 essay “Hemingway, Money, and *The Sun Also Rises*,” echoes many of the same insights presented by Sprague, Rovit, and Donaldson. Like previous scholars, Sugg notes a tie between money and morality, though not so precisely as Donaldson, and uses that tie as the basis to assess the novel’s main characters. Sugg reiterates previous scholars’ observations and even many of their specific arguments: that Mike is financially and morally bankrupt; that Cohn fails to understand the values; and that Jake, the Count, and Romero are financially and morally sound. According to Sugg, Jake “In all cases Jake evinces more than monetary considerations: he acts as though money, and paying his share, has a symbolic importance for him. And so it does” (263). On the whole, Sugg’s argument is largely a reiteration of Sprague and Rovit’s contributions, and offers little new on the subject. Like those early essays, “Hemingway, Money, and *The Sun Also Rises*” lacks the attention to detail and nuance of Donaldson’s argument.

In contrast to Sugg, Nancy Comley made a significant contribution to the conversation surrounding money in *The Sun Also Rises* with her 1979 essay “Hemingway: The Economics of Survival.” Although the essay deals with money in many of Hemingway’s works, nearly half of her argument is dedicated to *The Sun Also Rises*. Comley acknowledges the contributions of Sprague, Rovit, Donaldson, and Suggs, as well as the tie in the novel between moral and financial soundness, but she undermines what had been emerging as a critical consensus:

Some critics have simply divided the characters into two groups: those that work (or have worked) for a living, such as Jake, Bill, the Count, and Romero, and those that do not work—who live off allowances or sponge from others, such as Brett, Mike, and Cohn. Relying on such a simple dichotomy produces a reductionist reading, however. There are other ways of paying, other codes besides the money code. (247)

Rather than limiting her analysis to an engagement with the metaphor between money and morality, Comley treats *The Sun Also Rises* as a sort of bildungsroman, in which Jake and Brett come to terms with their inability to consummate their love for one another and move from a complex, emotional state to a more simplified system of values.

With regard to this progress, Comley delineates very specific stages of development that lead to “an orderly, economic condition ... which all Hemingway’s characters seek to attain” (245). To outline these stages, Comley provides the following diagram (245):



According to Comley, and based on this diagram, Brett and especially Jake oscillate between a complex, emotional state and an orderly, economical state throughout the novel, and it is this oscillation, which causes both characters to cross into Comley’s second categorization, forcing them to “pay and pay” (*SAR* 119). In order to move beyond this cycle, Comley argues that Jake and Brett must do as the Count suggests and “get to know the values” of the world in which they live—one in which Jake is impotent and Brett is unable to love without sex

(SAR 50). In Comley's construction, then, an economic system is one that is based on "purity of action," one that is efficient, and one in which simplicity is prime (245).

In these terms, Comley explores the economies in *The Sun Also Rises* beyond the explicit uses of money to understand various systems of values and their varying degrees of efficiency. Like the scholars before her, Comley is still very much focused on the "code," but her understanding of the 'code' is a progression through the stages outlined above, rather than a specific mode of spending and earning money. Money, therefore, is one of the possible systems of values, or economies, through which the characters can create meaning and achieve an orderly, economic state of being. Some of the other value systems, besides love and/or sex and money, that Comley notes include: working, fishing, watching bullfights, buying drinks and dinners, religion, and geographic and cultural coding. Comley divides these systems into two categories, metaphysical systems, such as religion, love, and culture, which ultimately prove to be too emotional and complex to serve as efficient, economical systems of values, and physical systems, which seem to be the key to progress in Comley's diagram. Comley emphasizes the preferability of simple, physical pleasures in her assessment of Jake's progression throughout the novel, writing,

The object of exchange is pleasure, and Jake Barnes, by the end of *The Sun Also Rises*, has learned this. It is safe, and pleasurable, to spend the money you've worked for on a fine dinner. You will enjoy this, and you will not lose the memory of this pleasurable event, for you've gotten your money's worth. (252)

According to this assessment, in which she exemplifies the effectiveness of a systems of values that relies on the primacy of the physical over the emotional, Comley applies her

concepts of progress to Romero and Cohn, who she sees as the “highest part of the code ... [and] the lowest end of the code” respectively, to further demonstrate the necessity in the novel of “get[ting] to know the values” (250-251).

Romero, for Comley, represents the classic Hemingway Code Hero. Romero’s “life is committed to rituals of survival,” and he clearly understands his own values (251). Comley cites Romero fighting a bull in front of Brett at “no loss to himself” as well as him paying for their hotel in Madrid, in spite of Brett’s insistence that he not give her any money, as clearly outlining his values: bulls are vastly more valuable than women, and paying for the hotel marked a clear, “honorable closure to an affair” (*SAR* 172; Comley 251). Cohn, on the other hand, represents quite the opposite. According to Comley, “Though Cohn has the money to pay for his pleasures, he does not understand what pleasure is, and he does not understand the code of right action. He’s never paid much in life, and hence hasn’t learned much” (251). This failure to pay or even recognize what is worth paying for is the most egregious violation of Comley’s understanding of the ‘code’ of the novel. Not only does Cohn fail to progress—unlike Jake, whose language and attitude in the final scene with Brett mark him, according to Comley, as having rejected “romantic nostalgia”—Cohn fails to even see progression beyond an emotional state as an option (252).

Although Comley’s article, like those by Sprague, Rovit, Donaldson, and Suggs, continues the trend of focusing on the ‘code’ of the novel, her perspective on what constitutes the ‘code’ is unique and opens the possibility of reading economies in the novel beyond simply the explicit mentions of money. This awareness of, as Comley puts it, “other ways of paying” is her most significant insight, and the consideration of these other ways of paying

marks many of the most successful scholarly contributions to the discussion of money in *The Sun Also Rises* for generations after her work.

In spite of the significant contributions made by these early essays—or perhaps because of them—analyzing the role of money in *The Sun Also Rises* fell somewhat out of vogue for a period after the 1970's. Even essays that dealt with money tangentially were rather rare. One such critical work is Christian K. Messenger's 1981 book *Sport and the Spirit of Play in American Fiction: Hawthorne to Faulkner*, which contains a chapter dedicated to Hemingway. Though the book and the chapter both focus primarily on sport, Messenger does examine Hemingway's awareness of the commercialism of bullfighting, contrasting Romero with Belmonte, who "has compromised his great gift and become simply another commercial athlete" (249). Beyond this comparison, though, Messenger has little to offer on the topic of money in *The Sun Also Rises*.

Scholarly interest resumed in earnest after the publication of Michael Reynolds's 1988 book *The Sun Also Rises: A Novel of the Twenties*. Though the majority of the book is pedagogical (as is the section which adds to the critical conversation surrounding money), Reynolds does focus on the role of money in two chapters, if only tangentially. In his chapter "Values" Reynolds catalogues the failure of familial, religious, work, and other traditional values throughout the novel. Instead, he asserts, "the only operative value in Jake Barnes's world is that of money" (69). To this point, he cites Jake's time with Georgette, in which Jake picks up Georgette, they take taxi, and end up in a restaurant, and the inversion of that scene at the Hotel Montana with Brett, where they begin in a restaurant and end up in a taxi, as drawing attention to the significance of money by bookending the novel. This attention,

for Reynolds, is meant to highlight *The Sun Also Rises* as representative of the cultural moment of the twenties insofar as the novel mirrors the time period's obsession with money and excess, thus living up to the name of his book by situating this novel firmly as a cultural artifact of the 1920's.

Similarly, in the next chapter Reynolds focuses briefly on the scene in which Jake balances his checkbook. Reynolds notes the intersectional significances of this act. Jake concentrates on money in this scene, immediately after being stood up by Brett, because it is “the one value he has to count on” (79). Jake has more money than he spends and, in fact, saves money, which, according to Reynolds, represents “an American virtue in the Franklin tradition” (79). And, the balance of Jake's bank account positions him socially as neither wealthy nor poor. More importantly, however, Reynolds normalizes Jake's one-month expenditure by accounting for inflation and exchange rates to equal something like six months of modest living expenses. Reynolds relates the meaning of this exorbitant spending to the idea that money has replaced other values and assesses this replacement by saying—rather contradictorily to Donaldson—that “money, of course, is not a moral value [and] ... when the only criteria for moral behavior becomes ‘getting good value for one's money,’ then we are truly bankrupt, spiritually and morally” (82). Reynolds concludes this portion of his book by supporting his assessment of the 1920's being a morally bankrupt time by cataloguing the most obvious inclusions of money and exchange in the novel before shifting his analysis away from money to the motif of time in *The Sun Also Rises*.

Following the approach of evaluating money in terms of morality throughout *The Sun Also Rises*, George Cheatham, in his 1992 article “‘Sign the Wire with Love’: The Morality

of Surplus in *The Sun Also Rises*,” directly responds to Donaldson’s claims. Cheatham takes as his point of entry Bill’s quip that Jake was “Burying [his] money” or “working for the common good” when he was digging for worms for trout fishing. He then summarizes Donaldson’s thesis that “Jake, Bill, and Pedro = financial and thus moral responsibility; Brett, Mike, and Robert = financial and thus moral carelessness; financial soundness = moral strength” (Cheatham 173; *SAR* 91). The connection between his entry point and his analysis of Donaldson delineates the structure and central claim of this article. Rather than positioning Jake as the quintessential example of financial morality throughout *The Sun Also Rises*, Cheatham assesses the novel’s morality based on Bill with fairly predictable results.

Before beginning his analysis of Bill’s “morality of surplus,” Cheatham problematizes some key elements of Donaldson’s claim that Jake is the moral center of the novel. First, Cheatham cites Jake being “tightfisted” when he asks for Cohn to repay the five pesetas for his bus ticket immediately, and such tightfistedness is a quality that Donaldson clearly assesses as financially and thus morally unacceptable. Cheatham explains that this scene “brings out an undertone of miserliness to Jake’s desire, his obsession, to ‘get his money’s worth,’ which connects him, ironically, with Cohn and so clouds Donaldson’s equation” (174). Cheatham notes similar examples such as Jake making sure not to “lose money on the wine” and his discomfort with Bill’s expenditures on the repeated shoeshines for Mike to revise Donaldson’s claim that Jake “gets his money’s worth” to assert instead that Jake is obsession with exactitude (*SAR* 89).

Based on this revision, Cheatham contrasts Jake's "rigid exactitude in financial matters" with Bill's "morality of surplus," which he describes as "essentially human" (174). Cheatham even writes,

It is natural for humans to transcend their own limits. What we call culture or history is, after all, an open-ended transformation of fixed boundaries, a transcendence of mere appetite, a rich surplus over precise measure. It is this capacity for a certain lavish infringement of exact limit which distinguishes humankind. (176-177)

From this reassessment of the basis for morality in this novel, Cheatham continues in his critique of Jake and, as a result, of Donaldson through various relevant metaphors including bullfighting, suggesting that Jake rarely enters the terrain of the bull, and war, arguing that Jake is "literally and figuratively gun shy" (177).

Finally, Cheatham focuses on Jake's lack, "figured most clearly in [his] wound," to suggest the importance of the contrast between "*simple* exchange of values" and "*just* exchange of values" (177 emphasis, mine). For Cheatham, both "just exchange" and "a simple exchange" signify "mere exchanges," but, in their alternate meanings, just exchanges "are also equitable exchanges, legal, correct, proper, exact, accurate, uniform exchanges," while simple exchange suggests "artless, open, guileless, innocent, humble, wretched, pitiful, silly, foolish exchanges" (180). In their ambiguity, the distinction between these phrases highlights the difficult decision between the desire and the fear of excess for Jake and throughout the novel by alternately representing the pros and cons in engaging in exchanges of surplus. Cheatham understands Jake's relationship to Brett, which defies any logic of exactitude, in these terms. For Cheatham, because Jake is willing to take a risk, entering the

terrain of the bull, in his relationship with Brett he engages in “a gratuitous excess of the strict requirements of justice, a kind of nothing, a refusal to calculate debt, out of which something may come,” allowing for a rather hopeful—perhaps overly so—reading of the end of the novel (180).

Several essays between Donaldson and Cheatham address economics in the novel tangentially. In her chapter from *Teaching Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises*, Jacqueline Vaught Brogan highlights the ways in which monetary value effaces rather than replaces (as in Donaldson's model) ethical value. Brogan argues that *The Sun Also Rises* also seems to question the value of money at all, breaking down Donaldson's analysis by highlighting Cohn's wealth in conjunction with his being ostracized. She uses this contradiction as an entry point to her analysis of Jake's unreliability as a narrator and the impossibility of his spending, suggesting that although Jake *appears* to keep a careful account of his money, this account is actually deceptive. Finally, Brogan undermines Donaldson's argument regarding the construction of other characters in the novel by paying close attention to Jake's role as not only narrator but also author of this story.

Other scholars, such as David Tomkins, address the role of money in *The Sun Also Rises* even more indirectly in relation to expatriation. In his article “The ‘Lost Generation’ and the Generation of Loss: Ernest Hemingway's Materiality of Absence and *The Sun Also Rises*,” Tomkins examines the ways in which Hemingway absorbs, rejects, and finally reappropriates Gertrude Stein's claim about expatriates in Paris after World War I: that they “are a lost generation” (SAR 1). Tomkins views *The Sun Also Rises* as a representation of this reappropriation, in particular, since the novel centers on its absences, both at a meta-fictional

level, in terms of Hemingway's sparse style, and within the context of the story, in terms such as Jake's castration as well as in bankruptcy. He goes on to argue that this centrality of loss—mainly in terms of trauma but also in terms of economics—shifts the idea of “the Lost Generation” from “lost” in the sense of being without direction to a more existential loss as “the absent or lost ‘thing’ that matters ... and [that] defines rather than undermines every generation” (746).

This type of scholarship is also reflected in the most recent major contribution to the analysis of money in *The Sun Also Rises*. Jacob Michael Leland's essay “Yes, That Is a Roll of Bills in My Pocket: The Economy of Masculinity in *The Sun Also Rises*” represents a culmination of both the major and more tangential scholarship on economics in the novel. Leland begins by contextualizing this essay among those which identify the various forms of masculine displacement in Hemingway's fiction and then states his thesis:

In *The Sun Also Rises*, the mechanisms of relocation and recovery [typical to masculine displacement in Hemingway's fiction] appear somewhat peculiarly; Jake Barnes depends upon earning and spending practices to establish an American, male, expatriate identity in Paris. He attributes little value to the things he buys; his ownership of commodities is secondary to his relationship with the money form itself ... Jake Barnes exercises spending power. To make money and circulate it ... allows Jake to imagine himself as a fully realized male and an agent of U.S. economic power, in control of the modernizing marketplaces he inhabits. (37-38)

In addition to situating this essay amongst those that deal with masculine displacement in Hemingway, Leland also engages directly with other essays on money in *The Sun Also Rises*.

He cites Donaldson's assessment of Jake as the "novel's moral compass" because of his frugality and Cheatham's direct contradiction of this assertion in order to suggest a departure from a traditional "idea of 'American virtue'" (40). Instead, Leland—much like Michael Reynolds, but with a far greater attention to detail—suggests, "Jake Barnes works toward the consumer identity ascendant in the 1920's ... to replace agriculture with industry, a primarily domestic marketplace with an international one, use value with exchange value, and production with consumption" (40).

To demonstrate these replacements, Leland then gives a catalogue of what sorts of statuses, experiences, and identities Jake purchases with his money. He notes that Jake does *not* buy trinkets for tourists and that this non-purchase classifies Jake as an expatriate writer rather than a tourist. Jake also does not spend his money on "things like stuffed dogs or boxing marionettes" (40). Instead, Jake spends his money socially, and these expenditures establish him, as well as others—depending on their reaction to these expenditures as well as their own spending habits—within certain classes. As Leland explains "His largesse inscribes Jake Barnes as the 'good traveler'—again, expatriate, rather than tourist. Moreover, it defines the waiters, cab drivers, and concierges who react properly (or not) as a servant class, further codifying the economy into which Jake's money flows" (41).

For Leland, the most important subcategories of these classifications revolve around Jake's masculinity, and, as a result, Leland focuses this essay on cataloguing and "pay[ing] close attention to those expenses that are inexplicable" any way other than as "compensating (to borrow Donaldson's term) for his sexual disability" (42). Leland's first example of this kind of compensation is the end of Jake's date with Georgette, when he leaves fifty francs

with the patronne to *not* go home with a *poule*. Although Brett suggests that Jake is going to lose his money, Leland disagrees suggesting “He does not lose his money; he spends it and he receives what he sets out to purchase—the appearance, if not the performance, of masculine sexual agency—a simple exchange of values ... Jake Barnes’s sexuality, then, is a commodity, with exchange-value but not use-value” (43).

Leland classifies Jake and Brett’s relationship similarly, citing Cheatham’s description of the shift from “simple exchange of values” to “just exchange of values” as representative of the fact that “Jake’s relationship to Brett is a signifier divorced from its referent, the appearance of heteronormative relations without sex itself” (43). This classification of Jake and Brett’s relationship manifests itself most clearly, for Leland, in Jake’s final telegram to Brett, in which he violates his carefully constructed consumer authority. Leland notes Jake’s aggravation with Cohn for only sending three words for the price of ten, yet

Jake’s telegram, “Lady Ashley Hotel Montana Madrid Arriving Sud Express Tomorrow Love Jake” is eleven words long—he has to pay more and he could presumably have sent fifteen or twenty for the same price ... He no longer conforms to the rules and practices that define the national-sexual-economic identity he constructs. (44-45)

This failed conformity is mirrored in Jake’s actual arrival at the Hotel Montana because Pedro has already paid the bill, which ultimately completes Jake’s emasculation. As Leland notes in his conclusion, the fact that Romero “pay[s] the bill anonymously prevents Jake

from exercising his economic agency and calls attention to the limits of that power in a situation that requires money but not performative social currency” (46).

By and large Leland’s article serves as a culmination of the scholarship on money and exchange in *The Sun Also Rises* so far. He incorporates many of previous scholars’ insights and refines many of their claims to truly expand the analysis of economics in the novel beyond a simple consideration of the ‘code’ and the novel’s morality or lack thereof. Yet, even in its success in moving beyond a consideration of morality and the Hemingway Code Hero, this article only briefly explores the roles of money in the novel beyond Jake’s use of it and, more specifically, beyond his “compensation” for his impotence. In this sense, Leland’s article truly represents the state of the scholarship on money in *The Sun Also Rises*, a symbol that, in many ways, serves as the novel’s model for all human interaction. That is to say that although Leland successfully summarizes previous contributions to this field and begins to open possibilities beyond the obsession with morality in this novel, “Yes That is a Roll of Bills in My Pocket” only begins to open the possibilities for broader exploration of economics and economic modes of exchange as *the* basis of social and cultural interaction in this novel.

In this project I plan to expand on this tradition—particularly the work of Donaldson, Comley, and Leland—to define and explore the role of economics and economic exchange in *The Sun Also Rises*. I seek to move beyond the explicit mentions of money as well as to engage with the explicit mentions of money through new approaches in order to include economic systems more broadly, and, thereby, to explore the systems at play in social and cultural positioning throughout *The Sun Also Rises*. Furthermore, through an engagement

with the vast body of existing scholarship, this essay moves beyond moralistic assessments of characters via their spending habits and beyond the delineation of a specific ‘code’ of behavior to analyze the role of money in various forms of identity formation. To that end, this argument is divided into two chapters, of which I will now provide overviews.

The first chapter of my argument will outline many of the ways in which economic exchange forms the basis of social positioning and interaction for characters in the novel beyond the explicit mentions of money. While many of the characters *do* classify themselves in terms of gender, titles, and religion through their monetary expenditures, these classifications form their own economies throughout the novel. As I will argue, women are frequently the objects of exchange, both willingly and unwillingly. Similarly, the characters’ official and unofficial titles—such as *Count* Mippipopolous and *Lady* Ashley but also Jake the aficionado and Mike the bankrupt—often have purchase beyond what money can buy. Religion in the novel, especially Jake’s Catholicism and Cohn’s Jewishness, represents a different economic model, which highlights the ways in which a social classification can prevent a character from circulating. I will argue that each of these social classifications create their own economy that is complex, frequently brutal, and deserves a more careful examination.

The symbolic exchange of women is central to *The Sun Also Rises*, and my first chapter will explore this economy. Brett is both the central female character, the model for a new kind of woman, and the most frequently exchanged. Brett circulates amongst Jake, Cohn, the Count, Mike, and Romero throughout the course of the novel, and Jake reveals that Brett’s “true love” was killed in the war and that she has married men she did not love twice

(32). Furthermore, based on Mike's account that "Brett's gone off with men before [Cohn]," these characters are by no means the limits of the crowd amongst which Brett circulates (114). Taken on its own, the multiplicity of Brett's sometimes romantic, sometimes sexual engagements with men does not necessarily mark her as an object of economic exchange, but I will argue that her motivations behind these engagements and especially the rather artificial, but nevertheless strict code of behavior that she follows with regard to them *does* seem to suggest an economic model. That Jake's description of Brett's relationship with Mike immediately juxtaposes "she's going to marry him" and "He's going to be rich as hell some day" does not seem to be accidental nor unrelated to her marrying two men that she did not love (31). This tie between money and marriage for Brett is further strengthened by the fact that she lives on an allowance and does not work.

Yet, as I will argue, Brett's model of exchange is more complex than marrying for money or any "simple exchange of values," as Cohn discovers through a series of blunders. Cohn, in his own way, has made a habit of buying and selling women and it comes as quite a shock to him that his "valuable qualities" do not have the same effect on Brett. Jake's narration insinuates, through its close juxtaposition of Cohn's losing "most of the fifty thousand dollars his father left him" with a description of his first marriage, that Cohn bought his first wife's affection, and Jake states outright that he bought his marriage with Frances, who "hoped to rise with the magazine [that Cohn backed] ... [and] when [she] saw that the magazine was not going to rise, she ... decided that she might as well get what there was to get while there was still something available" (4-5). Cohn, Hemingway reveals later, has a habit of getting rid of women in quite the same manner. In my first chapter, I will focus on

Frances's observation that Robert exchanged his "little secretary on the magazine" for her and that now he is "[getting] rid of [her] in the same way"—that is by sending her off with two hundred pounds in order to allow an opportunity for him to be with Brett (41). While Frances has conceded through participation to this model of exchange—and is apparently aware of her own diminishing value, as illustrated both by Jake's account and her own aggressive protectiveness over Cohn—Brett most certainly has not. In my chapter, I will argue that this failure to understand the different valuation systems in play lies at the source of Cohn's failure to understand the laws of exchange. Because of the fact that Cohn gives up his relationship with Frances, he feels entitled to one with Brett—an entitlement that is misplaced and insufferable to Brett, Jake, and the reader. Significantly, though, the fact that Cohn's supposed exchange of Frances for Brett does not provide anything for Brett leaves the exchange markedly one sided.

Counter to this failed economic exchange, I will explore other inclusions of women being exchanged throughout *The Sun Also Rises* that illustrate the terms of exchange for women even more directly. The two most obvious examples of this kind of exchange are Jake's interaction with Georgette versus Brett's interactions with her second husband, Cohn, Mike, the Count, and Romero. With *poules*, there is an obvious economic factor to the terms of any exchange, but between Georgette and Jake, the economics are more complex because of Jake's impotence. Jake is not paying Georgette for sex, instead he buys her dinner and drinks in order to perform his masculinity.⁵ Georgette is not selling sex to Jake; instead, she is selling the performance of his being able to have sex. She is selling her femininity. As I

⁵ For more on this, see Leland.

will argue, Georgette's clear willingness to be bought and sold contrasts with Brett's ambiguity towards the same. Brett's second husband describes her as "too expensive," and, to some degree, her interest in Mike seems contingent upon his ability to pay that price. Yet when the Count offers her ten thousand dollars to go to Biarritz with him, she refuses, even though she goes to San Sebastian with Cohn without any financial motivation. I will investigate these seemingly contradictory reactions more closely in my first chapter, but one factor that clearly delineates Georgette from Brett and therefore provides a framework for understanding their differing reactions to the idea of being prostituted is their respective titles. Georgette is a poule. Brett is a Lady.

The centrality of titles to identities in this novel is certainly symptomatic of the centrality of economic exchange. I will argue that titles provide the systematic, even institutional framework, which delineates the terms of economic exchange and enacts the retribution or punishment for not following those terms. Titles play a dominant role in identity construction for many characters, particularly in economic terms. Count Mippipopulous's title usually costs him money, whereas Brett has "hell's own amount of credit on [hers]" (47). Although both Brett and the Count's titles are formal and officially constructed, Brett reveals an alternative viewpoint of the construction of titles when she asks, "Why haven't you a title, Jake?" (47). In these terms, the significance of titles also represents a different set of exchanges throughout the novel, revealed in the more colloquial meaning of "a simple exchange of values" as well as in Jake's desire to maintain the title of aficionado rather than impotent and expatriate rather than tourist (60). I will argue in my chapter that the expatriates in *The Sun Also Rises*, this novel's lost generation, have exchanged traditional

American values, or, as Donaldson explains it, “Franklinian values,” for post-war expatriate values. Bill mocks Jake with this same sentiment, saying, “You're an expatriate. You've lost touch with the soil. You get precious. Fake European standards have ruined you. You drink yourself to death. You become obsessed by sex. You spend all your time talking, not working. You are an expatriate, see? You hang around cafés” (92).

In this same conversation between Jake and Bill, Bill asks, “Listen Jake ... are you really a Catholic?” (99). This question highlights another social classification and economy that I will explore in my chapter: religion. Although religion functions primarily in the background of the novel for most characters, such as Brett, who suggests that “deciding not to be a bitch ... [is] sort of what we have instead of God,” for both Jake and especially for Cohn, religion seems to be a significant classification. I will argue that Jake’s relationship with Catholicism seems to be emblematic of his larger departure from traditional values. For Cohn, though, religion seems to present a more complex economy. He is consistently depicted as being stingy and is stereotypically labeled as a Jew for this reason. Despite Cohn’s monetary expenditures serving to classify him as a Jew, his religion functions as a non-monetary economy throughout the novel. In my chapter, I will argue that Cohn’s Jewishness—and, in equal proportion, the expatriates’ antisemitism—prevents him from circulating amongst the other characters and exemplifies his failure to understand the values.

In addition to engaging with many of the issues in the text surrounding social classifications, in my second chapter, I will highlight the questions of national identity, national belonging, and the cultural position of the expatriates. Throughout many of his novels, Hemingway foregrounds questions of place, whether in Kenya, Italy, France, Spain,

or Cuba. And certainly, *The Sun Also Rises* is no exception to this trend. The novel, in many ways, shaped Americans' understanding of the expatriate experience, as is evident by the sheer number of travel guides dedicated to Hemingway's Paris. But beyond juxtaposing "fake European standards" against traditional American values, *The Sun Also Rises* explicitly engages with questions of France versus Spain and implicitly with those countries versus America. Many scholars have observed patterns of social and cultural positioning with regard to French, Spanish, and American identity, but scholars have yet to explore the role of money in constructing these identities, both in Jake's assessments of money in Spain versus France and through the motif of tipping. Building, therefore, from a basis of economic exchange beyond explicit mentions of money and introducing new modes of analysis to the direct inclusions of money, the second chapter of this essay will examine money's role as a cultural mediator in *The Sun Also Rises*.

The most obvious examination in *The Sun Also Rises* of cultural difference in terms of monetary valuation occurs immediately after Jake returns to France to visit Bayonne before receiving a telegram from Brett. Jake thinks,

Everything is on such a clear financial basis in France. It is the simplest country to live in. No one makes things complicated by becoming your friend for any obscure reason. If you want people to like you you have only to spend a little money. I spent a little money and the waiter liked me. He appreciated my valuable qualities. (233)

Although this passage is certainly marked by Jake's regret over his loss of Montoya's respect, and, as a result, his genuine preference for either France or Spain is unclear, Jake's assessment of the function of money in each is abundantly clear: money can buy friendship

and cultural acceptance in France, whereas the same must be purchased through some “obscure” method in Spain. Many examples from earlier in the novel, which I will explore in my second chapter, support Jake’s claims about the role of money in France and Spain. The Count’s bribe, for example, to Jake’s French concierge manages to buy entrance to his apartment as well as her esteem, shifting her perception of Brett from “not so gentille” to “trés très gentille” (43). Similarly, in Spain on the first day of San Fermin, the dancers refuse Bill and Jake’s payment for the wine that they give.

Despite the numerous examples supporting Jake’s assessment of money in France versus Spain, I will argue that the novel provides an equal number of examples to debase his assessment. The French conductor on Bill and Jake’s train from Paris to Bayonne, for example, not only refuses their attempt to bribe their way into a better lunch time but also takes their money and refuses anyway. And, in Spain, Jake and Bill lose a friend by being sure to “not lose any money on the wine,” after an inn keeper charges them a price that the two deem too high despite their efforts at haggling (89). These instances, both in support and in opposition to Jake’s assessments of the role of money in France and Spain, I will argue, serve not only to undermine Jake’s assessment but also to highlight the expatriates’ failure to understand what is for sale and what is not in both countries. Jake’s assessments are not only incorrect based on the events in this novel, but they are also based on essentialist notions of French and Spanish culture, which reveal his lack of deep engagement with either one.

The failure of Jake as well as the other expatriates to “get to know the values” in any meaningful way and their resulting essentialist assessments of French and Spanish values mirrors another significant money figure in the novel that I will argue also serves as a

cultural identifier: tipping. Within Jake's stated philosophy of "getting your money's worth," the only purchasing powers of tipping are of self-satisfaction and social performance. Furthermore, the enforcement system for tipping is entirely social, and, at least in its American construction is based on punishment insofar as a person is more likely to be shamed for leaving an inadequate tip than praised for leaving an exceptionally generous one. In fact, particularly surrounding this period, exorbitant tipping was viewed as disrespectful and as "[adding] to the reputation Americans have for trying to buy their way into everything" (Segrave 45).⁶ In light of this cultural environment, Jake's propensity to "[tip] everyone a little too much" in *Bayonne* takes on new meaning (249). Rather than marking Jake as generous or earning him friends, I will argue that his practice more readily marks him as distinctly American.

To the degree that Jake and the other expatriates' tipping marks them as American, their other expenditures on booze, betting, *poules*, and fiestas challenge that demarcation. Obviously, *The Sun Also Rises* is set during American prohibition, as quipped about by Jake and Bill on their fishing trip in Burguete. And much of the reception the novel received in America decried it as immoral. Hemingway's own mother famously called it "one of the filthiest books of the year" (Baker 180). Furthermore, the utter lack of any measure of future financial planning or even work—in many cases—by the expatriates opposes any "Franklinian value" or "Protestant work ethic," which was and is so embedded in American

⁶ Segrave gives a number of examples to this effect in his book *Tipping*. This particular quotation is from Eleanor Roosevelt, which, despite its anachronistic deployment is representative of attitudes both at the time of *The Sun Also Rises*' publication and the period preceding it. See Segrave pages 3-7 for more contemporary examples.

culture. Finally, then, I will argue that Jake and the other expatriates' claims about the value of money in Spain and France, their tipping practices, and their illicit expenditures mark them not as French or Spanish, not as American, but as expatriates, whose valuations and attempts to engage with the countries' cultures in which they are embedded are already always mediated by money.

I have outlined the stakes, what has been said, and what I will say about money and economics more broadly in *The Sun Also Rises*. Through a consideration of the existing scholarship as well as through the application of more recent theoretical developments and attention to the text, this essay will reopen analysis on the role of money in *The Sun Also Rises* to considerations beyond morality or some sort of "code." This essay, therefore, seeks to open topics of analysis in terms of social and cultural identity formation through money in the novel rather than to be an exhaustive analysis of either of these, providing yet another stepping stone for the rich body of scholarship that already exists on the topic.

Chapter 1:

Social Positioning and Economic Systems in *The Sun Also Rises*

Six years before her son was to publish *The Sun Also Rises*, Grace Hemingway brought a feud with Ernest over his lifestyle to a head with a remarkable letter—written as a sort of notice of eviction on the occasion of his twenty-first birthday—comparing his moral state to bankruptcy and stating, quite simply, “You have over drawn [sic].” The letter is so remarkable that it merits quoting at length:

A mother’s love seems to me like a bank. Each child that is born to her, enters the world with a large and prosperous bank account, seemingly inexhaustible. For the first five years he draws and draws—physical labor and pain—loss of sleep—watching and soothing, waiting upon, bathing, dressing, feeding, amusing. The mother is practically a *body* slave to his every whim.

There are no deposits in the bank account during *all* the early years. “Cheery-o,” thinks the mother, “some day he will be a comfort to me and return all I am doing for him,” and she is content.

Then, for the next ten years, or so, up to adolescence, while the bank is heavily drawn upon, for love and sympathy, championship in time of trouble or injustice, nursing thru illnesses, teaching and guiding, developing the young body and mind and soul, at all and any expense to the often exhausted parents during this time—there are a few deposits of pennies, in the way of services willingly done, some thoughtfulness and “thank yous”. . . .

Truly, the bank account is perilously low, for there is nothing coming in, no deposits, unless occasional spells of regret for past conduct make him come to her with an “I’m sorry and will truly try to do better.”

But now, adolescence is past—full manhood is here. The bank is still paying out love, *sympathy* with wrongs, and enthusiasm for all ventures, courtesies and entertainment of friends who have nothing in common with Mother, who, unless they are very well bred, scarcely notice her existence.

The bank goes on handing out understanding and interest in budding love affairs, joy in plans of *every* sort. The account needs some deposits, by this time, some good sized ones in the way of gratitude and appreciation, interest in Mother’s ideas and affairs. Little comforts provided for the home; a desire to favor any of Mother’s peculiar prejudices, on no account to outrage her ideals. Flowers, fruits, candy, or something pretty to wear, brought home to Mother, with a kiss and a squeeze—The unfailing desire to make much of her feeble effort, to praise her cooking, back up her little schemes; a real interest in hearing her sing, or play the piano, or tell the stories that she loves to tell—A surreptitious paying of bills, just to get them off Mother’s mind; Thoughtful remembrances and celebration of her birthday and Mother’s day (the sweet letter accompanying the gift of flowers, she treasures it most of all). These are merely a few of the deposits which keep the account in good standing.

Many mothers I know are receiving these, and much more substantial gifts and returns from sons of less abilities than my son. Unless you, my son, Ernest, come

to yourself, cease your lazy loafing, and pleasure seeking—borrowing with no thought of returning— stop trying to graft a living off anybody and everybody— spending all your earnings lavishly and wastefully on luxuries for yourself—stop trading on your handsome face, to fool little gullible girls, and neglecting your duties to God and your Saviour Jesus Christ—unless, in other words, you come into your manhood—there is nothing before you but bankruptcy: *You have over drawn.* (qtd. in Lynn 117-118)

In Grace Hemigway's construction, nothing seems to be beyond the scope of her metaphor. Nursing Ernest as a child, supporting him financially and emotionally, and hosting his friends all mark debits against his account balance of his mother's love. Furthermore, Grace outlines a number of ways in which Ernest could replenish his account and implies that he is doing none of these. Her critique of this negligence is harsh. She labels Ernest after his return from serving in World War I as essentially a lazy, freeloading, heathen, who no longer meets her standards of behavior.

In spite of the array of critiques that Grace provides in this letter, the most shocking, even cruel, element of the letter is the unflinching comparison of a mother's love to an economic system. The assertion that a mother's love is something which can be borrowed, exchanged, replenished, and overdrawn and that it *must* be earned implies an economy of love and equally that economics is an appropriate model for human interaction. If even the most intimate of interactions between mother and son are regulated by an economic model of exchange, then certainly other, less intimate relationships would follow these same rules. To receive affection, you must give something else up. And by this same logic, exchanging the

affection of one person for that of another is perfectly valid—an idea which might have had a curious appeal, or carried a charge of self-reproach, for Hemingway in 1926, as he was working on *The Sun Also Rises* and his first marriage was dissolving in the face of his affair with Pauline Pfeiffer, the woman who would become his second wife.

Given this backdrop, it is unsurprising that Hemingway's own life provided a great deal of inspiration for positioning money as a central metaphor in *The Sun Also Rises*. And, in fact, Hemingway did engage with economics beyond the average earning and spending necessary to adult life in a number of meaningful ways. For example, at the request of the *Toronto Star* for whom Hemingway was employed as a foreign correspondent, Hemingway wrote fifteen articles regarding the proceedings of the International Economic Conference in Genoa; though, it should be noted that many of these articles, such as “Two Russian Girls the Best-Looking at Genoa Parley,” have an extremely limited engagement with the complex economics proceedings, and, accordingly, Kenneth Lynn describes his coverage as “inadequate” (174). In spite of his inadequate coverage of Genoa, Hemingway was clearly interested in practical economics, as displayed by his publication of such *Toronto Star* Articles as, “A Canadian with \$1,000 a Year Can Live Very Comfortably and Enjoyably in Paris,” “Crossing to Germany Is Way to Make Money,” “War Medals for Sale,” and “Betting in Toronto.”

Beyond Hemingway's own engagement with economics in the early 1920s, other writers who were in his social sphere in Paris also seemed to share his interest. For example, Harold Loeb, the model for Robert Cohn, was also writing about money around the same period. In fact, Loeb published an article in the 1922 edition of *Broom*—the real magazine

which served as a model for the fictionalized “review of the arts,” for which Robert Cohn was editor—titled “The Mysticism of Money.” In this article, Loeb anticipates much of Jake’s philosophy of “get[ting] your money’s worth” (119). Loeb writes,

[The human need for a definite value system] has been satisfied in the past by what is termed religion. It is filled to-day in America by the mysticism of money. Money, because that which was originally but a medium of exchange and a valuable metal, has become the measuring staff of all values and the goal and reward of all efforts conventionally accepted as proper. Mystic because the validity of the money standard and the intrinsic merit of money making are accepted on faith, extra-intellectually ... Reasons are superfluous when a belief is obviously true. (116)

Loeb’s invocation of “a definite value system” to replace religion certainly seems to find its way into Hemingway’s novel as well. Cohn’s commitment to such a “definite value system” actually seems, in many ways, to estrange him from Bill and Jake, who are perfectly comfortable with “a simple exchange of values” and a philosophy of “get[ting] your money’s worth” (60).

In addition to the engagement of Hemingway and other writers in his social sphere with economics, Hemingway’s oeuvre reveals a lifelong obsession with money. In *The Green Hills of Africa*, Hemingway notes the negative influence of money on writers, saying, “It is only by hazard that a writer makes money. ... Our writers when they have made some money increase their standard of living and they are caught. They have to write to keep up their establishments, their wives, and so on, and they write slop” (18). In “The Snows of Kilimanjaro,” while Harry lays dying, he reflects on his writing career and thinks of his wife

Helen, “this rich bitch, this kindly caretaker and destroyer of [my] talent” (CSS 45). In *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Pablo is more concerned for his material comforts, and especially his horses, than he is committed to the Republic’s resistance against the Fascists, which causes Robert Jordan’s initial unease and eventual death. And in *The Garden of Eden*, Catherine Borne justifies the fact that she destroyed David’s stories by saying that she “paid the money to do them,” and David is anxious throughout the novel about her wealth’s impact on his ability to write (220). Nowhere is the obsession more obvious than in his fictionalized memoir of his years in Paris, *A Moveable Feast*. His extreme emphasis on—and exaggeration of—his and Hadley’s poverty in *A Moveable Feast* and his anxiety about becoming rich in the final chapter, “The Pilot Fish,” reveal the potency of the tie between money and social categorization even late into his life.

Like much of Hemingway’s fiction, *The Sun Also Rises* draws extensively from its author’s own experiences, and, much as it did in Hemingway’s life, economics seems to function as a central metaphor, even as a model for human interaction. Yet while scholars have written extensively about money as a metaphor in the novel they have paid comparatively little attention to economic exchange more broadly. What scholars have neglected is that the novel focuses on several currencies other than simply money—currencies which can often buy what money cannot. For example, in the original first two chapters of the novel, which F. Scott Fitzgerald suggested that Hemingway cut, Jake highlights his concern with social standing and stability over his concern with money. These chapters introduce much of the backstory of the characters, which the published novel omits: details of Brett’s earlier marriages, how Brett and Mike met, and Cohn’s writing career.

Similarly, Jake introduces himself as the narrator of the novel and gives some of his backstory, focusing on his professional life. He writes,

I told Bob Graham that rather than stay and get rich with him *The Continental* could give me a job in Paris. So I made the job, and I have some stock, but not as much as I ought to have, and I do not try to run the salary up too high because if it ever got up past a certain amount there would be too many people shooting at my job as European Director of the Continental Press Association. When you have a title like that, translated into French on the letter-heads, and only have to work about four or five hours a day and all the salary you want you are pretty well fixed. (277)

Jake's opportunity to be considerably wealthier than he is along with the fact that he chooses not to take it clearly represents that certain stabilities and social categorizations take precedent over money in Jake's system of values. In that sense, Jake's potentially higher salary and the fact that he does not take it represents the opportunity cost of his job security, and his lessened workload. Additionally, in this passage, as well as in his other descriptions of his job in the original first chapters of the novel, Jake emphasizes his job title as much as his salary, suggesting that social categorizations sometimes have purchasing power beyond that of money.

Certainly, the explicit inclusions of monetary expenditures in the *The Sun Also Rises* are central to establishing the social standing of the characters, but these categorizations in and of themselves can be exchanged and function as currencies. In particular, economic models govern women's roles, social titles, and religion. I am by no means abandoning the explicit mentions of money in the novel; in fact, they are essential to determining the

characters' social standing within the categories of gender, titles, and religion. But social categories such as *poule*, mistress, and lady, official and unofficial titles, and Judaism and Catholicism form their own economies in the novel. Although the characters are categorized socially by their monetary expenditures, these social categorizations are exchanged like currency within the social systems of gender, titles, and religion and determine characters' ability to circulate in those categories as well as in social situations more broadly. The ways in which social roles function in the novel reveal the influence of Grace's letter on Ernest's work. In *The Sun Also Rises*, social categorizations function as their own sort of currency and, thereby, position economic exchange as not only a metaphor but also a model and a basis for interpersonal interaction in the novel.

As I noted in the Introduction, until now, Hemingway critics have not engaged with the centrality of economics as a model for interaction and have almost exclusively focused on the explicit mentions of money and expenditures in *The Sun Also Rises*. Even scholars as influential as Scott Donaldson, Michael Reynolds, and George Cheatham have failed to extend their analysis beyond the explicit mentions of money in the novel to include other forms of currencies that are exchanged or the instances of human interaction being modeled after economic exchange. This limited breadth of engagement with the novel's economics reflects the scholarship on this topic's near obsessive focus on the tie between money and morality and on uncovering the novel's "code." Despite this limited focus of the vast majority of scholarship on money in *The Sun Also Rises*, one scholar *does* engage with economic exchange beyond the explicit mentions of money in the novel. Namely, Nancy

Comley in her 1979 essay “Hemingway: The Economics of Survival” provides the only noteworthy discussion of this topic.

Insofar as Comley provides the first analysis of economics beyond money in *The Sun Also Rises*, my study is deeply indebted to her contributions. In spite of her contributions, however, as I outlined in my Introduction, her engagement is still primarily focused on the Hemingway “code,” which many critics now reject, arguing that no such code exists. Comley argues that characters can reach an “economical” state by abiding by the novel’s code of “get[ting] to know the values.” Comley’s own definition of being “economical,” which is central to her argument, is essentially equivalent to being efficient. She writes, “to be economical is to be orderly, to get your money’s worth in any exchange situation, and to lead a simplified life” (244). Furthermore, Comley argues that Hemingway’s characters reach an economical state by progressing from an emotional state through various processes of payment to finally dedicate their lives to “rituals of survival:” activities such as working, fishing, watching or participating in bullfights, and buying drinks and dinners (245). She argues that the act of abiding by these rituals of survival is the novel’s code, and she critiques earlier scholars’ treatment of money and the code to suggest that “There are other ways of paying, other codes operating besides the money code, and these codes have values which are moral rather than monetary. Nevertheless, these moral values are frequently expressed in economic terms” (247-248). Her analysis anticipates many key issues, which I also address in this essay, including the economics of romantic relationships with women (since Comley adopts a male perspective to reflect Hemingway’s all-male cast of narrators across his

works), the economics of religion, and even the economics of culture, which I focus on in the next chapter.

In spite of her recognition of many of the key economies besides money in *The Sun Also Rises*, her specific analysis of each of the systems that she identifies—women, religion, and culture—is limited, like those of many of the scholars that precede her, by her assumption that the novel promulgates a “code.” Comley’s argument benefits from her acknowledgement that multiple codes are in play, which is a more contemporary stance than the outdated deployment of the monolithic “code hero” code. Yet her multiple codes seem to still be subsumed within a larger, more monolithic code—a code that she assumes to be coherent and without internal tensions or contradictions. With regard to women, for example, Comley focuses primarily on Jake in his relationship with Brett as representative of moving from a complex emotional state at the beginning of the novel to a more economical state by the novel’s end through his dedication to rituals of survival—like enjoying his meal in Madrid, at least in her assessment—which she argues represent the novel’s code. Furthermore, although Comley does recognize that economics has significance beyond explicit buying and selling in the novel, her analysis of other economies is limited to a focus on the metaphorical use of monetary language in contexts besides the actual expenditure of money. She focuses, for example, on Jake’s quips that his evening with Brett is “priceless” and Brett’s retort that Jake bringing Georgette to the bar is “in restraint of trade” rather than on what the two pay to or receive from one another (18). Comley recognizes that economic language functions beyond strictly monetary exchange in the novel, but she fails to move beyond recognizing its metaphoric deployment.

Finally, in spite of her insights, when Comley *does* examine economic systems in the novel, she is almost exclusively focused on paying rather than any other form of transaction such as exchanging, bartering, or selling. This narrow focus leads her to some troubling misreadings. For example, Comley reduces both Jake's impotence and Brett's traumatic experiences to merely forms of payment:

[Brett] has been in the war; she worked in a hospital ... she has lost her first love in the war, and has had her husband come back from the war a mental case who abuses her ... In other words, she has paid, and it would be fair to say that her psychic wounds are equal in value to Jake's physical wound. (248)

In the framework of intimate relationships being conceived of in economic terms, very little seems to be out-of-bounds with regards to economic reading. Jake and Brett's traumatic experiences, however, seem to function rather differently from Comley's understanding of the purpose of paying, which is to move from an emotional to an economic state. In Comley's model, these traumatic events beg the question of "payment for what?" to which Comley offers, and there seems to be, no adequate answer. In addition to this misreading, Comley also offers a blindly hopeful reading of the novel's closing scene, suggesting that Jake's detached language and over indulgence in eating and drinking at Botin's tell us that "Jake has succeeded in further educating himself in how to live in the world" (251). Despite its limitations, though, Comley's essay is the only argument to analyze economic systems beyond explicit monetary expenditures, and she *does* anticipate many key issues in my argument.

In light of the state of scholarship on the topic, the avenues for further development are apparent. Although scholars have previously noted characters establishing their social position through their spending habits, even this analysis has been limited, especially in its applications to characters other than Jake. Furthermore, besides Nancy Comley, whose analysis is valuable but preliminary, scholars have failed to theorize the role of economics in the novel beyond explicit monetary exchanges. This essay, therefore, seeks to address these gaps in the scholarship to at least begin to more fully theorize both the ways in which money establishes the characters' social categories and the ways in which those social categories, especially women's roles, titles, and religion, are exchanges as a form of currency in and of themselves.

WOMEN'S ROLES

Throughout *The Sun Also Rises*, women's roles are governed by perhaps the most obvious example of an economic model beyond explicit monetary exchanges. There are a multitude of examples of women establishing their social position through their particular engagement with money and of them being valued and exchanged according to an economic model—as well as them doing the valuing and exchanging. Although Brett certainly exerts a great deal of agency throughout the novel and is one of Hemingway's strongest female characters, there are very few other female characters in the novel who even receive a first and last name. In line with the limited number of women in major roles in the novel, their possible social categories in *The Sun Also Rises*, are similarly limited—the categories that stand out are *poule*, mistress, and lady— and these social categories are often determined based on their

monetary relations with men, and the women themselves are often the objects of exchange in the economic models of interaction.

To begin a more specific analysis of women's roles in the novel, the most significant social categories for women in *The Sun Also Rises* are *poule*, mistress, and lady, and each of these categories seems to be most clearly delineated by money.⁷ The most obvious monetary classification of a woman in the novel is Georgette Hobin's classification as a *poule*, or prostitute. The entire motivation, in fact, for Georgette to engage with Jake and, therefore, for her appearance in the novel at all is based on money. Georgette is unambiguously offering herself as an object of exchange by engaging in prostitution and selling sex for money and a free meal. Yet, while Georgette's classification and the terms of her exchange are clear, the interaction that she likely anticipates and the actual events of the novel do not align, by and large because of Jake's impotence. Instead of taking a taxi back to Jake's flat or to some hotel, having sex, and Jake paying her, which is presumably how Georgette envisioned the evening's events unfolding, the two go to dinner, meet up with Cohn, Frances, and Mr. and Mrs. Braddocks and "several people [Jake does] not know," and attend a dance together (14). At the end of the evening, Jake leaves Georgette with a group of gay men, and, to compensate her, leaves fifty francs with the patronne for Georgette if she asks for him.

In his 2004 essay, "Yes, That is a Roll of Bills in My Pocket: The Economy of Masculinity in *The Sun Also Rises*," Jacob Michael Leland provides a useful analysis of the

⁷ Of course, since the majority of the women in the novel are not even granted full names or names at all, it is, perhaps, appropriate to add a fourth category of the novel's invisible women, including Mrs. Braddocks, and Edna, for example, as well as the many French and Spanish women who remain nameless and typically uninvolved with the expatriates.

actual terms of this exchange between Georgette and Jake, in addition to providing an example of the ways in which money can buy social categorization. He writes,

To keep Georgette from proclaiming his impotence, to appear masculine outside his circle of friends, is itself a commodity for Jake Barnes. Not simply a service differently rendered, what Georgette provides is the mechanism to produce an image: her silence is part and parcel of the appearance that Jake buys. . . . Georgette's silence determines and so is equivalent to Jake's outward masculinity, which is worth fifty francs to him. He does not lose his money; he spends it and he receives what he sets out to purchase—the appearance, if not the performance, of masculine sexual agency—a simple exchange of values. (44)

Leland's observation about Jake purchasing "outward masculinity" is important, but Jake purchases more than just Georgette's silence. Jake buys her conspicuous *presence* in a setting where he is likely to run into his friends. Braddocks highlights just how conspicuous her presence is when he remarks "Of course, darling, Mademoiselle Hobin. I've known her for a very long time" (15). Jake's being seen publicly by his friends with a known prostitute does more for his masculinity than Georgette's silence. The deferred exchange, which classifies Georgette as a *poule*, therefore, also allows Jake to perform a masculinity that he otherwise might find it difficult to perform. In other words, the same exchange that makes Georgette a *poule*, and the very fact of her obvious social categorization as such allows Jake to perform and to be socially classified by his masculinity rather than his impotence.⁸

⁸ Leland's essay also addresses many of these issues by exploring the ways in which Jake categorizes himself socially through his use of money. Leland's thesis is that Jake uses money like many other Hemingway heroes use tools—in order to reclaim something which was lost in the war—which in Jake's

The exchange between Jake and Georgette, then, though Georgette at least initially conceives of it as being based on money, is more complex than it initially appears. Rather than exchanging money and a meal for sex, Georgette has actually exchanged a public display of her willingness to have sex for money—not to satisfy her client’s lust but to bolster his public image and perhaps assuage his loneliness. Furthermore, it is unclear whether or not she actually receives the money that Jake leaves her. Her payment, in her interaction with Jake, is contingent upon whether or not she is satisfied within being exchanged to another group of men, who are also more interested in her as a prop for public performance: this time, a performance of the *absence* of their traditional masculinity. And if she does not ask for Jake at the end of the night, she will not receive any monetary payment at all. Clearly, then, money and exchange are central to Georgette’s classification as a *poule*.

While the category of *poule* is the most obviously determined by money and exchange, a closer look at the category of mistress in the novel, and especially at Frances Clyne’s self-categorization as such, reveals that money is significant to this classification as well. At the end of her rant against Cohn for sending her away and refusing to marry her, Frances feigns an epiphany about the reason that Cohn is leaving her:

case means that Jake, according to Leland, uses money in order to perform and thus replace his lost masculinity. Leland’s examples illustrate the ways in which Jake “spends money not to get things but to establish his social position, to define his relationships with other people” (41). He cites Jake paying “money not to sleep with a prostitute” as well as his emasculation when Romero has already paid Brett’s hotel bill as exemplary of Jake’s spending to establish his masculinity (43). Although “Yes, That is a Roll of Bills in my Pocket” has a multitude of other insightful claims, their focus is tangential to the scope of an analysis of economics in *The Sun Also Rises* beyond explicit monetary expenditures. So, while Leland’s essay provides a useful model of money establishing social positions, he follows the general trend of scholarship on money in this novel by continuing his focus on the Hemingway ‘code’ and by not expanding his analysis to include non-monetary deployments of economics.

I know the real reason why Robert won't marry me, Jake. It's just come to me. ... I'll tell you. It's so simple. I wonder why I never thought about it. Why, you see, Robert's always wanted to have a mistress, and if he doesn't marry me, why, then he's had one. She was his mistress for over two years. See how it is? And if he marries me, like he's always promised he would, that would be the end of all the romance. (42)

Frances here, as in her evaluation that Cohn is leaving her to find material for his next book, mocks Cohn for being a romantic and asserts his romanticism as his reason for leaving her.⁹ Additionally, though, in this passage, Frances summarizes a great deal about their relationship. Their relationship, up until some recent period not depicted in the novel—likely until Cohn met Brett—had lead Frances to believe that Cohn intended on marrying her, and Cohn has, at this point, changed his mind.

Certainly, then, the terms of their relationship and the fact that Cohn has decided not to marry her is significant to Frances's classification as a mistress, but money plays no small part in the figuration of their relationship. In fact, Frances's motivation for pursuing Cohn in the first place and her reason for changing her attitude toward him and wanting to marry him—at least in Jake's estimation—all seem to be primarily driven by money. In Jake's description, Cohn was “taken in hand by [Frances] who hoped to rise with the magazine,” emphasizing her ambitions over any emotional attachment to Cohn (4). Jake further

⁹ Interestingly, Frances is not incorrect in her assessment that Cohn is leaving her because of his Romanticism, she has merely misunderstood its manifestation. Cohn, the novel makes clear, is leaving Frances in order to pursue a relationship with Brett, but Brett certainly does not require Cohn to leave Frances in order to sleep with her. In fact, besides his Romantic conception of his and Brett's relationship, which proves to be utterly misguided, nothing whatsoever compels Cohn to leave Frances.

emphasizes this motivation in his description of their relationship after the magazine had failed, since Frances “decided that she might as well get what there was to get while there was still something available” (4). Frances, therefore, from the outset, seems to position her relationship with Cohn as an economic venture more than an emotional one.

Based on these beginnings, it is no surprise that Frances configures the end of her and Cohn’s relationship in financial terms as well. Although we receive the description of Frances and Cohn’s relationship secondhand from Jake, Frances’s own description of how she views Cohn validates rather than challenging any element of Jake’s story. When telling Jake of her desire to marry Cohn and have children with him, after Jake brings up the fact that Cohn has children, she replies by saying, “He's got children, and he's got money, and he's got a rich mother, and he's written a book, and nobody will publish my stuff, nobody at all. It isn't bad, either. And I haven't got any money at all. I could have had alimony, but I got the divorce the quickest way” (39). In this passage alone, Frances emphasizes the role of Cohn’s money in her own life three times. More tellingly, though, Jake is the one who brings up Cohn’s children, and Frances’s lamentations about her unpublished writing remind us of Jake’s description of her desire to rise with the magazine. Cohn’s influence in Frances’s life, then, even in her own terms, seems to primarily be financial, making her relationship with Cohn seem not so different than Jake’s with Georgette. In fact, when Cohn sends Frances away with 200 pounds, their interaction very nearly mirrors Jake paying money to *not* sleep with Georgette. Only Cohn is paying money to *not* marry Frances. Furthermore, both Jake and Cohn attempt to trade Georgette and Frances, respectively, for Brett, and both fail by their own standards.

While Frances obviously desires Cohn for his money and social position, to rise with the magazine, and for the romance of living in Paris, Cohn's desires from Frances are less clear. The novel consistently frames Cohn as an outsider because of his romanticism, because of his adherence to more traditional values, and, most frequently, because he is Jewish, which I explore in depth later in this chapter. Cohn's dominant desire, therefore, seems to be social acceptance, which Jake articulates most clearly when he says in the opening pages of the published novel,

[Cohn] cared nothing for boxing, in fact he disliked it, but he learned it painfully and thoroughly to counteract the feeling of inferiority and shyness he had felt on being treated as a Jew at Princeton. ... No one had ever made him feel like he was a Jew, and hence any different from anybody else, until he went to Princeton. He was a nice boy, a friendly boy, and very shy, and it made him bitter. He took it out in boxing, and he came out of Princeton with painful self-consciousness and the flattened nose, and was married by the first girl who was nice to him." (4)

Cohn echoes Jake's description of his desire for social acceptance and to not be "treated as a Jew" when he answers Harvey Stone's question about what he would do if he could do anything he wanted by saying, "I think I'd rather play football again," which displays his nostalgia for a time when "no one had made him race-conscious" (36 and 4). Cohn's dominant desire is for social acceptance, for which he is willing to give up his freedom and even his agency. Thus, he is able to be "taken in hand" and without "a chance of not being taken in hand" by Frances, exchanging his money, his social position, and the chance to rise with the magazine for social acceptance (4).

Yet, while it is clear, that money and exchange are central to Frances and Cohn's relationship, Frances's specific classification as a mistress is more subtle. A closer examination, however, of her specific qualifications of "mistress" provides a clearer image. Frances, in her assertion that Cohn has decided not to marry her in order to fulfill his desire to have had a mistress, implies that Cohn has never had a mistress before. But upon closer examination, this claim seems troublesome. Frances, in her same rant against Cohn, mentions the fact that

Robert had a little secretary on the magazine. ... So I made him get rid of her, and he had brought her to Provincetown from Carmel when he moved the magazine, and he didn't even pay her fare back to the coast. ... [I]t was absolutely platonic with the secretary. Not even platonic. Nothing at all, really ... Well, I suppose that we that live by the sword shall perish by the sword. (41)

The fact that Frances makes Cohn "get rid of" the secretary makes her later claims, that their relationship was completely platonic, suspect. The feverishness of the rant in general in addition to her sequential assertions—that it was platonic, that it wasn't even platonic, that it was nothing at all—further erode Frances's trustworthiness with regard to the secretary. Finally, though, Frances completely undermines her assertions about the nature of Cohn's relationship with the secretary when she says, "we that live by the sword shall perish by the sword." Clearly, then, Frances recognizes a distinct similarity between her relationship and the secretary's relationship with Cohn, since, in her commentary about living and dying by the sword, she seems to mean that if she could convince Cohn to send one mistress away, then she should not be surprised that he is doing the same thing to her. Whereas Frances

exercises complete agency in the exchange of the secretary for Frances, she seems to have lost her agency by the time Cohn exchanges her for Brett. Jake articulates the reason for this loss early in the novel, when he narrates, “Robert Cohn went over to America with his novel, and it was accepted ... His going made an awful row I heard, and I think that was where Frances lost him, because several women were nice to him in New York” (7). Cohn has gained a degree of social acceptance and Frances has lost the bargaining power she had with the secretary, so she is exchanged.

Since it seems that Cohn *has*, by all standard definitions, actually had a mistress before Frances, then, and that Frances is aware of his relationship with the secretary, why does the secretary seem not to qualify as a mistress in Frances’s mind? One answer is that Frances is simply in denial. She is trying to convince herself that Cohn’s relationship with the secretary truly was platonic, which is the reason for her feverish sequential assertions, and similarly that he has never had a mistress before for the sake of her own self-importance. More probably, though, and certainly more interestingly, Frances sees some distinction between Cohn’s relationship with her and his relationship with the secretary beyond her seemingly false assertions that Cohn and the secretary were platonic. Frances offers very few details about the secretary in her description and emphasizes that she was “the sweetest little thing in the world” (41). But, on this point, Frances compares rather than contrasts herself with the secretary, continuing her description to say “he thought she was wonderful, and then I came along and he thought I was pretty wonderful, too” (41).

The only other detail that Frances offers with regard to the secretary, and the most overt contrast between the two is that Cohn “didn’t even pay [the secretary’s] fare back to the

coast,” while he sends Frances to England with two hundred pounds. Despite Frances’s inability to exercise her agency over Cohn in terms of preventing her exchange, she is able to negotiate her terms, and her ability to him squirm and capitulate classifies her as a mistress in rather different terms: as a sort of dominatrix. Frances, in her negotiations, even seems to have haggled with Cohn both with regard to him not giving the secretary any money—since, according to Frances, he sent her away without money “all to please [Frances]”—and with regard to the amount she would receive when she went to England. She says, Cohn “[was] only going to give me a hundred pounds, weren't you, Robert? But I made him give me two hundred. He's really very generous. Aren't you, Robert?” (40). Certainly the majority of Frances’s motivation for haggling with Cohn over the amount that she receives when she goes to England is due to her concern over her own financial state, but the contrast between her receiving money and her insistence that the secretary not receive anything suggests something rather different, since whatever the secretary receives does not have any bearing on Frances’s own finances. In addition to suggesting financial concerns, then, Frances seems to view the amount of money that she receives when she goes to England as a mode of social categorization—as a marker of her as being Cohn’s mistress.

If both Georgette and Frances serve as important examples of social classifications signified and maintained through monetary expenditures, Brett is certainly the most central female character in the novel and thereby, the most important example of this type of categorization. Jake and Cohn seek to exchange Georgette and Frances, respectively, for her, and the tension between Jake, Cohn, and Mike vying for Brett’s attention drives much of the action of the novel. Brett is the only female character on the expatriates’ trip to San Fermín,

and she is also the only female character who plays a dominant role in more than one scene in the novel. Additionally, Brett is second to only Jake in terms of “on-screen” time, and she is frequently the subject of his thoughts even when she is not physically present. As a result of her central role, her engagement with money as a tool to regulate social classification is the most indicative of its function in *The Sun Also Rises* more broadly.

Brett’s primary social categorization in the novel is as a lady. This classification contains implicit ironies, since she so overtly challenges the era’s standard definitions for being a lady and, according to the traditional values held by Grace Hemingway’s generation, she is strikingly “unladylike.” She has been married multiple times. She sleeps around. To borrow from Grace Hemingway’s letter, she “trad[es] on her [pretty] face,” and shows no interest whatsoever in homekeeping, raising children, playing piano, singing, or religion. Both Jake and Cohn insist, however, on classifying her as a lady, which marks Jake’s departure, on the one hand, from these traditional values and, on the other, Cohn’s blind adherence to them. In fact, Brett’s being a lady is so important to the novel that the announcement of this fact served as the original opening to the novel. In the original first chapter, Hemingway writes,

This is a novel about a lady. Her name is Lady Ashley ... Lady Ashley was born Elizabeth Brett Murray. Her title came from her second husband. She had divorced one husband for something or other, mutual consent; not until after he had put one of those notices in the papers stating that after this date he would not be responsible for any debt, etc. He was a Scotchman and found Brett much too expensive ... At present she had a legal separation from her second husband, who had the title. (273)

In spite of the relative clumsiness of much of the original opening to the novel, this passage gives quite a concise depiction of many of Brett's key qualities that shape much of the rest of the novel. Brett is experienced with men, she is a lady, and she is expensive. While these various components to Brett's personality may initially seem unrelated, this passage in particular highlights the ways in which they are causally intertwined. The fact that Brett has a title at all is contingent upon her being experienced with men, since her title is actually her husband's. Additionally, it is her *second* husband's title, which further strengthens the tie between her experience with men and her having a title. Coupled with her first husband's announcement that he is not liable for any debts after their divorce, the fact that the reason for Brett's divorce with him is that she was "too expensive," makes the link between these three key components of her identity quite clear.

Jake reiterates precisely this linkage through his description of Brett to Cohn. After Cohn asks Jake to tell him what he knows about Brett, Jake replies,

Her name's Lady Ashley. Brett's her own name. She's a nice girl. ... She's getting a divorce and she's going to marry Mike Campbell. He's over in Scotland now. ... She's a drunk. ... She's in love with Mike Campbell, and she's going to marry him. He's going to be rich as hell some day. (31)

In addition to adding a fourth key component of Brett's personality—that she is a drunk—Jake strengthens the same tie that originally opened the novel. In fact, Jake adds yet another example of her pattern of behavior by reiterating her second divorce and adding another marriage. Significantly, with this additional marriage, Jake also reiterates the tie between Brett and economics. Even without further details about Brett's relationships with men, a

pattern begins to emerge. Brett—somewhat like Frances at least in her attempt to “get what there was to get while there was still something available,” though, perhaps more self-aware—meets a man, takes what she wants from him, and leaves him for someone else when she finds something new that she wants (4).

The motivating factor for each of Brett’s exchanges seems to be distinct. She married her first husband to “get away from home” (273). Though the novel reveals very little that is positive about her second husband, we do know that she gains her title from him. With Mike, the allure seems to be his money and the fact that, especially in their drinking habits, he is her “sort of thing” (195). With Jake, her relationship is rather different since she seems to have a genuine emotional connection, but their relationship is limited by his impotence. With Cohn, too, a single reason is difficult to pinpoint and the only explanation she gives is to agree with Jake that she “like[s] to add them up” (19). Yet all of these diverse exchanges are unified by Brett’s desire for, as Jake puts it, “what she couldn’t have” (26). Perhaps she senses her inability to keep hold of Romero and is attracted to him for precisely this reason—because, as the novel shows, she ultimately cannot have him. Similarly, once she has gotten away from home by marrying her first husband, that relationship is no longer adequate. If she exchanges herself in the second marriage to acquire a title, it turns out to be of little interest to her since she is divorcing her second husband and thus losing the title. She is willing to leave Mike for Romero, and for Cohn, seemingly only because it is something new. Her only consistent desire is for Jake, whose impotence fulfills her paradoxical desire very much in the same manner as the death of her “own true love”: she, by definition, desires what she can never have. Brett’s desire in these terms highlights the incompetence of Comley’s reading of

her “own true love’s” death as a form of payment, since she not only receives nothing in return, but actually comes to seek exchange for its own sake.

Because she is a lady, though, Brett’s progression from one man to another has rules, and much like those that govern the behavior of Frances and even Georgette, these rules and her social categorization are intimately intertwined with money. Comparing Brett’s economic interactions with men to Frances’s and Georgette’s interactions highlights the distinct rules that Brett follows and which seem to mark her as a lady. Like Frances, Brett’s interactions with men are, at least, ostensibly not for purely financial reasons. And like Georgette, Brett has sexual interactions with a multitude of men. Unlike either one, though, Brett refuses to accept direct gifts of money for her interactions with men, whereas Georgette requires money for sexual interaction as her job, and Frances haggles with Cohn to insure her own financial security when she goes to England.

Brett’s abidance by this rule is most clearly illustrated in her interactions with Count Mippipopolous. After spending an evening with the Count, Brett asks him to take her to Jake’s flat, where she tells Jake that the Count,

Offered [her] ten thousand dollars to go to Biarritz with him. ... Lot of money. I told him I couldn’t do it. He was awfully nice about it. Told him I knew too many people in Biarritz. ... Then he wanted me to go to Cannes with him. Told him I knew too many people in Cannes. Monte Carlo. Told him I knew too many people in Monte Carlo. ... Told him I knew too many people everywhere. Quite true, too. So I asked him to bring me here. (27)

Although, as Mike reveals later in the novel, Brett could certainly use the money, she refuses the Count's offer. The mode in which she refuses to go on a trip with the Count also seems to be significant. On one hand, simply saying that she does not accept money for sexual favors would seem to go against the expatriates' values and mode of communication, which favors words like "nice" instead of "breeding" and "funny" instead of "tragic."¹⁰ Taking Brett's excuses at all seriously and not simply as lighthearted, understated deflections, though, leads to a rather different reading. If Brett genuinely is concerned about seeing people that she knows in Biarritz, Cannes, and Monte Carlo then her concern seems to be primarily with social categorizations and with maintaining her distinction as a lady rather than becoming economically involved and appearing as a prostitute. This desired distinction is muddled by the fact that Jake confuses Brett for Georgette when Brett shows up to his apartment late at night. He thinks, "I heard Brett's voice. Half asleep I had been sure it was Georgette. I don't know why" (26). Although Brett refuses to accept money for sex, then, to both the count, in his offer of ten thousand dollars, and Jake in his confusion of Brett for Georgette, the distinction between her behaviors and a prostitute's are tenuous.

Brett's interactions with the Count directly contrast with her interactions with Cohn, and even seem to contradict her concern for her social position. Though Brett refuses the Count's offer of a vacation and ten thousand dollars, she goes to San Sebastian with Cohn for no money at all. The only reasons for this trip given in the novel are that Brett "rather

¹⁰ For more on the expatriates' use of understated and sometimes cryptic language throughout the novel, see Walter Ben Michael's book, *Our America: Nativism, Modernism, and Pluralism* as well as James Hinkle's essay, "What's Funny in the Sun Also Rises."

thought it would be good for him” and that, according to Jake “She wanted to get out of town and she can’t go anywhere alone” (82). The fact that Cohn almost certainly covers their expenses on the trip does not violate Brett’s ethics regarding accepting money for sex, since the offer is indirect, but rather seems to be in line with the financial basis of her previous romantic involvements. What is curious, though, is why Brett is willing to travel with Cohn if her concern is genuine about “know[ing] too many people everywhere,” especially since the outward appearance of a trip with either one of them is essentially the same with regard to presenting herself as a lady versus as a prostitute (27). In line with Brett’s desire for what she cannot have, which manifest in her attempts to fill an unfillable absence created by the death of her “own true love” she seems to have a propensity toward “nursing” or taking care of men, thus, Jake’s quip upon hearing that she has gone off with Cohn that “[she] might take up social service” (68). She meets Jake after he is injured, while she is working in a hospital. Mike needs a different sort of care, which Jake highlights in his description in the original first chapter of the novel, saying “Mike was lonely and sick and very companionable, and, as she said, ‘obviously one of us.’ ... [He] had various habits that Brett felt sorry for, did not think a man should have, and cured by constant watchfulness and exercise of her then very strong will” (274). She echoes her caretaking desire for Cohn, when she explains her reason for going off with him by saying, “I rather thought it would be good for him” (68). In spite of the ambiguity about whether or not Brett’s excuses for not joining the Count are genuine, the link between Brett’s identity as a lady and the rules that she follows with regard to money is clear.

Although money's central role in the social categorizations of the women in the novel is apparent, the ways in which these social categorizations and the women themselves are exchanged as a form of currency—the role of economics beyond the explicit mentions in the novel—remains to be explored. The economics of women's roles in the novel are distinct from many of the novel's other economies. Rather than the women trading on their own social roles, acting as the subject with regard to their own categorizations, they are most frequently the object of exchange. For example, in the case of both of Cohn's mistresses, the secretary and Frances, neither one has any agency in choosing whether or not they want to be exchanged. Frances certainly exerts more agency by at least charging a fee, but ultimately, she is powerless against Cohn's desire to exchange her for Brett.

When discussing the metaphorical exchange of women, Eve Sedgwick's book *Between Men*—particularly its examination of the function of love triangles—is indispensable.¹¹ Her theorization of the triangulation of male homosocial desire seems to apply directly to the most central exchange of women in the novel: when Jake, to borrow Cohn's term, “pimp[s]” Brett to Romero (152). In Sedgwick's conception, men direct their desire for one another through rivalry over a single woman. She writes,

A calculus of power ... was structured by the relation of rivalry between the two active members of an erotic triangle. ... [I]n any erotic rivalry, the bond that links the two rivals is as intense and potent as the bond that links either of the rivals to the

¹¹ *Between Men* is most famous for its coining of the phrase "male homosocial desire" as well as its introduction of this concept—which problematizes the distinction between three sexualities, hetero-, bi-, and homo-, which were previously conceived of as easily distinguishable—to the humanities. The most relevant chapters of her work to my analysis are chapters 1, 3, and 8.

beloved: that the bonds of ‘rivalry’ and ‘love,’ differently as they are experienced, are equally powerful and in many senses equivalent. ... And within the male-centered novelistic tradition of European high cultures, the triangles ... are most often those in which two males are rivals for a female. (21)

In terms of *The Sun Also Rises*, Brett serves as an object of mutual desire for Jake and Romero, through which they experience rivalry and thus express their homosocial desire for one another. This same homosocial desire is also expressed more directly at other points in the novel reinforcing the symbolic significance of the exchange. When Montoya introduces Jake to Romero, Jake thinks, “[Romero] was the best-looking boy I have ever seen ... He was standing, straight and handsome and altogether by himself,” and then says to Montoya, “He’s a good-looking kid ... He’s a fine boy” emphasizing three times in two pages Romero’s looks (130-131).

In light of Sedgwick’s insights, Brett *seems* to act as a sort of currency with which Jake can express his homosocial desire for Romero, but both Brett’s agency in this exchange and Jake’s impotence problematize this simple application of Sedgwick’s theory. While Jake certainly seems to harbor homosocial desire for Romero, he is extremely reluctant to “pimp” Brett to Romero, since he not only loses Brett in this exchange, but also risks Romero’s affection, which seems to be the source of Jake’s attraction to him. And Brett is absolutely the controlling agent of this exchange, since Jake only introduce her to Romero at her persistent bidding. By acting as one of the “two active members of [the] erotic triangle” that defines Brett, Jake, and Romero’s relationship, Brett challenges the “tradition of European high culture,” which situates the two men as the active agents. Furthermore, Brett’s position in

this triangle along with Jake's impotence change the direction of the eroticization. Brett is the object of both Jake and Romero's desire, and while Jake seems to express homoerotic desire toward Romero, nothing in the novel or the manuscript suggests that this desire is reciprocated by Romero. Brett's position of agency combined with her existing relationship with Jake suggests that she takes the typical position of the dominant male in Sedgwick's triangle—the one who “gets the girl.” Yet her relationship with the other “active member” of the triangle is unmediated, since she consummates her desire with Romero, seemingly in lieu of her ability to consummate her desire for Jake because of his impotence. Though the two-male one-female structure of this relationship suggests Sedgwick's triangulation of desire, the direction of desire seems, instead to be linear. Brett displaces her inability to consummate her love for Jake onto Romero, who acts as a surrogate for Jake. Or from Jake's perspective, and to quote his midnight soliloquy, Jake “had been having Brett for a friend. ... [He] had been getting something for nothing” and now he is having to pay (119).

Although Brett resists objectification in this love triangle, women in *The Sun Also Rises* are frequently objectified and even commodified through the language of various male characters' descriptions of women. Cohn, for example, describes Brett by noting “a certain quality about her, a certain fineness. She seems to be absolutely fine and straight. ... I don't know how to describe the quality ... I suppose it's breeding” (31). Despite this quote marking Cohn's inability to assimilate to expatriate values, he clearly objectifies Brett in this quote, and it is by no means the most egregious offense, even with regards to Brett. In the first scene in which Mike appears in the novel, he continually repeats to Bill and Jake about Brett that, “she is a piece ... isn't she a lovely piece” (65). Brett is not the only woman subject to

objectification, even commodification, through language. Mike echoes his earlier comments about Brett when he meets Edna. After Bill introduces Mike to Edna at a bar in Pamplona, Mike says, “Where have I been? Where have I been looking all this while? You're a lovely thing. Have we met?” (144). Describing women in terms of their breeding and comparing them to things and “pieces” very clearly illustrates their objectification through language, while reinforcing the male characters’ symbolic power to exchange women. If the women are configured as commodities, certainly they can be traded like them.

Despite being the object of desire for most of the novel’s men, Brett is not exempt from being unwillingly exchanged. When Mike meets Edna, in fact, after he begins to compliment her, Brett asks him to “Come off it, Michael,” which shows that, in spite of the fact that she has had sex with Cohn and is about to have sex with Romero, she does not want Mike to exchange her for Edna (144). The fact that Mike going off with Edna is an exchange is further highlighted by the similarities between Brett and Edna. Edna’s manner of speaking and lighthearted disengagement from her surroundings is very reminiscent of Brett. But, more significantly, Edna is staying at the Grand Hotel. Earlier in the novel, Montoya objects to sending Romero to the Grand Hotel because “Any foreigner can flatter him. They start this Grand Hotel business, and in one year they're through,” to which Jake responds, “There's one American woman down here now that collects bull-fighters” (138). Clearly, therefore, Brett is quite similar to the American woman, who Jake describes, and, were she not with Jake, would be very much the type to stay at the Grand Hotel. The fact that Edna *is* staying at the Grand Hotel, makes her a more direct mirror of Brett and, therefore, makes Mike’s attempted exchange of Brett for Edna even more obviously direct.

Although she is objectified throughout, Brett at least is able to trade on her title and sexuality and, thereby, to participate in the novel's economics beyond acting as a sort of currency. In fact, Brett exchanges quite a few men herself. She exchanges her first husband for her second husband and her second husband for Mike, as well as exchanging "her own true love" for Jake. And, through the course of the novel, she exchanges the Count, Cohn, Mike, and Romero. Furthermore, Brett uses her title as a lady in these and other exchanges. Cohn, in particular, is certainly drawn to the fact that she is a lady (even if he doesn't fully understand what one is, as he shows when he wrongly refers to her as "Lady Brett" rather than "Lady Ashley), and the count seems to appreciate it as well. Brett also says that she has "had hell's own amount of credit on [her title]," which, especially considering Mike's bankruptcy seems to be her only mode of supporting herself besides her frequent exchange of men. Unlike the other women of the novel, Brett is not content to be exchanged and, at least with regard to gender roles, actually engages in an active role of being responsible for the exchange more than any other character in *The Sun Also Rises*.

Finally, then, the economic role of women in the novel is clear. Women are always categorized through their explicit monetary expenditures and always in relation to men, although they may have agency in these relations. These categorizations, and, in fact, the women themselves then serve as their own kind of currency, which can be exchanged—most typically by men—through the novel's economics beyond the explicit mentions of money, marking the women as a sort of commodity. Yet, despite the unique gender implications of this manifestation of economic exchange in *The Sun Also Rises*, this model of social roles being established through monetary expenditure and those social roles forming their own

kind of currency is by no means unique to gender roles. In fact, the overlap between Brett's classification as a lady, particularly in its more gendered application, with the formal, official origins of her title reveals another of the novel's economies: titles.

TITLES

Titles, despite serving as a type of economy in *The Sun Also Rises*, function as a very different kind of economy than women's roles in the novel. For one thing, official titles are established through the state and as a result, although money is paramount to the performance of these titles, their actual establishment is not through monetary expenditure. There are, however, unofficial or non-legal titles throughout the novel, "middleweight boxing champion of Princeton" or "aficionado" for example (3). Because of the broad range of these titles and the ways in which they were earned, similar to official titles, monetary expenditure is not necessarily so much the mode of establishment of these titles as it is the mode of their performance. In spite of the various ways in which titles are established in the novel, they each certainly function as an alternative mode of exchange. Truly, though, in order to understand the economic function of titles in the novel, it is best to turn to specific examples.

The most obvious characters of title in the novel are Lady Brett Ashley, Zizi the Duke, and Count Mippipopolous. Since we have already explored Brett's title and Zizi is only mentioned in passing, Count Mippipopolous is perhaps the best example of a character with an official title. Obviously, Count Mippipopolous would still be a count regardless of his finances, but his extravagant expenditures—on women, wine, champagne, cigars, cars, meals and brandy—are what mark him publicly as being a count. In other words, money

serves as the key vehicle by which Count Mippipopolous performs his title and thus appears publicly as a count. Notably, each of these modes of expenditure has a distinctly public element, since, although the count may enjoy these and other luxuries in private as well, the count chooses to indulge in each of them with at least Jake and Brett as an audience.

Furthermore, the count provides a commentary on the economics of his title. After Brett asks Jake why he does not have a title, the count responds by saying, “I assure you, sir . . . It never does a man any good. Most of the time it costs you money” (47). Brett disagrees, saying that the count “[hasn’t] used it properly. [She’s] had hell’s own amount of credit on [hers]” (47). Although the proper economic use of titles is unclear from Brett and the count’s conversation—the text certainly positions the count as more reliable, but Brett’s model is more beneficial for her—titles *do* clearly have economic value. Additionally, scholars such as Nancy Comley among others have suggested that the count serves as a sort of tutor for Jake with regard to “get[ting] your money’s worth” (119). In fact, the count’s conversation with Jake and Brett in Jake’s flat anticipates much of Jake’s philosophy, which he expresses in his midnight soliloquy. The count says, “it is because I have lived very much that now I can enjoy everything so well. . . . That is the secret. You must get to know the values” (50). The count’s position as a tutor combined with the fact that his title usually costs him money suggests the broader role of titles in the novel: titles and economics are inseparable.

Besides the count, Zizi, and Brett, Mike is the only other character who may have an official title. Though the count’s assertion that after Brett divorces her second husband, she will no longer have a title suggests that Mike does not have a title, Brett identifies Mike as a member of “the British aristocracy,” which, while it does not necessarily mean that Mike as

an official title, at least positions as the next closest character to being officially titled (162). The original beginning of *The Sun Also Rises* further complicates this issue by labeling Mike as “Michael Campbell Esq.,” which, in itself is an ambiguous title by the 1920s.¹² But, whether or not Mike has an official title, unlike Count Mippipopolous, Zizi, or Brett, the significance and efficacy of Mike’s title as British aristocracy is entirely contingent upon his economic condition.

Mike frequently uses his title as a form of currency. In fact, his entire livelihood depends on his ability to borrow money against his title. The very first piece of information that we learn about Mike in the novel is that he is going to marry Brett and that he is “going to be rich as hell someday” (31). The original introduction of the novel offers a similar description, but adds the fact that he is apparently a very poor businessman and “he was also an undischarged bankrupt” (223). Because of the fact that Mike is going to be rich someday, he frequently borrows money, as displayed by the fact that Jake assumes that the reason people in the bar that want to fight Mike in Pamplona when he is out with Bill and Edna is that he “Probably he owes them money” (151). Furthermore, Mike himself admits to borrowing one hundred pesetas from Montoya, and when Bill is worried about how he will get through with no money, Mike says, “I can live on tick at this pub in Saint Jean” (185). All of Mike’s borrowing and subsequent spending are clearly only possible because of the promise that he will be rich someday. Whether his title is official or unofficial, therefore, it is certainly most meaningful in terms of its economic impact on his life.

¹² Esquire, though it was originally a formal title, by the 1920s was more frequently used to describe a lawyer—the original usage being modified by that time to mean a member of British aristocracy, though not to indicate a particular rank.

Other characters besides Mike also have unofficial titles. Cohn, for example, who I explore in depth in the subsequent section of this chapter, is a middleweight boxing champion, “a member, through his father, of one of the richest Jewish families in New York, and through his mother of one of the oldest” (4). Interestingly, both Jake and Pedro Romero have the title of aficionado, but it functions quite differently for each. In Jake’s case, he has earned the title of aficionado by learning about bullfighting rather than by participating in it. Furthermore, we learn that Jake’s title of aficionado has purchasing power. Jake says of Montoya,

Montoya could forgive anything of a bull-fighter who had aficion. He could forgive attacks of nerves, panic, bad unexplainable actions, all sorts of lapses. For one who had aficion he could forgive anything. At once he forgave me all my friends. Without his ever saying anything they were simply a little something shameful between us, like the spilling open of the horses in bull-fighting. (106)

Although Jake says that Montoya could forgive someone with aficion anything, he certainly tests the limits of Montoya’s patience. In fact, by the end of the novel, Jake seems to have lost Montoya’s approval and thereby lost his aficion.

Lost, though, is perhaps the wrong word to describe what happens to Jake’s aficion. It seems, instead, that Jake has traded his aficion for his position in relation to Brett as well as his other companions. In his midnight soliloquy, when Jake says, that he “*thought* [he] had paid for everything. ... No idea of retribution or punishment” his assertion is in the past tense, suggesting that he has realized, now, that he had not actually paid for everything (119, emphasis mine). When Jake “pimps” Brett, it seems that he is really pimping Romero as a

surrogate, and, in effect, paying for his relationship with Brett, in which he had previously been “getting something for nothing” as a result of his impotence. Jake’s *aficion*, therefore, buys Montoya’s approval, but by the time he has paid off his debts to Brett, he “has over drawn.” Pedro on the other hand, though he also has *aficion*, does not trade on his *aficion* and, therefore, does not lose it. Although he has sex with Brett and even goes with her to Madrid, as Nancy Comley puts it, “women have far less value than does Romero's profession, and in all of his relations with Brett, Romero loses nothing” (251). Romero, therefore, is able to trade “something for something” in a way that Jake is not, by performing sexually, and, when he pays the bill at the hotel, he has paid in full for his affair with Brett, but not with his *aficion*.

Mirroring the ways in which women were frequently objects of exchange, Mike highlights a similar pattern when Brett trades him for Cohn and, subsequently trades Cohn for Romero. While this mode of exchange is typical for Brett, the terms in which Mike describes it are significant. Mike says, “Brett's got a bull-fighter ... She had a Jew named Cohn, but he turned out badly” (168). Although Mike does mention Cohn’s name, the title of these two characters seems to be their most important characteristic as well as the greatest source of offense for Mike. Ironically though, when Mike tells Jake later that he told Brett that “if she would go about with Jews and bull-fighters and such people, she must expect trouble,” he could very easily have added himself to that list, saying if you go about with Jews and bull-fighters and drunken bankrupts and such people, you must expect trouble (162). In this configuration, Brett is not exchanging people, but rather she is acting as an agent of exchange in an economy of titles.

Although titles function differently than women's roles in the novel and are more diverse in the ways in which they are established, they do clearly serve as yet another economy throughout *The Sun Also Rises*. Though they are not as obviously established through monetary expenditures, they are certainly exchanged and are even used to engage with monetary economies. Yet women's roles and titles are certainly not the only economies besides that of money which are active in the novel. Religion follows a similar pattern as women's roles and titles insofar as it is established by monetary expenditures, but it also represents the breakdown of economies and the failure of exchange, particularly in the contrast between Jake's Catholicism and Cohn's Jewishness.

RELIGION

The final social category that I wish to examine in terms of economics in *The Sun Also Rises* is religion. Although religion is less obviously prominent in the novel than the other two categories, it still plays a significant role in the social categorization of the characters—especially for Jake and even more so for Cohn. Furthermore, the exchangeability and purchasing power of religion played a significant role in Hemingway's life in the period immediately preceding the publication of *The Sun Also Rises*.

In the winter of 1925-1926, as he worked on revisions to *The Sun Also Rises*, Hemingway began an affair with the woman who would become his second wife, Pauline Pfeiffer. His divorce and quick remarriage in 1927 mirrors many of the economic models that I have observed in this argument as well as the attitude present in Grace Hemingway's letter. Additionally, scholars such as Ruth Hawkins have suggested that there was a monetary

element of this attraction. She writes, “Perhaps not coincidentally, Ernest’s affections for Pauline developed around the time [her] Uncle Gus increased her trust fund to \$60,000, with a \$250-per-month yield” (47). The significance of economic exchange is not limited to Pauline’s trust fund, and the photographs below illustrate the complexity of Hemingway, Pauline, and Hadley’s relationship in the midst of Hemingway’s exchange of Hadley for Pauline (see fig. 1 and fig. 2).

Furthermore, unlike Hemingway, who had largely abandoned the Protestant faith in which he was raised, Pauline was a devout Catholic. Marrying Pauline would mean that Hemingway would have to formally convert to Catholicism. Rather than going through that process, Hemingway claimed that he had already been converted, which Jeffrey Meyers describes in his biography:

In order to avoid the trouble of religious instruction and a formal conversion, Hemingway claimed that he had been baptized by a priest from the Abruzzi—who had merely walked down the aisle anointing the men—after he was wounded at Fossalta. In January 1926, while skiing with Pauline at Schruns, Hemingway claimed to be a Catholic ... Agnes von Kurowsky, who knew him intimately in 1918, “could not remember his talking about religion at all. Her Catholic friends ... would surely have said something if Ernie had been converted to Catholicism.” (184)

While it is unfair to say whether or not Hemingway’s story of his conversion was purely fabricated, his claim to conversion was certainly transactional in nature. By exchanging, or at



Fig. 1. Pamplona, Summer 1925. Duff Twysden is “between men.” From Left to Right: Ernest Hemingway, Harold Loeb, Lady Duff Twysden, Elizabeth Hadley Richardson, Donald Ogden Stewart, and Pat Guthrie. *Ernest Hemingway and Elizabeth Hadley Richardson with Friends at a café, Pamplona, Spain. Summer 1925.* John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston. *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum.* Accessed 2 Nov. 2016.



Fig. 2. Pamplona, Summer 1926. Ernest Hemingway is “between women.” From Left to Right: Gerald Murphy, Sara Murphy, Pauline Pfeiffer, Ernest Hemingway, and Elizabeth Hadley Richardson. *Ernest Hemingway and Elizabeth Hadley Richardson with Friends at a café, Pamplona, Spain, Summer 1926*. John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston. *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. Accessed 2 Nov. 2016.

least claiming to exchange his Protestantism for Catholicism, Hemingway economized his time, by avoiding the process of conversion, and facilitated, using religion as currency, the exchange of one wife for another.

Based on its significance in Hemingway’s own life, it is unsurprising that Jake Barnes, who is a fictionalized version of Hemingway in *The Sun Also Rises*, is also concerned with religion and what it can and cannot purchase. Jake seems to view

Catholicism as inadequate to navigate the world in which he lives, and certainly does not lead a particularly Catholic life, which leads, perhaps, to his self-assessment as a “rotten Catholic” (78). Jake’s first reflection on Catholicism in the novel is immediately following the scene in which he looks in the mirror after undressing and thinks, “Of all the ways to be wounded. I suppose it was funny” (25). Reflecting on his impotence leads Jake to think, “The Catholic Church had an awfully good way of handling all that. Good advice, anyway. Not to think about it. Oh, it was swell advice. Try and take it sometime. Try and take it” (26). Clearly Jake is bitter about the utter inadequacy of the Catholic Church’s advice, and his lifestyle seems to reflect that he is at least considering abandoning Catholicism, along with other traditional values, to attempt to find new values that fit with the post-war world. Brett articulates her own version of this when she says at the end of the novel, “You know it makes one feel rather good deciding not to be a bitch. ... It’s sort of what we have instead of God” (197). Jake’s reply, that “Some people have God” does not seem to include him, especially in his deep cynicism at this point in the novel.

Beyond simply exchanging traditional values such as Catholicism for newer ones, Jake explores other more directly economic modes of exchange regarding Catholicism. On the train from Paris to Burguete, Jake discovers that Catholicism does have some amount of purchasing power when he is unable to get a lunch slot. Montana, his wife, and his son, Hubert, who sit near Bill and Jake on the train are able to get an early lunch slot, in spite of the fact that Catholic pilgrims have reserved the first four. Montana tells Bill and Jake, “They thought we were snappers, all right ... It certainly shows you the power of the Catholic Church. It’s a pity you boys ain’t Catholics. You could get a meal, then, all right” (71). Jake

replies that he is Catholic, “that’s what makes [him] so sore” (71). Bill and Jake even try to bribe the train conductor in order to get a lunch slot, but are unsuccessful. Money, therefore, cannot purchase what Catholicism can in this setting. In the next chapter, Jake decides to test the economic power of Catholicism. He walks into Iglesia de San Saturnino and, after noting the beauty of the Cathedral, kneels and begins to pray. Eventually, Jake actually prays for money. He thinks, “I wondered if there was anything else I might pray for and I thought I would like to have some money, so I prayed that I would make a lot of money, and then I started to think how I would make it” (78). Although Jake mentions his Catholicism and especially his guilt over being a “rotten Catholic” several times throughout the novel, the fact that the only time he manages to successfully pray, he prays for money, marks the exchange value of Catholicism. Finding no other use for it after the war, especially in its inadequacy in helping him deal with his impotence, Jake commodifies his religion. Catholicism, then, in this novel as well as in Hemingway’s life seems to have limited value in typically religious terms, as illustrated by the Church’s instruction that Jake should not think about his impotence, but, in spite of its failure to help with his impotence, it does, at least, seem to have economic value.

Unlike Jake and his Catholicism, Cohn seems unable to exchange his Judaism for any other social identity. And this failure of exchange does not stem from a lack of potential identities. Cohn could readily be classified as a boxer, as a writer, as wealthy, as a romantic, or as an expatriate. With regard to this last category in particular, Cohn’s Jewishness seems to continually prevent him from fitting in. One of the expatriates’ most frequent used insults is the word “superior.” Jake describes the gay men who enter the *bal musette* with Brett,

saying, “I wanted to swing on one, any one, anything to shatter that superior, simpering composure,” and Brett employs this same jab against Jake, when she wants him to introduce her to Romero and he has not, by saying in response to him informing her that he and Romero were talking about bullfighting, “You *are* superior” (17 and 140). But by far the most frequent deployment of the term is against Cohn in conjunction with calling him “Jewish.” After Bill bets Cohn on when Brett and Mike would arrive, and Jake informs him that he is going to lose his money, Bill tells Jake, “Well, let him not get superior and Jewish” (77). Bill echoes this same sentiment later, when describing his distaste for Cohn to Jake on their walk to hotel Montoya, saying, “He’s got this Jewish superiority so strong that he thinks the only emotion he’ll get out of the fight will be being bored” (130). Jake, though he does not combine the term with “Jewish,” shares Bill’s reaction to Cohn’s claims about when Brett and Mike will arrive, thinking, “I certainly did hate him. I do not think I ever really hated him until he had that little spell of superiority at lunch” (80). One of the only insults hurled more frequently than “superior” is to simply call Cohn Jewish, and the expatriates’ anti-Semitic tendencies throughout the novel are less than subtle. Cohn first experiences anti-Semitism when he is made to feel “inferiority and shyness . . . being treated as a Jew at Princeton,” but this is by no means the last. Jake notes his “hard, Jewish, stubborn streak” (9). Brett calls Cohn a “damned Jew,” and Mike take particular offense to the fact the Brett has slept with him, saying, “Brett’s gone off with men. But they weren’t ever Jews” (114).

Certainly, nothing in the novel indicates that Cohn is religiously Jewish, which, although he is certainly a Jew culturally, complicates his classification. Walter Ben Michaels, however, suggests an explanation. In his book *Our America: Nativism, Modernism, and*

Pluralism, he focuses on literary works such as *The Sound and the Fury*, *The Great Gatsby*, and *The Sun Also Rises* to explore the ways in which Americans between the wars distinguished themselves from particular linguistic, cultural, national, and racial categories by marking them as un-American (2). He writes, “The economic meaning of the term [Jewish] is so removed from its racial roots that you don’t have to be Jewish to be a Jew and being Jewish isn’t enough to make you one” (9). In other words, although Cohn is certainly culturally Jewish, his economic tendencies rather than his cultural heritage are what mark him as a Jew.

Mike demonstrates precisely this point about Jewishness when he talks to Bill and Jake about Brett’s debtors. After Jake asks if Brett has any money with her, Mike replies, “She never has any money. She gets five hundred quid a year and pays three hundred and fifty of it in interest to Jews. . . . They’re not really Jews. We just call them Jews. They’re Scotsmen, I believe” (185). The conflation of one stereotypically tightfisted group, Jews, with another, Scotsmen, highlights the significance of money to social categorization. Rather than bothering to distinguishing the racial identities of Jews and Scotsmen, Mike only seems to care about their financial similarities. Ironically, Mike, although he is Scottish, hardly confirms this stereotype, since he is always broke because of his extravagant expenditures, including, in the novel, on betting with Jake and Bill on drinks and leaving lavish tips—which I explore in depth in the next chapter.

Whether the characters in question are anonymous Scotsmen or Robert Cohn, economic habits are enough to classify a Jew and Cohn, unlike Mike, seems to embody this stereotype. The fact, therefore, that Cohn sends three words, when “He could send ten words

for the same price” to Jake and Bill takes on new meaning. And this detail mirrors the fact that, in Frances’s words, when he tries to send Frances away, “[He] was only going to give [her] a hundred pounds . . . But [she] made him give [her] two hundred” (40). In fact, this mode of classification helps explain Frances’s sarcastic attack at the end of her same speech, saying, “He’s really very generous. Aren’t you, Robert?” as well as Mike’s joke when the expatriates are at watching the bulls as they are unloaded and he mocks Cohn by saying, “Don’t go . . . Robert Cohn is going to buy a drink” (40 and 114). Some particular aspect of Cohn’s frugality in the novel seems to violate the expatriates’ system of values and thereby to mark Cohn as a Jew.

Unlike the other social categorizations which I have explored up to this point, Cohn’s Jewishness has no place in the market in which he finds himself—though coming from one of the oldest Jewish families in New York would likely have some currency there—and precludes him from the expatriates’ various economies rather than serving as a form of currency. The fact that Cohn slept with Brett would certainly be less offensive and could even be acceptable if he were not a Jew. Brett even says to Mike about her previous affairs, that they were “damned good chaps” (114). Bill, who makes friends with nearly every other character in the novel cannot stand Cohn because “He’s got this Jewish superiority so strong that he thinks the only emotion he’ll get out of the fight will be being bored” (130). And even Jake, who Cohn considers to be “about the best friend [he has],” takes far greater offense at Brett having gone off with him than he does when he has to witness her relationship with the count (32). Jewishness in *The Sun Also Rises*, therefore, despite its intimate tie with

economics in terms of creating the classification, has no market value and cannot circulate or be exchanged, in economic terms or otherwise.

Finally, then, across various social identities, including religion, social titles, and women's roles, the role of economics beyond the explicit mentions of money in the novel is clear. While monetary interactions serve to classify the characters socially, these social classifications serve as their own sort of economy, in which the characters' social roles or even the characters themselves are exchanged. The metaphor that Grace Hemingway so strongly presents in her letter, and the implication that if a mother's love can be bought, sold, borrowed, earned, and exchanged as currency, so can gender, titles, and religion, certainly seem to have infiltrated *The Sun Also Rises*. She even anticipates many of the novel's specific economies when she suggests that Ernest, "stop trading on [his] handsome face, to fool little gullible girls, and neglecting [his] duties to God and [his] Saviour." One exchange that she does not anticipate, though, is that her notice of eviction would precede his exchange for his home in America for another country and another culture. A drastic change in cultural and geographical locale were part and parcel of Hemingway's own "exchange of values," and in my next chapter, I explore the ways in which this cultural exchange—in which money plays no small part—equally makes its way into *The Sun Also Rises*.

Chapter 2:

Money as Cultural Mediator in *The Sun Also Rises*

One of the most immediately appealing aspects of reading Hemingway is his incorporation of place into his narratives. Reading *In Our Time* gives readers a sense of a bygone world of a rugged outdoors in Michigan. *The Garden of Eden* transplants this sort of wildness and mythical simplicity of men living without women to East Africa and contrasts it with the complex luxury of the French Riviera. *A Moveable Feast* is Hemingway's own fictionalized memoir of his time in Paris, and *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, in its depiction of the Spanish Civil War, asserts that "there are no other countries like Spain" (84). Even *The Old Man and the Sea*, which is mostly set on a single boat, portrays Cuban village life through the eyes of a passing generation, encapsulating, once again, the feeling of how it was. In one of the most famous passages from *A Farewell to Arms*, Frederic Henry notes the importance of place, contrasting the meaninglessness of words and abstractions during and after World War I, such as "glory, honor, courage, and hallow" with the concreteness and lasting meaning encapsulated in place, saying "There were many words that you could not stand to hear and finally only the names of places had dignity ... the names of the places were all you could say and have them mean anything" (185). Of course, Hemingway's own life and travels mirror the diversity of locations in which his fiction is set. Because of his protagonists' apparent obsession with "get[ting] to know the values" of whatever place in which they find themselves, as well as Hemingway's focus on the same, Hemingway's works situate place as central to their meaning. In fact, works such as Michael Reynolds's *Hemingway: The Paris Years*, Carl Eby and Mark Cirino's in *Hemingway's Spain*, Rena

Sanderson's *Hemingway's Italy*, Kirk Curnutt and Gail Sinclair's *Key West Hemingway*, Edward Stanton's *Hemingway and Spain*, and Miriam Mandel's *Hemingway and Africa* among others have all delineated portions of Hemingway's life according to his locale.¹³

The Sun Also Rises, more than any of Hemingway's other works, is famous for its incorporation of place. With regard to France and Spain in particular, *The Sun Also Rises* occupies an important position. This novel popularized the term "the lost generation" and romanticized Paris and the festival of San Fermín in Pamplona for generations of readers. Cultural difference is absolutely central to the novel, and crucial to the construction of cultural difference are attitudes toward money. As much as the characters, and especially Jake Barnes, focus on "getting to know the values" of wherever they are, they rarely actually interact with the Parisians or Spanish locals in any capacity that is not directly mediated by money. In fact, the most common exchange of any sort between French or Spanish nationals and the expatriates is the expatriates paying for food, drinks, or service and tipping waiters, bartenders, and cab drivers. Furthermore, even in many of his assessments of France and Spain, Jake places the cultural function of money at the forefront of his evaluations. *The Sun*

¹³ In addition to the works listed above, there are numerous other examples which examine Hemingway in terms of his locale, including: Peter Moreira's *Hemingway on the China Front*, Ken McIver's *Hemingway's Key West*, James McLendon's *Papa Hemingway in Key West*, Jerry Kennedy's *Imagining Paris*, Hilary Hemingway and Carlene Brennen's *Hemingway in Cuba*, Larry Grimes and Bickford Sylvester's *Hemingway, Cuba, and the Cuban Works*, Norberto Fuentes's *Hemingway in Cuba*, Donald Noble's *Hemingway's Cuba*, Rosella Zorzi's *In Venice and the Veneto with Ernest Hemingway*, James Nagels' *Ernest Hemingway: The Oak Park Legacy*, Constance Cappel's *Hemingway in Michigan*, Tillie Arnold and Jack Hemingway's *The Idaho Hemingway*. As extensive as this list is, it is far from comprehensive, insofar as it does not include coffee table books, of which there are many, and works in a language other than English.

Also Rises, therefore, has done as much to shape Americans' infamous habit of thinking that cultural experiences can be bought as it has to shape their perceptions of France and Spain.

The impact of *The Sun Also Rises* on the American conception of Americans in France and Spain is unsurprising given the frequency with which these places are described, and the fact that alongside nearly every mention of place and travel through the novel, many of the characters—and especially the expatriates—include evaluations of the places they mention. When Jake suggests that going to South America or anywhere else will not make Cohn any happier, Cohn replies by saying “I’m sick of Paris . . . I don’t care for Paris” (10). Georgette expresses a similar distaste for Paris but insists that there “isn’t anywhere else” to go (12). Frances, on the other hand, contradicts Georgette’s dissatisfaction by saying, “I find [Paris] so extraordinarily clean . . . it does have nice people in it” (16). These early conversations along with the multitude of other comments include in the first chapters paint a muddled view of Paris as a city. It is both clean and dirty, both cheap and expensive. It is the only place on earth and nothing ever happens there, but going anywhere else won’t make any difference. More than giving the reader a clear idea of Paris for the expatriates, then, these conflicting descriptions reveal the expatriates’ willingness to provide their assessments of the places in which they find themselves, and they serve to categorize the characters more than the places that they describe.

Jake seems to position other characters within a hierarchy based on their ability to enjoy Paris. In particular, a character’s ability to enjoy Paris or not seems to indicate the degree to which they are able to “get to know the values” of the place in which they find themselves. Characters such as Count Mippipopolous fair well in this hierarchy, since he

says, to Brett when she and Jake first meet him, “Paris is a fine town all right” (23). Similarly, Brett, who Jake also respects—at least for most of the novel—when Jake introduces her to Bill says, “One’s an ass to leave Paris” (62). Characters such as Georgette, Robert Cohn, and Robert Prentiss—a minor character who, when Mrs. Braddocks introduces him to in the *bal musette* asks Jake, “Do you find Paris amusing?” and then presses the question again, to which Jake replies, “For God’s sake ... yes. Don’t you?”—find themselves on the other end of this hierarchy (17). The characters’ assessments, then, though they paint a muddled view of Paris, do provide meaningful information about the characters themselves.

The expatriates and especially Jake are equally quick to evaluate Spain, though in somewhat different terms than Paris. After crossing the border between France and Spain, for instance, Jake notes, “We all got in the car and it started up the white dusty road into Spain. For a while the country was much as it had been ... and then it was really Spain” (75). The notion that some parts of Spain could be *not* really Spain is confusing enough, but adding the consideration that Jake could determine what was “really” Spanish or not highlights the essentialist attitude backing this notion. Jake’s association with the lush greenery of the Pyrenees with France, in spite of their being on the the Spanish side of the border, versus his association of the more arid landscape, reminiscent of Castile, with being “really” Spain underlies his essentialism. In Jake’s mind, rather than acknowledging the cultural and environmental diversity of the regions, such as Basque Country, Galicia, and Catalunya, Jake’s notion of some places in Spain being “really” Spain reveal a homogenous conception of the country.

Jake takes a similar approach with regards to friendships in Spain, where people are liable to “become your friend for some obscure reason,” as well as meals in Spain, saying “the first meal in Spain was always a shock” and later “it was a big meal for France but it seemed very carefully apportioned after Spain” (76 and 187). Though meals in Spain are certainly different than meals in France, the fact that Jake chooses to include this assessment has greater implications beyond serving merely as a description. First, Jake’s inclusion of these assessments highlights the fact that he views himself as a sort of expert on Spanish culture, or at least savvy enough to provide worthwhile evaluations. Furthermore, Jake’s assessment of meals in Spain, in particular, seems to reveal his opinions about Spain more generally: that Spain, particularly in the case of San Fermín—though notably, his first description of a meal in Spain is before the San Fermín and even before he and Bill go fishing—is a country of excess and hedonism, but of the type in which he is willing to indulge.

Collectively, the expatriates’ varying assessments of Spain and France seem, rather than providing a concrete depiction of the expatriates’ or even Jake Barnes’s actual opinion of French and Spanish culture, to highlight the centrality of cultural difference to the novel. Furthermore, the contradictions contained within these multiple assessments reveals a confused portrait of French and Spanish cultures as well as many of the expatriates’ desires to essentialize them. By packing the first chapters full of comments on whether or not Paris is a good place to live, the despicability of the Flamands, the social graces of the Canadians, and the idea that there “isn’t anywhere else,” Hemingway seems to frame the novel with precisely these cultural questions—revealing the stakes of a consideration of these

assessments as well as the necessity of more closely examining the characters' actual interactions with these cultures. The multitude of assessments of the nature of France and Spain throughout the novel, therefore, create a remarkably complex depiction of the ways in which the expatriates, especially Jake, conceive of the two countries. Ultimately, then, the expatriates' inconsistent assessments of France and Spain, the difference between their assessments and their actual experiences, and their engagement with the social practice of tipping all mark their engagement with their cultural environment as continually mediated by money and positions them socially and culturally as neither French, Spanish, nor even American, but as quintessentially expatriates.

While the significance of money to the expatriates' cultural positioning, may not be immediately apparent in the aforementioned examples, it *is* central. The most significant comparison of French and Spanish culture in the novel—Jake's internal monologue after he leaves Bill and Mike and returns to France, in which he compares French and Spanish meals, waiters, and bases of friendship—also foregrounds the centrality of money (188). Jake's claims in this passage are central to my argument and warrant quoting at length:

I went in and ate dinner. It was a big meal for France but it seemed very carefully apportioned after Spain. I drank a bottle of wine for company. ... 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. ... The waiter recommended a Basque liqueur called Izzarra. ... 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. ... The waiter seemed a little offended about the flowers of the Pyrenees, so I overtipped him. That made him happy. It felt comfortable to be in a country where it is so simple to make people happy. You can never tell whether a Spanish waiter will thank you. Everything is on such a clear financial basis in France. It is the simplest country to live in. No one makes things complicated by becoming your friend for any obscure reason. If you want people to like you you have only to spend a little money. I spent a little money and the waiter liked me. He appreciated my valuable qualities. He would be glad to see me back. ... It would be a sincere liking because it would have a sound basis. I was back in France. (187-188)

Whether or not Jake's assessment of his own "valuable qualities" being his money is sarcastic is unclear, since a great deal of Jake's assessment in this passage seems to be motivated by his bitterness at having lost Montoya's respect as well as losing Brett to Romero in the same exchange. In the terms of this argument, though, Jake's inability to trade on his sexuality, because of his impotence, his inability to trade on his title, since he does not have one, and his inability to trade on his religion, since, by his own assessment he is a "rotten Catholic," all seem to indicate, despite the ambiguity, that we should take Jake's claims seriously, since his money is the only purchasing power he has left at this point in the novel.

Jake does, on the other hand, clearly seem to think that the distinct functions of money in France and Spain are legitimate grounds for assessment and, once again, that he is in a position to provide this evaluation. These evaluations and whether or not Jake is in a position to make them provide a rich set of questions, which I explore in this chapter. Do

Jake's assessments of money in France and Spain align with his experiences? What do these evaluations and their potential validity say about Jake? And how does Jake's own cultural identity as an American fit into his assessment of these cultures? In order to begin to unravel these questions, it is useful to first examine previous scholarship on money and cultural identity.

Jake not only uses the function of money to categorize French and Spanish culture, but he also spends his money to categorize himself and his relationship to these cultures. Jacob Michael Leland, in particular, has explored this mode of categorization in relation to Jake's disinterest in the boutiques "for tourists" on his walk to work. Leland writes,

Advertising and tourism both characterize urban space and organize people into types in this description ... Jake's further distinction, though, speaks precisely to how he imagines his own role as an American in Paris. He divides the objects of advertising into "tourists" and "people going to work," and locates himself firmly in the second category. This opposition defines tourists as people who do *not* go to work, writing Jake Barnes's time, place, and role in Paris in economic terms. (38)

This economic conception of his role allows Jake to imagine himself in a position more akin to a local than a tourist, thereby giving him the illusion of being a Parisian. Of course, the dichotomy that Leland presents in this passage is woefully inadequate in terms of the multiplicity of possible categorizations, since the combination of Jake's being foreign and the fact that he is going to work could readily classify him as an immigrant, migrant worker, or, most aptly in this case, as an expatriate. The stakes Jake's illusion of belonging as a local, though, are delineated in Scott Donaldson's explanation of the construction of the

Hemingway Code Hero—of which “get[ting] to know the values” is a central aspect: if Jake cannot self-classify as a local, or at least akin to one, in Donaldson and Leland’s model, he has not fully succeeded in “get[ting] to know the values.”

Although Leland highlights Jake’s cultural self-positioning through his expenditures, he fails to note the significance of the economic conditions of Jake and the other expatriates to their categorization as such. That is to say that, in many ways, the economic condition of Jake, Brett, Mike, Cohn, and Bill is precisely what categorizes these characters as *expatriates* rather than as locals or tourists or other categories such as immigrants, which might otherwise be a valid description. Jake articulates, in his conversation to Cohn about visiting South America, precisely the distinction that delineates the characters as expatriates, when he says, “You can go anywhere you want. You’ve got plenty of money” (8). Scholars of transnationalism such as Caren Irr, in her essay “Toward the World Novel: Genre Shifts in Twenty-First-Century Expatriate Fiction,” mirror this distinction in their notion of the “consumerist psychology of the expatriate” (661). Though Irr’s main focus in her essay is to delineate the ways in which newer “world novels” rewrite many of the essentialist tendencies of modernist expatriate fiction, she gives a special nod to Hemingway as the “patron saint of the expatriate scene” (665). More pointedly, Irr cites Jake’s detailed descriptions of “his” Paris and his and Bill’s time in Burguete as examples of “the modernist’s project of mapping the new” in order to highlight the empiricist and consumerist tendencies underlying these descriptions (666). Although these distinctions may seem pedantic, they are not incidental to the meaning of the novel. As scholars have noted, the engagement with and construction of expatriate identity—and the fact that the novel popularized the term “the lost generation”—is

central to understanding the ways in which the characters interact with one another as well as the ways in which they engage with various cultural influences in the novel.

Perhaps the most direct examination of central significance of expatriate identity to *The Sun Also Rises* is Allyson Nadia Field's "Expatriate Lifestyle as Tourist Destination: *The Sun Also Rises* and Experiential Travelogues of the Twenties." In this essay, Field compares the tone and structure of *The Sun Also Rises* to popular "experiential travelogues" for Paris in the 1920s. She notes the overlap in the locations mentioned in these travelogues and in *The Sun Also Rises*, such as the Latin Quarter, "the Dôme, Select, Closerie des Lilas, Deux Magots, Zelli's, Café Napolitain, The Crillon, and The Ritz" (33). Field argues that these shared locations highlight the similarity between the expatriates' fictionalized experience of Paris in *The Sun Also Rises* and that of their real counterparts in Paris in the 1920s. Furthermore, Field notes Jake's propensity for cataloguing his "itinerary through the city ... tak[ing] on the tone of a travelogue" especially during his cab rides and long walks (34). Borrowing Robert Forrest Wilson's description from his 1924 guide book *Paris on Parade*, Field convincingly associates these locales with the fictionalized expatriates' experience of Paris to mark their experience of the city as that of "one of the last few genuine American barrooms remaining on earth" (31). In other words, Field argues that the expatriates in *The Sun Also Rises* as well as their real counterparts, treated Paris as a "home ... away from prohibition and puritan prudishness" (38). This association underscores her argument that Paris for expatriates was almost entirely separate from anything identifiably Parisian—that expatriates in Paris experienced and even helped to create "the touristic myth of Paris

itself”—and that the expatriates tended to associate almost exclusively with other English speakers (34).¹⁴

In another exploration of the significance of expatriate identity to *The Sun Also Rises*, which largely neglects the significance of money to the characters' cultural identity, Matthew J. Bolton, in his essay “An American in Paris: Hemingway and the Expatriate Life” reiterates Field's classification of expatriate interactions with Paris. Bolton's primary mode of analysis and the central theme of his essay is to compare Hemingway's depictions of expatriate life in Paris, both in *The Sun Also Rises* and in *A Moveable Feast* with what scholars have uncovered through Hemingway's letters and other sources about his actual lived experience. Although Bolton's thesis—that “In the gap between” Hemingway's actual experience in Paris and his representation of it, “one can see how Hemingway transformed the materials of his own life into a great novel and how, in so doing, he cultivated the image of the expatriate as an autonomous figure”—and his subsequent analysis are more focused on Hemingway's biography than his works, he does provide valuable insight to the significance of expatriate experience to the construction of *The Sun Also Rises* (24). In fact, Bolton argues that *The Sun Also Rises* represents *the* definitive expatriate story both in terms of its focus on the expatriate experience abroad and in its construction of the same for a generation of readers. He writes,

Here, then, is the prototypical expatriate story. The veteran of World War I, finding that he no longer is at ease in his own country, trades Illinois for Paris ... Yet despite

¹⁴ Field does note that “[Jake's] Paris is not that of Hemingway,” insofar as Hemingway was more prone to spend time with a number of French and Spanish artists. Other expatriate writers, such as Fitzgerald, on the other hand, really did associate almost exclusively with an English-speaking set.

his exile, he remains an American, and his ingrained Protestant work ethic leads him to hone his craft and to stand by his values. His subject matter, too, may well center on what it means to be an American and what it means to be at home neither in his native country nor in his adopted one. If this story is familiar, it is in no small part because Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* has made it so. (28)

Bolton's generalized classification of an American expatriate seems accurate, and his argument regarding the importance of *The Sun Also Rises* to the construction of the "prototypical expatriate story" is both valuable and convincing.

Bolton's analysis of Jake and the other expatriates in the novel retaining their "Protestant work ethic" and "stand[ing] by their values," on the other hand is, at best, quite a stretch. The novel reveals that Jake and Bill *do* work, but their Protestant work ethic is hardly central to their characterization. Furthermore, the expatriates' time in Pamplona and the climax of the novel seems to focus precisely on the ways in which the characters utterly abandon their values. Bolton deserves credit for his analysis of the role of *The Sun Also Rises* in creating the essential expatriate story as well as for his insights to the insular nature of Hemingway and Jake's expatriate experience—of which Bolton writes, "Little of French history, culture, or society makes its way into Hemingway's novel. Instead, the work is bound up with the lives of the American expatriates themselves"—but, despite these insights, Bolton's work fails to address a number of important issues (27). Like Leland, he fails to address the construction of expatriate identity prior to this novel with which the characters clearly engage. But, more importantly for the scope of this chapter, Bolton only addresses the role of money in mediating the expatriates' cultural interactions tangentially. He notes that

the exchange rate allows the expatriates to maintain their lifestyle and that the expatriates' "relationships with the French themselves are primarily transactional in nature," but does not adequately support this assertion or provide analysis. Ultimately, then, Bolton's essay builds upon Field's analysis of *The Sun Also Rises*, but is by no means exhaustive of the topic.

As is evident from these scholarly works, while the expatriates' cultural assessments have been analyzed through a multitude of different lenses, the ways in which money mediates the expatriates' relationships with the French and the Spanish and how this mediation positions them socially and culturally has been left relatively unobserved. The most important example of this cultural positioning through money is Jake's internal monologue, in which he compares French and Spanish meals, waiters, and bases of friendship, which I noted earlier. Jake's assessment of France's clear financial basis and, by contrast, Spain's lack of such a basis is layered in its implications. Mirroring his oscillation in tone, he simultaneously classifies countries by their supposed valuations of money while, in spite of his efforts through overtipping, he also distances himself from the individuals in those countries through his use of money.

At a basic level, this second point is clearly illustrated in the contrast with Jake's relationship to the waiter who brings him the "flowers of the Pyrenees," on a "clear financial basis" and his relationship with the bicycle manufacturer, with whom Jake has coffee after watching a bicycle race in San Sebastian. The waiter is simply doing his job without interest in anything beyond Jake's money, while the bicycle manufacturer has no motivation for a friendship with Jake beyond his company. Yet Jake at least claims to seek a "loyal friendship" with the first and blows off the second. In order to further examine the distancing

effect of money between this novel's group of expatriates and the countries in which they travel, though, we must first establish the ways in which the expatriates, and especially Jake, use money to classify France, Spain, and, somewhat more subtly, the United States.

Beginning with an analysis of the role of money in France, Jake's evaluation of the ability to buy friends seems, at least initially, correct. One particularly clear example of this kind of purchase is Count Mippipopulous giving the concierge of Jake's apartment two-hundred francs, which changes her opinion of Brett from "not so gentille" to "trés très gentille" (43). Jake even notes that the opposite is also true for his concierge, since she is liable to tell his friends that were "neither well brought up, of good family, nor a sportsman" that he was not home (44). Other examples, however, problematize this "clear financial basis." For example, when Bill and Jake are on the train from Paris to Bayonne their attempts at bribing the conductor for a better lunch service are remarkably less successful. Even though Jake hands the conductor ten francs and asks for the first lunch service, "the conductor put the ten francs in his pocket" and advises Jake and Bill to "get some sandwiches" since they cannot eat until the fifth service (69). Instead of accepting the bribe and yielding to the "clear financial basis," which supposedly characterizes France, the conductor not only refuses to move them to a better lunch service but also accepts their bribe. This double violation of the rules of economic exchange suggests a much more complex function of money in France than Jake explains. In fact, Jake's failure to accurately explain the function of money in France highlights the impossibility of a singular, simple explanation of money's function in a given culture and, thereby, the essentialist attitude backing Jake's initial assessments.

Similarly, Jake's assessment of the function of money in Spain initially seems correct, but fails to account for full picture. Unpacking Jake's claim about the Spanish—that they are liable to become your friend for some obscure reason and that, presumably, “things” were *not* on a clear financial basis—he seems to suggest that money does not have the same purchasing power in Spain as it does elsewhere. Furthermore, the context in which Jake expresses his assessment of money in Spain and France is in response to losing Montoya's friendship, their bond over bullfighting represented here by “some obscure reason.” The very practical result of these adjusted values, then, seems to be that the Spanish are liable to refuse money and become your friend anyway and that money is not enough to patch some other offense.

One example in alignment with these expectations is the woman on the road to Burguete not accepting Jake and Bill's tip for the aguardiente. Jake explains, “I gave the woman fifty centimes to make a tip, and she gave me back the copper piece, thinking I had misunderstood the price” (85). Similarly, on the first day of San Fermín the dancers let Bill and Jake join in their circle, but would not let them pay for any wine. When Jake “put down money for the wine . . . one of the men picked it up and put it back in [his] pocket” (125). As with France, though, other examples suggest a deeper concern for money than Jake's suggests in his evaluation. For example, when Jake and Bill arrive at the inn in Burguete the woman who owns the inn insists on twelve pesetas per night in spite of the fact that Jake and Bill are the only ones staying there. Additionally, she looks in and counts the empty bottles of wine, clearly upset at Bill and Jake's indulgence and the cost to her. Furthermore, Jake's explanation of the peasants in Pamplona, reveals not only the degree of concern for

economics that these Spanish peasants have, but also their very real economic conditions, which Jake, along with other expatriates, otherwise fails to recognize. He says,

The peasants ... had come in so recently from the plains and the hills that it was necessary that they make their shifting in values gradually. They could not start in paying café prices. They got their money's worth in the wine-shops. Money still had a definite value in hours worked and bushels of grain sold. Late in the fiesta it would not matter what they paid, nor where they bought. (122)

In addition to highlighting the gap between Jake's assessment and his experience of the function of money in Spain, this quote also highlights the fact that the fiesta changes exchange value. This revelation is unsurprising—any major event that causes an influx of outsiders is met with price hikes for hotels, food, and similar commodities—but it *is* significant. Jake's narrow definition of the function of money in Spain is not even adequate to account for variance in a single location, much less the variety of regions and cultures that make up Spain. The fiesta changes the function of money for the expatriates and even more significantly for the Spanish peasants, displaying this inadequacy.

While it is clear that Jake's perceptions of the function of money in Spain and France are inconsistent with even his own experiences, in order to meaningfully establish his position in these countries, we must establish some mode of comparing his actions with cultural functions of exchange in the two countries. While even the notion of being able to understand fully the cultural function of economic exchange in Spain and France is far-fetched, essentialist, and vastly beyond the scope of this project, the novel does offer a

picture of at least Jake's conception of his relationship to these countries, which helps explain these inconsistencies for himself as well as the other expatriates.

Jake reveals a great deal about his conception of his, as well as expatriates more broadly, relationship to the countries they visit in his conversation with Cohn about visiting South America. After denying Cohn's request for Jake to accompany him on a trip to South America, Jake says, "You can see all the South Americans you want in Paris anyway," (8). Although "seeing" someone can certainly be used as a figure of speech for interacting with them, Jake seems to use it more literally here to mean observing rather than interacting. Jake's comment that "All countries look just like the moving pictures" further emphasizes the notion of merely "seeing" in the literal sense, therefore emphasizing the distance between the expatriates and the countries in which they find themselves (8). The expatriates have bought their ticket—as highlighted by Jake saying, "You can go anywhere you want. You've got plenty of money"—and, as a result, they have a right to see the show (8). In other words, much like watching a movie, Jake construction of expatriates' relationship to the countries they are in is always already distanced by voyeurism and is always already mediated by money. This monetary distancing between the expatriates and the countries to which they travel is further emphasized in *The Sun Also Rises* through the figure of tipping.

The most obvious and, arguably, most significant instance of tipping in the novel is after Jake returns to France, in the same passage as he assess the "clear financial basis" and, by contrast, the lack of one in France. Jake describes his tipping habits:

Next morning I tipped every one a little too much at the hotel to make more friends, and left on the morning train for San Sebastian. ... I only wanted a few good French

friends in Bayonne to make me welcome in case I should come back there again. I knew that if they remembered me their friendship would be loyal (187-188).

Yet, while this passage draws attention to itself more explicitly than other instances of tipping in the novel, this pattern is not unique to Jake in this scene. In fact, the only unique element to these instances of tipping in Bayonne relative to the rest of the novel is the fact that Jake is explicit in his attempt to purchase a sense of belonging or being “welcome” through his expenditure. Jacob Michael Leland’s analysis of Jake’s self-categorization as a person going to work and, therefore, *not* a tourist based on his lack of expenditure in the shops on the Boulevard on the way to his office serves as a useful example of this same sentiment: the way that you spend money marks the degree to which you belong. Equally relevant, though, are the previously mentioned examples of Jake’s attempts to bribe the train conductor and to haggle with the Spanish inn-keeper, as well as Jake’s offering to pay for the taxi with his coworkers at the beginning of the novel.

Significantly, we see precisely this same pattern mirrored in Mike. In particular, late in the novel, after the fiesta, enjoying a final round of drinks with Jake and Bill, Mike tips the bartender extravagantly. After losing rolling dice to see who will pay for drinks, Mike, who unbeknownst to Jake and Bill is almost broke, “hand[s] the bartender a hundred-franc note. The whiskeys were twelve francs apiece. We had another round and Mike lost again. Each time he gave the bartender a good tip” (184). Here, Mike spends his very last francs on an almost two-hundred percent tip for each round of whiskeys, revealing that beyond buying drinks, Mike has a great deal of social status that he feels compelled to repurchase. While scholars have disagreed significantly over Jake’s moral standing in relation to his spending

throughout the novel, Hemingway seems to rather clearly delineate Mike as amoral, if not fully immoral, particularly with regard to his expenditures, especially since he is quite literally a bankrupt. Furthermore, Mike's exorbitant overtipping in this scene occurs only a few pages before Jake's replication of the same behavior, and is framed by a similar sense of loss. Both Jake and Mike have, to varying degrees, sent Brett away with Pedro Romero, which highlights each character's worst qualities. Sending Brett away with Romero highlights, by contrast, Jake's impotence, since Romero is able to have a relationship with Brett that is impossible for Jake. And similarly, it highlights Mike's moral and financial bankruptcy, since Romero's strict adherence to a set of moral values contrasts with Mike's utter lack of them and when Brett left with Romero, she gives all her money to Mike (185). Both are attempting, as a result of these losses in status, to purchase a new sense of belonging, even one as superficial as having a waiter "like" them, through tipping.

While tipping functions similarly to other expenditures in the novel—especially in terms of its ability to maintain illusions of social positioning—tipping exaggerates this role even more explicitly because of its cultural role and the anxiety surrounding it. Tipping is an entirely socially enforced practice, and, thereby, has entirely social implications for the tipper. In other words, in Jake's model of "getting what you paid for," tips have no purchase beyond social positioning and satisfaction. Several factors contribute to this role of tipping. First, tipping can only be enforced socially since it is not strictly required by legal apparatuses, and this social enforcement is almost entirely based on punishment. In its American construction, as scholars such as Kerry Segrave have explored, tipping is policed through shaming rather than praise and can mark an individual as stingy broadly, if he fails to

tip the proper amount, but does not offer reciprocity on this general categorization, since a generous tip does not mark a generous individual in broad terms but only a generous tipper. As we see in both Jake and Mike's deployment, they attempt to purchase belonging, a reward, or general high regard in their practices of tipping rather than merely trying to avoid social shaming or retribution, but in both cases, they seem to fail. Jake's total lack of conversation, identification, or any kind of relationship with the individuals that he tips clearly undermines his idea that they are his friends. Similarly, Mike's hopes to purchase high regard from Bill and Jake, to repurchase some of the social status he lost when Brett left with Romero, and to draw attention to his extreme distaste for traditional values such as saving, or even caring about money, but he finally actually highlights his bankruptcy, even to Bill, whose "face sort of changed" (185).

Second, the "proper" amount to tip is entirely socially constructed and thereby socially contingent. Jake feels perfectly comfortable leaving a single franc for a waiter who hails a cab for him and Brett, but the Count feels justified in tipping Jake's concierge two-hundred francs for letting him and Brett into Jake's apartment. Tipping, therefore, functions to reveal more about the socialization of the tipper than the services rendered by the receiver of the tip. In other words, what an individual views as "proper" tipping practices is a direct reflection of by whom his idea of "proper" was socially constructed. Jake's concierge grasps this concept inherently, praising Brett, after receiving the tip, as "trés très gentille. She is of a very good family. It is a thing you can see" (43).

Furthermore, beyond the more obvious social positioning of the characters through tipping, tipping occupies an interesting historical position in this novel, since tipping for

Americans in the 1920s was an anxiety laden, highly problematic practice. Tipping's role in social positioning is historically embedded, as Kerry Segrave examines in his book *Tipping: An American Social History of Gratuities*. Segrave begins by outlining the origins of tipping among the European aristocracy, which began in the late Middle Ages, when "the master or lord of the manor might give his servant or laborer a few extra coins" (1). The more modern form of this practice, which grew through the expectation that houseguests would leave servants money for the extra work required by their visit, spread to American gentry by 1900. As Segrave describes it, "It was newly rich Americans who brought the habit back [from Europe] to prove they had been abroad and knew the rules" (6).

Even once the practice of tipping was firmly established in the United States, there remained a great deal of backlash against it. Various public figures throughout the 1910s, including judges, business owners, and writers described tipping as "illegal and un-American" and "a European nuisance which everybody resents but few can individually afford to resist" (16;17). Several popular books were even published that shared this sentiment. William R. Scott's 1916 anti-tipping book, *The Itching Palm: A Study of the Habit of Tipping in America* provides perhaps the most dramatic articulation of the argument against tipping. Segrave quotes Scott:

On its economic side tipping is wrong ... Tipping is an economic waste because it is double pay for one service—or pay for no service. It causes one person to give wealth to another without a fair return in value, or without any return. All the money given by the public on the side is unearned increment. ... Tipping, and the aristocratic idea

it exemplifies, is what we left Europe to escape. It is a cancer in the breast of democracy. (24)

While clearly the practice of tipping has prevailed in spite of these anti-tipping sentiments, these ideas were shared by a considerable portion of the American populace, as made evident by the fact that several laws were passed against the practice of tipping, the last of which was repealed only in 1925—the year before the publication of *The Sun Also Rises*.

While tipping originated in Europe, its proliferation as well as the increase in the amount expected was generally attributed to Americans. As Segrave writes, as early as the 1890s, “liberal but misguided Americans were blamed for spoiling the servants to the extent that English people of modest means were not able to accept as many invitations as before” (3). Similarly, in 1908, Americans were blamed “for spoiling English railway porters by overtipping them” and “*Travel* magazine noted in 1913 that American overtipped in foreign nations” (7). Even Eleanor Roosevelt addressed Americans’ reputation for tipping in a speech. Segrave cites Roosevelt, saying, “A fair tip, or one a little on the generous side, will leave a pleasant feeling and respect for you in the one who receives it. A lavish one will create a secret disrespect and add to the reputation Americans have for trying to buy their way into everything” (45).

Mike’s and especially Jake’s practice of tipping as an attempt to purchase friendships certainly resonates with the reputation observed by Eleanor Roosevelt regarding Americans abroad. Mike, though, unlike Jake, is Scottish, not American. So while Eleanor Roosevelt’s description still seems accurate when applied to Mike, its meaning is distinct. Mike’s tipping practices take on particular significance because of the stereotype that Scotsmen are

tightfisted. In light of this stereotype, Mike's extravagant tipping seems to function as a cultural dissociation from his native country, much in the same way that Jake and Bill's expenditures more broadly dissociate them from America, which I explore in depth later. Not only does Mike have to repurchase Jake and Bill's respect when he tips the waiter so extravagantly after losing bets on the whiskeys, but he is also attempting to avoid a comparison with Cohn. Cohn is both Jewish and stingy, living up to his racial stereotype. Mike, therefore, to avoid this association, must break the stereotype of Scotsmen being stingy. None of Mike's actions, especially his tipping habits, put him at risk of fulfilling this stereotype, and his expenditures, much like those of Bill and Jake, create a distance between his cultural heritage and his identity.

Despite their differing nationalities, both characters' very attempts to buy their way into friendships actually serve to mark them as foreigners in their environments. We have seen how their spending broadly, particularly when juxtaposed with their assessments of the functions of money in France and Spain, represents an utter lack of understanding as to the actual cultural and economic conditions in those countries, but this added consideration of the history of tipping positions them rather differently. Not only are the expatriates attempting to buy things which are not for sale, but their practice of tipping mirrors its history. Jake, in particular, tips, and especially overtips, in order to gain "friendship" with the locals, but also, more subtly, to position himself as a sort of local, mirroring the traveled Americans who brought the practice of tipping back to the United States in order to display their worldliness. Jake's tipping in its actual reception, though, finally serves to distance him from the cultures into which he wishes to assimilate—or at least propagate the image of

assimilation with, since the practice of overtipping is viewed as distinctly American and, in fact, as a stereotypical cultural misunderstanding of Americans travelling to Europe.

While the expatriates' practice of tipping in *The Sun Also Rises* clearly marks them as not French and not Spanish, the relationship of tipping to their identity as Americans is less clear. Though tipping was originally a European practice, by the 1920s it was commonplace in America. Furthermore, while their practice of overtipping is viewed as an American import to Europe, it had become so widespread in France, in particular, that many waiters would actually pay bars for the right to work in order to receive tips given in those establishments. By returning to a consideration of their spending more broadly, though, the expatriates, and particularly Bill Gorton and Jake Barnes, also seem to clearly position themselves as not American.

Though their tipping may position them ambiguously with regard to American culture, their spending on drinking, their criticism of American cultural figures, and their expatriation from the country itself certainly clarifies this seemingly ambiguous categorization. Jeffrey Schwarz, in his article "The Saloon Must Go, and I Will Take It With Me": American Prohibition, Nationalism, and Expatriation in *The Sun Also Rises*," unpacks many of the subtler instances of Bill and Jake's rebellion against the contemporaneous American political environment. Schwarz pays special attention to the allusions that Bill and Jake make to American political figures, such as H.L. Mencken, Wayne B. Wheeler, and William Jennings Bryan, in order to support his three-pronged thesis:

By first examining the American nationalism of this period in conjunction with the significant allusions in Jake and Bill's satirical dialogue, by secondly examining how

this nationalism influences the American characters in the novel, and by finally analyzing the construction of the Basque people and their interaction with the Americans in the novel, I will explicate how the Basque culture of *The Sun Also Rises* actually represents a criticism of 1920s American nationalism. (181)

Although Schwarz's central point is that the Basque's desire for independence from Spain and their cultural practices represent the expatriates' disengagement from prevailing American culture, it is his least convincing argument. Fundamentally, Schwarz's conflation of the Basque's tendency to "embrace foreigners, and employ alcohol as ritualistic in its own culture and as uniting in its interaction with other cultures" with Jake and Bill's rejection of nationalistic and prohibitionist attitudes in America is reductive. Furthermore, as Schwarz points out, American knowledge of Basque culture was extremely limited. Schwarz writes, "the majority of American readers in the 1920s would not have known the details of the Basque situation. At most, Americans in the 1920s would have known that the Basques sought to gain independence from Spain" (194). Even if Hemingway's intent, rather than only Schwarz's reading, was to incorporate the Basques as symbolic of America's flaws, it would be a highly ineffective symbol, which seems unlikely.

In spite of this shortcoming, Schwarz's article, on the whole, provides a skillful analysis of the ways in which Bill and Jake not only reject, but actually rebel against 1920's American culture. Schwarz provides a detailed depiction of the prevailing American political climate and most usefully uncovers the implications of prohibition and the Anti-Saloon League beyond simply banning alcohol—namely the movement's tie with the Ku Klux Klan and its nationalistic, anti-Catholic, and anti-Semitic underpinnings. In light of these

associations, Schwarz convincingly argues that the drinking of the expatriates, and of Bill and Jake in particular, represents an act of rebellion rather than merely an over indulgence.

Schwarz culminates this analysis with a close reading of Bill's sarcastic rant about Jake being an expatriate, which, notably, is the only explicit mention of being an expatriate in the novel. In the passage, Bill says, "You're an expatriate. You've lost touch with the soil. You get precious. Fake European standards have ruined you. You drink yourself to death. You become obsessed by sex. You spend all your time talking, not working. You are an expatriate, see? You hang around cafés" (92). Schwarz analyzes each sentence of this passage and the ways in which it satirizes the American political environment. Losing touch with the soil represents a rejection of traditional, rural Americans of the Midwest, "who created and perpetuated 1920s American nationalism" (189). Getting precious represents American distaste for being "artsy" rather than engaging with the Protestant work ethic. And "Fake European standards" combines with drinking and becoming "obsessed by sex" to reject American nationalism and prohibition.

Although many of the expatriates' gestures of rebellion against or at least disapproval of American culture are subtle, they do certainly seem to be present, especially through their monetary practices. From the expatriates' excessive expenditure on and participation in drinking, to their more ambiguous practice of tipping, to Bill and Jake's quips in Burguete *The Sun Also Rises* presents a problematic relationship between the expatriates and their native countries. Rather than being indifferent, unaware, or entirely separate from their American heritage, Bill and Jake seem deeply concerned with American culture and frequently actively opposed to it. Clearly they are not French or Spanish, but their cultural

and monetary practices also mark them as not clearly American. Finally, then, the only truly apt description for these characters is expatriates.

Through their oscillating assessments of French and Spanish culture, through the relationship of these assessments to their actual experiences in these cultures, and through the motif of tipping, the expatriates' relationships with the locals of the countries that they visit in *The Sun Also Rises* are predominantly shaped by the role of money as a cultural mediator and ultimately mark them apophatically, as neither French, Spanish, or American, but instead as the very embodiment of *expatriates*—as foreigners everywhere. But rather than living up to any high notion of cosmopolitanism, the expatriates, and especially Jake, in *The Sun Also Rises* seem, instead to fall precisely into Caren Irr's notion of the "consumerist psychology of the expatriate" (661). It is their consumerism, then, as well as their misunderstanding of what is available to be bought and sold, which delineates Bill, Mike, Brett, Cohn, and especially Jake as neither French, Spanish, nor Americans, but rather as expatriates. Not at home in the world, not foreign everywhere, but certainly expatriates everywhere.

Conclusion

In *The Sun Also Rises*, it seems that neither “exchange” nor “values” are simple. Rather than providing a code by which the novel might be “correctly” read and understood, money and non-monetary economies seem to add to the complexity of the novel by resisting any singular meaning. Instead of providing a basis by which to judge the characters’ morality, money and non-monetary economies serve as an entree into the complex intersectionalities of social and cultural identities in the novel.

The multiplicity of meanings of both “exchange” and of “value” mirror and even exemplify money’s complex function in the novel. “Exchange” can be used as a deverbial noun and as both a transitive and an intransitive verb. And each of its three linguistic functions shift the meaning of the phrase “Simple exchange of values,” which is itself ambiguous, since it is not a complete sentence. In its deverbial usage, the phrase “Simple exchange of values” reads as expected: Bill is describing a process which he hopes that Jake might undertake, without implying any action. In its transitive usage, on the other hand, an agent, presumably Jake, exchanges on value or set of values for another set of values, which are the objects—in both the linguistic and colloquial sense—of exchange. Its intransitive usage distances Jake from the exchange, suggesting that values are in a state of being exchanged, without agent or clarity as to for what the values are being exchanged.

“Value” is an even more loaded term than “exchange” and, in fact, is inextricably linked to exchange. Even in its *OED* definition—“the material or monetary worth of something; the amount at which something may be estimated in terms of a medium of exchange”—value is directly tied to exchange. But Marx, in *Capital, Volume I*, published

nearly six decades before *The Sun Also Rises*, further establishes and complicates this link. Marx identifies two distinct types of value for commodities: use value and exchange value. Use value is concrete and contained within the physical properties of the commodity. Marx explains, “The utility of a thing makes it a use value ... It is conditioned by the physical properties of the commodity, and has no existence apart from the latter” (126). Exchange value, on the other hand, is the social value of a commodity in terms of other commodities and especially in terms of money. It is distinct from use value insofar as exchange value is socially constructed, is not embodied, and is not inherent, since it is only realized in the process exchange. While the application of these definitions to “Simple exchange of values” may seem obvious, since “exchange” is contained in the phrase, seemingly indicating exchange value, Marx complicates this notion as well. For the producer and seller of a commodity, that commodity solely possesses exchange value. This exchange value, upon sale and utility, transforms into use value for the buyer. In circulation, therefore, commodities’ value is metamorphosed. The act of exchange transforms the very nature of the values which are the objects of that exchange. And the creation of money mirrors the transformation of commodities. Money, which Marx argues is the idealized form of exchange value, only comes into existence by first serving as a commodity, which has both exchange and use value. Marx explains, “Gold confronts the other commodities as money only because it previously confronted them as a commodity” (162).

Scholars’ attention to money as a metaphor for a single code of behavior in *The Sun Also Rises*, and especially as a code of morality is unsurprising since money itself is a singular, idealized or imaginary measure of value that represents an immeasurably diverse set

of use values in terms of a single unit. In other words, because money is an idealized manifestation of exchange values that are themselves derivative of use values, which are immeasurable, it is no wonder that scholars would examine it in idealized terms. Taking Marx's lead of historicizing money to reveal that its value is not inherent but socially constructed, this project has sought to diverge from any simple code of money's function in *The Sun Also Rises* to look instead at the multiplicity of its social and cultural meanings. And it is through this divergent examination that the novel's other economies and other exchange values come into focus.

The difference between money and commodities illustrates the difference between the function of money in the novel and the function of non-monetary interactions which follow an economic model. Because money is an idealized version of exchange value, the characters' expenditures of money reveal their valuation of various commodities, especially categories such as women's roles, titles, religion, and cultural positioning. These valuations serve to position them within diverse economies, which do not have a monetary basis or even an idealized set of exchange values. Instead, characters must barter with the exchange value of their own commodified social categorizations. Marx articulates the distancing effect of this mode of interaction, saying, "finally the relationships between the producers, within which the social characteristics of their labours are manifested, take on the form of a social relation between the products of their labour" (164). To borrow Marx's terminology from elsewhere, commodities—which seem to mirror the function of social categorizations in *The Sun Also Rises*—alienate individuals from one another, and these same commodities have relationships with other commodities, which ultimately replace human relationships. Just as

money distances the expatriates from the countries in which they find themselves, the characters' commodification of their identities distances them from one another. The monetary economy and the other economies of the novel, therefore, function similarly, insofar as both are based on exchange value and follow the economic model of the marketplace, but the novel's numerous non-monetary economies each have distinct functions and implications within the category of social positioning and also function differently than the novel's explicit inclusions of money.

The Sun Also Rises itself occupies a unique social and cultural position with regard to money, exchange, and especially values. The economic boom of the 1920s set records in terms of production, consumption, and stock market rises. The postwar recession gave way to Herbert Hoover's 1928 campaign promises of "a chicken in every pot and a car in every garage"—at least for the American hegemony. Yet perhaps the most profound changes came about in the figurative or colloquial use of "values." The period following World War I marked one of the most dramatic exchanges of social and cultural values in American history. Women's shifting roles are illustrated most dramatically by the advent of women's suffrage in the U.S. with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. The prominence of flappers, too, represents a visible resistance to outdated values that restrict women to being defined by their relationship to men. Similarly, the significance and meaning of titles shifted following World War I and especially for British aristocracy. In many ways, the first world war solidified America's position as a world power accelerated the decline of British gentry, replacing it with America's version of nobility: an aristocracy of wealth. Religion, too, shifted dramatically in the 1920s. The Scopes Monkey Trials highlighted the

increasing divide between religious fundamentalism and modernist progressivism. And, as captured in the phrase “The Lost Generation,” expatriation from America following World War I reached an all-time high. Furthermore, the specific values of one generation are most easily identifiable in terms of comparison to other generations’ values. Only when they are being exchanged for a new set of values do the older set become clear.

Rather than providing a neat, singular function of money and economics in *The Sun Also Rises*, this project has sought to diverge from reductionist readings to highlight the diversity of money’s functions as well as the multiplicity of economies in the novel. Remembering that money is socially constructed leads to the revelation of the other economies at play, both social and cultural. Finally, then, I have taken money, an obviously central symbol in *The Sun Also Rises*, and have begun to attend to its complexities in a way, hopefully, befitting a novel, which so rarely provides simple answers. Though Jake asserts that the exchange of values is simple, closer attention suggests that it is anything but.

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Vita

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