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Ernest Hemingway's Concealment and Discovery of the Male Self: The Influence of His Romantic Relationship with Agnes von Kurowsky on His Early Fiction

Dennis B. Ledden
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

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ERNEST HEMINGWAY'S CONCEALMENT AND DISCOVERY OF HIS MALE
SELF: THE INFLUENCE OF HIS ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP WITH AGNES
VON KUROWSKY ON HIS EARLY FICTION

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Dennis B. Ledden

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

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Indiana University of Pennsylvania
School of Graduate Studies and Research
Department of English

We hereby approve the dissertation of

Dennis B. Ledden

Candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

James M. Cahalan, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus of English, Advisor

Todd N. Thompson, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of English

Lingyan Yang, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of English

ACCEPTED

Timothy P. Mack, Ph.D.
Dean
School of Graduate Studies and Research

Title: Ernest Hemingway's Concealment and Discovery of His Male Self: The Influence of His Romantic Relationship with Agnes von Kurowsky on His Early Fiction

Author: Dennis B. Ledden

Dissertation Chair: Dr. James M. Cahalan

Dissertation Committee: Dr. Todd N. Thompson
Dr. Lingyan Yang

In this study of Ernest Hemingway's earlier fiction, informed by masculinity studies and Hemingway scholarship, I argue that his breakup with his World War I nurse, Agnes von Kurowsky, resulted in his discovery of the inner strength of his male self, an inner strength that he would give many of his male protagonists and one that ultimately enabled the author to pursue his own literary career. As I identify the key similarities between Hemingway's relationship with Agnes and the various elements of his early short stories and novels, I also demonstrate the ways in which the motif of the male self operates in each of these early works—that is, whether the protagonists discover or rediscover and then subsequently employ their inner strength in order to overcome what are often conflicts with their respective lovers. Over the course of three early short stories Nick Adams, Hemingway's fictional alter-ego, begins to learn the value of the male self's inner strength. Whereas in a later short story the confidence that a more mature Nick gains from his male self enables him to use women for his pleasure and for writing material, in two additional later stories a more experienced Nick Adams, also named Harold Krebs, struggles to recover from a concealed male self that had been suppressed primarily through his relationship with a wartime lover. The Hemingway-like Scripps O'Neil and Yogi Johnson in *The Torrents of Spring*, as well as Jake Barnes and Robert Cohn in *The Sun Also Rises*, allow their romantic illusions to conceal their male selves. On the other hand, Jake's recovery of his male self—which parallels Hemingway's recovery of his male-self after his breakup with Agnes and constitutes a

fictional representation of how Hemingwayesque machismo can reassert itself following an identity threat—enables Jake to rescue Brett Ashley following her rejection by Pedro Romero. The Hemingway-like Frederic Henry in *A Farewell to Arms* fails to uncover a male self that is concealed by his romance with Agnes-like Catherine Barkley and by the absurdities of modern warfare until he writes this novel about his beloved nurse.

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INTRODUCTION

I was quite moved the first time I watched the final scene of Richard Attenborough's 1996 film *In Love and War*, in which a young Ernest Hemingway rejects Agnes von Kurowsky's post-war attempt to restore her romantic relationship with Hemingway, even though I knew that the scene was at best a dramatization of what the filmmaker imagined to be Hemingway's attitude towards Agnes following what Hemingway felt was her betrayal of him. I was not inspired because an otherwise rejected male had ultimately triumphed over his female counterpart; rather, I was inspired because of what I sensed to be the profound inner strength that Attenborough's Hemingway had discovered within himself in order for him to expunge the first true love from his life and then subsequently to show her and everyone else that he was not just another small-town loser but a young man who, because of the romantic trauma he had endured, had realized an inner strength that would enable him, along with acquiring the reputation as the leading sexist if not most misogynous literary artist of his time, to realize what would become an unparalleled literary career. I would also like to mention here at the outset that even though the film's version of Hemingway inspired me, I do not believe that inner strength is restricted only to males: It is my belief that both males and females possess a reservoir of inner strength that they can employ in difficult or dangerous situations.

Later I began to speculate about whether Hemingway had ever been able to fully recover from Agnes's rejection, and if he had not, the extent to which his doomed romantic relationship with his first true love had affected his subsequent relationships with women (and contributed to what became his sexist attitude) and how much it had influenced the fictional romantic relationships that he created in his literary works. After reading numerous scholarly articles and book-length studies of the romantic relationships of Hemingway's short stories and novels, as well as reading and rereading the entire Hemingway canon, I became convinced, first of all, that

Hemingway's relationship with Agnes had indeed made a significant impact not only on his relationships with the women with whom he had been involved over the course of his life, but also on many of the romantic relationships that he had featured in his fiction, an impact that reached well beyond what scholars and critics had previously believed.

Along with noting the many similar elements between the real Hemingway-Agnes romantic relationship and those featured in Hemingway's fiction, I discovered a structuralist-like plot pattern that, in varying degrees, seemed to me to reflect the various elements of Hemingway's relationship with his World War I nurse: That is, a male protagonist who has been wounded, or in some way injured by some malignant force of the modern world, falls in love with a young woman who "nurses" him back to health, is rejected by this same woman, and then, after a series of trials, the male rediscovers what had been his otherwise lost manhood.

Hemingway himself, of course, while serving primarily as a volunteer Red Cross ambulance driver in northern Italy near the Austrian front, had, in June of 1918, after enduring numerous wounds from a mortar round explosion and machine-gun fire, fell passionately in love with Agnes, the nurse who helped heal him of his wounds, and then learned of her rejection in March of the following year when she informed him by letter that she was ending their relationship in favor of her engagement to someone else. I conjectured that perhaps Hemingway had somehow undertaken an inward journey and discovered there the resource necessary in order to survive the trauma of his first true love's rejection and restore his identity.

Before long, I realized that Hemingway, through the pain of Agnes's rejection, had discovered a reservoir of masculine strength deep within himself, one that had been otherwise concealed by his romantic illusions. At that point, I began to consider whether Hemingway's fictional protagonists likewise rediscover their inner strength after allowing it to be concealed by

their romantic illusions. Upon further study, I became aware of something that scholarship had failed to notice: that what was important over the course of Hemingway's narratives is the fact that it is not a matter of the male self's *development*, but rather a matter of the male protagonist's discovery or rediscovery of the male self's inner strength, which often follows the dissipation of the protagonist's romantic illusions. I also realized that Hemingway's preoccupation with his memories of Agnes serves to underscore the view that Hemingway was an individual who was more trapped by his past than had been hitherto determined. At least during the early phases of his career, it appears that the esteemed author had evidently not been able to write himself out of his memories of the trauma that he allowed himself to endure at his breakup with his first true love. Rather than readers seeing Hemingway so much as a writer with at least some degree of control over his subject matter, I feel we should see him ultimately as a literary artist caught in the dilemma of having to reconcile himself to his past.

I will use "inner strength" primarily as a psychological concept, in the sense that it is a *subconscious* power in which Hemingway's male protagonists often engage whenever they find themselves in a very dangerous situation. In Hemingway, moreover, inner strength is decidedly a *male* characteristic, not because, as I have already noted, I believe that only males are born with such a strength, but because Hemingway, at least as far as I can ascertain, believed or wanted to believe that it was restricted to males. Such a power in this way we might associate with the survival instinct of our human constitution, an inner force that may enable us to survive trauma. Essentially, in the sense that inner strength enables survival, this makes it a positive or beneficial source of energy, though theoretically it could also be used in what we traditionally may designate as bad or "evil" projects, such as those associated with violent crime or imperialistic adventurism. In Hemingway's early works, inner strength usually benefits his male

protagonists: Its engagement enables them to successfully compose great works of literary art, perform well and survive the trauma associated with violent ordeals such as those associated with sports and modern warfare, as well as dominate and at times survive the trauma that is characteristic of their relationships with the opposite sex. As a matter of fact, such engagement accounts for or underpins the male protagonist's capacity to realize such attributes as confidence, spontaneity, longevity, athleticism, artistic creation, discipline, and most significantly, the "grace under pressure" capacity that is so often recognized as a chief attribute of the Hemingway code hero. From the perspective of women, however, the male's utilization of his inner strength obviously can not be seen as beneficial, for in Hemingway, such employment of inner strength can result in the male's domination of his love interest and consequently results in sexism if not misogyny. Of course, for those Hemingway males whose inner strength component of their male self is concealed by illusions associated with such phenomenae as romance and modern warfare, their lack of contact with their inner strength renders them as weak and fragile individuals who are often dominated by their lovers. Thus, though in terms of domination and submission, concealment of a male's inner strength is advantageous to his female lover, such concealment constitutes a major identity crisis for Hemingway's males, at least until they manage to establish or re-establish contact with their inner strength.

What, then, is the relationship between inner strength and masculinity construction? From our current critical and theoretical perspectives, the obvious point to be made is that the concept of inner strength is yet another example of the way in which performance constructs masculinity. In Hemingway, the male character's repetitive utilization of inner strength serves to construct his male identity or manhood, if only because it is strictly males who retain this special power. Its employment, therefore, is often requisite for the male's career success, his survival, or

his ability to assume the superior role in his romantic relationships. The male's knowledge of such a power and his utilization of this power, moreover, contributes to his sense of his own masculine identity; it increases or enhances, in other words, his sense of his own masculinity. For Hemingway himself, however, the male self's inner strength is innate in the male constitution: It is an attribute that males are born with, not necessarily one that males have to perform or display. His males need only be in a challenging situation in order to resurrect this inner power—it's always there, a potential resource that his males can rely on.

In addition to the performance of the male self's inner strength, there are numerous other ways in which males in Hemingway construct their masculinities. As I will show, moreover, the male's failure to employ these methods of masculinity construction may cause not only the concealment of his male self, but such failure may result in sexual deviation and perversion. For my analysis of the male self's strength in Hemingway's early literary works, I will employ a variety of contemporary masculinity theories—many of which have been utilized, as I will show, by Hemingway critics. For the sake of clarity, I have divided these masculinity theories into seven categories: essentialism versus performativity, homosexuality/effeminacy, women, race, competition, sports, and the frontier.

Essentialism versus performativity, the most discussed and arguably the most significant masculinity issue—one that encapsulates the evolution of masculinity theory that has evolved over at least the past sixty years—has been often applied to Hemingway's works, as I will show, in terms of the ways in which his male protagonists construct their masculinities through performance. Whereas masculinity theorists such as Arthur Brittan have clarified the difference between masculinity and what is called masculinism, noting, for instance, that “those people who speak of masculinity as an essence, as an inborn characteristic, are confusing masculinity with

masculinism” (53), other theorists have distinguished Judith Butler’s landmark performativity theory from that of male essentialism, a theoretical principle that has perhaps been most popularly promoted in recent years by author Robert Bly. In *Iron Man: A Book About Men*, Bly asserts that males otherwise uninitiated to manhood are nevertheless able, with proper tutorial guidance, to discover the “powerful energies inside . . . [which are] lying, like [the mythical] Iron John, in ponds we haven’t walked past” (26). Perhaps the most instructive recent description of the essentialism-versus-performativity issue, however, has been offered by Todd Reeser, who, in discussing how a football player “performs” rather than “doing something natural” as he tackles opposing players, theorizes that “one way to think about masculinity . . . is to think about masculinity as ‘performative.’ . . . There is no essence, no biology that makes him do what he does on the playing field” (81). According to Reeser (who references Butler), moreover, males are compelled to repeat what their culture has designated as masculine because “a man has no inner core, no essence, no nature underneath his gender, and . . . he needs to keep repeating gendered acts to show that masculinity does in fact exist in the face of gender emptiness or a threat of emptiness” (82-83). Thus, by repeatedly performing culturally prescribed masculine acts, males not only are attempting to persuade themselves as well as others of their innate masculinity, but they are also concurrently maintaining masculine hegemony, which is, as Tim Carrigan, Bob Connell, and John Lee point out, “a question of how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance” (112).

Additionally, these “social relationships,” according to other masculinity theorists, are fundamental to the construction of straight white males’ identities in terms of opposition to others, especially minorities such as homosexuals, people of color, and women—three minority

groups that Hemingway often employed, as I will point out, for the identity construction of his early male protagonists. That heterosexual males bolster their masculine identities and hegemony through their oppression of gays, for example, supports Connell's contention that "gender is not fixed in advance of social interaction, but is constructed in interaction" (*Masculinities* 35). Furthermore, straight males' oppression of gays is closely associated with heterosexual violence. As Connell puts it, "hegemonic masculinity is aggressively heterosexual. It defines itself in part by a vehement rejection of homosexuality" ("Masculinity" 180). Such rejection is often a reflection of a male's repudiation of what he senses to be the feminine aspect of his masculine identity. As Lynne Segal explains, "the fierce, irrational passion of homophobia in many men . . . can be understood only in terms of men's fear of what they see as 'feminine' in themselves—the enemy within" (158). It is thus not surprising that one prerequisite for straight males is that they have a capacity for violence, a capacity that is often directed at homosexuals, who represent the feminine aspect of straight males' identities. Or, as Joseph H. Pleck explains, "if you are not trying to kill other men, you must be gay" (23).

Not only do males subjugate and oppress homosexuals as a means to boost their masculinity and maintain their hegemony, but they also oppress women for these same purposes, and it's the kind of oppression that has come to be one of the most controversial issues regarding Hemingway and a number of his male protagonists. As Carrigan, et al., have observed, "most men benefit from the subordination of women, and hegemonic masculinity is centrally connected with the institutionalization of men's dominance over women" (113). Pleck accounts for men's need to oppress women in two ways: first, in order "to have the concrete benefits and privileges that power over women provides them," and second, "because of deep-lying psychological needs in male personality" (19-20). For John Stoltenberg, the "norm of male identity consists in

power, prestige, privilege, and prerogative *as over and against* the gender class women. That's what masculinity is. It isn't something else" (41). Moreover, unlike male bonding, the romance and the domesticity that are often characteristic of men's relationships with women, are perceived by many men as threats to their masculine identities, and, as I will demonstrate, the male protagonists of Hemingway's early fiction often have this same perception. Whereas, as Elisabeth Badinter has observed, "friendship among men . . . strengthens masculinity, which is threatened by the love of a woman" (131), according to Reeser "the image of two male buddies doing what they want, outside the constraints of marriage, children, or even women in a larger sense, symbolizes a form of non-sexual and non-committal love that symbolically frees both men and nation from what ties them down" (201). Thus, one of the most important sources for the construction of male identity and the establishment and maintenance of male hegemony is the domination of women.

Not unlike the way that straight males require the domination of women and gays for their identity, so too do straight white males, by associating men of color with effeminacy or sexual excess, affect the latter's oppression as another means to bolster their own masculinity. Although Hemingway's attitude towards racial groups was indeed complex, I will show that the treatment of blacks, Indians, and Jews by a number of his early fictional characters is often reflective of the racial prejudices of his time. The "notion of binary oppositions," as Reeser points out, "cannot be disassociated from the issue of power" (38), and, much as the black-white opposition "is one way in which white culture maintains its hold over blackness" (39), white males have also constructed their masculinity through the oppression of Native Americans, who have often been seen as "barbarous and half-civilized, unable to enjoy stable, civilized, Western-style lives" (Delgado and Stefancic 215). Sexual orientation of males involved in male-male

relationships, moreover, can also be suggested by the nature of the relationship—that is, whether the relationship is comprised of same-race or distinct-race males and whether a woman becomes a factor in their relationship. Reeser argues that although the pairing of two same-race males may be suggestive of homosexuality, for instance, the “relation between two racially distinct men may be perceived as less potentially homoerotic than one without racial difference” (207). Also, regarding the relationship between a white male and a non-white male, “race may operate analogically as a sign of gender, and the non-white subject may function as the wife-like sidekick to the white man” (205). Finally, if a love triangle consists of a white male and a non-white male who each desires the same woman, the latter may function as a “mediator” between the two men, “but their desire is predicated on racial rivalry, unlike the harmonious model of masculinity [that is, between same-race men] in which mutual desire creates homosociality” (208-09).

In addition to utilizing the oppression of gays, women, and people of color, males promote their masculinity by competing against each other in the related institutions of sports and warfare—two institutions in which, as I will demonstrate, Hemingway was often an enthusiastic participant and two institutions in which his early male characters frequently participate. As these two institutions have frequently featured violent male rivalry, each has also afforded its participants of the opportunity to engage in male bonding: As Reeser observes, one type of male rivalry is “based on pure competition and violence,” and the other type is, conversely, “far from hostile and vicious, perhaps even one of the ways in which male-male affection or friendship is expressed” (56). Additionally, sports and warfare each enables its male participants to construct their masculine identities through what has traditionally been characteristic of these two institutions: the exclusion of women. Regarding the participation of men and women in military service, David H. J. Morgan has observed that “in all types of

society . . . men are expected to fight or to be prepared to fight, to enlist for military service, and to undergo some form of military training. Conversely, women are often formally barred from such activities. . . . Such expectations and prohibitions define not only who *does* what but who *is* what” (166). Regarding the participation of each of the two genders in sports, Connell has pointed out that

the institutional organization of sport embeds definite social relations:
 competition and hierarchy among men, exclusion or domination of women.
 These social relations of gender are both realized and symbolized in the bodily performances. Thus men’s greater sporting prowess has become a theme of backlash against feminism. It serves as symbolic proof of men’s superiority and right to rule. (*Masculinities* 54)

Closely related to sports and warfare, and another important source for the construction of masculinity is the frontier, a concept that can be defined as virtually any environment in which male heroes can test themselves against foes whose confrontation provides heroes with the opportunity to prove their manhood. For his own masculinity construction, along with sports and participation in World War I, the young Hemingway substituted the forests of northern Michigan for what had recently become the closed American frontier. In comparing movies about war with westerns, both R. H. Carpenter and J. Smith point out that “in many ways war films are Westerns taking place in locations other than the West,” and that each of these genres features “essentially melodramatic portrayals of men performing virile, courageous deeds designed to protect helpless victims from some sort of aggressor” (qtd. in Donald 171). Moreover, it is the iconic figure of the cowboy who best represents the frontier hero, or, as Reeser has noted, “the cowboy’s popularity as American cultural icon means that he represents an ideal of masculinity

that appeals to so many boys that it effectively becomes an American myth” (23). Additionally, and not dissimilar from the male-oriented institutions of both sports and warfare, Westerns characteristically marginalize women characters. According to Elisabeth Badinter, “the western always tells the same story, of an incessant pursuit on the part of men in search of their virility. Gun, liquor, and horse are the obligatory accessories for this, and women play only secondary roles” (131). Indeed, as Jack Balswick explains, “the cowboy’s relationship with women is a silent one. For some, this does not signify an absence of feelings, but a difficulty in expressing them directly for fear of losing his virility” (qtd. in Badinter 131). Thus, frontier narratives are ultimately about autonomous males who construct their masculinity by confronting and often defeating whoever or whatever represents a serious threat to women and civilization.

In Chapter One, my introduction to the Hemingway-Agnes romance and masculinity, I first discuss the extent to which Hemingway employed his World War I experiences as resources for his fiction, and then outline the two major objectives of my dissertation: first, to identify the significant similarities between Hemingway’s relationship with Agnes and the various elements of his early short stories and novels, and second, to demonstrate the ways in which the inner strength component of the male self operates in these literary works, that is, the extent to which male protagonists discover or rediscover and then subsequently employ their inner strength in order to overcome what are often the challenges posed by their respective lovers. I next identify three major reasons to account for the long-lasting impact that Hemingway’s relationship with his first true love exerted on the author: Agnes’s love for him, Hemingway’s love for her, and the contents of Agnes’s dismissal letter. I show that the young nurse’s diary entries as well as her letters to Hemingway over the course of their romance provide ample evidence that Agnes had fallen deeply in love with the nineteen-year-old Hemingway, and that despite the numerous hints

and clues that she included in her post-war letters to Hemingway (who was awaiting her arrival in Oak Park), the young author mistakenly assumed that his wartime lover would marry him following her return to the States. I also show that Agnes's diary entries, as well as the testimony of members of Ernest's family, provide additional evidence for what was the evolution and growing intensity of Hemingway's love for his attractive nurse. Through a careful examination of the contents of Agnes's rejection letter, I demonstrate that a young man such as Hemingway, who had naively allowed himself to invest all of his devotion and trust as well as virtually his entire identity in one person, might respond to his first true love's dismissal in a very emotional way—but that Hemingway had ultimately discovered that there nevertheless remained an inner strength deep within himself that enabled him to cope with her rejection.

I next show in this chapter that the concept of the male self is consonant with the status of masculinity in the U. S. during Hemingway's early years. The nature of American masculinity during Hemingway's first three decades suggests that what came to be the author's passionate interest and participation in what were considered as predominately male activities was not uncharacteristic for males of his era. The concept of the self-made man, whose identity included a reservoir of the inner strength that had been considered an important aspect of autonomous manhood from the early years of the nation until the 1870s, had been eroded as the predominant needs of males, especially for those males who felt that their traditional roles were under constant attack by modern society and in particular by women who adhered to the early phases of the feminist movement. Masculinity scholars have shown that during the early decades of the twentieth century, males had been searching for ways to compensate for the erosion of traditional gender roles that had been accelerating since the late decades of the nineteenth century. Like many young males at the time, Hemingway compensated for the inadequacy of his masculine

identity in three ways: by his engagement in outdoor activities, by his participation in organized sports, and by his avid reading of adventure stories. I next show that after participation in a war that afforded them little opportunity for heroism, during the 1920s many males found themselves engaged in industrial jobs that were not only routine but also held by increasing numbers of women. Hemingway continued to construct a masculine identity that was being challenged by his breakup with Agnes, his mother's rejection, and the domesticity represented by first wife Hadley and second wife Pauline, through his additional trips into the frontier-like environs of northern Michigan, his enthusiasm for such sports as boxing and bullfighting, and through the publication of his early literary works.

In the final section of Chapter One, I contextualize my concept of the male self within past studies of masculinity in Hemingway's fiction by dividing the history of Hemingway masculinity studies into three phases: the pre-1986 or pre-*Garden of Eden* phase, the post-1986 or late-twentieth-century phase, and the early twenty-first-century phase. I show that in the pre-1986 phase, critics afforded the male self's inner strength little attention as they focused primarily on the attributes of traditional, essentialist manhood, including instinct or primitivism, self-control, bravery or courage, and aggression. In the post-1986, or late-twentieth-century phase, commentators generally tended to emphasize the ways in which the feminine component of both Hemingway and his male protagonists challenged the male self, or they anticipated the next critical phase by providing performance theory studies. A few select critics recognized the ability of Hemingway's male protagonists to renew or recreate their otherwise lost male identities, but these critics did not explain the ways in which the inner strength component plays an important role in this renewal or recreation. I then show that the male self's inner strength is at best only indirectly implied or briefly mentioned in the post-2000 or early twenty-first-

century phase, which includes three major types of studies of masculinity in Hemingway: those that demonstrate that male identity is threatened by such antagonists as modern warfare, women, and femininity, those studies whose thesis is that males need to embrace their feminine side; and those studies that emphasize the importance of performativity in the construction of masculine identity. In the first type, critics gauge the effects of war, dependency on women, maternal nature, and gender fluidity on male identity; in the second type, they show that male protagonists must accept the feminine side of their identities in order to achieve a sense of wholeness; and in the third type, critics deny the existence of the male self as they explain the ways in which male identity is constructed through performance.

In Chapter Two, I assess the influence of the Agnes-Hemingway relationship on three very early short stories that feature a youthful Nick Adams, who learns about his male self's inner strength in the frontier-like, masculinity-producing Michigan environment that Hemingway had known as a boy and later as a young adult. I show that in "Indian Camp" Nick and the Indian husband each represents Hemingway: Much as Nick represents a youthful Ernest who had accompanied his father on the latter's medical rounds, the husband reflects the adolescent Hemingway's suffering upon the reception of Agnes's dismissal letter. The Indian couple's shanty I see as a reflection of Hemingway's experiences as both ambulance driver and wounded patient during the war. Whereas Agnes can be associated with Dr. Adams and the Indian woman, Uncle George—who, along with Dr. Adams, is representative of the white man's domination and exploitation of American Indians and the use of such domination and exploitation for the purpose of masculinity construction—can also be associated with Agnes's fiancé, Domenico Caracciolo, especially if we see George in the role of betrayer, that is, as the father of the Indian mother's child. I conclude this chapter by suggesting that through his

traumatic exposure to the cycles of birth and death in a frontier-like setting, Nick has begun to realize the inner strength of his male self, a strength that he will be able to employ in the future against the “cold realities” of life.

I next show that in “Ten Indians” Nick represents the adolescent Hemingway, and Frank and Prudie—whose promiscuity is reflective of Hemingway and his generation’s prejudices against Indians and their use of Indians for masculinity construction—play roles as Nick’s betrayers that are not dissimilar from those Hemingway believed were played respectively by Caracciolo and Agnes. Near the end, Nick’s employment of his male self’s inner strength against the pain occasioned by his first experience with romantic betrayal is one that I see as a reflection of Hemingway’s employment of his own male self in order to endure the trauma caused by what he felt to be Agnes’s betrayal.

Finally in Chapter Two, I demonstrate that in “The Battler,” Nick, through his encounter with Bugs and Ad Francis, learns, as Hemingway learned through his relationship with Agnes, what can happen to a man when he allows a woman to suppress his male self by dominating him emotionally. Ad, whose career in boxing—a sport that represented male autonomy to Hemingway and other males of his generation—allows himself to be destroyed by his wife’s abandonment, unlike Hemingway, who survived Agnes’s dismissal through his engagement with his inner strength. In this way, Ad can also be seen as Nick’s future perverse self, that is, if the young man permits women to destroy his masculinity in the same way that Ad had allowed his relationship with his wife to destroy both his sanity and his boxing career. Much as Bugs’s feminized character is a reflection of Mrs. Francis and Agnes, Hemingway uses his role as an apparently gay black man who controls a white ex-boxing champion to underscore the perversity of a man like Ad who has allowed himself to become the victim of his wife’s emotional

domination. As Nick resumes his journey at the end, he is not dissimilar from Ad, in that he too is in need of his male self's inner strength, a strength that Ad has been unable to rediscover within himself.

In Chapter Three, I locate correspondences between Hemingway's relationship with Agnes and three later short stories, each of which features an older, post-war Nick Adams type of character. Whereas in "Soldier's Home" and "A Very Short Story" Nick struggles to survive not only his battle trauma, but moreso the wartime romances that have suppressed his masculinity through the concealment of his male self, in "Summer People" Nick's full engagement with his male self enables him to bolster his masculinity through his selfish manipulation and control of Kate. I argue that in "Soldier's Home" Harold's German girlfriend had jilted him similar to the way in which Agnes jilted Hemingway, and that, although Hemingway most likely had his own mother, Grace, in mind for the characterization of Krebs's mother, he may also have employed aspects of Agnes as well for Mrs. Krebs's characterization. I show, moreover, that Grace had much in common with Agnes and Mrs. Krebs: For instance, each tried to motivate her respective veteran to pursue conventional educations and/or careers so that he may assume his appropriate place in his respective community. Krebs's sister, Helen, reveals an instinctive understanding and appreciation of her brother's male self, that aspect of him that otherwise was concealed by his European girlfriend's rejection and the hypocrisy of his hometown. That Krebs can be himself with his sister suggests that following his move to Kansas City he may be able to once again initiate his quest for his otherwise concealed male self.

I next show that Hemingway had his romance with Agnes very much in mind as he composed his bitterly sarcastic "A Very Short Story," and not only had he altered the fictional nurse's nationality from American to Italian and the primary setting of the story from Milan to

Padua, I also explain that ten major elements of the story can be traced back to Hemingway's relationship with Agnes, including emotional dependency and intrigue, identity merger, nurses aiding the male's recovery, male self-suppression, sexual initiation, homecoming and medical work, betrayal, dismissal letters, post-romance attitudes, and recovery of the male self. I demonstrate that over the course of the story, Nick's liaison with the salesgirl indicates his failure to overcome the traumatic effects of Luz's betrayal and his failure to restore his masculinity.

I then show that Nick's confidence and autonomy in "Summer People"—a story similar to the first three stories discussed in Chapter Two in that each is set in the masculine-like frontier setting of northern Michigan—reflects Hemingway's engagement with the inner strength of his male self following Agnes's rejection. Nick, who is not in love with Kate, reveals his selfish confidence when he uses her body not only for his own pleasure but also plans to use his relationship with her as source material for his fiction; Kate, on the other hand, not only desires sex with Nick but is also in love with him. Whereas Nick's foil, Odgar, is alienated from his male self, each of Nick's four submergings in the lake—which collectively reflect Hemingway and his generation's engagement in outdoor sports activities for masculinity construction—represents his connection with his male self's strength. Hemingway underscores Nick's inner strength during the young man's journey from Kate's house to his own cottage and by illustrating his control of Kate in the forest scene: Nick's male self contact provides him with the confidence that enables him to use his girlfriend as a sex object without risking his freedom.

In Chapter Four, I assert first that Hemingway modeled the foolish characters of Scripps O'Neil and Yogi Johnson in *The Torrents of Spring* on himself during his relationship with Agnes, for they, like Hemingway, suppress their male selves as well as prevent masculinity

construction by allowing themselves to become the victims of romantic illusion and sexual desire. I also identify the similarities between Scripps's romantic relationships with Lucy, Diana, and Mandy, and Hemingway's respective relationships with Agnes, Hadley, and Pauline and explain the ways in which Lucy's and Diana's similarities parallel those of Agnes and Hadley. I then show that Hemingway and Yogi Johnson are similar not only because each performed heroically during World War I, but also because each hero's masculinity and male self was suppressed upon his being jilted by his respective wartime lover. I also show that much as Scripps's masculinity is compromised by his white women lovers, Yogi's is compromised by his failure to construct his masculinity through his relationship with his Indian squaw. Furthermore, Scripps and Yogi, in contrast to their frontier-like northern Michigan environment, fail to learn what Hemingway had learned through his romantic relationships with his early lovers, that the continual pursuit of women only exacerbates one's emotional and psychological problems. Males like Scripps and Yogi need to rediscover their male selves and establish a masculine autonomy that would permanently free them from their romantic illusions and their sexual dependences on women.

Also in Chapter Four, I show that in *The Sun Also Rises*, Jake Barnes's and Brett Ashley's relationship during World War I shares important similarities with that of Hemingway's romance with Agnes. Much as Jake's war injury is a reflection of what Hemingway claimed to be one of his own war injuries, Jake, like the wounded Hemingway, also loved a nurse during the war who reciprocated his love. As Robert Cohn shares a number of qualities with Hemingway as well as Jake, I argue that it is Cohn's emotional dependency on Brett that is most significant, as his dependency constitutes a reflection of Hemingway's dependency on Agnes. As Cohn's foil, however, Jake evolves from his dependency on Brett to a

renewed awareness and appreciation of his otherwise concealed male self, an evolution that is reflective of Hemingway's own evolution from his dependency on Agnes to his discovery of his male self following his breakup with her. I also demonstrate that Romero's moral victory over Cohn not only testifies to the young bullfighter's engagement with his male self, but it also—at the same time reflecting what Hemingway evidently believed had been his own ability to overcome his dependency on Agnes through his own engagement with his male self—anticipates Jake's triumph over his dependency on Brett. Watching Romero's success with the two bulls, moreover, suggests to Jake that he had isolated himself from his inner strength and represents for him the sexual activity between Romero and Brett as well as constituting Hemingway's own fantasy about his engaging in sex with Agnes, a lover with whom he evidently did not have sexual intercourse. Finally, Jake's nautical activities at San Sebastian represent the full recovery of his male self, a recovery that enables him to rescue Brett in Madrid and to subsequently compose *The Sun Also Rises*, much as Hemingway was able to overcome Agnes's rejection through his own engagement with his male self and later compose novels such as *The Sun Also Rises*.

Chapter Five is my longest chapter because the novel upon which I focus, *A Farewell to Arms*, most dramatically showcases Hemingway's reliance on his own experiences during World War I and in particular on his romantic relationship with Agnes for his fiction. I show that in this novel, a Hemingway-like Frederic Henry and his quest for the realization of his male self is impeded, but ultimately not thwarted, by the distractions of women and by the absurd nature of modern warfare. Early on, the evolution of Frederic's relationship with Catherine Barkley from his initial preoccupation with sex to that of his devout love for the nurse represents the evolution of Hemingway's own relationship with Agnes. Although Frederic's attempts to contact his male

self are thwarted by his romance with Catherine and his status as patient, the nature of his relationship with her prior to his departure for the front is reflective of Hemingway's relationship with Agnes prior to his own departure for the front. Not unlike Hemingway and Agnes, Frederic and Catherine conduct their romance clandestinely, engage in sexual intimacies (albeit more serious ones than those of Ernest and Agnes), and feel jealousy and possessiveness towards each another. Hemingway also employs wartime experiences that can be associated with Agnes as he foreshadows Catherine's death with the bat episode, unfair betting practices, and Catherine's pregnancy. The Agnes-related challenges to Frederic's need to contact his male self shift from those associated with dependency on his lover to those relating to a female authority figure, preparations for returning to the front, and protocol on the train. The absurd nature of modern warfare predetermines Frederic's failure during the retreat to engaging his male self in order to successfully perform his duty. Although the young deserter claims to have made a "separate peace," he nevertheless struggles with his masculine identity, which challenges him to be involved in the war. At Stresa, Frederic downplays Catherine's maternal condition as well as his deserter status in favor of trying to establish male self contact by reading about the progress of the war in the newspapers and by undertaking a fishing expedition with the hotel barman.

Frederic suffers during his flight to Switzerland with Catherine and after their arrival in the neutral country, because his male self is concealed by his devotion to Catherine and his deserter status. Additional distractions in Switzerland that prevent Frederic's contact with his male self include his discussions with Catherine about the baby's delivery, the future, and identity merger. Whereas Catherine's pregnancy can be seen as representative of the period of time in which Hemingway awaited Agnes's arrival at Oak Park, the infant son that Catherine delivers stillborn may also be seen as a representation of Agnes's fiancé, Domenico Caracciolo.

Much as Catherine's subsequent death enables Frederic to initiate his recovery of his male self, Hemingway, because of Agnes's rejection, had discovered his own male self.

In my conclusion, I emphasize that during his early career years, Hemingway had certainly not forgotten Agnes and that he employed more aspects of his romantic relationship with her than scholars have noted. I next review the research methods that I used in order to identify and define the various correspondences between the Hemingway-Agnes romance and those romances featured in Hemingway's early short stories and novels before I briefly review the betrayal theme and the male self motif through the appropriate texts. I then underscore the importance of relating the Hemingway-Agnes romance to the early fictional works and stress the necessity of including the male self in any close analyses of Hemingway's works. Finally, I speculate on possible future areas of study suggested by my dissertation and assert my belief that all individuals—no matter their gender or sexual orientation—are endowed with a great resource of inner strength, a fact that has been exemplified in many literary works over the course of human history.

CHAPTER 1
THE ROMANCE, THE MALE SELF, MASCULINITY, AND CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Lionel Trilling once observed, “a work of literature is not an exception to the conditioned nature of all things: it is what it is by reason of the circumstances of its genesis, which are the circumstances, both external and internal, of the man who made it; and he in turn, no less than the thing he creates, is a conditioned being susceptible to explanation in terms of the circumstances that created his nature” (25). This influence continues to be an important component of both literary research and literary instruction, for readers of works of literary fiction have always been curious about their authors’ lives and the way that authors have shaped their life experiences into fiction, and readers continue to find that knowledge of authors’ lives offers valuable insights towards a better understanding and appreciation of their literary works. Furthermore, biography and the “conditioned nature” of authors’ lives are leading concerns of several varieties of contemporary criticism, including feminist approaches and gender studies, as I will explore in this dissertation. One modern American author whose life experiences have perhaps been the most researched and analyzed, in an effort to better understand his literary works, is Ernest Hemingway, whose fictional characters and narrative plots often seem to blur the line between real life and imaginative fiction. Although Hemingway states in “On Writing” that “the only writing that was any good was what you made up, what you imagined” (qtd. in Reynolds, *Paris Years* 61), throughout his career Hemingway maintained a principle of composition that he had learned during his apprenticeship years as a journalist: that real life should serve as the basis for what the writer imagined. Discussing his close friendship with the severely wounded Hemingway during their recovery at the Red Cross hospital in Milan during World War I, Henry S. Villard recalls that the young author would tell him that “the best way to learn to write was to write about what you yourself actually *saw* and *felt*” (18). Recalling his

struggles as a writer during the early years of his career, Hemingway, in *Death in the Afternoon*, observed that one of the greatest challenges was to “put down what really happened in action; what the actual things were which produced the emotion that you experienced” (2).

Hemingway’s realization in the early years of his career that he must adhere to the particulars of real-life experience as the basis for his fiction was one that he would maintain throughout his career.

In “The Trying-Out of *A Farewell to Arms*,” Paul Smith observes that “the closer the inspiring event to the writer’s early experience, the stronger its shaping influence” (29). Smith’s astute observation here is a relevant one regarding what came to be Hemingway’s high degree of reliance on his World War I experiences for many of the stories that he composed over the course of his career. For example, Jake Barnes in *The Sun Also Rises* and David Bourne in *The Garden of Eden* are former aviators, Nick Adams (Hemingway’s persistent alter ego) and Harold Krebs in “Soldier’s Home” are war veterans, Frederic Henry in *A Farewell to Arms* is a wartime ambulance driver, and Richard Cantwell in *Across the River and into the Trees* is a veteran not only of World War II but also World War I.

Philip Young’s assertions, strongly influential on subsequent critics, that Hemingway “was continually in his prose . . . returning compulsively to the scenes of his injuries” and that he had a “preoccupation with death as a result of an overexposure to it” (166), are views that should be taken into account in any analysis of Hemingway’s motivations for writing about his World War I experiences. However, although a host of scholars have mentioned the influence that Hemingway’s romance with Agnes von Kurowsky exerted on the composition of his fiction, Young and others failed to fully assess the degree of impact that the author’s wartime romance exerted on Hemingway’s literary works. Scott Donaldson, in “The Jilting of Ernest

Hemingway,” for example, points out only that it was Agnes, “this tall and vivacious American nurse with the Teutonic name—who was to administer the second wound, a blow that shaped the life and career of Ernest Hemingway every bit as much as the one he suffered on the Austrian front” (661-62). Also, Jeffrey Meyers, in *Hemingway: A Biography*, observes briefly that, for Hemingway, “the emotional wound [from Agnes’s dismissal] was as painful as the physical injury” that the author had endured at Fossalta (41), and in her recent biography, *Ernest Hemingway: A Literary Life*, Linda Wagner-Martin asserts only that Hemingway’s “other deep wounding occurred with the end of his fantasy relationship with the beautiful American nurse [Agnes] in the Milan hospital” (84-85). Thus, the overall influence of what was most clearly an important phase of Hemingway’s early life—his World War I-related romantic experience with Agnes—on his fiction, has not been ignored by critics over the past few decades, but at the same time, it has not been afforded a comprehensive treatment.

Although the critical consensus attests to the profound impact that Agnes’s dismissal exerted on Hemingway and especially on the author’s relationships with women after his breakup with his first true love, scholars have not fully evaluated in specific ways the degree of influence that Hemingway’s relationship with his World War I nurse exerted on his composition of particular fictional works—at least barely beyond “A Very Short Story,” his three-page version of the end of their relationship, a story that constituted the author’s attempt to off-handedly dismiss his wartime romance with Agnes and, of course, *A Farewell to Arms*, a novel in which Hemingway attempted to deal with memories of his relationship with the nurse, at least until, through the death of Catherine near the end, he psychologically “killed Agnes off.” Using evidence from diaries, letters, and biographies, I intend to demonstrate that Hemingway’s relationship with Agnes had a more marked effect on the fiction that Hemingway composed in

the early years of his career than scholars have thus far discovered or claimed. Though I will not necessarily be concerned with the ways in which Hemingway shaped his own real-life experiences into fiction in order to develop specific emotional effects or themes in this dissertation, I will, however, focus primarily on the similarities that exist between Hemingway's real-life, World War I romance-related experiences and those of his early fictional characters. For the most part I will be able to suggest direct correspondences between the real people and events of the war era and those similar elements in the fiction; however, there will also be instances where I will have to speculate about whether Hemingway was recalling certain individuals or occurrences as he composed his fictional narratives. I hope to show too that the most significant outcome of Hemingway's relationship with Agnes in terms of the creation of his early fictional works was the inner strength of his male self or male identity, an inner strength that I propose Hemingway discovered deep within himself as he struggled to overcome what was from *his* perspective—the betrayal of his first true love, for Hemingway viewed Agnes's dismissal as a violation of what he perceived to be her total commitment to him, even though, as I will show, the young nurse provided ample hints and clues in a number of her letters to Ernest that her interest in him had essentially ended. I will, nevertheless, argue that this inner component of the male self that Hemingway discovered as a resource deep within himself following Agnes's dismissal became a resource that he provided to many of his protagonists and one that ultimately enabled the author to realize his own literary achievements.

One key objective of my project will be to identify the significant similarities between Hemingway's relationship with Agnes and the various elements of his early short stories and novels—similarities that are associated with, but not necessarily limited to, the themes of love, war, wounding, and recovery. This is not to suggest that *everything* Hemingway wrote in the

early phases of his career can be traced back to his wartime romance. I do not think, for example, that Nick Adams's relationships with such young women as Marjorie in "The End of Something" and "The Three-Day Blow," or Helen in "Cross-Country Snow," are reflective in any significant way of the author's relationship with Agnes. In terms of biographical links, however, my focus, for the most part, will be on those early literary works which feature romantic relationships that have at least some arguable measure of correspondence between Hemingway's romance with Agnes and those of the fictional romances.

A second objective will be to demonstrate the ways in which the inner component of the male self operates in Hemingway's early short stories and novels—that is, the extent to which protagonists discover or rediscover and then subsequently employ their inner strength resource in order to overcome what are often the challenges posed by their respective romantic relationships. Overall, my study will not only gauge the significant impact that Hemingway's relationship with Agnes exerted on his composition of his early literary works, but it will also provide new insights into the ways in which his male protagonists utilize, or fail to utilize, the inner strength that Hemingway himself had discovered through the breakup of his relationship with his first true love in order to achieve his own literary goals.

Ernest and Agnes

In my view, three major factors contributed to the devastating effect that Hemingway's relationship with Agnes exerted on Hemingway: Agnes's love for the young ambulance driver, Hemingway's love for Agnes, and the nature of the rejection letter that Agnes sent from Italy to Hemingway in Oak Park while he was anticipating her arrival and their subsequent marriage—ignoring the fact that she had included ample clues in her previous letters that her interest in him

was waning. Despite Agnes's attempts following the publication of *A Farewell to Arms* to moderate the intensity and the seriousness of her war era romance with Hemingway, there exists very strong evidence that their relationship was indeed quite intense and very serious.¹ Even though in her interview with Michael Reynolds, Agnes observed, "I don't think I was ever crazy mad about him [Hemingway]" ("Agnes Tapes" 271), it is possible that she was relying on her memory of events, which had become distorted in her mind after relating them numerous times, or that she was simply fabricating events in an effort to distance herself from the immorality of Catherine Barkley.² I do not mean to suggest that her relationship with Hemingway was devoid of the kinds of problems that typically beset young lovers. Regarding the seven-year age difference between Hemingway and Agnes, for instance, John J. Fenstermaker points out that "questions centering upon age certainly cropped up occasionally in Agnes's mind" in the early phases of their relationship and "would continue to do so" throughout the remainder of her

¹ Donaldson reports that "throughout her long life . . . Agnes invariably maintained that she and Ernest had not been lovers" ("Jilting" 662), and that she had "consented to the engagement solely to keep Ernest away from Jim Gamble, a man she thought of as sexually interested in Hemingway's person" (664). Baker notes that Agnes informed him that her romance with Hemingway lasted a mere two months, from August 15, 1918 to October 15, 1918, "though correspondence continued for four months more" (*Ernest* 729). In her interview with Michael Reynolds, Agnes asserted, in regard to Hemingway using herself as the basis for Catherine Barkley in *A Farewell to Arms*, that Hemingway had used another nurse, Elsie Jessup, as his model for Catherine ("Agnes Tapes" 266). Agnes also told Reynolds that she and Hemingway "were very innocent at that time" (265). In *The True Gen*, Agnes claims that Hemingway "thought it was a romance" between them, "but I didn't" (Brian 28). She also claims that she had met her Italian fiancé, Domenico Caracciolo, "a long time after" her breakup with Hemingway (29), which is an inaccurate assertion, given the fact that Agnes initially refers to Caracciolo in her January 21, 1921, letter to Hemingway, informing the latter, "I have one devoted admirer here. Domenico—aged 14" (Kurowsky, "Letters" 157), and not writing her dismissal letter to Hemingway until March 7. See also Henry Villard's "Red Cross Driver in Italy," in Kurowsky's *Hemingway in Love and War*, 41-44.

² See Michael Reynolds, who explains that "the problem, of course, is: does Agnes remember what happened, or has she remembered it so many times that now she is only remembering memories?" (*First War* 197).

liaison with Hemingway (26), for it was not infrequently that she was forced to contend with Ernest's "arbitrary demands, sometimes hostile moods, and jealous possessiveness" (27).

In spite of these problems—which were often intensified by the lovers' prolonged separations—and though it continues to be a debated topic among Hemingway scholars over whether Agnes's relationship with Hemingway was ever consummated, the young woman's diary entries as well as her letters to Hemingway during the months of their romance clearly demonstrate that the attractive twenty-six-year-old nurse was deeply in love with the handsome nineteen-year-old Hemingway. Although their patient-nurse relationship at the Red Cross Hospital in Milan gradually evolved into that of an intensely romantic one, according to Fenstermaker, "Agnes at first regarded his [Hemingway's] attentions as a simple manifestation of her continuously growing popularity" (23), and found herself, as Bernice Kert notes, merely distracted by the likeable Hemingway. Inevitably, however, as Kert explains, the young nurse "found out that he was not just another eager young man contending for her favors. His magnetism went far beyond his physical presence. There was the tremendous vitality, the determination to be a free spirit, uninhibited by petty conventions. They were kindred souls, she discovered" (57). Bill Horne, a former patient at the Milan hospital and close friend of Hemingway, reported in a letter to Harold Loeb that Agnes and Ernest "fell in love—very very much. . . . She was a nice girl—a very bright spot of America in northern Italy in 1918. She truly loved Ernie, I'm sure" (qtd. in Meyers, *Biography* 37). It may not have been "love at first sight" for Agnes, but it did not take long for this dedicated nurse to find herself emotionally involved with one of her handsome young patients.

Even though, as Fenstermaker observes, "Agnes maintains her reserve in her diary, and precise details illuminating her developing affection are scarce" (24), nevertheless, a number of

her diary entries attest to her developing affection for the young Hemingway. On September 11, 1918, for instance, Agnes mentioned a ring that she gave “to the Kid [Hemingway]” (Kurowsky, “Diary”78)—a gift that, according to James Nagel, was “apparently” intended “to solidify their relationship” (“Hemingway” 237).³ Following Hemingway’s September 24 departure for his convalescent leave in Stresa, Agnes, in her next day’s entry confessed that she “missed him so much” (82) and on September 26, she wrote, “how I do miss that boy” (83). Agnes recorded the joy she felt, however, upon Ernest’s return to Milan on September 30: “My Kid came back tonight, & I feel so different. It seemed wonderful to be together again” (Kurowsky, “Diary” 84). Undoubtedly, writing about Hemingway helped the otherwise well-disciplined nurse to cope with what were obviously her sincere feelings for her much younger patient.

Despite Agnes’s fear that she would be sent home if her liaison with Hemingway were to be discovered (Nagel, “Hemingway” 239), the letters she wrote to him are filled with poignant expressions of love and longing. On September 25, for example, she petitioned her absent lover, “don’t forget to come back to me, Boy O. M. [of mine]—cause I miss you most awfully” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 93). She concluded her letter of October 17 as follows: “Good luck, my dearest—and don’t forget me, nor that I love you” (103), and in her missive of October 20-21, she confessed, “anyhow, I love you more & more” (106). Having learned of Ernest’s imminent return to the front, on October 24 she reassured him of her devotion: “I think of you so much & miss you so much since I came away—won’t you believe me?” (111). After Hemingway returns to Milan on November 2, Agnes underscored her feelings, stating, “I miss you so, dear, & I love you so much” (123), and on December 20, she expressed her fears regarding their upcoming

³ Nagel includes a photograph of Hemingway wearing his new uniform and displaying a ring that he is wearing on the ring finger of his left hand in “Hemingway and the Italian Legacy,” 238.

separation: “Kid, I miss you more & more, & it makes me shiver to think of your going home without me” (145). Agnes’s letters thus clearly attest to the sincere love that this attractive nurse had soon developed for her wounded young ambulance driver.

While Agnes’s love and devotion for Hemingway intensified, the latter’s love for his nurse became at least as intense as her love for him. Henry Villard, who became close friends with Ernest and Agnes during his residency as a patient in the room next to Ernest’s at the Milan Red Cross hospital, recalls that “the love light was burning a lot more brightly in his eyes than in hers” (28). Nagel underscores the intensity of Ernest’s feelings for Agnes, reporting, “young Hemingway, involved in his first serious courtship, was swept into ever deeper layers of commitment. There is no indication in any of the Italian materials that his love for her [Agnes] ever wavered” (“Hemingway” 242). James Mellow quotes from a letter that Hemingway had written to Bill Horne on March 7, 1919, the same day that Ernest had received Agnes’s letter of dismissal: “Bill, I forgot all about religion and everything else because I had Ag to worship” (96). Bernice Kert accounts at least in part for Hemingway’s attachment to Agnes by suggesting that the nurse may have strengthened the young lieutenant’s ability to cope with his wounding and his brush with death that resulted from the mortar round’s explosion and the subsequent machine-gun fire: “Agnes’s presence, her composure, her cool hand in the dark—such reassurance was probably more important than that the affair be sexually consummated” (59). Thus, for Hemingway, the attractive nurse provided not only a love object, but also someone who at the same time provided solace against the terrible wounds that he had endured at the front.

Agnes’s diary entries, her letters to Hemingway, and Ernest’s letters to his sisters, provide additional evidence for the evolution and growing intensity of Hemingway’s love for his

attractive nurse as well as for the development of some ambivalence in Agnes. In her August 25 entry, for example, Agnes observed that “Ernest Hemingway has a case on me, or thinks he has”; on August 26, she noted that “Ernest Hemingway is getting earnest” [*sic*] (72); and on August 27, she declared that, “all I know is ‘Ernie’ is far too fond of me, & speaks in such a desperate way every time I am cool, that I dare not dampen his ardor” (Kurowsky, “Diary” 73). In her letter of October 17 from Florence, Agnes reassured Hemingway, who was in Milan, that, “so don’t be afraid I’ll get tired of you,” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 102), and a week later, on October 24, she was again reassuring: “In every letter you ask me not to forget you, or something like that. I don’t think you realize that that is quite unnecessary” (111). Hemingway declared in his 23 November letter to Marcelline that, “I don’t know what I’ve written you about my girl, but really, Kid Ivory I love her very much. Also she loves me. . . . I’m not foolish and think I can get married now but when I do marry I know who I’m going to marry . . . Oh Ivory but I love that girl” (*The Letters* 157). All of these sources collectively attest to the fact that Marce’s younger brother had fallen desperately in love with the nurse who was also attempting to cope with the strong feelings that she had developed for him.

After situating himself back home in Oak Park, Hemingway did not relinquish his ardor for Agnes; in fact, he became preoccupied with his memories of Italy and spent a great deal of his time preparing for Agnes’s arrival. Another one of Hemingway’s sisters, Madelaine, recalls this anxious phase of her brother’s life: “During that time Ernie longed for Agnes to join him, wrote her long letters, and eagerly awaited her replies” (qtd. in Brian 28). As Hemingway anticipated word from Agnes regarding the date of her arrival, however, her feelings for him were diminishing, a fact clearly evident by the numerous hints and clues that Agnes provided in her letters to him. In her February 3 correspondence, for instance, she informed Hemingway that

her friend, Cavie, “has been very cruel to me lately accusing me of being a flirt” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 159). Also, in her March 1 letter to Hemingway, Agnes confessed that she had been “going to the dogs rapidly,” and that “I’m not at all the perfect being you think I am” (162). Nevertheless, the lovesick Hemingway was in denial, unable and/or unwilling to admit to himself that his romance with his first true love was finished.

Clearly, the devastating impact that Agnes’s March 7 letter of dismissal exerted upon Hemingway supports Baker’s contention, and that, as James Nagel explains, “all the biographical evidence suggests that Hemingway was unprepared for the letter of March 7” (“Hemingway” 246). A careful examination of the contents of this letter indicates why a young man like Hemingway, who had unfortunately allowed himself to invest virtually his entire identity as well as his devotion and trust in one person, might respond to his first true love’s dismissal in a very emotional way. First, in her letter Agnes explained that she was “fond” of him, but “more as a mother than as a sweetheart,” and that, alluding to their seven-year age difference, he would always be a “kid” to her, and she herself was not one. Agnes also apologized for “unwittingly deceiving” Ernest, but she “can’t get away from the fact” that he is “just a boy—a kid.” She then confessed that she expected to be married soon (Kurowsky, “Letters” 163), and hoped that through his career, Ernest could “show what a man” he really was (164). For the emotionally vulnerable Hemingway, this explicit challenge to his manhood may very well by itself have triggered the young man’s need to discover a resource of strength deep within himself.

A number of commentators have assessed the impact that Agnes’s rejection and what Hemingway perceived to be her betrayal exerted on the young veteran. According to Kert, Hemingway had been “pinning all his hopes on the reunion with Agnes. . . . He was stunned, then sick, then furious” (70). Soon, as Kert explains, Hemingway “fired off a sizzling letter to

Elsie MacDonald [a mutual friend of Agnes and him in Italy], informing the nurse how shabbily her friend had treated him—and bringing down his own curse on Agnes, that she should fall down on the deck when she got off the ship [the one transporting her home from Italy] and knock out all her front teeth!” (70). Baker notes that, after reading Agnes’s letter of dismissal, Hemingway “began to run a temperature and was obliged to go to bed. When he got up again, he was in a black rage over her perfidious conduct” (*Ernest* 81). Leicester Hemingway, Ernest’s younger brother, recalls that Agnes’s rejection “hit Ernest like a second mortar shell, and he reacted violently though he’d been given the word as calmly and gently as possible” (52). Perhaps the most accurate and insightful critical assessment of the impact of Agnes’s dismissal letter on Hemingway, however, is provided by Jeffrey Meyers:

Agnes’s unexpected rejection had a devastating effect on Hemingway. It led to a desire for revenge . . . and a need to “show” Agnes that he was worthy of her love. Her rejection may have driven Hemingway to strive for success as a writer. . . . The trauma of her betrayal . . . forced him into instinctive self-protection. (*Biography* 41)

Indeed, there is evidence to suggest—apart from the influence that Hemingway’s relationship and breakup with Agnes had on his subsequent literary efforts—that the author was haunted if not obsessed with Agnes’s rejection and what he felt to be her betrayal for the rest of his life. Kert reports that in 1922, after Hemingway, in response to one of his own letters, received one from Agnes, “Ernest told Lincoln Steffens in Paris that ‘if the nurse from Italy were to come back into his life he would give up everything for her’” (qtd. in “Hemingway” 263).

Masculinity in Hemingway's Time

It does not surprise me that Hemingway was so traumatized by his breakup with his first true love, because he came of age during a period of time in U. S. history when males were struggling to maintain their sense of manhood against the challenges posed by the sweeping social and cultural changes that had occurred since the nation's birth. The inner-strength component of the male identity that had characterized male essentialism since the nation's founding had been all but eradicated by the industrialization that had accelerated since the Civil War as well as by other social realities of the Victorian period. The era of the Self-Made Man, the individual who relied on his inner strength in order to achieve and maintain his sense of autonomy, was long over, and so American males were compelled to compensate for their lost individuality in a variety of ways. In the earliest decades of its existence, the United States, having essentially discarded the Puritan concept of a masculinity based on one's contribution to family and community, was enjoying an "economic boom . . . [that] produced the triumph of the Self-Made Men," or those males who "built America" (Kimmel, *Manhood* 21). In other words, as E. Anthony Rotundo explains, the "communal form of manhood . . . was eclipsed by a *self-made manhood*," a manhood that emerged from "the birth of republican government, the spread of a market economy, [and] the concomitant growth of the middle class itself" (3).

Unfortunately, however, by the 1870s, less than three decades prior to Hemingway's birth, the individualism and autonomy that characterized these Self-Made Men was being increasingly eroded by the economic and psychological dependencies inherent to factory labor and by the moral restrictions imposed by women and domesticity. American males, who had become "restless, insecure, striving, competitive, and extraordinarily prosperous" (Kimmel, *Manhood* 43), attempted to compensate for their sense of lost individualism and autonomy in

three principal ways: “self-control, exclusion, and escape” (44). These otherwise Self-Made Men believed that if they could control their sexual urges—a belief that Hemingway’s father would convey to Ernest—and create nuclear families, their families would constitute a little “haven in a heartless world” (59). Since males assumed that only adult men were capable of “reason and emotional control” (Rotundo 22), young men attempted to preserve their sexual energies through the “willful sexual control of the body” (Kimmel, *Manhood* 45). Nevertheless, many, who would not infrequently feel threatened by the restrictions inherent to domesticity, not unlike Hemingway, soon realized that the family “haven” enabled by their sexual discipline had become more like a prison in terms of maintaining or constructing their masculinity. In response, many followed Horace Greeley’s advice to “go west, young man” (60), and before long “the reports from the field of this westward rush all celebrated the return to manly virtues” (61). A major change of location, then, proved to be one answer to the masculinity-constructing impediments represented primarily by industrial labor and the responsibilities inherent to married life.

For those males who had not escaped west by the late decades of the century, however, the crisis of manhood continued to escalate. According to Kimmel, three factors contributed to the escalation of this crisis: “an unprecedented level of industrialization; the entry into the public sphere of large numbers of women, newly freed blacks, and immigrants; and the closing of the frontier” (*Manhood* 78). Although manhood had once “meant autonomy and self-control,” as the century approached its end, “fewer and fewer American men owned their own shops, controlled their own labor, owned their own farms” (83). Only a select few businessmen could realize autonomy while being forced to submit in this new corporate order, as Rotundo notes, for it was customary that “the successful one was the man who submitted to the fewest others” (249).

Much as Hemingway would feel himself to be in constant conflict with his various wives and mistresses, many males were also feeling increasingly threatened by the inroads that women were making, especially in the areas of education and the workplace. The passing of The Morrill Act of 1862 had forced many public universities into becoming co-educational, and with the establishment of a number of prestigious women's colleges, nearly half of all college students by 1920 were women (Kimmel, *Manhood* 86). Moreover, even though the percentage of women in the U. S. work force stood at only 16 percent in 1870, it had climbed to nearly 40 percent by 1920 (87). As Gail Bederman points out, early racially based feminists such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman maintained that the goal of the suffragette movement was that "white women could take their rightful place beside white men as full participants in the past and future of civilization" (135). However, many men were vehemently opposed to women's equality, "prophesying that they would make themselves ill and destroy national life, insisting that they were rebelling against nature" (14). As more and more women came to better understand the evils inherent to what had been their traditional submission to men, the latter at the same time were losing one of their primary sources of masculinity construction.

In addition to the threat posed by the women's movement, white males like Hemingway often felt threatened by black migration, increased immigration, and the closing of the frontier. The African Americans' threat to white masculinity is perhaps best illustrated by the controversy surrounding black Jack Johnson's 1910 defeat of white Jim Jeffries, a defeat that enabled Johnson to maintain his heavyweight boxing crown and challenge the beliefs of white males regarding the superiority of their race over that of Africans (Bederman 4-5). America's post-bellum status as a global economic power, moreover, "resulted in the most massive immigration of Europeans in U. S. history," as part of the overall total of "nine million immigrants . . . [who]

came to the United States between 1880 and 1900,” and their increasing numbers constituted yet another challenge to the identity of American males (Kimmel, *Manhood* 85). Finally, the frontier’s closing in the latter years of the nineteenth century thwarted what had been American males’ chief means of escape from what they had felt were the restrictions of the Victorian Era (87). This was the same frontier that, as Frederick Jackson Turner once observed, had liberated men from European influence (87-88), but was now civilized by the waves of settlers whose migration west during the nineteenth century was made possible with the support of a U. S. cavalry that had all but genocided the Native American populations. Hemingway would spend much of his life seeking surrogate “frontiers,” including Florida’s Gulf Stream, Kenya’s Serengeti Plain, and the relatively unexplored territory of sexual experimentation as presented in *The Garden of Eden*.

Even though American males had been attempting to dissolve their crisis of identity, as the new twentieth century unfolded, more and more males were becoming increasingly aware of their lost autonomy. Some men simply gave up the struggle to reestablish the Self-Made Man identity of the past; others attempted—albeit with only limited success—to rationalize what they believed to be their superiority over women, blacks, Native Americans, and immigrants, by advocating the “survival of the fittest” principles of Social Darwinism (Kimmel, *Manhood* 90). In their efforts to resist women’s equality, for example, many males believed that they could “claim for themselves an even more violent masculinity which could overpower these ‘unnatural’ women—a masculinity rooted in the primitive” (Bederman 159). While prominent psychologists such as G. Stanley Hall believed that, “by fully reliving their forebears’ primitive passions, boys could grow up strong enough to survive the effeminizing tendencies of higher civilization” (101), national masculinity icons such as Teddy Roosevelt wrote of his hunting

experiences in Africa, “where he could relive his earliest ancestors’ violent Darwinistic masculinity” (209). Roosevelt, who firmly believed that white males constituted the “masterful, manly race” (189), asserted that “‘Negroes’ were the most primitive of races—‘a perfectly stupid race’” (qtd. in Bederman 197), that “the manhood of the American race had been forged in the crucible of frontier race war” (Bederman 195), and that peoples such as the Japanese should not “immigrate freely into the United States” because “America must remain a white man’s country” (199). There were also those who were undoubtedly influenced by Roosevelt’s advice that American men could “prove their virility . . . through imperialistic warfare” (171); that is, they could create a new frontier through participation in the latest series of American imperialist wars (Kimmel, *Manhood* 111). The efforts of prominent figures such as Hall and Roosevelt, unfortunately for men, did not fully serve to compensate males for the challenges to their manhood that were represented by women’s equality, the migration of blacks, the increasing numbers of immigrants, and the frontier’s closing.

Since these attempts to resurrect the Self-Made Man identity were largely unsuccessful, males, in an effort to prove to themselves that they had an inborn, essential masculinity, more and more felt compelled to enact it: “Masculinity,” as Kimmel explains, “was increasingly an act, a form of public display” (*Manhood* 100). No longer did males rely on what had been the “inner strength” of the ante-bellum period; rather, they now “felt that they had to *appear* powerful physically” (120). In order to display what they believed (or wanted to believe) was their essential masculinity, American males turned to three principal means: engagement in outdoor activities, participation in sports, and reading literature that featured masculine themes. One outdoor activity that was gaining in popularity was recreational hunting, a sport, which, as I have shown, was promoted by one of the real-life idols of Hemingway’s youth, Teddy Roosevelt

(136), who, during his aforementioned hunting expedition to Africa, “personally killed 269 mammals . . . , including thirteen rhinos, eight elephants, seven hippos, seven giraffes, and nine lions” (Bederman 211). American health reformers, moreover, argued that “meat eating . . . [was] a potent answer to feminized manhood; some [health reformers] claimed that a diet devoid of red meat would prevent the building of full manly power” (137). Thus, hunting provided both a relatively convenient recreational outdoors activity, as well as offering males an easy way in which to acquire the nutrition that had been traditionally associated with masculinity development.

Not only was hunting growing in popularity at the turn of the century, but additional outdoor sports, along with the indoor sport of boxing, were also becoming more and more popular. Roosevelt, who suggested in an 1893 magazine article that “athletics might be one way to combat excess civilization and avoid losing Americans’ frontier-bred manliness” (Bederman 186), advocated men’s participation in activities such as “running, rowing, playing football and baseball, boxing and wrestling, shooting, riding, and mountain climbing” (Kimmel, *Manhood* 186). One of the most popular of the organized sports, however, as I previously pointed out, was boxing, a masculine activity in which Hemingway, as I will show, would excel, and one that—as it celebrated the male’s traditional attributes of “toughness, prowess, ferocity”—resurrected the rugged individualism of America’s past (139). Yet another popular sport that, as I will also show, Hemingway enjoyed was baseball, with its rural-like “parks or fields or grounds,” that, according to Kimmel, “recalled a bygone era of independent farmers and small shopkeepers” (140). Even as baseball by the 1920s came to be associated with such unhealthy pursuits as “drinking, gambling, and sexual promiscuity” as well as tainted by commercialism and scandals (such as the infamous Chicago “Black Sox” World Series debacle of 1919) (141), what had

become the nation's favorite pastime (Rotundo 240), nevertheless continued to appeal to the American male's sense of adventure. Overall, then, sports offered males in the early decade of the new century what was often an effective defense against the erosion of masculinity that had otherwise been occurring since the early decades of the previous century.

Not only were men drawn to outdoor activities and organized sports as means towards the recovery of their essential manhood, many males, including Hemingway, as I will demonstrate, in keeping with the views of psychologists such as G. Stanley Hall, who believed that "boys needed to be encouraged to read bloody stories . . . in order . . . to avoid exacerbating civilization's excess of manly self-restraint" (Bederman 98), also became avid readers of stories about male heroes. Boys were fascinated, for instance, with the biographies of self-made men, whether their occupations were that of robber barons, outlaws (such as Jesse James), or cavalry officers (such as General George Custer) (Kimmel, *Manhood* 141-42). Perhaps the "most widely read novelist," however, was Horatio Alger, whose stories about the rewards that can be reaped from "hard work, dedication, and a small dose of 'luck and pluck,'" constituted a throwback to the ante-bellum Self-Made Man (qtd. in Kimmel, *Manhood* 142). Much as many of Alger's books featured the "search for the father theme" (143), so too did the works of other popular American authors, including Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895) and Edgar Rice Burroughs's celebrated Tarzan books (initiated in 1912) (142-43), a series that featured a male protagonist whose "perfect masculinity stems from . . . his white racial supremacy . . . and his savage jungle childhood with the primitive apes" (Bederman 221). Much as sports and the outdoors became sources for masculinity restoration, then, the imaginative stimulation that adventure stories provided males served as a means to help them restore their masculine identities as well.

Yet another throwback to the Self-Made Man were the male heroes included in the tales of western adventure by authors such as Owen Wister and Zane Grey, two writers Hemingway himself would read. The most popular of these western heroes, of course, was the “mythic . . . cowboy,” an iconic figure who was, according to Peter G. Filene, “the epitome of the manly man: ‘Violent but honorable, fighting evil with a phallic six-shooter, defending women without being domesticated by them’” (qtd. in Badinter 20). Wister had introduced the idealized cowboy protagonist in his 1902 novel, *The Virginian*, whose title character is a good-looking “natural aristocrat” (Kimmel, *Manhood* 150), a young man who exhibits qualities that critic Jane Tompkins identifies in the typical western hero: “self-discipline, unswerving purpose; the exercise of knowledge, skill, ingenuity, and excellent judgement; and a capacity to continue in the face of total exhaustion and overwhelming odds” (qtd. in Stein 62). Thus, like the heroes of adventure stories, these rugged, autonomous cowboys of Western fiction also provided males with models that served as appropriate means towards the construction of their otherwise threatened masculine identities.

We might be tempted to assume that America’s participation in World War I would have provided our nation’s males with another means by which they could have bolstered their masculinity. Whereas, as Kimmel observes, “wartime victories had allowed a generation of men to rescue a threatened sense of manhood” (*Manhood* 192), nevertheless, the nature of the twentieth century’s first mechanized war had afforded the common soldier little opportunity in which to promote his masculine identity—a reality that, as I shall show, will become an important theme in Hemingway’s literary works. Summarizing a number of authors’ observations about modern warfare, R. W. Connell notes that “the techniques of industrialized modern war have almost nothing to do with the conventions of individual heroism” (*Masculinities* 214). As Diane

Herndl reports, “convinced by patriotic fervor to embrace military service as a path to masculine feats of heroism, most soldiers discovered that the war meant waiting in a trench to be shelled” (42). Additionally, the sense of optimism that men embraced in the decade following the war due to the “expanding peacetime economy” was soon qualified by an unreliable, unstable workplace, featuring jobs that were “more the domain of the dull and the routine of George Babbitt than the arena of vaulting ambition and adventure of TR [Teddy Roosevelt]” (Kimmel, *Manhood* 192). It was not bad enough, in other words, that men had been largely frustrated in their attempts to boost their masculinity through participation in a world war; males soon found themselves after the war having to toil at jobs that threatened their identities with the non-masculine realities inherent to twentieth century American labor.

Also, the increasing presence of women in the workplace in the 1920s posed yet another psychological (if not real or justifiable) threat to male workers, whether the latter toiled on an assembly line or in an office. As Rotundo has observed, “males and females were colleagues and even competitors. The promotions did go chiefly to the men, but a triumph over feminine rivals was not a great boost to a man’s sense of manliness” (250). And no longer did women necessarily believe in Victorian values: According to O’Sullivan, for example, the three major types of liberated women of the 1920s, “the British Blondes, the Gibson Girl, and the flapper, had the ability to be ‘pals’ with men, to sustain friendships as opposed to courtships” (63). Thus, even prior to what would be the devastating impact of the Great Depression on American masculinity, the combined influences of a war victory that had offered males only a limited opportunity for heroism, along with the increase in the numbers of liberated women, meant that since the Civil War males had made little if any progress towards the individualism and autonomy represented by the nation’s earlier masculine ideal figure of the Self-Made Man.

Hemingway's Construction of His Masculine Identity

Given the longing of American males in the early decades of the twentieth century to return to the individualism and autonomy represented by the ante-bellum Self-Made Man, it should not be so surprising that Hemingway, like many of those of his own generation, attempted to construct the identity of the Self-Made Man through engagement in his youth with outdoor activities, participation in sports, and avid reading of adventure stories. As Michael Reynolds points out, “like so many of his generation, Hemingway, too, was caught up by the lust for physical fitness,” and “in Oak Park he had to win, not just play the game. It was never a game with Hemingway: fishing, hunting, tennis, boxing became tests of manhood” (*Young Hemingway* 27). In a number of his letters from northern Michigan, Hemingway, whose infamous competitive spirit is often quite evident, described the fish he claims to have landed and/or the animals he claims to have shot. In a letter to his grandfather, Anson Hemingway, one that Ernest had composed on or about August 30, 1913, for example, fourteen-year-old Ernest wrote, “I have caught 147 trout [*sic*] day before yesterday [*sic*] I caught one 11 in [*sic*] long. . . . Have just finished picking 3 ducks” (*The Letters* 14). The following summer, in his July 17, 1915 letter to an apparent classmate, Ray Ohlsen (21n1), Hemingway described how he had shot and then tanned a “peach of a porcupine” and had “shot 3 squirrels and a sapsucker yest [*sic*]” (20). In an August 6, 1917 letter to Grandfather Anson, Ernest noted that “the other night I caught three rainbow trout that weighed 6 lb. [*sic*] 5 ½ lb and 3 ½ lb respectively also a two lb. brook trout in Hortons Bay. That is the largest catch of trout that has ever been made there” (41). In a letter to his family dated September 6, Ernest related that he had caught “a Musky [*sic*] that weighed 6 lbs. It jumped out of water about 8 times and acted very brutal. Bit me on the hand and tore the landing net. It is the first one caught here in three years” (43). Outdoor activities such as the

hunting and fishing that Hemingway enjoyed during his family's vacations in northern Michigan, then, offered the future author convenient venues towards the construction of his youthful masculine identity.

Not only were fishing and hunting outdoor activities that the ever-competitive Hemingway pursued primarily during vacations with his family at Walloon Lake; he also attempted to construct his masculine identity by participating in a wide variety of organized sports back home in Oak Park.⁴ According to Reynolds, Ernest

twice made the high-school cross-country run. . . . Each fall he battered himself on the football field. Because his growth came late, he spent three years on the 135-pound light-weight team, where he played reserve tackle, guard and center. . . . During his senior year, a growth spurt allowed him to play second string on the varsity during a mediocre season. That year he also managed the track team, competed with the swimming team—a plunger, or underwater swimmer . . . and captained the water basketball team. (*Young Hemingway* 27)

In addition to football, however, the two other organized sports that Hemingway appears to have shown the most interest were baseball and boxing. Sometime in 1912, for example, Ernest wrote a letter to a baseball card company in order to purchase “baseball action pictures” (*The Letters* 11); he reminded his father in a letter written sometime in May of the same year that “the New York giants [*sic*] play chicago cubs [*sic*] for the championship on Sat. [*sic*] May 11 [*sic*] (12); in

⁴ Although football has been traditionally seen as a distinctly masculine sport, commentators such as Alan Dundes have explained the homosexual connotations of many of the terms associated with the sport. In his controversial essay, “Into the Endzone for a Touchdown: A Psychoanalytic Consideration of American Football,” for example, Dundes explains that getting into an opponent's end zone is similar to anal penetration: “The object of the game . . . is to get into the opponent's endzone while preventing the opponent from getting into one's own endzone. One wishes to put one's opponent down; to ‘screw’ him while avoiding being screwed by him” (80-81). To take Dundes's thesis here as valid, of course, would be to complement the studies of those scholars such as Debra Modellmog, who have defined the non-heteromasculine sexual nature of Hemingway's characters as well as that of the author himself.

April of either 1915 or 1916, he wrote a letter to “Base Ball Magazine” (18) to request a one year subscription and to send for “art posters” of New York Giants, Chicago White Sox and Chicago Cubs players (19n1); and in a letter composed sometime in September, 1917, Ernest notified Grandfather Anson, “probably I will see you in two or three weeks as I expect to get home in time for the Worlds [sic] Series” (50). Thus, football, baseball, and boxing were organized sports the youthful Hemingway employed in his youthful attempt to develop his masculine identity.

Of the three aforementioned sports, however, it was boxing that apparently most interested Hemingway during his early years. At first, Ernest’s mother saw nothing wrong with her oldest son using the music room of their Oak Park home for the bouts Ernest engaged in with his Oak Park buddies. Soon, however, “the fighting became quite violent” and the young pugilists were forced to move to a friend’s house; as Kenneth Lynn explains, “the trouble was, Ernest not only wanted to win every match he fought, but to do so smashingly. The sweet smile on his face masked the savagery in his heart, and some of his opponents were thoroughly mauled, if not knocked out cold” (60). In a March 1916 letter to his friend Emily Goetzmann, Hemingway described the way in which the music room bouts were abruptly ended one day by the untimely appearance of his father: “Attracted thither by the shouts of the Roman Mob he pushes open the door and beholds a slightly gory spectacle. My beootiful [sic] nose was emulating [sic] Old Faithful Geyser [sic] my worthy opponent Mr. Townsend [sic] champion of River Forest [sic] was in a more or less recumbent position on the floor” (*The Letters* 27). Hemingway’s description here reveals, moreover, his need to bolster his masculinity not only through his participation in pugilistics, but also through delivering crushing defeats to his opponents.

Hemingway attempted to construct his masculine identity not only through his participation in outdoor activities and sports, but also through his identification with the masculine heroes who were featured in the adventure stories that he loved to read. One of his favorite British authors, as Mark Spilka points out, was Captain Frederick Marryat, “a prototype of the kind of man of action, man of letters Hemingway would become” (*Quarrel* 73), whose tales of “pre-Victorian warfare” on the high seas often featured a “young boy who leaves or runs away from home to join the British navy” (68). Not only did reading books by Marryat, as well as other books by Defoe, Stevenson, and Kipling, enable Hemingway to imaginatively escape the Victorian strictures of Oak Park (70, 179), their action-oriented protagonists who often display great moral courage on the high seas also provided him with male prototypes with whom he could identify. Kipling, moreover, as Michael Reynolds points out, “was one of Hemingway’s favorite authors, whom he read and re-read in his parents’ library. . . . In 1916, Hemingway knew *The Jungle Book* well enough to quote from it by heart” (*Young Hemingway* 210). Hemingway also liked to read the African books written by Stewart Edward White: “In *Rediscovered Country*, he devoured the maps and the details of the safari: how to hire porters, where to hunt; what to take and where to buy it; how to survive” (230). Not unlike many boys of his generation, however, it was the figure of Teddy Roosevelt and his tales of East African adventure that he related in such books as *African Game Trails* that most fired Ernest’s imagination (229; Lynn, 24). Africa became for Hemingway—as it had for Roosevelt—a substitute for the lost American Wild West, that is, “a place where, across the frontier, a man might once again test himself, where self-reliance was still a virtue and society imposed few restraints” (*Young Hemingway* 232). Thus, whether the story was set on the high seas or in other far-off locales such as Africa, the early construction of Hemingway’s masculinity was

undoubtedly enhanced by his reading about fictional and non-fictional heroes whose manhood was often challenged by the brute forces of nature.

Hemingway certainly felt the same post-war disillusionment with the Great War that many veterans endured, compounded by the traumatic effects of Agnes's rejection, but he was able to compensate for perceived threats to his masculinity that were posed primarily by women, fatherhood, and domesticity mainly through his accomplishments first as a journalist and then as a popular author in the between wars period, as well as his continued interest and engagement in a wide variety sports. After Agnes's rejection in March of 1919, he continued his quest, albeit without success, to have his stories published, spending a great deal of time at his family's cottage on Walloon Lake in northern Michigan, where he will reside that summer and fall as well as part of the following summer, hunting and fishing not unlike the way that he had done so prior to the war. According to Michael Reynolds, the young author "continued to pursue that lost frontier, searching for the last good country" (*Young Hemingway* 74). In mid-summer 1920, however, Hemingway's lifelong conflict with his liberated, career-oriented mother, Grace, culminated when she expelled him from the lake cottage (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 134-41).

Although Hemingway's first major work, *Three Stories and Ten Poems*, was published in August 1923 (Reynolds, *Paris Years* xv), his 1921 marriage to Hadley Richardson, who was better educated and "eight years his senior" (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 248), Hadley's loss of his manuscripts at the Gare de Lyon train station in Paris in 1922 (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 86), along with the responsibilities of fatherhood following the birth of his first son, John (aka Bumby), in Toronto in October, 1923 (149), presented further challenges to Hemingway's male autonomy. Marriage and fatherhood obviously meant that Hemingway had to reconcile the non-commercial nature of his writing career with the financial burdens that are intrinsic to

domesticity; though Hadley's trust fund did much to promote the young couple's lifestyle in Paris and in Toronto, their reliance on it undoubtedly represented for Hemingway a significant challenge to his masculinity. To Hemingway, relationships with women often represented a threat to his masculinity; he needed to love and be loved, but when he sensed that the relationship was becoming intrusive on his identity, he found ways of dissolving it. *In Our Time* was published in October of 1925 (xix), but Hemingway's reputation as the most promising author of his generation was firmly established with the publication of *The Sun Also Rises* in 1926, a novel that was based primarily on his experiences with Hadley and his "lost generation" friends at the San Fermin festival in Pamplona, Spain, the previous summer (308-18).

Not only did Hemingway become an aficionado of the macho ritual of bullfighting during his trips to Spain from his residence in Paris, but his masculinity was also undoubtedly bolstered through his skiing vacations in Austria with his family (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 259-65, 341-46; Reynolds, *Homecoming* 9-12, 162) as well as through his devotion to other sports such as horse racing (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 32-33, 57-62, 133), boxing (Reynolds, *Homecoming* 66, 204), bicycle racing (19-20, 115, 120, 153), fishing (135), and football (204). Whereas his 1927 divorce from Hadley and subsequent marriage to Pauline Pfeiffer (xi), an accomplished, well-educated journalist who was four years older than Ernest, along with the additional pressures of fatherhood after Pauline's delivery of son Patrick by caesarean section in the summer of 1928 (xiii), presented further challenges to Hemingway's masculinity, some degree of his anxiety was most certainly offset with the publication of *Men Without Women* in the fall of 1927 (xii), fishing in Key West (170, 172-74) and hunting in Wyoming (186-94) the following year, and the publication of *A Farewell to Arms* in September of 1929 (Reynolds, *1930s* 26).

Gender Studies of Hemingway: Three Phases

Given Hemingway's intense interest in constructing a masculine identity, like most other males of his generation, through outdoor activities, sports, and adventure books, it is not difficult to account for his inclusion of male protagonists in his fictional works who must discover deep within themselves a reservoir of strength in order to meet the various challenges of their lives. However, I am unable to find one study of Hemingway or his fictional works that has effectively identified, defined, or analyzed inner strength as a significant component of the masculine or male self in Hemingway's fictional protagonists. In my survey of the critical directions of Hemingway masculinity studies that have been completed over the past fifty years and aware that critical and theoretical movements may at times overlap—for the sake of clarity and convenience—I have divided the history of Hemingway masculinity studies into three phases: the pre-1986 or pre-*Garden of Eden* phase, the post-1986 or late twentieth century phase, and the post-2000 or early twenty-first-century phase. Such a survey of studies of Hemingway's masculinity, I feel, is relevant here because it will reveal the difference between commentators' observations about the masculinity in Hemingway's works and my belief, which is that the inner strength aspect of the male self is a well-developed motif in many of the author's early short stories and novels.

Although most commentators in the pre-1986 phase of masculinity studies tended to focus on the concept of traditional, essentialist manhood or on specific aspects of traditional manhood such as instinct or primitivism, self-control, courage, and aggression, only a select few commentators have mentioned, albeit in passing, the inner strength aspect of the male self. As far as I can ascertain, the earliest examination of masculinity in Hemingway's fiction was Tom Burnam's 1955 "Primitivism and Masculinity in the Work of Ernest Hemingway," an essay in

which Burnam notes that “Hemingway’s men,” who are “masculine, direct, even brutal . . . cut through the complexities of contemporary society to the so-called ‘primal drives’” (20). Yet Burnam stops short of elaborating on the nature of these “primal drives” or even identifying what may be their inner strength component.⁵ Six years after Burnam’s study, Mark Spilka, in “The Death of Love in *The Sun Also Rises*,” observed that Robert Cohn “often confuses” various “tokens of virility” with “actual manliness,” that the romantic pugilist “always looks for internal strength in outward signs and sources,” but Spilka chose not explore the ways in which Cohn employs his own internal strength in order to defeat his opponents (81). In *Ernest Hemingway: A Reconsideration* (1966), Philip Young’s landmark examination of Hemingway’s preoccupation with death and his code hero’s “grace under pressure,” Young observed that Nick Adams, a typical Hemingway protagonist, has “a good deal of what there is of the primitive in him,” but Young qualifies this primitive quality, one that may otherwise be identified as a source of inner strength, for, as Young surmises, this primitive element at times “trembles and cracks” because the “big, tough, outdoor man, is also the wounded man” (55). Similar to Spilka and Young, Richard B. Hovey, in *Hemingway: The Inward Terrain* (1968), did not identify the sources of inner strength of Hemingway’s protagonists,⁶ those “divided creatures” who are “outwardly

⁵ Burnam also noted that Harry Walden of “The Snows of Kilimanjaro,” a character whose “loss of his talent has coincided with the loss of his dominant position in the marriage,” fails “to maintain his male integrity” (23), but again, Burnam chose not to discuss the inner strength necessary for Harry to compose his recollections.

⁶ Whereas Hovey’s Colonel Cantwell in *Across the River and into the Trees* is a “sad and bitter invalid incapable of love” (190), Carlos Baker, in *Hemingway: The Writer as Artist* (1972), noted “the complete independence of the Colonel’s inner self” (287), with Cantwell as a hero not significantly dissimilar from *Sun*’s Pedro Romero, a character whom Baker described as “manly, incorruptible, healthy, courageous, of complete integrity and self-possession” (86). Neither Hovey nor Baker, however, identified the source of Cantwell’s inability to love or his traditional masculine traits.

virile, self-reliant, brave, [and] hard,” but are, nevertheless, “fearful of sexual love, and dreading any tender feeling as effeminate and corrupting” (190). The early years of the pre-1986 phase, then, feature critical views that fail to fully investigate the inner strength concept, suggest only that something akin to inner strength exists in Hemingway’s works, or point out that the author’s male protagonists lack a strength which is an “inner” one.

Critical studies of Hemingway’s masculinity in the 1970s and early 1980s also did not adequately explore the inner-strength component. In *By Force of Will* (1977), Scott Donaldson briefly defined Hemingway’s chief dilemma—one which is reflected in his heroes—as consisting of a tension between the author’s “dreaded aloneness” and the fear that “love would deprive him of his own individuality, of his own inmost self,” but Donaldson does not define the inner-strength component of this “inmost self” (174). Whereas John J. Seydow, in “Francis Macomber’s Spurious Masculinity” (1981), observed that Macomber fails to “discover what really makes a man a man” (41), Seydow chose not to explore just what it is within a man that makes him one.⁷ In her 1981 essay, “E. R. A. for Hemingway: A Feminist Defense of *A Farewell to Arms*,” Joyce Wexler (anticipating Sandra Spanier’s two studies of Catherine’s heroism) discussed *A Farewell to Arms* in terms of the ways in which Catherine teaches Frederic the heroic attributes of devotion and courage (116-20), but Wexler did not explore the sources of Catherine’s heroic qualities. Spilka, on the other hand, in “Hemingway and Fauntleroy: An Androgynous Pursuit” (1982), attributed Hemingway’s “need for independent strength” in

⁷ Seydow also observed that, “since he has no fear of dying, Francis is under no ‘pressure’ to act heroically” when he faces the charging buffalo bull near the end (40). In other words, Macomber is not given the opportunity to attain a Young-like “grace under pressure” because he has become fearless. For Seydow, Macomber does not follow either his own or Hemingway’s code; instead, he follows “what he thinks is Wilson’s code” (39). The American hunter thus never realizes his own manhood prior to being shot and killed by wife Margot.

himself in order to counter “the threat of destruction by a powerful woman”; in this way, at least in passing, Spilka recognized the author’s reliance on an inner strength in order to achieve an “independent selfhood” (347), but Spilka does not associate this “independent strength” directly with the male self or demonstrate the ways in which it may be recovered and employed. Roger Whitlow, in *Cassandra’s Daughters* (1984), echoed Young’s view regarding the hero’s need to face his greatest fears, including death, that is, without “being destroyed by the thing feared” (110), but Whitlow too does not identify the inner strength that would enable the Hemingway hero to confront his fears or prove his manhood. In “Hemingway’s Medievalist Impulse: Its Effect on the Presentation of Women and War in *The Sun Also Rises*” (1986), Kim Moreland suggested that there exists an inborn or essentialist desire in males to become knights in shining armor, but in the modern world, with its “liberated women” and its modern wars which have broken with the chivalric principles of “strength, courage, and integrity,” men are denied the opportunity to satisfy this fundamental desire (39); however, like the other critics of this phase, Moreland chose not to discuss in full the inner strength component of this chivalric male identity.

In the post-1986, or late-twentieth-century phase, commentators for the most part tended to emphasize the ways in which the feminine component of both Hemingway and his male protagonists challenged the masculine or male self, a self that was longed for, implied, or given. A few critics recognized the ability of Hemingway’s male protagonists to renew or recreate their otherwise lost male selves, but these critics did not explore the ways in which the inner-strength component may play an important role in this renewal or recreation. Whereas Peter Schwenger, in *Phallic Critiques: Masculinity and Twentieth Century Literature* (1986), focused his study primarily on the dangers that some female characters’ verbosity poses to the “male integrity” of such characters as Harold Krebs in “Soldier’s Home” (44), critics such

as Robert B. Jones and Kenneth Lynn responded to the 1986 publication of *The Garden of Eden* in terms of the masculinity—but not necessarily on the inner strength—of Hemingway’s protagonists.⁸

In the remaining years of the 1980s, however, critics were employing psychological approaches regarding the threat that androgyny posed to the integrity of the male self, yet without making mention the male’s self’s inner strength. A good example is Robert Solotaroff’s “Sexual Identity in *A Farewell to Arms*” (1989), an essay which argues that Frederic Henry compromises his masculinity by “submerging his identity into that of a woman,” as the “feminine component of the male self is opposed to” traditional masculine commitments such as “a life of activity, particularly to work, and to the camaraderie—even the hierarchy of the army” (4). Like other psychologically oriented critics of this phase, however, Solotaroff does not entertain the possibility that protagonists such as Lieutenant Henry may have a reservoir of strength that might enable him to overcome whatever threats to his manhood that the feminine aspects of his identity may pose.

In my opinion, however, the most helpful study of Hemingway’s masculinity in this phase, an essay which is at least marginally concerned with the inner strength of the male self, was Donald A. Daiker’s “The Affirmative Conclusion of *The Sun Also Rises*” (1989). In his discussion of Jake Barnes’s journey to San Sebastian, Daiker points out, for instance, that, “because Jake expects eventually to be summoned by Brett, he consciously strives to build a

⁸ In “Mimesis and Metafiction in Hemingway’s *The Garden of Eden*” (1987), Jones noted briefly that *Garden* “concerns itself with the nature and evolution of authentic selfhood in its examination of Catherine’s and David Bourne’s individual crisis of gender identity” (2). Lynn, in his discussion in *Hemingway* (1987) of Ernest’s public persona, mentioned—albeit only in passing—that in *Garden*, “Hemingway had spoken . . . of a writer’s inner core which could not be split nor even marked nor scratched” (555).

stronger self,” that his “swimming and diving symbolically represent his efforts towards self-renewal,” that Jake will “create a new self,” and that his “diving deep suggests that his new self will have depth and a sound basis” (45). I feel that Daiker is correct in his account of Jake’s inner transformation, for through it, Jake will be able, as Daiker observes, to realize “that his relationship with Brett is mutually destructive” (47), so that he ultimately “wins a final victory over Brett and over his old, ineffectual, romantic self” (48). However, even though he demonstrates persuasively that Jake’s “self” is renewed, Daiker is also suggesting not only that Jake’s “self” originally lacked “depth,” but also that it had not even existed prior to his trip to San Sebastian, for Jake chose to create it, and that, moreover, Barnes, according to Daiker, is “*consciously*” renewing his strength, rather than tapping the subconscious strength of his male self in order to enable his transformation (“Affirmative” 48).

Not unlike the critical studies of Hemingway and masculinity in the 1980s by those such as Daiker and others, those of the 1990s also either marginalized or ignored the inner strength component of the male self. Whereas threats to the masculine self posed not only by women characters such as Brett Ashley, but also those posed by male femininity and androgyny, continued to receive a great deal of attention in this decade, a number of studies anticipated the gender performance theory that will become a prominent feature of the early, twentieth-first century phase. Even though Mark Spilka’s *Hemingway’s Quarrel with Androgyny* (1990) best accounted for Hemingway’s psychological need to develop androgynous male characterizations—thus demonstrating the profound defensiveness of the male self towards a femininity that opposes or attempts to fuse with it—Spilka chose not to explore the inner strength necessary to accomplish either one. Spilka also pointed out that in *Farewell*, Frederic, like the male protagonists in short stories such as “The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber”

and “The Snows of Kilimanjaro,” hardens himself against the threats posed by androgyny (235), and according to J. Gerald Kennedy, in “Hemingway’s Gender Trouble” (1991), protagonists such as David Bourne in *The Garden of Eden* discover not the male self’s inner strength but rather the act of “writing as a source of integrity” against what is, for David, his wife’s “destructive gender crossing.”⁹ In *Ernest Hemingway* (1992), Peter Messent placed Hemingway’s masculinity in the context of the author’s era (86-87), and identified androgyny as well as the traditional ideology of romance as the chief threats to the male’s “sense of self,” but he chose not to include a discussion of this self’s inner strength. Although both Rose Marie Burwell, in “Hemingway’s *Garden of Eden*: Resistance of Things Past and Protecting the Masculine Text” (1993), and Charles Hatten, in “The Crisis of Masculinity, Reified Desire, and Catherine Barkley in *A Farewell to Arms*” (1993), each discussed the threat that androgyny poses to the masculine self in *Garden* and *Farewell*, respectively,¹⁰ neither Burwell nor Hatten (like Messent) explain how, for example, the male self is able to withstand such threats.

Likewise ignoring the presence of the male self’s inner strength were additional studies in the 90s decade that emphasized gender binarism theory. Robert E. Gajdusek, in essays published

⁹ Kennedy comes very close to suggesting the existence of a subconscious inner strength resource in David; however, Kennedy seems to suggest that it may only be through writing that David is able to effect the recovery of his true self, rather than to suggest that the “inner core” enabled David to proceed with his craft. For Kennedy, it is David’s rewriting of the elephant story that enables the recovery of his “inner core”: “He [David] is able to survive Catherine’s destruction of the African stories and . . . to recover his ‘inner core’ by rewriting the story of the Maji-Maji rebellion” (206). Unfortunately, Kennedy reverses the narrator’s observation that David “wrote from an inner core which could not be split nor even marked nor scratched,” that David, in other words, employed his inner core in order to write—he did not write in order to uncover his inner core, as Kennedy seems to suggest. Though Daniel Kempton noted that this inner core “is the source of his [David’s] creativity and strength,” it is, nevertheless, “sexless,” that is, not exclusively a *male* self, as opposed to the narrator’s view that David’s employment of his inner core/male self, enabled his writing (141).

¹⁰ Burwell noted, for example, that David Bourne’s enhanced appreciation of his father and his writing success by the end of *Garden* constitute “a crystallization of his resistance to a feminine mode of experiencing, resistance that for a time the androgynous experiences threatened to dissolve” (“Hemingway’s” 213).

in the 1990s that were subsequently anthologized in *Hemingway: In His Own Country* (2002), argued that in Hemingway's works the male's inner journey—his crossing over to the feminine—is necessary for the male's achievement of wholeness and fulfillment.¹¹ Comley and Scholes, in *Hemingway's Genders: Rereading the Hemingway Text* (1994), however, observed that *Garden's* Catherine Bourne faces a gender boundary, that is, one of creativity, which represents “a boundary no woman can cross” (62),¹² and in *The Feminized Male Character in Twentieth-Century Literature* (1995), Nancy McCampbell Grace too discussed Hemingway's gender binarism, but she, like Comley and Scholes, also did not address the issue of inner strength, believing (consonant with Gajdusek) that Hemingway's feminized male “is evidence and artifact to the possibility of an integrated consciousness, . . . that man can find something of himself in the feminine” (38).¹³ Finally, Jopi Nyman, in “The Body Overconsumed: Masculinity and Consumerism in Ernest Hemingway's *Across the River and into Trees*” (1998), though not discussing inner strength per se, at least recognized the absence of the self-made man,¹⁴

¹¹ In his discussion of *Garden*, Gajdusek observed that “the feminization of the masculine psyche is the necessary act of integration that makes a man a man and an artist a complete artist” (227), and he noted that “the crossover inversion into the territory of the other sex . . . is necessary for the full individuated wholeness of a human being” (289). He also explained that in *Garden* Hemingway is asserting that a male must acquire an “effeminized psyche” in order to make himself “worthy of the love of a whole woman,” and that “a whole man is one” who has capitulated “into the hands of the ‘other’” (340). Similarly, Allen Josephs, in *For Whom the Bell Tolls: Ernest Hemingway's Undiscovered Country* (1994), reported that the fusion of the masculine with the feminine occurs in *For Whom The Bell Tolls* as Maria becomes a “projection of Robert Jordan,” or what Josephs sees as “the personification of Jordan's own feminism” (81), for in this novel, “Hemingway was seeking nothing less than the once-perfect being, the male and female halves indeed reunited” (137).

¹² Comley and Scholes also noted that Catherine's destruction of David's African manuscript “turns her into the puritanical castrating mother who destroys her boy-man's connection to the primitive” (62-63).

¹³ Grace also pointed out that in *Garden*, “the strong, sexual, dominant male [triumphs] over the destructive, desexualized outlaw female” (37).

¹⁴ Situating *To Have and Have Not* within the hard-boiled fiction genre, Nyman, in *Men Alone: Masculinity, Individualism, and Hard-Boiled Fiction*, explained that hard-boiled heroes strive for

observing that protagonists such as Colonel Cantwell mourn the loss of the “ideology of masculinity and the ideal of the self-made man,” along with the loss of “the alleged era of authenticity” in the modern world (38). Once again, 1990s critics chose not to investigate a potential strength that the male self may utilize in order to combat the feminine aspect of male identity or compensate for its loss of autonomy.

Gender studies of Hemingway’s fiction in the 1990s were nevertheless also making a major shift away from a focus on androgyny’s threat to the male self and in the direction of performativity—with the strong implication that the constructed male identity does not presuppose the existence of an inherent inner strength. In 1989’s “Dramatizations of Manhood in Hemingway’s *In Our Time* and *The Sun Also Rises*,” Thomas Strychacz had already noted that in “Indian Camp” Dr. Adams attempts to achieve “male authority . . . by directing the visual dynamics of a space transformed from shanty/womb to operating theater” (248); Ad Francis in “The Battler” has become merely “a name, a set of remembered movements enacted for others,” and his failure to “perform the expected role [of prizefighter]” when Bugs knocks him unconscious is “indicative of his profound absence of self” (252); in *Sun*, “all of Romero’s actions . . . are unashamedly theatrical” (257), whereas Jake, by pimping for Brett in the cafe, fails in “dramatizing his manhood before other men” (259).¹⁵ Echoing Strychacz, Ira Elliot, in “A

autonomy, but that the latter goal is “never fully achieved” (180) and that “the self that is sought for is the autonomous, masculine self, defined in isolation from other people” (207); nevertheless, these heroes call “for a return to an earlier era, that of heroic individualism” (244). Moreover, as hard-boiled fiction novels “attempt to reassert and reaffirm masculine values whose hegemony is threatened in the historical context of the genre,” their heroes’ need for control and power is challenged by “the feminine chaos” of women (366).

¹⁵ Strychacz also observed that in “The Doctor and the Doctor’s Wife,” Dick Boulton “threatens to turn the doctor’s space into a real arena (a boxing ring)” (“Dramatizations” 250), and in “Big Two-Hearted River,” Nick “cannot fashion a self because he constantly defers the self-awareness that would make them [Nick’s actions] psychologically potent” (254). In “Trophy-hunting as a Trope of Manhood in Hemingway’s *Green Hills of Africa* (1993), Strychacz further distanced himself from the essentialism and male autonomy of Hemingway’s protagonists that had been asserted by earlier gender critics by noting

Farewell to Arms and Hemingway's Crisis of Masculine Values" (1993), asserted that the self is a creation of the individual's: Regarding Frederic Henry, he noted that "the construction of the self by an autonomous subject thus becomes something of a theatrical position, a kind of 'stage name' or persona which is created for the purpose of self-preservation" (293). In *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (1992), Toni Morrison's highly influential study of the ways in which white masculinity is constructed through Africanist literary discourse, the author accounted for Hemingway's construction of Harry Morgan's virility in *To Have and Have Not* through her comparison of Morgan with powerless African-American characters (69-76) or those black males who dare to intrude upon the development of Harry's romantic relationship with Marie (76-80). Morrison also examined the ways in which Hemingway provides his white male protagonists with both male and female nurses (most being black) whose helpfulness does not interfere with the male's self-identity as a "brave, silent sufferer" (81-82). Morrison suggested too that in *Garden*, David's identity is constructed through the Africa that he depicts in his fiction as "innocent and under white control" and through his story of himself and his shark-like nurse, Catherine ("the story we are reading"), wherein "Africanism [is] . . . imagined as evil, chaotic, impenetrable" (89). In *Reading Desire: In Pursuit of Ernest Hemingway* (1999), Debra A. Modellmog observed that in *Garden*, David and Catherine "demonstrate that gender is, to use Judith Butler's conception, performed" (84).¹⁶ Consonant with Modellmog, Carl Eby, in

that in *Green Hills* Hemingway is suggesting that "trophy-hunting reveals manhood to be a performance created out of the relationship between the hunter, his display, and his audience, rather than a permanent characteristic of special men. Manhood is not an essence; it must be represented as an economy of actions and appraisals" (37).

¹⁶ Modellmog also noted that Hemingway, whose "sexual identity [was] on the border between the heterosexual and the homosexual" (*Reading* 51), nevertheless attempted to "stabilize" his masculinity, as he "felt a constant need to prove his heteromascularity" (130).

Hemingway's Fetishism: Psychoanalysis and the Mirror of Manhood (1999),¹⁷ explained that Hemingway, “by disavowing his femininity” through his characterization of Frederic Henry, “establishes a masculinity, but it is unstable, parodic, openly performative, found not in the self but in the specular, alienated image of the mirror” (216). Finally, in “Getting One In: Masculinity and Hemingway’s Boxing Stories” (1999), Nyman noted that in “The ‘Battler’ and ‘Fifty Grand,’” “masculine identity becomes a representation and a performance, not an essence” (56).¹⁸ Since for Nyman and other 1990s performance critics, there is no essential male or masculine self, it can be inferred that there is no inner strength or at least none that is essential, unless it is possible to construct it, yet this seems highly unlikely if not impossible and is never addressed.

Similarly, the inner strength of the male self in the early twenty-first-century phase is only indirectly implied or at best briefly mentioned by commentators, as their studies have tended to focus on ways in which male identity is supported or threatened by such factors as women, femininity, modern war and ritual, and/or to stress the importance of performativity in the construction of masculinity. Whereas in “War, Gender, and Ernest Hemingway” (2002), Alex Vernon reported that modern warfare affects “gender identity, which for the male veteran means his masculinity” (37), Diane Price Herndl, in “Invalid Masculinity: Silence, Hospitals, and

¹⁷ In the published version of *Garden*, Eby noted, Hemingway “magically” restores David’s otherwise “shaken” masculinity by supplying the young writer with Marita, who, with her assurances that “her own gender identity is stable,” contributes to the “preservation of David’s masculinity in the face of Catherine’s attempts to ‘ruin’ him by forcing him to wear the fetish and assume a feminine identity” (*Fetishism* 257).

¹⁸ Also, Nyman reported that in “Fifty Grand,” “the two boxers [Brennen and Walcott] do not fight as much for prestige and male authority as they do for maintaining their public image as exemplary masculine characters, performing gender in front of spectators as it is supposed to be performed” (“Getting” 61).

Anesthesia in *A Farewell to Arms*” (2001), pointed out that Frederic Henry, as wounded soldier, can only *perform* a masculinity that “becomes a self-inflicted wound” (43). According to Gail D. Sinclair, in “Revisiting the Code: Female Foundations and ‘The Undiscovered Country’ in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*” (2002), another Hemingway wartime participant, Robert Jordan, relies on women in order for him to strengthen his masculinity,¹⁹ and for Ann Putnam, in “On Defiling Eden: The Search for Eve in the Garden of Sorrow” (2002), war veteran Nick Adams in “Big Two-Hearted River” discovers in maternal nature a “vision of the perfect self” (115).²⁰ Finally, in “West of Everything: The High Cost of Making Men in *Islands in the Stream*” (2002), Rose Marie Burwell observed that *Islands in the Stream*’s Thomas Hudson, the ex-artist who battles Nazi sailors along the coast of Cuba, nevertheless both desires and fears a pronounced gender fluidity (167).²¹ Finally, Greg Forter, in *Gender, Race, and Mourning in American Modernism* (2011), showed that *Sun*’s males, who yearn for a traditional masculine identity, rely on the *aficion* of the bullfight represented by Romero, so that the self becomes consecrated while “remasculinizing communal bonds and social hierarchies” (76). Although these studies of identity construction here make valuable contributions to Hemingway gender scholarship regarding the effect that such factors as women, femininity, modern war, and the bullfighting ritual have on Hemingway’s male protagonists, they unfortunately do not include a detailed

¹⁹ Sinclair observed that, with the mentoring help of Maria and Pilar who “exhibit greater inner fortitude” than Jordan (96), the latter is able to achieve, according to Pamela Boker, a “masculine maturity” similar to that of all code heroes (qtd. in Sinclair 103).

²⁰ Nick’s refuge is, according to Putnam, a place “where nature is generous, where good fish can be caught through skill, order, and love, where he can feel ‘all the old feeling’” (116).

²¹ For Burwell, Hudson’s artistic self is in conflict with his masculine self, and in an effort to maintain his masculinity, he ultimately chooses killing in war “over creativity” (“West” 170).

analyses of the role that inner strength may play in the construction or maintenance of their masculinity.

Echoing Gajdusek's concept of gender crossover, additional third-phase critics such as Dana Fore and Todd Onderdonk have observed that Hemingway male's protagonists must accept the non-male aspects of their identities in order to achieve a sense of wholeness, but their studies do not mention the employment of inner strength as a requirement for the achievement of this acceptance. In "Life Unworthy of Life? Masculinity, Disability, and Guilt in *The Sun Also Rises*" (2007), for example, Fore argued that *Sun's* Jake Barnes must learn how to discard stereotyped notions, that "sexual mutilation can only trigger mental and physical 'degeneration' into homosexuality or invalidism" as he "grope[s] his way toward solving the riddle of his new identity" (81). Onderdonk, in "'Bitched': Feminization, Identity, and the Hemingwayesque in *The Sun Also Rises*" (2006), feels that Jake "masters his own feminization . . . in the resigned dignity with which . . . he endures it" (66). Again, we might wish to ask these critics about the source of the inner strength Jake may have needed in order to solve his identity problems.

I feel, however, that the most innovative studies of Hemingway's masculinity in the twenty-first-century phase are those that espouse performativity, a theory that, as I have explained, virtually dismisses the male essentialism—including the inner strength of the male self which had been represented in the majority of the studies of the earlier two critical phases. According to Thomas Strychacz in *Hemingway's Theaters of Masculinity* (2003), for instance, Hemingway "was not secure about his manhood . . . because he chose to evidence it" (5) with fictional males who "are constituted as men . . . by performance rather than by a process of internal transformation" (8). In her analysis of "Short Happy Life" in *Race and Identity in Hemingway's Fiction* (2008), Amy Strong pointed out that Robert Wilson compensates for an

“unstable identity that must continually reinvent itself” (64) through his “performances of manhood [which] are built upon empty rituals, false bravado, abuse and exploitation” (61),²² and Joseph Armengol-Carrera, in “Race-ing Hemingway: Revisions of Masculinity and/as Whiteness in Ernest Hemingway’s *Green Hills of Africa* and *Under Kilimanjaro*” (2011), demonstrated that the “trophy-hunting” of the male hunters in *Green Hills of Africa* “functions not only as an individual test of manhood but also, and above all, as ‘a performance’ of phallic power before and against other (white male) hunters” (47). We can situate these recent studies by Strychacz, Strong, and Armengol-Carrera, then, at the end of a scale that positions the first phase essentialist scholarship about Hemingway’s male protagonists at its opposite end.

In all of the above studies, little or no mention was made of an essentialist inner strength, the component of the male self that Hemingway attempted to construct during his early years as well as later in adulthood and in his literary works. Even though they often discussed traditional, essentialist manhood, including such attributes as instinct/primitivism, self-control, bravery/courage, and aggression, critics of the pre-1986 phase paid scant attention to the male self’s inner strength component. Whereas in the post-1986, or late twentieth century phase, many commentators emphasized the way that the feminine aspect of both Hemingway and his protagonists conflicted with the male self, none offered a discussion of the importance of inner strength in this conflict. Even those few critics who discussed a protagonist’s identity renewal or recreation chose not to explain the ways in which the inner strength component plays an important role in this renewal or recreation, and those who completed performance studies

²² According to Strong, Wilson initiates Macomber into Wilson’s own version of manhood, one which replaces the American’s fears with “imperialistic attitudes and white male dominance” (68). After Margot shoots her husband dead, the power-hungry safari guide, with his “mechanistic” lack of emotion, transforms the otherwise dangerous Mrs. Macomber into a “silent and submissive woman” (71).

generally circumvented the entire idea of inner strength and an essentialist male identity. The male's self's inner strength is once again given only short shrift at best in the post-2000 or early twenty-first-century phase, when the critics asserted that the protagonist's identity is threatened by modern warfare, women, and femininity, or that the protagonist needs to embrace his feminine side, or, as in the previous phase, his identity is constructed through performance.

Given the critical lack of attention over the past sixty years to Hemingway's perception of the male self's inner strength, as I argue that Hemingway employed various aspects of his relationship with Agnes Kurowsky in his composition of his early short stories and novels, I will also show that the male self's inner strength is an important motif in a number of his early works. In support of these two major objectives of my dissertation, I will be drawing from masculinity theory, the three historical phases of critical studies, as well as from U. S. masculinity history in general and Hemingway's masculinity history in particular—all of which I have briefly outlined here. In the next chapter, for instance, as I discuss the correspondences between Nick Adams's experiences and Hemingway's relationship with Agnes, along with the development of the male-self motif in three of Hemingway's most important short stories, I will employ masculine theories about the frontier, women, and race, along with aspects of Hemingway's experiences in northern Michigan as well as his participation in sports such as boxing. In these three early stories, as I will demonstrate, Nick Adams learns, as did his creator, of an inner strength that he would require in order to meet if not overcome the challenges of adulthood in the early years of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 2 MALE SELF INITIATIONS AND ROMANTIC BETRAYALS

We can identify significant similarities among three of Hemingway's earliest short stories—"Indian Camp," "Ten Indians," "The Battler"—and his romantic relationship with Agnes, including the theme of betrayal and the male-self motif. Moreover, as I will show, whereas the employment by Hemingway and his generation of the frontier as an appropriate setting for masculinity construction, against the challenges posed especially by the modern world, is featured in each of these three stories, the third story, "The Battler," also illustrates Hemingway's and that of his generation's use of homosexuals and "black men . . . [as] a most potent screen against which middle-class white men played out their masculinity" (Kimmel, *Manhood* 195), as well as their employment of the sport of boxing as an additional source of masculinity construction. "Indian Camp" and "Ten Indians" each reflects the need of American males like Hemingway, who felt threatened by the modern world, to construct their masculinity by replacing the otherwise closed western frontier with excursions into largely non-civilized regions such as northern Michigan, where white males also constructed their masculinity through the oppression of Native Americans.

In "Indian Camp," Hemingway's youthful alter ego, Nick Adams, whose experiences in the frontier-like Michigan forest teach the boy what can happen when a man allows his wife to exercise too much control over his life, also discovers there the existence and nature of his own male self primarily through witnessing the phenomenon of birth. Here the awesome nature of women presents a challenge to Nick, Uncle George, and Dr. Adams: It defeats the stoicism of Dr. Adams, who, having preserved the lives of the young Indian mother and her newborn infant through the caesarean, discovers, along with Nick, the Indian husband's suicide, an act that

constitutes the husband's dramatic response not only to his wife's delivery but also to the results of her past sexual experiences. Hemingway pits the very nature of women against that of men in this story, and though the nature of women is shown to be very challenging to males, nevertheless, by witnessing the birth of the male infant, who manages to survive a great ordeal at the outset of his life, Nick becomes aware of the existence and the endurance of the male self. His awareness, moreover, reflects not only a lesson Hemingway may very well have learned as a boy who came to be acquainted with the woods of Northern Michigan, but also the author's own discovery of the existence and the endurance of the male self following his breakup with Agnes Kurowsky, whose presence is evident in a number of ways in this story.

Both Nick and the Indian husband are characters who are reminiscent of a youthful Hemingway. James R. Mellow notes, for example, that "Hemingway often accompanied his father . . . on emergency calls to the [Indian] camp" near Walloon Lake (29), expeditions that are obviously reflected in Nick's trip across the lake to the Indian camp with his physician father at the outset of the story. Moreover, the fact that Nick has more in common with the Indian husband than he does with his own father suggests that Hemingway was employing aspects of his own character and experiences in his characterization of the husband. Nick and the Indian husband, for instance, are the two characters in the Indian shanty who are the most troubled by the Indian woman's desperate condition, one that is characterized by her terrible, incessant screaming. As Nancy R. Comley and Robert Scholes have observed, "Nick is disturbed by them [the Indian woman's screams] . . . and this links him with the Indian father" (16). Although Dr. Adams, who represents the white man's domination of Native Americans in order to shore up their masculinity, explains to Nick that he does not "hear them [the woman's screams] because they are not important," Nick asks his father whether Dr. Adams cannot "give her something to

make her stop screaming” (68). Later, after Dr. Adams slaps the woman’s newborn into life and then proceeds with the post-operative phase of the caesarean, Nick “was looking away so as not to see what his father was doing” (68), and after the doctor puts “something into the basin,” the narrator informs us that “Nick didn’t look at it” (69). Also, when Dr. Adams explains to Nick that he is about to sew up the incision, “Nick did not watch. His curiosity had been gone for a long time.” Even though the Indian husband—like the other Indians in the story—never speaks, his initial response to his wife’s screaming indicates the injured man’s attempt to mentally remove himself from the situation; the narrator informs us that the Indian, following Nick and Dr. Adams’s discussion of the anesthetic, “rolled over against the wall” (68), an act which suggests that the Indian husband may be already preparing himself for his desperate escape from the screaming and his wife’s condition by committing suicide. Near the end, when Nick asks his father why the husband committed suicide, the doctor speculates that perhaps the Indian husband “couldn’t stand things” (69); Dr. Adams, however, is also unknowingly describing his own son’s defensiveness in regards to the woman’s screaming and her operation, a defensiveness which reflects the generally guarded attitude towards women that Hemingway had acquired primarily through his relationship with women such as Grace, Hadley, and Agnes.

Following the operation and immediately prior to his examination of the Indian husband, Dr. Adams informs Nick that fathers are “usually the worst sufferers in these little affairs” (69). Whereas biographers such as Kenneth Lynn have suggested that the husband’s suffering and subsequent suicide due to his wife’s labor reflect Hemingway’s own suffering and thoughts of suicide resulting from his failure to be present at the Wellesley Hospital in Toronto when Hadley had delivered Bumby, their first child (229), Dr. Adams’s observation may very well be an indication that the Indian husband is also a reflection of Hemingway’s own suffering during his

romantic involvement with Agnes, and especially following his reception of her dismissal letter. The Indian husband's foot injury, which may represent to him a threat to his own masculinity, may also be interpreted as a reflection of the threat that Hemingway's leg wounds represented to the author while he was recovering at the Red Cross Hospital in Milan under the care of Agnes, a nurse who was seven years older than himself. Although Hemingway's wounds resulted from the effects of a mortar round explosion and the Indian husband's injury resulted from cutting himself with an ax, there nevertheless exists a similarity, as Alex Vernon points out, between their respective injuries: "To the degree that Hemingway volunteered for ambulance duty, his wound too, like the Indian husband's wound and subsequent death, was *self-inflicted*" (51, my emphasis). During the Great War, as Agnes recalled in an interview with Michael Reynolds, Hemingway was not only fearful of dying from the effects of the mortar round explosion, but he was also fearful of losing his injured leg,²³ a loss which, psychologically, is often associated with emasculation. Similarly, not only does the Indian husband's foot injury suggest emasculation, but his manner of death—slitting his throat with a razor—is highly suggestive of castration,²⁴ not to mention the castration threat he may very well have felt from his wife's delivery of a child who, psychologically, would replace him as the recipient of her affection. By rediscovering the strength of his male self following his breakup with Agnes, however, Hemingway, emotionally

²³ Agnes informed Michael Reynolds that Hemingway "was worried about his leg. I remember that he wasn't sure that they were going to save his leg" (qtd. in Nagel, "Hemingway" 214).

²⁴ G. Thomas Tanselle believes that the husband's "cut foot suggests an unconscious desire for castration deriving from his guilt for his wife's suffering" (qtd. in Smith, *Reader's* 39). Hemingway at times used the throat to represent the phallus: In an early scene in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, for example, the narrator states that "Every time Robert Jordan looked at her [Maria] he could feel a thickness in his throat" (22).

and psychologically, managed to survive his wartime trauma, unlike the Indian husband who—unable to recover the inner strength of his male self, which had evidently been concealed by his wife’s condition as well as by the effects of his own injury—directs violence upon himself. The husband, therefore, who, as a member of a race that one white New York editorialist at the turn of the century viewed as “a degraded relic of a decayed race” (qtd. in Kimmel, *Manhood* 94), in this sense becomes a representative of the kind of man Hemingway thought he may have become, had he (unlike the Indian husband) not resolved to overcome Agnes’s rejection and what he felt to be her betrayal. Through the suicide of the Indian husband, Hemingway was warning his male readers that the discovery and subsequent maintenance of one’s male self is required in order to combat the dangerous influences posed by the modern, liberated woman.

Additionally, the Indian couple’s shanty, which Dr. Adams transforms into a makeshift medical facility that initially houses the injured husband in a wooden bunk above his wife, is a reflection of Hemingway’s experiences as both ambulance driver and wounded patient during the war. Wounded soldiers would be placed on stretchers and then positioned in the rear of the ambulances directly above or below one other, an arrangement that is strikingly similar to that of the arrangement of the beds in the Indian shanty. Also, the manner in which many wounded young men like Hemingway came into close proximity with death during the time they were transporting the wounded as drivers or being transported themselves as patients to field dressing stations or Red Cross hospitals parallels the fact that until the caesarean is performed, both the Indian husband and his wife are in close proximity to death, in that, whereas the Indian wife and child are endangered due to the woman’s protracted labor, the husband is suicidal. Henry Villard’s account of one of his experiences transporting by ambulance a soldier whose legs had

been blown off by a grenade explosion is probably not markedly different from Hemingway's own experiences as both a Red Cross ambulance driver and as a wounded canteen officer:

Groaning, moaning, he was placed on the stretcher from my car by two orderlies, quickly staining the canvas with his blood, and shoved inside like a package of raw meat, while I, too stunned to register emotion, mechanically started the engine and began to drive as carefully as I could to avoid the bumps and jolts of a rutted road. It was a hopeless effort. Every turn of the wheels brought more protests ("Mamma mia! Piano! Piano!"), and there was nothing I could do to ease his suffering. Torn between a desire to drive slowly and the need to reach the hospital as soon as possible, whatever I did seemed only to make matters worse. As in many subsequent cases, death won the race; the patient, mercifully released, was dead on arrival. . . . It [the war] deeply affected most Americans as young as we were, and *I know it had made a profound impression on Ernie.* (25, my emphasis)

In *A Farewell to Arms*, Frederic Henry relates a similar experience, that is, the time he was lying on a stretcher beneath another wounded soldier as they were being transported by ambulance from the dressing station to the field hospital—an experience that Hemingway may have based at least in part on his ride in an Italian ambulance from a stable to a dressing station following his wounding at Fossalta.²⁵

I felt something dripping. At first it dropped slowly and regularly, then it pattered into a stream. I shouted to the driver. He stopped the car and looked in through the hole behind his seat.

"What is it?"

²⁵ See Hemingway, *The Letters*, 131-32.

“The man on the stretcher over me has a hemorrhage.”

“We’re not far from the top. I wouldn’t be able to get the stretcher out alone.” He started the car. The stream kept on. In the dark I could not see where it came from the canvas overhead. I tried to move sideways so that it did not fall on me. Where it had run down under my shirt it was warm and sticky. I was cold and my leg hurt so that it made me sick. After a while the stream from the stretcher above lessened and started to drip again and I heard and felt the canvas above move as the man on the stretcher settled more comfortably.

“How is he?” the Englishman called back. “We’re almost up.”

“He’s dead I think,” I said.

The drops fell very slowly, as they fall from an icicle after the sun has gone. It was cold in the car in the night as the road climbed. At the post on the top they took the stretcher out and put another in and we went on. (61)

Likewise, in “Indian Camp,” the husband expires after quietly slitting his own throat, and while beneath him his wife’s and infant’s lives are in danger, the Indian husband’s “blood had flowed down into a pool where his body sagged the bunk” (69). A psychic link may be drawn here as well between the Indian husband and his wife: He’s profoundly affected by *her* condition much as Villard is profoundly affected by *his* patient’s condition, and Frederic, affected by the dying soldier above him, senses the proximity of his own death. In both the short story and novel, whereas the wounded individual in the top stretcher or bed expires, the lower stretcher/bed occupant survives. Hemingway may very well have projected much of himself as an ambulance driver and wounded soldier onto the Indian husband, whose anguished condition reflects that of Hemingway’s condition after enduring his own war wounds and the rejection of his first true

love, Agnes, who, of course, was associated with the author's recovery from his battle wounds and those wounds that he allowed Agnes to inflict upon himself when she rejected him.

Whereas Hemingway as driver and both patient and lover is represented by both Nick and by the Indian husband, Agnes can be associated in this story with both Dr. Adams and the Indian mother. After performing the caesarean on the latter, Dr. Adams informs the Indian mother that he will return in the morning and that "the nurse should be here from St. Ignace by noon and she'll bring everything we need" (69), information that links the doctor to Agnes because Nick's father expects to be assisted by a nurse, and one who happens to reside in a town whose name contains the letters of Hemingway's nurse's first name.²⁶ Dr. Adams, moreover, exemplifies the helpful yet also harmful nurse figure that, according to Toni Morrison, appears in much of Hemingway's fiction (81-82).²⁷ Whereas the successful operation that Nick's father performs on the Indian woman saves her life as well as that of her baby, the raw nature of the operation ironically and tragically occasions a death, in that, in the process of saving one life and initiating and preserving another, Dr. Adams occasions the Indian husband's suicide. Agnes, through her efforts as a nurse during the time that Hemingway was her patient, assisted in preserving Hemingway's leg—if not his life—and had, through her close relationship with him helped him quell his fears of death.²⁸ So too, like the Indian husband, had Hemingway suffered by allowing himself to maintain the illusion that Agnes still loved him, until her rejection.

²⁶ That is, the following underlined letters can be re-ordered to form Agnes's name: St. Ignace.

²⁷ Morrison explains that "the other side of nursing, the opposite of the helping, healing hand, is the figure of destruction—the devouring predator whose inhuman and indifferent impulses pose immediate danger" (84).

²⁸ Kert summarizes Agnes's influence on Hemingway's attitude about dying while he was a patient at the Red Cross hospital:

Beyond the simple excitement of a first love, there may have been another dimension to

The occupant of the shanty's lower bunk, the Indian mother, at least in terms of her protracted labor, is also a forerunner of Catherine Barkley in *A Farewell to Arms*, even though Catherine's caesarean saves neither herself nor her infant son, and even though Hemingway most likely based a portion of Catherine's character on Pauline—especially given the latter's first caesarean section—Hemingway's primary inspiration for Catherine's character, as I will show, was most certainly Agnes.²⁹ This means that the Indian woman's character may be traced through Catherine back to Agnes. In the same way that, as Judith Fetterley has noted, "Catherine betrays Frederic," that is, by allowing herself to get pregnant with a child (61), a son with whom the respective male lover/husband would psychologically be placed in competition for his wife's affection and in the same way Hemingway believed that Agnes had betrayed him, so too does the Indian woman betray her husband. Additionally, Catherine's desperate pleas for relief from her labor pains are similar in frequency and intensity to the Indian woman's terrible screams (68):

his need for Agnes—and that involved his narrow escape from death at Fossalta, which exploded the youthful assumption that he was immortal. When Agnes was asked whether he was shell-shocked or mentally disturbed when he was first admitted to the hospital, she replied only that he was frightened about the possibility of losing his leg from infection and amputation. To his parents Ernest wrote bravely that dying was a very simple thing, but the cold terror of the memory could not have been easy. Agnes's presence, her composure, her cool hand in the dark—such reassurance was probably more important than that the affair be sexually consummated. (59)

Lynn discusses a passage from "Indian Camp" that Hemingway had deleted about how Nick Adams becomes very fearful of being alone in the woods at night and "then suddenly he was afraid of dying" (46). Hemingway most likely deleted this passage because it contradicts Nick's declaration at the end of the story that "he felt quite sure that he would never die" (70), even though his declaration, which contrasts with the deleted quote, may be seen to underscore the profound nature of Nick's acquisition of knowledge during his experience at the Indian camp.

²⁹ Reynolds summarizes Hemingway's sources for the character of Catherine as follows: "Catherine was an amalgam of his first love, Agnes von Kurowsky, with one part Hadley, and two parts Pauline" (*Homecoming* 173). See also Mellow (66, 97-100).

“‘*They’ve got to give me something,*’ Catherine said. ‘*They’ve got to give me something.* Oh please, doctor, give me enough [gas] to do some good!’” (324). In both cases, then, women in labor who are associated with caesarean sections express the pain and suffering involved with such conditions.

Another similarity between the two women is that neither the Indian woman nor Catherine, following their respective caesareans, learns the truth about the status of her child. After Dr. Adams shows Nick the Indian woman’s newborn, he immediately hands the baby to the old Indian woman, most likely because the baby’s mother is so incapacitated that, “she did not know what had become of the baby or anything” (69). When Catherine asks Frederic about their baby following her caesarean, Frederic, mistakenly assuming that the child is alive, informs her, “he’s fine” (326), yet neither Frederic nor apparently anyone else informs Catherine of her child’s death before she succumbs to the hemorrhaging.³⁰ When Frederic returns to Catherine’s room in order to bid her a final farewell, he observes, “it was like saying good-by to a statue” (332): His description of his lover’s lifeless body may not only be, as I will explain,

³⁰ Frederic at first assumes that his newborn son has survived the caesarean, for the doctor informs him that the baby is “magnificent” (325). Regarding his son, however, Frederic “did not see him move or hear him cry,” and even though Frederic sees that the doctor is upset and “was doing something to him [the baby] again,” he leaves the post-operating room just as the doctor “held the child up by his feet and slapped him.” After Frederic watches the doctors sew Catherine up, he visits her in her room, informs her that their child is “fine” and describes the latter to her (326). In the corridor afterwards, however, the nurse informs Frederic that the child died (327). Though it is possible that the nurse may have told Catherine of her child’s death as Frederic waits outside Catherine’s room, it is very unlikely, given the fact that after Frederic informs Catherine that the child is “fine,” Frederic as narrator recalls, “I saw the nurse look at me strangely,” and following Frederic’s description of the baby, the nurse tells Frederic that he “must go out” of the room, an indication that the nurse apparently does not feel that Catherine is in good enough condition to learn of her son’s death or perhaps that she would be better off not knowing of his death (326). During Frederic’s final conversation with Catherine, the child is not directly alluded to by either character, though Catherine tells Frederic that she wants Frederic to have “girls” (331). We may wonder why, if Catherine assumes the child is still alive, she does not ask for reassurances from Frederic about his caring for her child since she already knows that she is about to die. Nevertheless, given the lack of evidence regarding her knowledge of her son’s death, I feel it is unrealistic to assume that she would not have mentioned something about the child’s death to the man who had conceived the child with her, unless she simply had not been informed of her baby’s death.

Hemingway's imaginative way of avenging Agnes's rejection and what he perceived to be her betrayal, but it may very well also be a reflection of the author's method of characterizing the termination of his relationship with Agnes, his "betrayed," whose rejection "killed" their relationship.³¹ Hemingway's description through Frederic's eyes of Catherine here, moreover, is similar to his rendering of the Indian woman's condition following her caesarean section and his delivery of her child: "She was quiet now and her eyes were closed. She looked very pale" (69). Thus, there is in fact an important link between the Indian woman—who "betrays" her husband not only through her pregnancy, but also through the delivery of a son who psychologically would replace her husband following the caesarean—and Catherine, who "betrays" Frederic

³¹ Meyers speculates, on the other hand, regarding the death of Catherine and the baby, that "the punitive death of the mother and child suggest Hemingway's rejection of Hadley and desertion of Bumby" (*Biography* 218). I would suggest another possibility, that Hemingway, who preferred daughters over sons, may also have been rejecting the birth of Patrick, Hemingway and Pauline's first son, who was delivered by caesarean section in June of 1928 while Hemingway was writing *A Farewell to Arms* (Reynolds, *Homecoming* xiii). See Kert, who provides a number of interesting reasons to account for Hemingway's profound desire to have a daughter at this time and his need to reprise the "bossy role of big brother," a role that he had often assumed back home in Oak Park with his four sisters (though Marcelline was half a year older than Ernest), his desire to gain affection from daughters similar to the way that his father had, as well as the possibility that Hemingway believed in the superstition that a "man who could not beget daughters [was] . . . less than a man" (234). Hemingway maintained this profound desire to have a daughter virtually throughout his life. He often called women like Adriana Ivancich and Valerie Hemingway, for example, "daughter" (444); in *Across the River and into the Trees*, Colonel Cantwell, who shares many similarities with Hemingway, frequently addresses Adriana's fictional representative, Renata, in the same way. When Renata, for example, asks Cantwell, "did you ever have a daughter?" the Colonel replies, "no. I always wanted one" (98) and then proceeds to call Renata "daughter" a total of eight times in the space of two and a half pages (98-101). Valerie Hemingway describes an occasion that occurred in Poitiers, France, in 1959, when Hemingway was attempting to persuade her into residing with him at the Finca Vigia in Cuba, and at one point the aging writer "wrapped his arms around me in a big bear hug" and then whispered, "'sleep well, daughter'" (83). Lynn sums up Hemingway's profound need of a daughter as follows: "Perpetuation of himself in female form was a delight that he would never know, however, and in future years he would have to content himself with referring to virtually every woman he liked as 'Daughter'" (376).

through her pregnancy and subsequent death following her caesarean, to Agnes, whose alleged betrayal of Hemingway, as he knew only too well, nearly destroyed him.

Not only is the Indian mother a representation of Catherine/Agnes—and the Indian husband a representation of Hemingway—but also Uncle George, who, like Dr. Adams, is the very symbol of the white men’s exploitation of the American Indian, can also be seen as a representation of Domenico Caracciolo, the Italian artillery officer whom Agnes chose to replace Hemingway as her lover. The principal reason we can see George as Caracciolo’s fictional representative is because Hemingway casts George in the role of betrayer, that is, as the father of the Indian mother’s baby. Jeffrey Meyers claims that “there is no evidence in the story that George ever slept with the squaw” (*Life* 13), but Gerry Brenner has developed the interesting theory that George may be the father of the Indian woman’s child.³² I agree with Brenner’s view, because, first of all, there exists no evidence which proves that the Indian husband *is* in fact the father of the child. Characterizing the Indian woman as morally loose or amoral, moreover, is consistent with not only with frontiersmen’s racist attitudes towards Indian women,

³² Brenner asserts the following:

I am convinced of Uncle George’s paternity in “Indian Camp,” for it accounts for that story’s otherwise two basic flaws: why George is in the story at all, and the sensationalism of having an injured Indian commit suicide while “his” child is being delivered. George’s paternity explains why he gives cigars to the two Indians who row him, Nick, and Dr. Adams across the lake; why the younger Indian laughs without reserve when the Indian woman bites George and later smiles “reminiscently” when George looks at his bitten arm; why George sarcastically responds to his father’s boasts about having performed the caesarean with primitive equipment; and, finally, why he does not return with his brother (—in law?) and nephew. George’s paternity also satisfactorily explains the Indian husband’s suicide. His act can be that of a distraught cuckold who, knowing that his wife is giving birth to a white man’s child, surrenders his life in an act of futility, as testimony of his feelings of utter impotence. I prefer to see him as an Indian “brave.” His suicide aims to inflict a strong sense of guilt on Uncle George, becomes a dignified act that affirms the need to live with dignity or not at all, and lays at the feet of another treacherous white man the death of yet one more of the countless, dispossessed Native Americans. (239n15)

but also Hemingway's depiction of promiscuous Indian girls like Trudy Gilby in "Fathers and Sons" and Prudie Mitchell in "Ten Indians," characters whom Hemingway most likely based on Prudence Boulton, the Indian girl about whom he once informed fourth wife Mary Welsh as "the first girl he had 'pleasured'" (Mellow 31). Also, whereas the narrator frequently refers to Dr. Adams as "his [Nick's] father," it is only Dr. Adams who assumes that the Indian husband is the newborn infant's father: Just before the doctor discovers the husband's suicide, for example, he tells Nick, "ought to have a look at the proud father" (69). The narrator, on the other hand, refers to the Indian woman's spouse only as "her husband," "the husband," or "the Indian"—not once does the narrator refer to him as "father" (68-69). When George complies with Dr. Adams's request to pull back the quilt that covers the Indian woman, George's act may be an indication of what may very well have been George's removal of the same quilt at the time or times immediately prior to his engaging in sexual intercourse with her. When she bites George—and, significantly, she does not bite any of the three male Indians who are also holding her down—the nature of her attack may suggest previous physical contact between herself and George,³³ as well as functioning as her act of revenge against the man who evidently seduced, if not raped her. George's response to her attack—calling her a "damn squaw bitch" (68)—may be seen as George's opinion of the Indian woman in terms of her sexual relationship with him, that is, what George as white sexist-imperialist sees as her raw sexual animality, a view which had been foreshadowed by the camp dogs that "rush out" at the white males and their Indian rowers as the

³³ Gerald R. Lucas reports that "the [Indian] woman bit Uncle George's arm, an action that might suggest a certain intimacy and anger."

men journeyed from the lake shore to the shanty immediately after their arrival at the camp (67). It may be too that at least subconsciously Hemingway was recalling his memories of the 3 February 1919 letter that Agnes had written to him, in which, regarding Caracciolo, she confessed that, “the little tenente I spoke of before, is giving me a *desperate rush*” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 159, my emphasis). Also, the pain that George endures from the Indian woman’s attack may be associated with the pain endured by fathers who psychologically share in the pain of their wife’s delivery.³⁴ The severity of George’s pain is underscored later when, following the operation, “Uncle George was standing against the wall, looking at his arm” (69). One of the three Indian assistants—the young one—laughs at George immediately after the Indian woman bites him; then, following her operation and George’s examination of his arm, we learn that, “the young Indian smiled reminiscently.” Brenner asks whether this Indian—the same one who earlier had rowed George across the lake—is laughing and then smiling at him because the former knows that he is the newborn’s father and that George is getting his “just desserts” for his seduction or rape of an Indian woman (239n15).

Additionally, George’s paternity is suggested by the fact that we can associate the newborn infant with Dr. Adams’s son, Nick, for the status of those in George’s boat on the trip over to the camp parallels the status of those in Dr. Adams’s boat: Each boat includes an Indian rower, and each also contains a father or father-to-be (Dr. Adams, George) who has, or is about to have, a son (Nick, Indian woman’s/George’s baby) (67). It is also significant that George’s boat is consistently far ahead of Dr. Adams’s boat: “Nick heard the oarlocks of the other boat

³⁴ In “What Is Sympathetic Pregnancy?” WiseGEEK.com provides this observation: “When the female goes into labor, the male can experience contractions and birth pains.”

quite a way ahead of them in the mist,” and “the other boat moved further ahead in the mist all the time,” so that by the time Nick and his father arrive at the shore, “they found the other boat beached” (67). The relative speediness of George’s boat may suggest George’s anxiety over his sexual liaison with the Indian woman as well as the status of his forthcoming child’s health, or it may be that George is anxious to gloat over the results of his illicit act with the Indian woman. What is even more suggestive of George’s paternity, however, is that—like a new father—George, who “was smoking a cigar in the dark” as Nick and his father arrive, hands out cigars to each of the two Indian rowers. We soon learn too that the expectant woman’s husband is “smoking a pipe” (68), a traditional Native American practice that is not associated with the delivery of babies but is in fact associated with communication with the spiritual world.³⁵ Could the Indian husband in this way be preparing himself for suicide, that is, his entry into the next world? G. Thomas Tanselle feels that the pipe represents the Indian husband’s “refusal to accept the white man’s conventional role of the ‘proud father,’ played by George” (qtd. in Smith, *Reader’s* 39). Could the husband, however, also be refusing to play the father’s role simply because he is not the baby’s father?

Critics have provided a number of interesting reasons to account for the Indian husband’s suicide;³⁶ I feel, however, that the husband takes his own life not only because he knows that the baby is not his, but also because of his knowledge of his wife’s sexual liaison with George, the symbol, as previously mentioned, of the white man’s exploitation of the Indian. There must be a

³⁵ Gary Null asserts that, for Native Americans, “the pipe ceremony is a sacred ritual for connecting physical and spiritual worlds.”

³⁶ Peter Mascuch suggests that “the Indian husband/father has not been able to endure them [his wife’s screams], and has slit his throat with a razor” (288-89). Comley and Scholes observe that the Indian husband is “apparently unable to bear his wife’s suffering” (16), and Meyers, discussing the violation of Indian tradition practiced by the white men in the story, asserts that the husband “cannot bear this defilement of his wife’s purity, which is far worse than her screams” (*Life* 19). Other critics, such as

stronger reason for the Indian husband to commit such a desperate act during a time when the majority of new fathers are traditionally experiencing the joyful anticipation of the arrival of a new child. It is unrealistic to suggest that the husband's foot injury, his wife's screaming, the intrusion of the white males into the shanty, fear of fatherhood, or any combination of these is enough to account for the husband's suicide. His foot injury is a minor one and obviously not permanently disabling; women screaming during labor does not commonly motivate men to commit suicide, nor does the imminence of fatherhood. The fact that the Indian husband was using a white man's tool (an ax) when he injured his foot (68), that he subsequently uses a razor another item that is associated with white men—in order to kill himself (69), as well as the obvious fact that the Indians not only summoned Dr. Adams's assistance to aid the Indian mother but also that two Indians take the trouble to row the doctor, George, and Nick over to the Indian camp (67)—these facts suggest that the otherwise imperialistic white men are not necessarily unwelcome visitors. The best, and perhaps, the only possible explanation for the husband's suicide, then, is that his awareness of his wife's illicit pregnancy together with the reality of the

Armengol-Carrera and Lynn, have suggested that the husband's suicide reflects Hemingway's disdain if not repudiation of fatherhood. In "Where Are Fathers in American Literature? Revisiting Fatherhood in U. S. Literary History," Armengol-Carrera notes that Hemingway viewed fatherhood and its attendant responsibilities as a "hovering threat to the more idyllic friendships between men" (213). According to Armengol-Carrera, Hemingway's aversion to fatherhood can be traced back to Hemingway's relationship with his father, Clarence, who was a "distant and authoritarian patriarchal figure who suffered from a mental disorder." Lynn reports that "Hemingway did not share" Hadley's "joy" when, in February, 1923, she revealed to him that she was pregnant (191), and in discussing the young man's plea for his lover to get an abortion in "Hills Like White Elephants," Lynn states that the "case [he makes] in favor of it was an expression of Hemingway's latest theory about the failure of his marriage to Hadley: if only the two of them had not allowed a child to enter their lives they would never have parted" (363). Kert explains that Hemingway "was upset" when his first wife revealed to him her pregnancy: "Ernest at twenty-three enjoying his freedom, depending on Hadley to satisfy all his personal needs—could not but chafe at the prospect of fatherhood" (132).

results of her betrayal, is simply too much for him to endure. After all, his wife has given birth to another man's child—another man who is not only assisting in the child's delivery but is also a member of the race that has nearly destroyed his own native culture.

In addition to acting as accomplices to their respective liaison's alleged betrayals, George and Caracciolo, Agnes's Italian fiancé, share a number of additional similarities. Each, for instance, is associated with royalty. Whereas Agnes's Italian officer, as James Nagel explains, was "the heir to an Italian dukedom" ("Hemingway" 246), "George" was not only the name of the uncle for whom Hemingway had harbored a "longtime dislike" (Lynn 228), but it is also a name that recalls a royal figure—George III of Great Britain—a monarch whose aggressive imperialistic policies "provoked the American Revolution" ("George III"). What may likely have been Uncle George's aggressiveness during what was his seduction or rape of the Indian woman is suggested, as I have pointed out, when Nick's uncle, along with the three Indian assistants, holds the Indian woman down during her caesarean section, but she bites only George, an act which indicates that George was the sole individual who deserved her violent attack.

Near the story's conclusion, moreover, when Nick inquires of his father, "where did Uncle George go?" and Dr. Adams responds, "he'll turn up all right" (70), we are left speculating about the reasons for George's mysterious disappearance as well as his whereabouts (Brenner 239n15). Does George, for example, not return home with Nick and his father because George too, as Dr. Adams explains to Nick regarding the Indian husband, "couldn't stand things"? (69). Or, was George feeling guilty after coming to terms not only with the reality of the birth of his own son, but also with the fact that his son is biracial and will be raised by an Indian mother whose husband committed suicide because he knew that the child was George's and not his own? Or, was George so affected by what took place in the shanty that he felt

obligated to remain with the woman whom he knows will soon learn of her husband's death by suicide? Whatever the reason or reasons, George's mysterious disappearance can be compared to Caracciolo's post-war disappearance from Torre di Moste, where he had first courted Agnes, and George's unknown whereabouts can be compared to Caracciolo's unknown location to Agnes following the officer's cancellation of their engagement, a cancellation Hemingway knew about, as evidenced by his June 16, 1919 letter to Howie Jenkins, a good friend who "had driven ambulances with EH [Ernest Hemingway] in Italy in 1918" (*Selected Letters* 26n1). In this letter, Hemingway mentioned that he had recently received Agnes's "very sad letter from Rome," one in which she had informed the author that she had "fallen out with her Major [Caracciolo]" (25). Bernice Kert reports that Caracciolo's mother, a Neapolitan Duchess who evidently suspected the American nurse of being "an adventuress shopping for an Italian title," was responsible for having her son "transferred out of Torre di Moste and Agnes did not hear from him again" (68). Thus, Domenico's abandonment of his fiancée and their betrothal may very well have been Hemingway's source for the mysterious absence of George when Dr. Adams and Nick initiate their return trip home across the lake.

By the end of "Indian Camp," Nick, as some critics have suggested, has learned about the cyclical nature of birth and death through his witnessing of the birth of the Indian woman's child concurrent with her husband's suicide. George Monteiro believes, for instance, that "Nick first discovers death in life at the camp and then life in the warm water of the lake" (qtd. in Smith, *Reader's* 40-41). Nick's declaration at the end—that he will never die (70)—however, is the result of his witnessing the birth of a male, metaphorically, a younger version of himself, a birth that transcends the death of the Indian husband as well as the symbolic death of the latter's wife following her operation, as suggested by her closed eyes and pale appearance. As Nick has

become aware of the cyclical nature of the birth-death process, most significantly, it is a cyclical process that also represents the enduring strength of the male self. It is significant that, as they return to the boat, Nick is alone with his father, for Nick has become aware—through the birth of the *male* child his father has delivered—that despite the elemental, maternal power of women and the potentially devastating impact that women may have on their husbands' lives, the *male* self endures. It may in fact be that Nick's father had instinctively presented the live Indian woman's child to Nick in order to demonstrate to his son the male self's enduring quality, a quality of which the infant is emblematic. Near the end, as Dr. Adams rows himself and his son homeward, three key images suggest the enduring strength of the male self: "The sun was coming up over the hills"; the bass's jump made a "circle in the water"; and Nick trailed "his hand in the water . . . [that] felt warm in the sharp chill of the morning" (70). This last image, moreover, suggests the boy's contact with his male self, a source of strength that he will subsequently be able to employ against the "cold realities" of life. In the frontier-like, masculine environment of northern Michigan, he has learned, then, about the strength of his own enduring male self, and it is this transformative knowledge which prompts him at the very end to confidently assure himself "that he would never die."

The older, adolescent Nick who appears in "Ten Indians" also learns important lessons about life and in particular, about the nature of women, love, betrayals, and the importance of the male self, in a story that was also significantly influenced by Hemingway's relationship with Agnes. Not unlike "Indian Camp," this story reflects Hemingway and his generation's need for a frontier-like environment to replace the closed western frontier as a setting appropriate for the construction of masculinity, though here the prejudice of males like Hemingway against American Indians as well as women is manifested in Nick's Indian girlfriend and her betrayal.

Perhaps white male attitudes towards Indians was best expressed by commentators such as author Frederic Remington, who wrote that immigrants and Injuns are “the rubbish of the earth I hate” (qtd. in Kimmel, *Manhood* 151).

Some recent literary critics, however, including James Mellow, have seen “Ten Indians” more as a reflection of Hemingway’s own feelings of self-recrimination during the time that he was unfaithful to Hadley with Pauline (32); other critics, however, such as Kenneth Lynn, have seen the story as a reflection of Prudence Boulton’s rejection of Hemingway.³⁷ Although these two viewpoints must be accorded serious consideration, I feel that they do not account entirely for the story’s sources. First, if we assume—as have another group of critics—that Nick represents Hemingway,³⁸ then we would expect, since it was Hemingway who betrayed Hadley through his liaison with Pauline, that Nick would be Prudence’s betrayer. We would have to assume that Hemingway was projecting his guilt onto the character of Prudence, a young Indian girl, and/or depicting himself as Hadley’s victim when there is no biographical evidence to support the notion that Hemingway ever blamed Hadley for their divorce.³⁹ If we adopt the

³⁷ Lynn explains that “Ernest thought of her [Prudence] as his girl and that their encounters in the woods were not entirely platonic. The story of their breakup is told in ‘Ten Indians’” (52). Mary Anne O’Neal accounts for the sadness that Hemingway felt while he was composing “Ten Indians”: “Granted, his marital problems undoubtedly added to his feeling of despair at this time, but he could also have been remembering the tragic death of Prudence. Although the extent of Hemingway’s knowledge of Prudence’s death is unknown, it is clear that she left a lasting impression on his life and works” (110).

³⁸ Young, for instance, discusses the similarities between Nick and his creator as follows:

It is pretty clear, then, that Nick Adams has much in common with Ernest Hemingway. This is not to say he “is” Hemingway. He is, rather, a projection of certain kinds of problems Hemingway was deeply concerned to write about, and write out. . . . But investigation shows that actually many of the stories about Nick are very literal translations of some of the most important events in Hemingway’s own life, and that remarkably little has been changed in the telling. (62-63)

³⁹ Indeed, and despite Hemingway’s lifelong obsession with Hadley’s responsibility for the loss of his manuscripts in Paris’s Gare de Lyon train station in December of 1922, he frequently blamed Pauline for the failure of his first marriage. In *A Moveable Feast*, for example, Hemingway makes an obvious

second view, that is, that Hemingway's primary source for "Ten Indians" was his relationship with Prudence Boulton, then our assumption would be better served if we can assume, first, that Hemingway did in fact have a romantic and/or sexual relationship with the Indian girl and second, that at some point she betrayed him. Each of these assumptions, however, is speculative at best since there exists little or no biographical evidence that Hemingway—despite his claims to the contrary⁴⁰ and despite Nick's sexual tryst with Trudy, the Indian girl, in "Fathers and Sons"—ever had a romantic and/or a sexual relationship with Prudence or was ever betrayed by her. Even though Linda Wagner-Martin reports that Hemingway desired "any close relationship with an Indian [because it] would have him banished from his Oak Park family," she also concedes that the author's "relationship with Prudence Boulton . . . was never confirmed" (*Literary Life* 8). Kert reports that, despite the fact that Prudence "was more accessible" sexually to Hemingway than Katy Smith, a St. Louis girl who vacationed with her brother at their aunt's farmhouse in Horton Bay, "there has never been corroboration of Ernest's 1932 fictional account in 'Fathers and Sons' that it was Prudence (Trudy) who lay down in the hemlocks woods behind the Indian camp and initiated him sexually" (43-44). Meyers likewise observes that Hemingway most likely did not have sex with either Katy Smith or Prudence Boulton, because as a young man, "his sexual experience was severely restricted by religious training, timidity, and the dread of venereal diseases, which had been drilled into him, with more force than truth, by Dr. Hemingway" (*Biography* 16). Sunny Hemingway, one of Ernest's younger sisters, reports the

reference to his second wife as the "unmarried young woman [who] becomes the temporary best friend of another young woman who is married, goes to live with the husband and wife and then unknowingly, innocently and unrelentingly sets out to marry the husband" (209).

⁴⁰ According to Mellow, "Hemingway would tell his fourth wife, Mary Welsh, that Prudence Boulton was the first girl he had 'pleasured,' . . . but the story could well have been one of Hemingway's highly credible inventions" (31).

following about her brother's relationship with Prudence: "I never saw any evidence of Ernie's liking her or even wanting her along on our exploring trips or squirrel-hunting jaunts. Stories! Stories!" (qtd. in Mellow 109). It is, therefore, fairly safe to assume that whatever may have been Hemingway's relationship with Prudence, it was not nearly as serious as Nick's relationship with Prudy in the two aforementioned short stories.

We do know, on the other hand, that Hemingway's first significant experience with what Hemingway considered to be betrayal was committed by Agnes, and that he never fully recovered from what he perceived to be her betrayal. A close reading of "Ten Indians" suggests that it is more likely that Hemingway, while composing this story, was projecting his feelings for Agnes onto Prudie, who is a reflection of Agnes—as is Dr. Adams albeit to a lesser degree—that Nick represents the adolescent Hemingway, and that Frank Washburn plays a role that is not dissimilar from that of Domenico Caracciolo, Agnes's Italian fiancé. Near the end of the story, as Nick struggles with the pain occasioned by his first experience with romantic betrayal, the role of the male self during his struggle can be seen as a reflection of Hemingway's initial struggle with the trauma that he endured from what he believed to be Agnes's betrayal.

Much as Agnes helped Hemingway recover from his war wounds only to subsequently reject him, so too does Nick's father assume a nursing role by providing his son with nourishment, only to play a role in Prudie's betrayal by informing his son about his Indian girlfriend's promiscuous behavior. Like a helpful nurse, Dr. Adams provides his son with food and drink after his son's Fourth of July journey home with the Garners, when Nick—especially through the Garners's insidious comments about "them Indians" (253)—learns about racism. Dr. Adams, however, also becomes an accomplice in Prudence's betrayal of Nick when he relates to his son what he claims to have seen Prudie doing in the woods with Frank Washburn:

“They were having quite a time” he informs Nick, telling him that he both “heard” and “saw” Prudie and Frank “threshing around” (256). Although it may be argued that Dr. Adams is an unwilling accomplice in the betrayal, he certainly could have been considerably more sensitive to his son’s feelings in order to either soften the impact of Prudie’s betrayal or to protect him from the knowledge of her betrayal. Dr. Adams is, after all, at least partially aware of Nick’s close relationship with her, as evidenced when he bluntly informs his son, “I saw your friend, Prudie.” The doctor’s insensitivity, a possible reflection of what Hemingway saw as Agnes’s cold treatment of himself, especially through her dismissal letter, is also suggested by the fact that Dr. Adams negates any further discussion of his son’s relationship with Prudie, a negation that is demonstrated when, after relating most of what he had seen in the woods, he retreats outside the cabin. Could it be that Nick’s father is exposing his racism by disclosing Prudie’s betrayal to effect his son’s breakup with his non-white Indian lover? Even though when the doctor returns to the cabin he sees that Nick “had been crying,” he offers his son only another piece of cold pie before informing him that he had seen Prudie and Frank “up back of the camp” and then dismissing Nick by advising him that he “better go to bed.” This accomplice to Prudie’s betrayal of Nick, the father who casts “a big shadow on the kitchen wall” (255), reflects not only contemporary racist attitudes towards Indians, but also what Hemingway may very well have seen as the dark side of Agnes, the side that caused him a great deal of heartache.

Nick’s weeping over what his father informs him about Prudie’s betrayal may be linked to Hemingway’s reaction to Agnes’s dismissal letter, for the young women upon whom each male becomes emotionally dependent allegedly betray both Nick and Hemingway respectively. We may recall how devastating Agnes’s letter was for Hemingway—how, according to older sister, Marcelline, he had become feverish and taken to his bed (qtd. in Lynn 98). Nick’s

immediate retreat to his bed is not only an indication that he needs time alone in order to recover from Prudie's betrayal, but it is also reminiscent of Hemingway's retreat to bed upon learning of Agnes's rejection. The impact of Prudie's betrayal is especially severe for Nick, because it constitutes both a violation of his love for the girl as well as that of his masculine pride. Early in the story, when he denies to the Garners that he has an Indian girlfriend, his love for Prudie is nevertheless evident when we are informed that Nick "felt hollow and happy inside himself to be teased about Prudence Mitchell" (254). After learning of the latter's betrayal from his father, Nick asks him whether she and Frank Washburn were "happy"—in other words, happy in their love for each other—and even though his father only briefly responds with, "I guess so," this is enough to initiate Nick's crying (256). Mary Anne O'Neal underscores the impact of Prudie's betrayal on Nick by pointing out that "Nick seems reluctant to believe that Prudence could be capable of taking Frank to the same special spot where Nick had taken her. When Prudence takes Frank Washburn to her and Nick's special place in the woods, she violates not only his trust but the sanctity of the virgin forest" (118). Assuming, as have most biographers, that Hemingway never consummated his relationship with Agnes, Hemingway nevertheless could find evidence of what he assumed was Agnes's true motivation for deserting him in favor of Caracciolo: her lust, that is, for the Italian artillery officer. Much as in Agnes's aforementioned letter of February 3, 1919, she related to Hemingway what had been her intense emotional response to one of her early encounters with Caracciolo (Kurowsky, "Letters" 159), so may Hemingway may very well have been expressing not only his love for Agnes through this story but also his awareness of her passion for Caracciolo.

Indeed, what Hemingway may very well have assumed to be Agnes's lust for Caracciolo is reflected in his emphasis on Prudie's immorality. Nick's knowledge of his Indian girl's sexual

betrayal, moreover, is foreshadowed as he returns home with the Garners, a family whose prejudice towards Indians was characteristic of the aforementioned attitudes of most Americans by the 1920s. Frank Garner, for instance, confuses Indians with snakes, assuming naively that his father, Joe, had been “killing a snake” when the patriarch had, in reality, been dragging the “ninth Indian” off the road (253), an assumption which points ahead to Prudie’s—that is, the “tenth Indian’s”—snake-like deception of Nick. Joe warns Nick that he had “better watch out to keep Prudie,” and Joe’s whispered comment to Mrs. Garner immediately after his warning, along with his laughter, suggest that the couple was most certainly joking about Prudie’s questionable reputation; when Frank asks what it is his parents are laughing at, Mrs. Garner admonishes her husband, “don’t you say it, Garner,” so then Joe explains to Frank, “Nickie can have Prudence . . . I got a good girl” (254). Prudie’s promiscuity is also evident in “Fathers and Sons,” for this story features Nick’s sexual tryst with Prudie’s counterpart, Trudy Gilby, who, for example, suggests to Nick that they “make plenty baby what the hell” (374). Though we may see “Fathers” as an example of Hemingway’s wish fulfillment, Nick’s recollection of his sexual encounters with Trudy may also be seen not only as an expression of what Hemingway may have liked to have experienced with Prudence Boulton, but also that which he would like to have experienced with Agnes. Moreover, if we assume that Nick had engaged in sex with Prudie, then her “threshing around” with Caracciolo-like Frank Washburn only heightens the impact of her betrayal on Nick and helps to account for the boy’s intense inner conflict near the end of the story (256).

Nick’s status near the end could be seen as a reflection of Hemingway’s response to what he perceived to be Agnes’s betrayal, in that Nick, through the employment of his male self against the pain of betrayal, is able to at least temporarily suspend his feelings for Prudie. After

retreating to bed and lying “with his face in the pillow,” for example, Nick realizes that his heart is broken (257), a realization which could very well be a reflection of Hemingway’s feelings as he took to his bed soon after his reception of Agnes’s dismissal letter. Not unlike the last scene of “Indian Camp,” the raw, frontier-like natural imagery of Nick’s nocturnal experience, moreover, serves as more than a “correlative of the boy’s feelings,” as O’Neal has suggested (119); rather, the imagery more specifically represents the strength of Nick’s male self, a strength which helps the boy repel the painful effects of his violated love for Prudie. The stronger the imagery here, the further back in his mind is Nick able to push the memory of Prudie and her betrayal. When, for example, Nick hears the wind “come in cool through the screen,” the image here is representative of the surfacing of his male self’s power, that it is strong enough to at least temporarily relieve Nick of his anguish, for, after lying “for a long time with his face in the pillow, . . . he forgot to think about Prudence and finally he went to sleep” (257). As Nick later reawakens momentarily “in the night,” he can hear both the “wind in the hemlock trees outside the cottage and the waves of the lake coming in on the shore”: That is, the energy of his male self enables him to once again forget about Prudie, which in turn enables him to return to sleep. When he awakens the next morning, “there was a big wind blowing and the waves were running high up on the beach,” and Nick was “awake a long time before he remembered that his heart was broken.” With the strength of his male self, which is underscored by the frontier-like woods of northern Michigan, Nick is beginning to forget about Prudence, and even though he may never completely remove her from his memory, he will nevertheless be able to survive his painful memories of her, not unlike the way that Hemingway, through his discovery and employment of the inner strength of his male self, managed to survive his own painful memories of Agnes.

Whereas “Indian Camp” and “Ten Indians” are reflective of Hemingway’s need to construct his masculinity in the frontier-like environment of northern Michigan as well as his and his generation’s prejudices against both women and American Indians, “The Battler” reflects not only the author’s experiences in northern Michigan but also his and his generation’s intense interest in boxing and their prejudices against both women and African-Americans. As I have shown, such sports as “fishing, hunting, tennis, boxing” constituted for Hemingway “tests of manhood” (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 27), but it was boxing in particular, as I noted in Chapter One, that was especially popular for males such as Hemingway, who, according to Harvey Green, viewed the sport as “a counter to the ‘mere womanishness’ of modern, overcivilized society” (qtd. in Kimmel, *Manhood* 138). “The Battler” is also reflective of Hemingway’s and his generation’s prejudices against blacks: As Elliot Gorn has pointed out, for example, the emergence of Jack Johnson as “the first black heavyweight boxing champion” represented for white males “the fear that unskilled free blacks would triumph over skilled white workers in the workplace, the bedroom, and now, in the sporting world” (qtd. in Kimmel, *Manhood* 139).

Nick, through his encounter in the frontier-like woods with the insane ex-boxer Ad Francis and his effeminate black attendant Bugs, learns—as Hemingway learned from his breakup with Agnes—what can happen to a man and his male self when he permits a woman to dominate him. One way to read this story is to see Nick as Hemingway himself looking back on his relationship with Agnes, reminding himself of the inferior emotional status he had allowed himself to accept during their relationship, especially when he learned of his first true love’s plans to marry someone other than himself. “The Battler,” moreover, is a story that shows how close to the edge of psychological emasculation if not insanity Hemingway felt Agnes had driven

him before he rediscovered and reengaged the inner strength that ultimately enabled him to survive the trauma that his breakup with her caused him and realize his successful literary career.

Ad Francis, whom we can see as a perverse version of the autonomous cowboy figure, a figure who, according to Balswick and Peek, was “the rugged ‘he-man,’ strong, resilient, resourceful, capable of coping with overwhelming odds” (qtd. in Donald 171), represents Nick’s future self, that is, if Nick, who, as Hemingway’s alter ego, allows women to challenge if not destroy his masculinity in the same way that Ad had allowed his relationship with his wife to destroy his own. Both Ad and Nick, for example, are each associated with water: Nick washes the dirt from his fingernails and bathes his knee after being struck from the train (97), then later, after Bugs strikes his traveling companion with his blackjack, Nick hands the water bucket to Bugs, who splashes Ad with water in an effort to revive him (102). Indeed, Bugs’s wounding of Ad with the blackjack can be compared to Nick’s wounding by the brakeman when the latter hits the young man from the train. Additionally, Ad informs Nick that his former boxing opponents “couldn’t hurt” him, that whatever they delivered, he “could take it” (99); even though Nick initially confesses to Ad that he is not tough like him, he soon agrees with the ex-boxer (“you got to be tough”) after Ad admits to him, “all you kids are tough” (98). Another similarity is that both characters reveal and discuss their respective wounds. Nick, after he “stepped out and walked into the firelight,” informs Ad that he had received his “shiner” from the brakeman (98), and Ad removes his cap in order to show Nick what his opponents’ punches had done to his ears over the course of his career (99).

Ad, moreover, readily identifies with Nick’s condition. For example, after the ex-boxer informs the young man that “‘bout an hour and a half ago” he had seen the brakeman “walking along the top of the cars slapping his arms and singing,” he advises Nick that he should “get him

[the brakeman] with a rock sometime when he's going through" (98). It's significant that Ad tells Nick that he had previously seen the "bastard brakeman" who had struck Nick from the train because Nick already knew about Ad from following the ex-boxer's career and the scandal surrounding his alleged incestuous marriage. When Ad tells Nick his name, Nick's reply—"honest to God?"—reveals the young man's familiarity with the famous ex-prizefighter (99). Also, as Nick, Ad and Bugs eat their hot ham and egg sandwiches, the narrator informs us that "the little man whom Nick knew by name as a former champion fighter was silent" (101); later, while Ad is recuperating from Bugs's blackjack tap and Bugs is relating to Nick the history of Ad's ill-fated marriage, Nick says, "I remember about it" (102-03).

Ad's grotesque condition is a warning to Nick that domination by a woman may also result in the extreme version of the feminized male, namely, the homosexual, who, as I have demonstrated, has often been viewed by straight males as the antithesis of masculinity. Hemingway's description of Ad, for instance, is indicative of the ex-boxer's queer sexual orientation: "In the firelight Nick saw that his face was misshapen. His nose was sunken, his eyes were slits, he had *queer-shaped* lips. Nick did not perceive all this at once, he only saw the man's face was *queerly formed and mutilated*" (98-99, my emphasis). Whereas at least two commentators—including Philip Young and James Mellow—have argued in support of the homosexual nature of Ad's relationship with Bugs,⁴¹ there also exists the potential for homosexuality in Nick's relationship with Ad, a potential that underscores the perverse nature of Ad's character, and Nick's ability to resist the temptation of Ad's queerness demonstrates that

⁴¹ Young observes that in this story "the reader may get the never-stated but potently suggested notion that it is not only Ad [but also Bugs] who is queer" (39), and Mellow notes that "there is the strong suggestion of a homosexual relationship between the prize-fighter Ad and Bugs, his black caretaker" (410).

the young man retains at least some sense of his own male self. After Ad explains to Nick how his own weak (read: feminine) pulse enabled him to defeat his boxing opponents, he then, in an effort to encourage Nick to determine his pulse, takes Nick's hand and instructs the young man on where to place his fingers. Hemingway's description here has homosexual overtones, for metaphorically, Nick is holding Ad's throbbing penis: "The little man's wrist was thick and the muscles bulged above the bone. Nick felt the slow pumping under his fingers" (99).

Homosexual connotations are evident too when Bugs warns Nick not to comply with Ad's request for Nick's knife, in that, by demanding the knife, Ad is psychologically requesting the use of Nick's phallus. Ad, however, angered by Nick's compliance with the black man's advice, employs erotic language when he retaliates against the young man by calling him a "hot sketch" before he asks him, "who the hell asked you to butt in here?" (101).

Indeed, the primary reason for the demise of Ad's boxing career and as well as his manhood was not due to the impact of his boxing opponents' punches, but rather to the abandonment of his modern, liberated wife, whose desertion of the former boxer is reminiscent of what Hemingway saw as Agnes's desertion of himself and their future together. According to what Bugs tells Nick, the "beatings" Ad received in the ring "just made him sort of simple" (102), but when his wife left him, "he just went crazy" (103). Much as Hemingway participated in the violence of war as ambulance driver, with Agnes tending to him as his lover-nurse, Ad participated in the violent sport of boxing, with his wife assisting him as his lover-manager. Ad, as Bugs explains to Nick, "took too many beatings" over the years (102), punishments that had undoubtedly resulted in the former boxer's aforementioned grotesque appearance. Not unlike the way that Hemingway and Agnes had become devoted to one another as well as emotionally dependent and trusting of each another during their romantic relationship, so too were Ad and his

wife devoted, dependent and trusting of one another during their marriage.⁴² Bugs tells Nick that the newspapers had frequently described “how she [Ad’s wife] loved her brother [Ad] and how he loved his sister” (102), even though, as Bugs subsequently informs Nick, “they wasn’t brother and sister no more than a rabbit” (103). If we also recall the way that Agnes, who was seven years Hemingway’s senior, often referred to Ernest in her letters as “kid,” it is significant that Ad who continues to be controlled if not dominated by his wife through the money she sends to him is frequently referred to as a child. While Nick eats his meal with the two transients, we are informed, for example, that “the little white man [Ad] looked at Nick” (101); frequently Hemingway’s narrator refers to Ad simply as “the little man” (102-04), and at one point the narrator relates that Ad’s “mutilated face looked childish in repose” (103). Ad, therefore, is a reflection of Hemingway’s child-like status during his relationship with Agnes, a time when Hemingway’s male self was suppressed in favor of romance.

Not unlike the way in which Ad is betrayed through his wife’s abandonment and much as Hemingway saw himself as a victim of Agnes’s betrayal, so too was Nick a victim of betrayal when the brakeman tricked the young man prior to hitting him off the train. Similar to way in which Agnes had often referred to Hemingway as a “kid,” so too does the narrator explain how the brakeman—who attempts to “break” Nick’s manhood—called him “kid” just before he hits him:

“Come here, *kid*,” he said. “I got something for you.”

He had fallen for it. What a lousy *kid* thing to have done. They would never suck him in that way again.

⁴² Ad’s relationship with his wife is also reminiscent of Hemingway’s own relationship with his sister Marcelline when they were children. For more on this subject, see Mark Spilka’s *Hemingway’s Quarrel with Androgyny*, 17-22, 45-64.

“Come here, *kid*, I got something for you” (my emphasis). Then *wham* and he lit on his hands and knees beside the track. (97)

From Nick’s perspective, the brakeman, after baiting him, had indeed betrayed him: By allowing himself to be placed in a vulnerable position, Nick provided him with the opportunity to take advantage of him. Nick’s comment here, that “they would never suck him in that way again,” moreover, may also be seen as a reflection of the defensive attitude towards women that Hemingway had developed in response to Agnes’s rejection, an attitude he had acquired after allowing himself to be placed in an emotionally vulnerable position by the more experienced, more mature Agnes. Nick’s “wounds” at the hands of the brakeman not only foreshadow our learning about Ad’s destruction at the hands of his wife, but they are also reminiscent of the emotional and psychological wounds that the “kid” Hemingway suffered as a result of Agnes’s dismissal.

A careful reading reveals some significant similarities and differences between Mrs. Francis’s abandonment of Ad and Agnes’s rejection of Hemingway. Much as Agnes informed Hemingway in her dismissal letter that their relationship was problematic because they frequently disagreed with one another and that she “can’t get away from the fact that you’re just a boy—a kid” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 163), so too does Ad’s wife abandon her “little man” (102), because, as Bugs informs Nick, due to their scandalous marriage, “they commenced to have disagreements” (103). Whereas, however, Hemingway recovers from Agnes’s rejection enough to ultimately launch his writing career, Ad, who is never able to recover from his wife’s abandonment, suffers the loss of his boxing career. Much as Hemingway saw himself as a great hero returning from the war, strutting around Oak Park in his uniform for months and delivering speeches about the war at least until his reception of Agnes’s dismissal letter, Ad had been able

to maintain his identity as a boxing champion until his wife leaves him and he goes insane. As nurse, Agnes assisted in Hemingway's recovery from his war wounds similar to the way in which Mrs. Francis assists her husband through her position as his boxing manager, and, as I would assume, in so doing helps Ad meet the often tough challenges inside and outside the ring. Perhaps, like Hemingway, Ad may have been able to at least partially recover from his wife's abandonment; nevertheless, as Bugs tells Nick, Ad continues to be financially dependent on her: "He spent all his money, though. . . . She sends him money" (103). Although Ad does not express animosity towards his wife, it is also true that he, unlike Hemingway with regard to Agnes, projects his vengeance against her onto others. He advises Nick, for example, to throw a rock at the brakeman the next time he sees him, and, according to what Bugs tells Nick, after Ad's wife left him, "he was busting people all the time." Hemingway, on the other hand, had expressed his need to avenge Agnes for what he believed was her betrayal in a letter he writes to his and Agnes's mutual friend, Elsie MacDonald, just after he learns of Agnes's rejection: That is, as I have noted, when his former lover arrives in New York, Hemingway hoped that she should fall down and break her front teeth (Villard 44).

The key, however, to best understand the effect of Mrs. Francis's betrayal on Ad is through a careful analysis of the character of Bugs, whose control of a white man is suggestive of the perverse nature of their relationship, and whose character is a reflection not only of the femininity of Mrs. Francis and Agnes, but also of the power of a modern woman to control and dominate her male counterpart. Ad needs to discover or perhaps rediscover his male self—depending on whether he had any sense of it prior to marrying someone who was so much like himself in terms of appearance (as twins) and in terms of interests (i.e., boxing). Ad, being excessively dependent on his lover-manager wife and having been rendered insane due to her

abandonment—in effect, suddenly losing the psychological support that had compensated him for the suppression of his male self while the money she has been sending to him has only prolonged his crazed mental state—all of this, though promoting his subconscious need for revenge, also created a need in him to initiate his homosexual relationship with Bugs. It is interesting to note that, much as Ad and his wife are described by Bugs as twins with similar interests, so too are Ad and Bugs similar: Both are former prisoners, both use knives as their weapons (“I was in for cuttin’ a man,” Bugs explains to Nick) (103)—these similarities suggest that Bugs is representative of the feminine, weaker side of Ad’s character. Additionally, Bugs has supplanted Mrs. Francis’s role as her husband’s boxing manager by becoming Ad’s advisor as well as his protector on the road. Bugs’s admiration of Mrs. Francis, for example, suggests his association if not his identification with her: The black man tells Nick, for instance, that, “she’s a mighty fine woman.” Also, Bugs enacts the traditional maternal role of cook, providing ham and eggs for the camp, for example, and then frying them (100). Overall, however, Bugs serves as a warning to Nick against succumbing not only to the perversity of homosexuality but also to the subservient role imposed upon women.

Again, and not unlike the way Hemingway felt that he had allowed himself to be emotionally controlled by Agnes, Bugs, this black “woman,” is nevertheless very much in control of Ad, a mastery which is exemplified, for example, when he “protects” the crazed boxer by tapping him with his blackjack “across the base of the skull” (102), and afterwards explaining to Nick, “I didn’t want you to hurt him or mark him up.” In this way, Bugs “shares” his phallic-like blackjack with Ad as opposed to permitting Nick to employ his phallus with this ex-prizefighter who, according to Bugs, “wouldn’t be bad-looking without his face all busted” (103). It is significant too that, in employing his blackjack, Bugs—though protecting Nick from

Ad and Ad from himself—hits Ad harder than is necessary (102), an act which constitutes another example of the black man's desire to dominate his lover. Discussing the mother/nurse figures such as Bugs in Hemingway, Toni Morrison suggests that these characters “violate the nurse's primary function of providing balm” (qtd. in Clifford 165). Perhaps Hemingway at some point after his romance with Agnes noted the irony of being nearly destroyed by someone who had once served him as nurse. Bugs, Ad's perverse mother-nurse, assists and protects his companion while also controlling him through the use of violence, in much the same way that Agnes provided balm for Hemingway in the Milan Red Cross Hospital and then broke up with the author who had been in denial over her waning romantic interest in him. Bugs, who is also Ad's traveling companion/lover, once more shows himself as having the former pugilist completely dependent on him when Nick departs the camp at the end and overhears Ad, the patient, complain to Bugs, his nurse-like companion, about his headache (103-04). Thus, though a male such as Ad (Hemingway) was overly dependent on and controlled by “others” such as Mrs. Francis and Bugs (Agnes), he may nevertheless benefit in terms of physical if not psychological protection against the dangers inherent in the female constitution as well as those dangers implicit in the world (such as death and war), but he may also have to pay the ultimate price, which is the suppression of his own male self.

Finally, the suppression of Ad's manhood at the hands of a woman is suggested through Hemingway's employment of the fire image, one which can be seen as a symbol of Ad's male self—the essence of what the ex-boxer would like to employ but lacks the resolve in order to do so—as well as seen as Hemingway's own suppressed male self during his relationship with Agnes. When Nick initially approaches the camp, for instance, he sees Ad alone, “sitting there with his head in his hands looking at the fire” (98). Although Nick steps out from behind the tree

that he had used for concealment, “the man sat there looking into the fire,” and even when “Nick stopped quite close to him, [nevertheless] he [Ad] did not move.” The latter may very well have something important on his otherwise crazed mind, and, given what we come to know about him, a fair guess is that he is thinking about his former career and/or his defunct marriage. Later, when Bugs returns with food to the camp, we are informed that Ad’s partner “stood with his back to them, bending over the fire” (100), a position that could be read as suggestive of homosexuality. His position is, moreover, also significant, in that Bugs—this perverted substitute for Mrs. Francis and Agnes in their respective roles as suppressors of Ad’s/Hemingway’s male self—is blocking the firelight from Ad and Nick. Bugs’s role as suppressor is also underscored when, as the black man cooks the ham and eggs, he is also “crouching on long nigger legs *over the fire*” (my emphasis). Ironically, after he strikes Ad with his blackjack, Bugs carries his lover over “to the fire” (102), a gesture which represents a source of inner strength for his injured lover. At the end, as Nick resumes his journey, presumably to *Mancelona*, that is, his metaphorical journey to manhood, the young man sees the “firelight in the clearing” (104).

Nick, then, is not dissimilar from Ad, in that he too is in need of (re)discovering his own manhood, trying to find the essence of the male self, an essence that Ad is unable to rediscover within himself despite his residence in a frontier-like environment, and the very essence that Hemingway himself had nearly lost but then rediscovered upon the dissolution of his ill-fated romance with Agnes von Kurowsky. As I will show in the next chapter, for Nick, as a more mature individual, after making a significant connection with his male self through his battlefield experiences, the devastating wartime romantic betrayals that he endures terminated his male-self connection. Ultimately, however, the young man may be able to neutralize the effects of these betrayals by employing the confidence that such contact enables.

CHAPTER 3
POST-WAR BETRAYALS AND THE RESTORATION OF MALE SELF CONFIDENCE

Whereas the youthful Nick Adams discovers the powers of his male self's strength in "Indian Camp" and "Ten Indians" and is initiated into the potential dangers involved for even accomplished males such as Ad Francis has in "The Battler" when they allow themselves to become overly dependent on women, three additional early short stories by Hemingway feature a more mature, war veteran Nick (aka Harold Krebs). The latter character, Hemingway's fictional alter ego, struggles to recover a masculine identity that had been concealed by war and women in "Soldier's Home" and "A Very Short Story," but in "Summer People" it is obvious that the veteran has succeeded in recovering it. Through his dramatization of Nick's struggle to either resurrect his male self and its strength or employ its inner strength in this trio of post-war stories, Hemingway once again becomes representative not only of his own generation's often guarded if not oppressive attitudes towards women, but in "Soldier's Home" and "A Very Short Story," he also is reflective of his generation's post-war attitude towards modern warfare, and his "Summer People" story is indicative of the author's enthusiasm for sports and his continuing interest in the concept of the frontier. Since women, as I have explained, by the early 1920s had made significant gains in terms of equality, those males like Hemingway who had come of age by the end of World War I often felt a special need to view women and romantic relationships with suspicion. Hemingway himself, due in large part to his breakup with Agnes, his troubled relationship with his mother, and Hadley's loss of his manuscripts at Paris's Gare de Lyon train station, tried to maintain an emotional reserve with women, a struggle that was nevertheless often characterized by his exercising control over them. Ernest's and his generation's mechanized war—with, as Fussell has noted, its "extreme fear, chancy outcomes, and disgusting deaths" (qtd. in Connell, *Masculinities* 214)—had not promoted the masculinity construction that

had been severely challenged by the new century's liberated women. For Hemingway and his male peers, not only did sports such as boxing provide a means towards such identity construction, but other sports, such as baseball and swimming, offered additional construction venues. Finally, the frontier that had provided an appropriate setting for Nick's discovery of the male self's inner strength in each of the stories of the first trilogy presented here, becomes an appropriate setting too for the autonomy that the confident Nick enjoys in "Summer People."

Regarding the "crisis of masculinity" that Hemingway's World War I "lost generation" endured, a crisis clearly reflected in characters such as Harold Krebs in "Soldier's Home" and Nick Adams in "A Very Short Story," "the war," as Badinter explains, "only masked the essential problems that no one had been able to resolve" (20). If anything, the war simply frustrated further the masculinity construction that males had been struggling with prior to the start of the conflict. As Rotundo points out, "men's call for greater passion, their rebellion against 'feminized civilization,' and their wish for access to the 'animal' and the 'primitive' inside of themselves can all be understood in terms of a desire to express more of their male 'essence'" (280). And although modern wars have served to initiate romantic relationships, it is also true that they sometimes have served to greatly complicate such relationships, and for males attempting to construct their masculine identities, wartime romances can pose profound threats to such identity development. Relevant here is Alex Vernon's aforementioned observation that warfare affects "the soldier's sense of gender identity, which . . . means his identity" (37) and Peter Messent's assertion that Romance's association with "androgyny and sexual role reversal . . . proves disastrous to the male protagonist's sense of self" (88), for, as I will suggest, in this second trilogy of stories, Harold Krebs and Nick Adams are more affected by their wartime and post-war romantic relationships than by the war itself.

Harold Krebs, Hemingway's returned home war veteran in "Soldier's Home," has been unable to rediscover his male self not only because of the lies he is forced to tell about his combat experiences, but also because of the traumatic experiences with a European woman that he evidently encountered behind the lines—experiences that reflect Hemingway's romance with Agnes during the war. A number of critics have noted some of the important similarities between Harold Krebs and Hemingway, including Tateo Imamura, who argues that Krebs's trauma is due primarily to "an intense and unsuccessful love affair" (103) that may have its source in "Hemingway's own experience of being jilted by Agnes von Kurowsky" (104). No critic, however, has fully explored the way that Hemingway integrated many of his experiences during his romantic relationship with Agnes into the story, especially those experiences that occurred in the months immediately following the author's return from Italy to Oak Park, a locale which Hemingway disguises in the story as a small town somewhere in Oklahoma. Of special note are the similarities between Hemingway's and Krebs's respective attitudes towards those younger women who represent threats to their masculinity—specifically, Hemingway's post-Agnes attitude towards the opposite sex and Krebs's attitude towards his mother and his sister, Helen.

It would be very difficult to argue that Hemingway did not base Harold Krebs's character on himself and Harold's experiences on his own experiences during and shortly after the war. Various scholars, for example, have noted specific similarities between Hemingway's postwar experiences and those of Harold Krebs. Michael Reynolds argues that "Soldier's Home" is, "far beneath its surface, about Hemingway's anticipation of his parents' inability to accept his fiction" (*Paris Years* 189) and points out that Hemingway named his story's protagonist after Krebs Friend, a "badly shell-shocked vet he first knew in Chicago and who had turned up in

Paris married to a wealthy older woman” (191); however, the age difference between Friend and his spouse suggests a similarity between Hemingway and Friend, in that both had romantic relationships with women who were considerably older than themselves. Also, James Nagel observes that the exaggerated stories about the war that Krebs fabricates for his townspeople are not dissimilar from the kinds of stories “about the war” that Hemingway “often enlarged and romanticized” following his return home (“Hemingway” 257). Regarding Hemingway’s propensity to color his role in the war to his townspeople, Reynolds asserts, “Hemingway kept right on inventing his fantasy war, the war he would have fought if only he had been given the chance” (*Young Hemingway* 55). Mellow notes that with this story “Hemingway tried to come to terms with his complicated and resentful feelings as a son, a returned veteran of the war, confronting a family life that he no longer felt a part of.” Mellow also explains that Hemingway’s parents are reflected at least to some degree in those of Krebs, and that “Krebs is a hero to his two young sisters (as Hemingway was to Sunny and Ursula)” (122). Thus, Hemingway himself as well as his family members became important sources for the main characters of this story.

Additionally, Krebs’s domestic routine is very similar to that of Hemingway’s following the latter’s return to Oak Park, and routines enabled veterans whose masculinity had been challenged by war and wartime romances to readjust to civilian life. By late summer, for example, Krebs “was sleeping late in bed, getting up to walk down town to the library to get a book, eating lunch at home, reading on the front porch until he became bored” (112). Hemingway too stayed late in bed each morning (Mellow 89), spent time reading at the local Scoville Institute library (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 40), ate lunch with his family (Baker, *Ernest* 78) and, according to his older sister, Marcelline, Ernest had “read everything in the

house, including the *A. M. A. Journals* in his father's office" (qtd. in Mellow 89). On the front porch Krebs would read a "book on the war . . . about all the engagements he had been in" (113), much as a number of the books that Hemingway read at Scoville library were also "about the war" (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 40). Both Krebs and Hemingway as well share a keen interest in maps that were associated with the war: Krebs, in fact, wishes that "there were more maps" (113); Hemingway favored the maps supplied by the British war historians he was reading (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 40) and displayed "maps and pictures of Europe" on the walls of his third-floor bedroom (Mellow 89). Thus, through their book and map reading, both veterans were attempting to reconstruct their masculinity through their imaginative participation in the war. Finally, the two veterans' respective attitudes about home are virtually the same. Krebs, for example, "did not want to come home" from Europe (113), and Hemingway, in a March 3, 1919 letter, informed war friend Jim Gamble, "don't for the Lord's sake come to this country as long as you can help it" (*The Letters* 169). Again, it's as if there is a yearning for veterans to return to the war in order to try once more to construct masculinity—despite the fact that the nature of modern warfare, as we have seen, offered its participants few opportunities to achieve such construction.

Since Hemingway employed many qualities of his own personality as well as aspects of his own war-related experiences for his characterization of his story's male protagonist, it should not be surprising that he also expressed his own attitudes about girls—especially those that were formed during his romantic involvement with Agnes—through Krebs's attitude towards the opposite sex. I feel that Imamura is correct in observing that Krebs's "indifference towards the girls in town seems to reflect his disillusionment not only with the war and his parents' marriage, but also with another experience—Krebs's breaking up with a lover" (103). Also, Imamura

appropriately attributes Krebs's attitude towards the town girls to "Hemingway's suffering after he received the letter [i.e., the dismissal letter] from Agnes" (104), a view that is consonant with Jeffrey Meyers's observation that "the trauma of her [Agnes's] betrayal . . . forced him [Hemingway] into instinctive self-protection" (*Biography* 41), and is supported by the story's narrator, who explains, regarding the town girls, that Krebs "did not want themselves really. They were too complicated" (112), and "the world they were in was not the world he was in" (113). I disagree, however, with Imamura's assertion that Hemingway is suggesting the "lack of romance" between Krebs and his German girlfriends (103), for Hemingway may very well have had Agnes and her associations with Germany in mind as he described Krebs's preference for Germany. Much as Agnes, with her German-sounding name, Agnes Hannah von Kurowsky (Kert 51), was "born in the Germantown section of Philadelphia," and her father, a German language instructor (50), had, just two years prior to Agnes's birth, immigrated to the United States from Königsberg, Germany (Nagel, "Hemingway" 233-34), Hemingway's narrator explains that, "on the whole he [Krebs] liked Germany better [than France]. He did not want to leave Germany" (113).

Although it is not explicit in the narrative, it can be persuasively argued that one of Krebs's German girlfriends had jilted him in much the same way in which Agnes dismissed Hemingway. The narrator, for example, associates Krebs's alienation from his parents and his community not with shell-shock but with the young veteran's attitude towards girls, an attitude that he had acquired overseas: "He did not want consequences. He did not want consequences ever again. He wanted to live along without consequences. Besides he did not really need a girl. The army had taught him that" (113). Whereas Krebs is able to imaginatively re-experience the war through his reading about the conflict and by studying war maps, as Imamura explains, "the

physical distance” that he maintains between himself and the local girls provides him with “a sense of security” (105). Moreover, the emotional distance he constructs between himself and the local girls also serves to promote Harold’s masculinity, for, as I have explained, romantic relationships are often seen by males as threats to their masculine identities. The photograph of Krebs posing with “two German girls and another corporal” may suggest, as Ruben De Baerdemaeker has noted, “the hint of blossoming sexuality” and “an altered masculinity” (56) in Krebs, yet it is also significant that the picture was even taken in the first place, that it survived the war, and that even though the girls in the photo may be among the girls who were forced—to which women of occupied countries must often resort in order to survive—to become prostitutes, this obviously does not rule out the possibility that Krebs may have fallen in love with at least one of them. Overall, Hemingway’s narrator emphasizes Harold’s defensive attitude towards women much more than whatever it was that the young soldier may have experienced in battle. The narrator supplies us with significant information about Krebs’s relationships with his European girls and about his inability and refusal to establish meaningful relationships with the hometown girls, quickly noting only that Krebs “had been at Belleau Wood, Soissons, the Champagne, St. Mihiel, and in the Argonne” (111). Put simply, Krebs’s alienation is not so much related to the impact of whatever battles in which he may have participated, but it is, on the other hand, most certainly related to his overseas relationships with women and is reflective of the defensive attitude that Hemingway displayed towards younger women following his breakup with Agnes.

Much as Hemingway at Fossalta may very well have had to employ the inner strength of his male self in order to survive his own wounding and to rescue a wounded Italian soldier, so too may we speculate that Krebs may have similarly employed his male self on the battlefield—

despite the near impossibility of achieving heroism, given the mechanized nature of modern warfare. Early in the story the narrator explains, for example, that the war had brought out the best in Krebs, a development that could only have been possible from the young man's employment of his inner strength: "All of the times that had been able to make him feel *cool and clear inside himself* when he thought of them; the times so long back *when he had done the one thing, the only thing for a man to do, easily and naturally*, when he might have done something else" (111, my emphasis). Here we have a good example of how the male self's inner strength can manifest itself in a very specific way: In this case, this special power had enabled a young soldier like Krebs to act spontaneously and appropriately in battle, perhaps not unlike the way that a classical Greek warrior such as Odysseus was able to act spontaneously, for instance, in the famous Cyclops episode of *The Odyssey*.

After Krebs returns home, however, he discovers that in order to be able to talk about the war, he must lie about it, and it is this lying that he succumbs to—coupled with what was most likely his aforementioned disappointing experience with the European girl who evidently jilted him—that contributes to his loss of contact with his male self: "Krebs acquired the nausea in regard to experience that is the result of untruth or exaggeration," and while conversing with another veteran at a dance, Krebs "fell into the easy pose of the old soldier among other soldiers: that he had been badly, sickeningly frightened all the time. In this way he lost everything" (112). He lost, in other words, his connection with the inner strength that he had made during the war, a strength that had subsequently been concealed by his doomed romance and by the lies that he feels compelled to tell to his family and community after his return home.

Hemingway intensifies the conflict between Krebs's need to reintegrate himself into society and the young veteran's repugnance at having to tell the lies that society requires of him,

in the final scene of the story, a scene which features Harold's dramatic conversation with his mother. It is significant that Hemingway has Harold confront his mother in this scene, for once again, women represented for Hemingway and those males of his generation the greatest threat to their construction of masculinity. As Karen Horney has noted, "fear of the mother is more deep-seated and more energetically repressed than fear of the castrating father" (qtd. in Connell, *Masculinities* 11). Hemingway most likely had in mind his own mother, Grace—who, according to Segal, constituted for Hemingway a "life-long fear" (114), and the family member who best exemplified for the author the threat of the "liberated woman" to his masculinity. But for his characterization of Krebs's mother, he may very well have also had Agnes in mind as well. Mrs. Krebs, for example, not only represents for Harold the society with which he is unable to reconcile himself, but she also represents for him the lies that society requires him to tell in order for him to effect a reconciliation. In the final scene, Mrs. Krebs cannot accept the truth that her son expresses about her after the first time that she asks him whether he loves her, and Harold instinctively desiring to tell the truth—answers in the negative. When his mother breaks down and cries, however, Krebs feels so sorry for her that he lies to her by telling her that he had not meant what he had said: "He had felt sorry for his mother and she had made him lie" (116). Harold's lying thus is not unlike the way that he had suppressed his own male self by having to lie about the war to members of his community, about how he had learned that "to be listened to at all he had to lie" (111).

Although, as previously noted, it may very well be that Hemingway had his own mother in mind here, Mrs. Krebs's association with lying most likely had its source in the way Hemingway felt that Agnes, especially given the contents of her dismissal letter, had lied to him regarding their future together: "I love you still—ever" (Kurowsky, "Letters" 101), and "I'm

looking to you for my future life” (148). When Hemingway’s narrator—after Krebs tells his mother that he did not “love anybody”—explains that Krebs “couldn’t tell her, he couldn’t make her see it” (116), the narrator is suggesting that Krebs, after enduring the jilting of his European girlfriend and after having to lie about the war following his return home, has had to suppress his true identity or male self, that very special part of himself whose strength he had been managed to employ during a modern war, and that it would be impossible for him to even begin to communicate this to his mother. Krebs is aware that his mother continues to treat him as her little boy (“I’ll try and be a good boy for you,” he tells her) (116), an attitude of his mother’s that not only reflects Grace’s treatment of Ernest that she initiated on the day following his return from the war (Lynn 101), but it also reflects Agnes’s treatment of Ernest as her child, an attitude that, as I have pointed out, is especially evident in her dismissal letter (Kurowsky, “Letters” 163). Much as Krebs is aware that he can never persuade his mother that the war had produced a transformation in himself, so too had Hemingway evidently felt, at least in the short term, that he could never persuade either his real mother or his surrogate “mother” Agnes that the war had transformed him from a boy into a man.

Grace, Mrs. Krebs, and Agnes each attempts to motivate her respective veteran to pursue conventional educations and/or careers in order for him to assume his rightful place in his respective community—attempts that threaten masculine identity. Kenneth Lynn notes, for example, that Grace saw in Ernest only “a son who laughed at her recommendation that he go to college, who showed no signs of wanting to get a job” (99), and Meyers notes the way Grace “criticized him for drinking and for not thinking seriously about his future” (*Biography* 53). Mrs. Krebs informs Harold that he is “going to have to settle down to work”; she wants him to become like the other local boys who are “all determined to get somewhere” and “are on their

way to being really a credit to the community” (115). Similarly, Agnes advised Hemingway in her December 1, 1918 letter that he should not take the trip to Madeira that he had planned to take with Jim Gamble, as she was fearful that he would be permanently distracted from his career goals: “I’m afraid you’d never want to go & be somebody worth while [*sic*]. Those places do get in one’s blood, & remove all the pep & ‘go’ and I’d hate like everything to see you minus ambition, dear lad” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 135). Hemingway was evidently affected by Agnes’s advice, because in his December 11, 1918 letter to his family, he observed, “for a while I was going to go down to Madiera and the Canaries with Capt. Gamble but I realize that If [*sic*] I blow down there and bum I never will get home” (*The Letters* 162). Moreover, each of these three women—Grace, Mrs. Krebs, and Agnes—will also be rejected or abandoned by their respective veterans, who instinctively attempt to establish or preserve their masculine self: Ernest will be severely critical of his mother for the rest of his life, unjustly blaming her, for example, for his father’s suicide; Harold plans to leave home in favor of obtaining a job in Kansas City (116); and in a June 15, 1919 letter, Hemingway confessed to Howie Jenkins that he was unable to help Agnes, who had informed him by letter that her fiancé had broken off their engagement: Hemingway informed Jenkins that he wished “there was something” that he “could do for” Agnes, who “has fallen out with her Major [Domenico Caracciolo],” but he was unable to “because,” as he explained, “I loved her once and then she gyped me” (*The Letters* 193).

Mrs. Krebs’s foil, however, is Harold’s sister, Helen, whose authenticity and genuine understanding of her brother contrasts sharply with both Mrs. Krebs’s lack of understanding of her son and the townspeople’s hypocrisy and appetite for lying. Helen, whose relationship with Harold is not unlike that of Ernest’s with sisters Ursula and Sunny (Mellow 122), and whose character may have been based, as Azevedo notes, on Hemingway’s first wife, Hadley

(100-01),⁴³ can also be seen as emblematic of Harold's male self, a view which suggests that Harold's relationship with his sister foreshadows his potential reconciliation with society. Does Harold's authentic relationship with Helen, in other words, indicate that he may be able to establish meaningful relationships with women after he (like Hemingway) moves to Kansas City?⁴⁴ Although the narrator makes it quite clear that Krebs will never again be interested in the complexities involved in romantic relationships, we nevertheless can assume that Krebs's relationship with Helen is potentially as complicated as any of those he may have experienced in the past or may experience in the future, especially when she plies him about being her "beau," about whether he will love her "always," and about whether he will watch her play "indoor" (114). Another question is why Krebs agrees near the end to watch Helen play. One reason may be that, in so doing, Krebs would be confirming his love for her, given especially the fact that at breakfast she had taunted him by saying, "if you loved me, you'd want to come over and watch me play indoor" (115). Another possible reason may be that Krebs's relationship with his sister illustrates what can be seen as the transforming power of the genuine love and understanding that can exist between a brother and a sister. And not only does Helen love and understand her brother (they share an interest in sports, for instance), but Krebs has also served as her role model, for she is a tomboy who aspires to be like him. Helen informs Harold, for example, that in terms of athletics she is unlike other town girls because, compared to her, "the other girls aren't much good" and that she can "pitch better than lots of the boys" because of "all you taught

⁴³ Azevedo states that "it is also significant that 'Helen' was Hemingway's fictional name in the story 'On Writing' for his own wife, Hadley Richardson, a situation that did not repeat itself in Hemingway's writing. But as Bernard Oldsey points out, in one of the manuscripts of the story Hemingway wrote *Hadley* instead of *Helen*" (100-01).

⁴⁴ For information about Hemingway's experiences in Kansas City, see, for example, Reynolds (*Young Hemingway* 45, 89-90), Mellow (45-48), and Meyers (*Biography* 22-26).

me” (114). As De Baerdemaeker observes, Helen “is alliteratively associated with her brother, who is not only Harold, but also a Hero [*sic*] to her” (67). In this way, Helen betrays at least some instinctive understanding and appreciation of her brother’s male self, the aspect of him that otherwise, as I have shown, had been concealed due to his European girlfriend’s rejection and the subsequent hypocrisy of his hometown. As Krebs can be himself around Helen, perhaps he may be able to initiate once again a quest for his male self through continuing his relationship with her, and due to her love and understanding of him, he can endure and also transcend whatever complications and consequences may be inherent to their relationship and inherent to whatever relationships he may develop with other women. The mutual love between Harold and his sister, in fact, is as natural to Harold as when, during the war, “he had done the one thing, *the only thing for a man to do, easily and naturally*” (111, my emphasis).

Like “Soldier’s Home,” Hemingway’s “A Very Short Story,” as previously noted, reflects the author’s as well as his generation’s oppression of modern women and their disillusionments with modern warfare in regards to the promotion of masculinity. The major difference between the two stories is that “A Very Short Story” mocks Hemingway’s own inability to relinquish his habit of attaching himself to women following his ill-fated romance with Agnes.

Virtually every critic of this story and nearly every Hemingway biographer has noted its autobiographical elements.⁴⁵ Even though, as Paul Smith has asserted, “every biographer since Carlos Baker in 1969 has remarked on the autobiographical nature of ‘A Very Short Story’” (*Reader’s* 26), most critics who compare Hemingway’s romance with Agnes to this story fall

⁴⁵ Paul Smith states that “ever since Carlos Baker revealed the details of Hemingway’s ‘first adult love affair’ in 1969, ‘A Very Short Story’ has been read as a close account of his relationship with Agnes von Kurowsky from July 1918 through March 1919” (*Reader’s* 26).

short of providing a comprehensive analysis, despite the story's brevity. In his discussion of Hemingway's *Along with Youth* manuscript, even Baker himself reports only that in "A Very Short Story" Hemingway "had already summed up the [Hemingway-Agnes] love affair and its aftermath" (*Ernest* 191), and in her discussion of Catherine Barkley in *A Farewell to Arms*, Jamie Barlowe merely notes that "the more he told the von Kurowsky story (as he does in 'A Very Short Story'), the more he repressed the pain of the original experience" ("Catherine" 177). In his brief essay on "Very," Gerhard Pfeiffer points out that Luz feels compelled to marry her Major because she is pregnant, but observes only that "Hemingway's feeling of resentment towards Agnes von Kurowsky, still smoldering at the period of the story's composition, indeed found expression in this early vignette" (100-01). In his discussion of Hemingway's vain effort in the spring of 1925 to re-write the novel manuscript that had been stolen from Hadley in the Paris train station two years earlier, Michael Reynolds comments briefly that Hemingway had spoken with F. Scott Fitzgerald and Harold Loeb about "the big wound, the hospital in Milan, the nurse, her incredible body, nights together, and how she sent him home to jilt him," and that "without the details of the wounding, this was the same story he'd told in three pages of 'A Very Short Story'" (*Paris Years* 285).

In his introduction to the recently published first volume of Hemingway's letters, *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway, 1907-1922*, Robert W. Trogdon points out only that Hemingway's relationship with Agnes "provided him with the inspiration for 'A Very Short Story'" (lxiv), and regarding "Very," Rena Sanderson merely notes that it is "a fictional version of his jilting by Agnes" ("Hemingway's" 12). In a footnote about Hemingway's letter to Bill Horne, a letter that was composed not long after Ernest learns of Agnes's rejection, Trogdon and Sandra Spanier observe only that Hemingway "would fictionalize the situation in the piece published as Chapter

10 of *iot* [*in our time*] and as ‘A Very Short Story’ in *IOT* [*In Our Time*]. In these early versions of 1924 and 1925, the nurse is named ‘Ag’: in the 1930 edition of *IOT*, EH [Ernest Hemingway] changed her name to ‘Luz’” (Hemingway, *The Letters* 178n5).

Following Meyers’s aforementioned observation regarding the “painful” effect—both emotionally and physically—of Agnes’s dismissal on Hemingway, Meyers explains, albeit briefly, that “Very” not only “accurately portrays their [Ernest’s and Agnes’s] courtship, love letters, and plans for marriage,” but also that Agnes’s dismissal “led [Hemingway] to a desire for revenge (which is childishly inverted in ‘A Very Short Story’ when the hero contracts gonorrhoea from a girl in Chicago)” (*Biography* 40-41). After asserting that “‘A Very Short Story’ is patently autobiographical,” Donaldson points to some of the alterations that Hemingway made between drafts of the story, but regarding the links between the real romance and that of the fictional lovers, he mentions only the change of Ag’s name to Luz and that the “boy and *woman*” nature of the relationship as suggested by Agnes in her letter of dismissal became, in the story, “only a boy and girl affair” and “only a boy and girl love” (“Jilting” 671). Nagel observes that Hemingway would use his “romance with Agnes, her rejection of him, and his sense of pain and loss” in “A Very Short Story,” but afterwards Nagel provides only a brief plot summary of the story (“Hemingway” 264-65). Though Kenneth Lynn also provides a brief plot summary, he observes merely that the “bitterness” Hemingway felt towards Agnes and that “went on festering for years [,] is evident in the tenth sketch [“A Very Short Story”] in *in our time*,” and that in the story, “Ag was real, the sales girl was made up” (98). In *Hemingway’s Quarrel with Androgyny*, Mark Spilka offers a more helpful study in his one-paragraph analysis of the story, in which, like Meyers, Spilka sees evidence of Hemingway’s revenge against Agnes, given that the story is told from the male lover’s, Nick Adams’s, point of view: “Since we know that Hemingway’s ardor

for Agnes was at least equal to hers for him, the unbalanced stress on *her* [Luz's] professions of love and on her conditions of marriage, becomes suspect," and the young woman "is made out to sound prim, shallow, and dishonest instead of honestly troubled about marrying such a dubious partner" (169-70). In their psychological study of "Very," Nancy Comley and Robert Scholes likewise compare the story—albeit briefly—to "Hemingway's aborted romance" with Agnes: Discussing the character-naming and point-of-view revisions, they point out that the story provided Hemingway with "the sexual satisfaction he did not receive himself" from his relationship with Agnes (35).

Even though his is not a comprehensive study, Mellow offers what is perhaps the most helpful comparison of the real romance with that of the fictional one. He notes, for example, that Nick's reception of a "batch of Ag's letters" at the front constitutes a reversal of what really happened, that Hemingway "may have punitively exaggerated Agnes's professions of love out of a need to indicate how much she had deceived him," and that Hemingway had strengthened the "parting agreement" of Hemingway and Agnes in his rendering of that of Nick and Luz (97-98). Nevertheless, in this story, Hemingway had accurately paraphrased the real letter of dismissal Agnes had sent to him, such that, as Mellow observes, "it makes one wonder if Hemingway hadn't the letter in hand, or the words etched in his memory, when he wrote the vignette" (98).

The great amount of critical attention given to the autobiographical elements of this story is not surprising, since its characters and plot are very similar to what we know about the real characters and events surrounding Hemingway's relationship with Agnes. Luz (Agnes) is a nurse who helps restore the health of a soldier, presumably Nick Adams (Hemingway); Luz and Nick fall in love, but after Nick is sent home to initiate his career, Luz falls for an Italian major (Caracciolo). Luz/Agnes sends Nick/Hemingway a Dear John letter, and then, after the latter

subsequently receives another letter from her about the way in which she had been rejected by her major-lover/Caracciolo, Nick/Hemingway is unwilling to sympathize with her. Scholars have noted that, in his earlier drafts of “Very” Hemingway had initially referred to Luz’s character as “Ag,” but then changed her name to “Luz” after he had anticipated possible libel suits. As I will demonstrate, Hemingway was evidently deliberate in choosing “Luz” for his Agnes-like character, for “Luz” is a name with connotations such as “light” (as in sexual promiscuity), lust, and lunacy.⁴⁶ Hemingway’s original employment of the name “Ag,” however, obviously suggests that the author had Agnes in mind when he composed his story, and though he evidently changed the nurse’s nationality from American to Italian and the primary setting of the story from Milan to Padua as additional protection against lawsuits,⁴⁷ many other elements of the story can be readily traced back to Hemingway’s relationship with his war-era nurse. I will outline ten of those common elements.

(1) The first involves emotional dependency and intrigue, two elements that in combination conflict sharply with Hemingway’s and his generation’s attitudes regarding women as threats to masculine identities. Like Agnes and Hemingway, Luz and Nick are emotionally dependent on one another, so much so, in fact, that they are often alienated (and desire to be isolated from)—others to the point that intrigue becomes a significant aspect of their lives.

Hemingway and Agnes—whose mutual emotional dependency, as I previously demonstrated, is

⁴⁶ See Paul Smith’s (*Reader’s* 26) and Scott Donaldson’s (“Therapy” 100-01) discussions of the various drafts of this story that Hemingway had composed, including his reasons for changing “Ag” to “Luz.” In his July 12, 1938 letter to Maxwell Perkins regarding the proposed publication of *The Fifth Column and The First Forty-Nine Stories*, Hemingway argued that Luz’s name “should stay as Luz,” because, as he explained, “Ag is libelous. Short for Agnes” (*Selected Letters* 469).

⁴⁷ Baker notes that, “from fear of libel, EH [Ernest Hemingway] changed the locale to Padua and the name to Luz” (*Ernest* 732).

well documented in Agnes's letters and diary entries—maintained what was essentially a clandestine romance in the Milan Red Cross hospital. Agnes, for example, informed Hemingway in her letter of October 21-22, 1918, “why, some times I'm so proud of you, & the fact that you love me, that I want to blurt it all out, & just have to hold on tight so it won't get out. That is our war-sacrifice, bambino mio, to keep our secrets to ourselves” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 107). Henry Villard recalls, moreover, that Agnes and Hemingway “engaged in a running underground correspondence, exchanging notes and letters at a prodigious rate” (27). Luz and Nick are likewise secretive about their relationship, an aspect of their relationship that is suggested very early in the story as the two lovers—having been left alone on the hospital rooftop listen to the other patients and nurses (we presume) “below on the balcony” (107). Since only the “few patients” and not the hospital staff “knew about” their liaison, during the time Nick is “under the anesthetic,” he is “holding tight on to himself so he would not blab about anything” regarding his relationship with Luz.

(2) The second common element to the Agnes-Hemingway and the Luz-Nick romances and one that is also in direct conflict with the contemporary belief of women's threat to masculinity, is the transcendence of identity through love, or, identity merger. Agnes feared that if she and Hemingway were to change their minds about each other, then they might have to break off their relationship (Kurowsky, “Letters” 145). Nick and Luz's identity transcendence is likewise demonstrated whenever the two lovers would reverse their respective roles as patient and nurse. Nick, for example, “used to take the temperatures [of the other patients] so Luz would not have to get up from the bed,” such that, as the young man “walked back along the halls he thought of Luz in his bed” (107). Also, even though time limitations and legalities are

what evidently prevented Nick and Luz from marrying in Italy, they nevertheless “felt as though they were married.”

(3) The third common element of both the fictional and the real romance is that a young woman who aids the male in his recovery from battle wounds also provides him with nurturance, a situation that nevertheless challenges the male’s masculinity because of his vulnerable, inferior status as patient. Agnes, in her August 10, 1918 diary entry, for example, suggested that she had probably been assigned as the attending nurse during Hemingway’s leg operation: “Our first op. [operation] here. Everything went off beautifully. The Ital. doctor flashed smiles all around & learned a few Eng. [English] words such as ‘needle—strong—enough’” (Kurowsky, “Diary” 68). Luz similarly assists with Nick’s operation: “When they operated on him she prepared him for the operating table” (107).

(4) The fourth common element is that the male self is compromised not only by his inferior patient status, but also by his relationship with his nurse-lover. Critics have identified the castration complex in “Very:”⁴⁸ Nick, like Hemingway, has been metaphorically castrated in the sense that he endured serious leg wounds, a condition that also places him in the inferior if not what has been traditionally regarded as the feminine position as patient.⁴⁹ Ironically, Nick

⁴⁸ See, for example, Robert Scholes, who notes the following: “Luz first gives our retentive hero a literal enema and then she metaphorically emasculates him by making him renounce alcohol, friends, and all the pleasures of life” (41).

⁴⁹ Nagel summarizes the opinions of those scholars, including Constance Cappel Montgomery and Jeffrey Meyers, who have suggested that at Fossalta Hemingway had been wounded not only in the legs but also in the scrotum/testicle area, a view that would help to explain Hemingway’s interest in—if not obsession with—castration, a condition which obviously poses a significant threat to masculine identity (“Hemingway” 213). Even if Hemingway had not been wounded in this area, he may nevertheless have seen other patients who had endured these kinds of wounds.

assumes the traditionally female role of nurse on those occasions whenever, as I have explained, he takes the temperatures of other patients for Luz, who, in preparation for Nick's operation, placed her lover in a sexually vulnerable position by giving him an enema ("they had a joke about friend or enema") (107). Nick's and Hemingway's post-op experiences are also similar: Nick, who must walk on crutches following his operation, makes a compact with Luz that, until he secured a "good job" back home, she "would not come home," and it was "understood he would not drink, and he did not want to see his friends or any one in the States." Hemingway likewise used crutches (as well as a cane) following his operation (Villard 43) and complied at least to a limited extent with Agnes's advice regarding the travel invitation he had received from Jim Gamble, in that Hemingway significantly curtailed his travel time in Italy in favor of returning to the States in order to initiate his career in anticipation of what he naively assumed would be his marriage to Agnes.⁵⁰

(5) The fifth common element of the two romances is that the male allows romantic illusions to conceal his male self, but then subsequently comes to believe that the essential function of women is for sex, a belief that is consonant with Carrigan, et al.'s observation regarding the need of contemporary males like Hemingway to shore up their masculinities through the subordination of women (113). Although in the early phases of their relationship, Nick enjoys both sexual intercourse and romantic love with Luz, after he learns of his lover's betrayal with the Italian major, Nick renounces romantic illusion but not sex, an alteration that is evidenced by his subsequent liaison with the department store salesgirl. Similarly, Hemingway—

⁵⁰ James Gamble had offered to take Hemingway on a tour of Europe, but Hemingway, apparently heeding Agnes's advice, travels only to Sicily with him (Lynn 89). Meyers suggests, moreover, that Agnes may have sensed that Gamble's fascination [with Hemingway] was based on a homosexual attraction to Hemingway" (*Biography* 40). See also Mellow (81-87) for more on Agnes's suspicions regarding Gamble's offer and for a summary of Hemingway's relationship with Gamble.

three months after learning about Agnes's engagement to her Italian officer—informed his friend, Howie Jenkins, in a June 15, 1919 letter that, “I set out to cauterize out her [Agnes's] memory and I burnt it out with a course of booze and other women and now it's gone” (*The Letters* 193).

(6) Sexual initiation constitutes the sixth common element of the two romances—yet another element that Hemingway and his contemporaries felt violates the male's need to preserve his masculinity against the potential threat posed by relationships with women. If we consider the consensus of critical opinion that Hemingway probably did not consummate his relationship with Agnes, then Nick's sexual liaison with Luz suggests at the very least a certain amount of wishful thinking on Hemingway's part; I feel, however, that Hemingway added the sexual dimension to the Nick-Luz relationship primarily in order to increase the severity of Luz's subsequent betrayal. There are, moreover, additional instances of Hemingway's sexual fantasizing about Agnes, instances when he seemed to be suggesting to his friends that he had in fact slept with her, as when he informs Bill Horne in a letter that he composes on the same day that he receives Agnes's dismissal letter: “You make love to a girl and then you go away. She needs somebody to make love to her” (*The Letters* 177). Indeed, and as I have demonstrated, this seems to have been Hemingway's strategy for rationalizing Agnes's dismissal: A woman's craving for sex outweighs whatever love she may have had for her absent male. In effect, Hemingway was suggesting that it was not his youthfulness or lack of manhood that was most responsible for Agnes's rejection, but rather his absence from her after he left Italy for home. In “Very,” sex is a significant aspect of Nick's relationship with Luz. Sitting on Nick's bed as she awaits his return, for example, Luz is described as “cool and fresh in the hot night,” and Nick, as I indicated, whenever he takes her patients' temperatures, “thought of Luz in his bed” (107).

Finally, reminiscent of the letter Agnes wrote to Hemingway from Torre di Moste on February 3, 1919 about the “desperate rush” she received from her “little tenente” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 159) is the “major of the battalion,” the officer who was quartered near Luz’s Pordenone hospital, the individual who “made love to Luz, and she had never known Italians before” (108).

(7) The seventh common element involves the homecoming of the male and the nature of his lover’s medical work—with the woman’s evolving medical career posing especial challenges to the male’s masculinity. We need to reconsider here the threat to masculinity that women represented to males after the nineteenth century, or, as Rotundo observes regarding males engaged in menial labor at the time, “women became an established part of their work world by the early twentieth century” (250). Not unlike the way Nick departs Italy from Genoa for America and Chicago (108), Hemingway left Italy from Genoa for America and Oak Park (Hemingway, “Letters” 194). Also, much as Hemingway’s narrator states that “Luz went back to Pordenone to open a hospital” (108), Hemingway had informed Jim Gamble in a letter dated March 3, 1919 that in “a God-forsaken joint called Terra de Mosta [*sic*] . . . [Agnes] is “running a visiting nurse field hospital” (*The Letters* 170). As previously noted, before his departure, Nick had promised Luz that he would find a job, that he would not drink, and that he would not see his friends upon returning home (107-08); Hemingway similarly informed Gamble in the aforementioned March letter that he was “working pretty hard with the typewriter” and “saving money” by “staying away from the ponies and having ones [*sic*] friends over seas” (*The Letters* 170-71).

(8) The eighth common element of the two romances is the failure of romantic love due to betrayal, which constitutes an obvious violation of the male’s pride in his masculinity. Luz’s betrayal of Nick in favor of her Caracciolo-like Italian major is foreshadowed early in the story

when the narrator informs us that the primary reason for Nick and Luz's desire to marry was "so they could not lose it," with "it" evidently referring to their mutual love and dedication to each other, a nearly palpable mutuality that made them feel as though "they were married" (107). Hemingway may have been recalling here Agnes's December 20, 1918 letter, in which, as I have pointed out, she expressed her anxiety about his imminent departure from Italy (Kurowsky, "Letters" 145). Much as Luz's betrayal is foreshadowed when we learn that "on the train from Padua to Milan they [Nick and Luz] quarrelled about her not being willing to come home at once" (108), in her dismissal letter, Agnes refers to her disagreement with Hemingway that they had endured "on that trip from Padua to Milan," a trip on which he had "acted like a spoiled child" after she "tried hard to make you [Hemingway] understand a bit of what I was thinking." (Kurowsky, "Letters" 163). Agnes, moreover, reminded Hemingway in her dismissal letter that they "always seemed to disagree, and then the arguments always wore me out."

A close comparison of the two respective dismissal letters suggests that—though Hemingway altered Luz's letter to Nick for artistic reasons—he could very well have had Agnes's letter in mind, if not opened in front of him (as Mellow noted), as he summarized the contents of Luz's dismissal letter. Luz, for example, in defining her relationship with Nick as "only a boy and girl affair" and "a boy and girl love"—is especially ironic, given the sexual nature of their relationship (108), and her definitions recall Agnes's observation in her dismissal letter that she saw herself as a surrogate mother to Ernest (Kurowsky, "Letters" 163). Hemingway probably reduced Agnes's age in his characterization of Luz to order to emphasize the severity of the latter's betrayal; that is, he disallowed Luz the same reason (age) for breaking her engagement with Nick that Agnes had used to justify her breakup with Hemingway. Luz also informs Nick that "she was sorry" for breaking off their engagement (108), an apology that is not unlike

Agnes's apologetic inquiry to Ernest: "So, Kid [,] . . . can you forgive me some day for unwittingly deceiving you?" and her guilt-edged confession—"I realize it was my fault in the beginning that you cared for me, & regret it from the bottom of my heart" (Kurowsky, "Letters" 163). Much as Luz believes as well that Nick "would probably not be able to understand" (108) her decision to break it off with him, Agnes, referring to her aforementioned quarrel with Ernest during their train ride from Padua to Milan, informed Hemingway that she had tried to get him to understand her view of their relationship, an attempt which may suggest that Agnes was unwilling even at that time to commit herself to returning home with Ernest (Kurowsky, "Letters" 163).

Both Luz and Agnes, moreover, speculate about the future in their respective letters. Luz is hopeful that Nick "might someday forgive her" (108); likewise, Agnes hoped that Hemingway would "be able to forgive" her (Kurowsky, "Letters" 164). Luz claims that her decision to break up with Nick "was for the best" (108), a claim that is not dissimilar from the way Agnes hoped that Hemingway would be able to forgive her after he "thought things out" (Kurowsky, "Letters" 163-64). Much as Luz reassures Nick that she "loved him as always" (108), Agnes admitted that she was "still very fond" of her "kid" Hemingway (163). Luz hopes that Nick "would have a great career" (108); Agnes similarly hoped that Hemingway would "be able to . . . start a wonderful career" (Kurowsky, "Letters" 163-64). Not unlike the way that Luz believes in Nick "absolutely" (108), Agnes too speculated that someday she will "have reason to be proud" of her former lover (Kurowsky, "Letters" 163). Luz delivers her coup de grace when she discloses that she "expected, absolutely unexpectedly, to be married in the spring" (108);⁵¹ Agnes likewise

⁵¹ Gerhard Pfeiffer asserts that "Luz's unforeseen pregnancy is the 'actual' reason for her (un)expected marriage" (100) and that "when we understand that it is a pregnant woman who finds herself jilted, Luz's predicament appears considerably bleaker than that of her rejected lover. . . . The fact that Luz has not only been deserted, but, metaphorically, provided with an illegitimate child, adds a sardonic edge to the

informed Hemingway, “then—& believe me when I say this is sudden for me, too—I expect to be married soon” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 163).

(9) The ninth common element of the two romances is the male lover’s post-relationship vengeful attitude towards his former lover, an attitude that enables the male to reassert his masculine dominance over her. As I have indicated, Hemingway informed Agnes’s friend, Elsie MacDonald, on the same day that he received Agnes’s dismissal letter that he hoped Agnes would fall down and break her teeth when she disembarked from her ship in New York (Villard 44). Moreover, although in his June 15, 1919 letter to Howie Jenkins, Hemingway expressed his sympathy for Agnes regarding her breakup with her Italian fiancé (news that she had evidently conveyed to Ernest in a recent letter), he also confessed to Howie that he was unable to help Agnes: “Had a very sad letter from Ag from Rome yesterday. She has fallen out with her Major. She is in a hell of a way mentally and says I should feel revenged for what she did to me. Poor damned kid I’m sorry as hell for her. But there’s nothing I can do” (*The Letters* 193). Similarly, Nick avenges Luz at least in part by not responding to the letter she had written to him, the one in which she related the news about her breakup with her Italian fiancé: “The Major did not marry her in the spring, or any other time. Luz never got an answer to the letter to Chicago about it” (108). As presented by Hemingway, there is perhaps a measure of justice in the fact that Luz is rejected by her fiancé after she had rejected Nick; in this sense, she is rejected twice—once by the Major and once by Nick. Those women like Luz or Agnes—those who betray their men, Hemingway seems to be suggesting—will be paid back doubly in kind.

punitive design of this piece of fiction” (101).

(10) The tenth and final common element of the two romances is the male's attempt to that is, the "power, prestige, privilege, and prerogative" as previously noted (Stoltenberg 41), recover his male self. His recovery would enable the male to regain his masculine superiority, which has been otherwise compromised through his relationship with his former lover. Even though Nick allows himself to become another type of victim by contracting gonorrhea through his sexual encounter with the department store salesgirl, the implication may be that it was nurse Luz who had transmitted the "disease of lust" to him. Moreover, Nick's sexual encounter, which illustrates his inability to completely isolate himself from the opposite sex, reflects Hemingway's attitude towards women who were often older than himself, in the months following his breakup with Agnes—a period of time in which Hemingway, according to Reynolds, "set about collecting a pride of mostly older women, who found him attractive" (*Young Hemingway* 61).

Hemingway tried to shore up his masculinity through his composition of this story during the spring of 1923 (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 125), only a few short months after his reception of Agnes's December 1922 letter (Reynolds, *First War* 216), a letter that, as Rena Sanderson has observed, "may have inspired Hemingway to write" this story ("Hemingway's" 12). Imaginatively reliving his romance with Agnes may very well have also been an effective way for Hemingway to confront psychologically the trauma that his breakup with Agnes had caused him.⁵² Furthermore, the publication of a story whose very brevity and sarcastic tone constitutes a form of dismissal and repression, may have afforded Hemingway the opportunity to

⁵² Regarding Hemingway's motivation for writing this story, Baker suggests that "writing it down was a way of getting rid of the dwindling remnants of his spite [towards Agnes] (*Ernest* 148). Donaldson agrees with Baker, observing that, "according to Hemingway's aesthetic canon, you could obliterate the memory of life's worst blows by writing about them" ("Jilting" 671). Donaldson also reports that this story "shows Hemingway attempting to cauterize the memory of Agnes as he moves, through three successive drafts of the story, toward a more personal yet more bitter vision of their relationship" ("Therapy" 99).

communicate to Agnes what had come to be his opinion of her, the nature of their past relationship and what he perceived to be her betrayal, and to express his own male self through his literary artistry. The story thus gave the young author the opportunity to try to prove to Agnes as well as to himself that he really did not need her anymore, and that Agnes herself was part of the “disease” called woman, an infection that he had contracted, albeit one, as it turned out for Hemingway, he would never be able to overcome.

Three additional motives for Hemingway’s writing of the story need to be noted here. First, it may be that Hemingway was attempting to make Agnes jealous by demonstrating to her that, like Nick, her rejection had freed him so that he could pursue relationships with other women. Another motive may have been that Hemingway wanted to demonstrate that Agnes’s (and women’s) fundamental motive for establishing and maintaining serious relationships with men was primarily for the purpose of sex. In this way, he was able to rationalize Agnes’s dismissal by suggesting that his departure from Italy prior to hers created a vacuum that had to be filled by someone else, that no other male could otherwise out-perform him in the realms of sex and romance. Finally, the story itself may have provided the means for Hemingway to avenge his former lover, especially by not only demonstrating the fact that Agnes had effected a terrible betrayal (thus eliciting sympathy for Hemingway himself as well),⁵³ but implying also

⁵³ Richard Peterson explains that the story’s conclusion expresses the “outrage, hurt, and sorrow, the cruelty of life and love, and the pathetic victim they make of one” (qtd. in Smith, *Reader’s* 28). Oldsey, on the other hand, asserts that “it is probably fair to conclude that the ending of the story reflects the author’s own personal bitterness, if not spitefulness” (*Hidden* 51). Similarly, Reynolds suggests that the story reveals the “residual bitterness Hemingway felt for Agnes and their aborted relationship” (*First War* 280). In discussing Hemingway’s final two drafts of the story, Donaldson proposes that many of the story’s revisions were “designed to sharpen awareness that the ‘he’ of the story has been done wrong. The deck has been stacked against Luz” (“Therapy” 102). Scholes, moreover, finds that “there are signs of anger and vengefulness in the text, too, that suggest not an omniscient impersonal author but a partial, flawed human being—like the rest of us—behind the words on the page” (43), and Meyers, in reference to this story as well as to *A Farewell to Arms*, observes that Agnes’s rejection “led to a desire for revenge . . . and a need to ‘show’ Agnes that he was worthy of her love” (*Biography* 41).

that he and Agnes had in fact engaged in sex during the time in which she was expected to perform her duties as a professional Red Cross nurse.

“Summer People,” which Hemingway composed in August, 1924,⁵⁴ is reflective, like “Very,” of male fears regarding the threat of women to masculinity, but this story also constitutes the author’s personal fantasy about being in complete control of the three most important young women of his life—that is, Agnes, Hadley and Katy Smith—not long after Hemingway had taken on the responsibilities of marriage and fatherhood.⁵⁵ Another possible motive for Hemingway’s writing of “Summer” may be that it offered a way for him not only to bolster, through his imagined suppression of women, his masculinity, but also his confidence in his writing ability, for it was at this time that he was preparing to submit *In Our Time* for publication. In the story, for example, the narrator explains that Nick Adams “knew he was going to be a great writer” (497).⁵⁶ Whatever Hemingway’s motive or motives, this story, which was based primarily on the author’s relationship with Katy Smith during his post-war summers at Walloon Lake (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 230-31), demonstrates that, by August of 1924, Hemingway—as a result of having endured Agnes’s rejection and the challenges of Hadley’s

⁵⁴ Reynolds reports that “as soon as he [Hemingway] got it [‘Summer People’] started, he knew he would never print it, but he wrote it anyway,” and that “what matters most is that he wrote about her [Katy Smith] in the Paris heat of 1924, wrote a story [‘Summer People’] that he could show no one, certainly not Hadley. It was his private erotica, truly unpublishable” (*Paris Years* 230). Hemingway wanted to hide the story from Hadley perhaps because she had competed with Katy for Hemingway’s affection, and “even if he changed the names, Hadley would know it was Kate” (231). For more on Hemingway’s relationship with Katy Smith, see Mellow (134-40) and Lynn (129).

⁵⁵ In a letter Hemingway wrote to Gertrude Stein in mid-August, 1924, he informed his famous tutor of his completion of “Summer People” (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 231); Bumby, his first child, had been born on October 10, 1923 (xv, 149).

⁵⁶ See Reynolds, *Paris Years*, 230-31.

pregnancy and her loss of his manuscripts—had defined his sexist attitude about women, an attitude that reflected the confidence and sense of autonomy that the author had established through his awareness regarding the inner strength of his male self.

Although rejection and revenge are not essential themes in “Summer People” as they are in “Very,” Nick Adams nevertheless is once again Hemingway’s alter ego.⁵⁷ Nick asserts his male self and its powers in order to circumvent the dangers inherent to true love and romantic illusions, dangers that Hemingway felt rendered males vulnerable to a woman’s control. And though Nick’s knowledge about the male self enables him to selfishly manipulate and dominate women, his goal of becoming a great writer is one that he knows will require more experience as well as the development of additional talent—ingredients for success which he apparently feels can be acquired through additional employments of the male self. In this story, the male self is closely associated with masculine exploitation of women—not only for the purpose of sexual pleasure—but also as a way to expand the breadth of life experience in order to promote if not ensure a successful writing career. Such control, as I have noted, was implicit in the thinking of many males of Hemingway’s generation: Half of his generation’s heroes’ relationships, as Theodore Greene discovered, “were portrayed in terms of their dominance (as opposed to love, help, cooperation, and so forth)” (qtd. in Rotundo 238).

It would be very difficult to argue that Hemingway did not base the Kate Smith of this story on the real Kate Smith, the dynamic young woman Hemingway had courted in the years 1920-1921.⁵⁸ Even though we may nevertheless be tempted to speculate that the fictional Kate is

⁵⁷ Werlock reports the following: “That Hemingway closely identified with the fictional Nick is underscored in his repeated use of the name ‘Wemedge’—Hemingway’s own high school nickname—as an alternative name for Nick (127).”

⁵⁸ See Werlock, who states, “Kate of ‘Summer People’ is directly drawn from Hemingway’s friend Kate Smith, later Kate Dos Passos” (126). See also Lynn, who suggests that Hemingway’s relationship with

a composite of Katy, Agnes, and Hadley, what is most relevant here is that Nick's attitude towards Kate is a reflection of Hemingway's general attitude towards women at the time he was writing the story in that women must be suppressed in order to not only construct masculinity but also in order to maintain males' acquisition of "the concrete benefits and privileges that power over women provides them" (Pleck 19-20). No matter what Hemingway's feelings may have been for the real Katy Smith and no matter what hers may have been for him, in this story, Nick, who harbors no love for Kate, uses her body not only for his own pleasure but also as a source for the sexual experiences that he can later use in his fiction; Kate, on the other hand, not only desires sex with Nick, but also loves him, which is what she confesses to him immediately upon her arrival at their forest rendezvous: "I love you so, Wemedge" (502). Although she initially arouses Nick sexually at the dock by touching his back with her foot (499), and in the back seat of Bill's car solidifies her rendezvous with Nick by whispering, "in about an hour, Wemedge" (500), she is behaving exactly the way that Nick wants her to behave. As Abby Werlock observes, "to Nick at this stage, technique, not love, is the way to 'make her do it'" (126).

Hemingway based Odgar,⁵⁹ Nick's chief rival for Katy's affection, on another one of his Walloon Lake companions, Carl Edgar, a young man who "was assiduously courting Katy Smith" (Mellow 37). As Nick's foil, Odgar is alienated from his male self, maintaining a naïve

Katy Smith "probably began in the summer of 1920" (128), and that "it is also possible that Hemingway and Katy continued to be more than just friends all through the fall of 1920 and into the early months of 1921" (129). Robert Trogdon, however, reports that Hemingway "transformed his fishing trips with Bill Smith and others and his relationships with Kate Smith and Marjorie Bump during the summers of 1919 and 1920 into the subject matter of 'Big Two-Hearted River,' 'Summer People,' 'The End of Something,' and 'The Three-Day Blow'" (lxv). Peter Griffin notes that "all over Walloon Village and Horton Bay, the gossip had it that Ernest and Kate Smith were lovers, that they met at night in fields to make love" (131). Gioia Diliberto, though pointing out that the real Katy Smith once "denied that she had slept with Ernest," also reports "evidence of sexual tension, if not actual sex," between Katy and Hemingway (51).

⁵⁹ According to Mellow, Hemingway "swiftly christened" Edgar as "Odgar, in life and in his short stories" (38).

faith in love and being essentially ignorant of the importance women place on sex as well as the strategies and techniques necessary in order to persuade them to engage in it. As the narrator remarks, “Odgar could never get it and it meant everything in the world to him” (496).⁶⁰ Historically speaking, Odgar is representative of the Victorian era’s version of manhood, a period of time in which, as psychologists such as G. Stanley Hall believed, “civilization was becoming weak and that powerful manhood, as represented through . . . self-restrained manliness, was becoming impotent” (qtd. in Bederman 79). Although Erik Nakjavani believes that Odgar represents a “displaced father figure” (“Embodied” 125), I feel that Nick’s foil may more accurately be seen as a reflection of Hemingway’s own lack of knowledge about women prior to, as well as during, his romantic relationship with Agnes. As I have shown, Agnes’s rejection was especially devastating for Hemingway, because before his romantic involvement with her, he had had no meaningful romantic experiences with women. Moreover, Odgar (like the naive, pre-Agnes Hemingway, but unlike Kate and Nick), is isolated from nature. As Nick swims in the lake, for example, Odgar speaks to Kate in an “unnatural” voice (498), and always has “that *fried fish* look in his eye every time he looked at Kate” (496, my emphasis), an image which suggests that—due to Odgar’s love for Kate, his ignorance of her true feminine nature, and his inability or unwillingness to seduce her—Odgar is both neutralized as well as fascinated by the mystery of women, which in turn neutralizes them.⁶¹ His desperate need for sex, moreover, is

⁶⁰ Erik Nakjavani, in his very insightful essay, suggests that Odgar’s chief problem is his repressed sexuality, and that “this repression makes it impossible for him to enter into any direct sexual contact with Kate as a free and independent partner who seeks his own pleasure” (“Fire” 131).

⁶¹ Nakjavani points out that the metaphor, “fried fish look,” stands for a dull, dead stare that negates the living essence of the fish as a symbol of life or Eros. Thanatos replaces it. The upshot of all this is the revelation that Odgar’s love for Kate is insufficiently *embodied*. This lack of embodiment of love repulses Kate, who is well grounded within the forces of Eros, which

emphasized by the two operations he had for varicocele (496), or swelling of the spermatic cord in the scrotum, a malady which results in infertility,⁶² a condition that underscores Odgar's inferiority to Nick in terms of masculinity. Though it is uncertain whether the real Carl Edgar had ever endured such operations, Hemingway himself, as I have explained, may have endured wounds to his own scrotum as a result of the mortar explosion at Fossalta. The narrator is also very deliberate in emphasizing Odgar's lack of manhood: Nick, for instance, believes that Odgar would "kill himself" (497) if he found out that "Nick could get it [sex with Kate] if he wanted it" (496). And since Odgar had informed Nick that he would like to be J. P. Morgan (499), Nick subsequently mocks him at Kate's farmhouse by calling him "*Morgen*" (501), an allusion to the legendary King Arthur's evil half-sister, Morgana La Fey.⁶³ For Odgar, then, manhood consists of what Nick (like Hemingway) perceives as antithetical to a male's autonomy: inferiority, effeminism, love, marriage, civilization, law (ironically, Odgar warns Nick about "The *Mann Act*") (500, my emphasis), and checked emotions—in other words, complete ignorance of the male self and its powers.

dwells in the body. Odgar's *disembodied* love for Kate defines itself as a highly abstract but ever-present primary narcissism, which she subconsciously understands as frightening in its regressive movement. ("Fire" 133)

⁶² Nakjavani, citing *The Oxford Book of Medicine*, explains that varicocele is "the commonest identifiable condition of infertility in the male" ("Fire" 131). He also reports that "Odgar's becoming 'walleyed' and sounding 'unnatural' in Kate's presence and his having suffered from varicocele offer significant indices to his psychological profile in the narrative. . . . These psychosomatic maneuvers create impediments to the regular flow of libidinal energies. They connote an overflow of libidinal energies . . . which . . . neutralize each other" (132).

⁶³ Brian Rise notes that Morgana's name in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini* is spelled "Morgen."

Nick, closely in touch with his male self, however, exudes a confidence, especially with regard to women, a confidence that Odgar sorely lacks, and it is appropriate that whereas the effeminate Odgar is associated with the artifice of society's mores, manly Nick is associated with the same frontier-like world of nature that we observed in previous stories. Much as Hemingway, in response to Agnes's rejection, was compelled to plumb the depths of his male self to find the strength necessary to relieve his anguish and suffering, Nick too reaches into the depths of his male self to maintain the inner strength he needs in order to manipulate and exploit women like Kate. The story's first scene may appear on first reading to be simply about Nick attempting to cool himself off on a "hot night" at Hortons Bay by placing his arm in a spring, one which is located halfway between the town and the lake (496). Although Nakjavani points out that "the spring . . . serves as a metaphor . . . for the feminine body and potential relief from sexual tension" ("Embodied" 124), I feel, however, that here Nick, at least on a metaphorical level, is attempting to renew his contact with the powers of his male self: "In the dark Nick put his arm down into the spring but could not hold it there because of the cold" (496). Indeed, though water, as I noted near the end of "Indian Camp," may represent the male self in Hemingway, the coldness of the water here also represents the challenges or impediments to making and/or maintaining such a connection. Nick's desire to make such contact is also suggested as he muses, "I wish I could put all of myself in there [the spring]. I bet that would fix me." Later, however, after taking a drink from the spring, "he felt all right" (497). Nick, in other words, has indeed connected with his male self, at least he made enough of a connection in order to re-inspire his confidence. Moreover, the spring is associated here with Nick's career goal: "He knew he was going to be a great writer. He knew things and they [other people] couldn't touch him. Nobody could." Hemingway is emphasizing that Nick, who, by discovering

this special strength deep within himself, has been able to set himself apart from others—in particular, of course, others like Odgar, for Nick is aware that he himself is inwardly strong enough to be independent and ultimately successful in any endeavor. Unlike Odgar, Nick does not feel that he must comply with conventional morality, for he feels as if he is virtually alone in his knowledge of the male self, whose strength enables his individualism: “He, Nicholas Adams, could have what he wanted *because of something in him*. . . . He wished he could give it to Odgar, or tell Odgar about it. You couldn’t ever tell anybody about anything. . . . Anybody, anywhere” (497, my emphasis). Nick, though, is also aware that he requires additional life experience in order to write “like Hardy and Hamsun” (497), two writers who have often been associated with man’s relationship to the natural world—both within and without the self.⁶⁴

Having renewed contact with his male self’s powers, Nick decides to walk down to the dock to swim, although earlier he “did not want to go down to the dock” because “he did not want Kate with Odgar around” (496). In other words, in Nick’s mind the dock is associated with convention and the illusions of romance upon which losers like Odgar depend.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, when Nick arrives at the dock and is greeted enthusiastically by his friends, he feels similar to the way that a successful author might feel about devoted his readers: “Nick felt good. It was fun to have people yell at you like that” (498). The young man’s preference for diving over swimming—“he did not care anything about swimming, only to dive and be underwater” represents Nick’s need to maintain contact with his male self, the self that, again, will provide

⁶⁴ Much as “Hardy’s novels . . . show the forces of nature outside and inside individuals combining to shape human destiny” (“Thomas” 1851), a number of Knut Hamsun’s chief works express a “deep aversion to civilization and the belief that man’s only fulfillment lies with the soil” (“Knut”).

⁶⁵ Nakjavani observes that “what particularly irritates Nick is Odgar’s sexual longing, which comprises a kind of oxymoron in its emotional intensity and overt sexual passivity” (“Embodied” 124).

him with the inner strength that he requires in order to control women and achieve literary success. Nick's aquatic activities, moreover, are reflective of the enthusiasm for outdoor sports such as swimming, as I earlier noted, that Hemingway developed during his youth as a means towards constructing his own masculinity (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 27). Nick submerges himself in the water a total of four times, with each submersion representing his solitary struggle to maintain his connection with his male self's powers. Nick's first submergence is suggestive of a trip into the depths of one's subconscious: "He was in the water, smoothly and deeply, with no consciousness of the dive" (498). Nick immediately comes to the surface and then floats "face down," a position which suggests that he is planning to make another dive. When Nick sinks back down into the water, "quickly into cool, then cold," we learn that, "as he neared the bottom it was quite cold," and even though he nevertheless manages to float "down gently against the bottom," he touches the marly "his toes hated" just before he springs to the surface (498). Though Nakjavani correctly observes that Nick's "gradual descent intimates his awareness of different levels of the psyche" ("Embodied" 124), the young man's deep descent here more specifically is best seen to represent his inward journey into his male self, with the cold water reminiscent of the cold spring water earlier. Having made brief but significant contact with the lake's deepest regions, then, Nick subsequently feels, at least for a few moments, "comfortable" as he "barely" paddles around on the surface of the water. In other words, even brief immersion in his male self's depths provides Nick with some degree of confidence and contentment.

Soon, however, perhaps in order to escape the sound of Odgar's "unnatural voice," and while managing for a few moments to keep himself "just below the warm surface water," Nick sinks down again, though this time, his inability to see in the darkness impedes his descent ("it

was no good”), and prompts him to reflect, “how much fun it was to swim underwater and how little fun there was in plain swimming” (498). Metaphorically, the pleasure of making contact with the “cool” and “cold” waters of one’s male self is preferred over negotiating the warmer waters near the surface—preferred, that is, over an Odgar-like alienation from one’s male self. After Nick climbs up onto the dock, Kate and Odgar, respectively, encourage him to perform a “good dive,” “a noiseless one” so, like a young writer who successfully entertains and pleases his readers by going deep within himself in order to employ the powers of his male self, Nick, after traversing the length of the diving board, executes what Kate calls an “absolutely perfect” dive (499). What is most significant here, however, is that, while returning to the surface following his dive, Nick fantasizes about how great it would be to “have Kate down here” (498): In other words, he is speculating about having sex with her underwater. Yet, once he is sitting up on the dock, and notwithstanding Kate’s caressing of his back with her foot, Nick dismisses the possibility of having underwater sex: “Gee, how it would be, you couldn’t ever get a girl though, a girl couldn’t go through with it, she’d swallow water, it would drown Kate, Kate wasn’t really any good underwater. . . . there wasn’t anybody but him that was that way underwater. . . . nobody knew about the water but him” (499). Sexist Nick, with his special knowledge of women, concludes that all women, including Kate, are prohibited by their nature from participating in activities that are reserved strictly for those males who know about, and have faith in, their male selves.

Nick, unlike poor Odgar, knows that he is in complete control of Kate. His assumption—“now Nick could get it [sex with Kate] if he wanted it” (496)—suggests that even at the spring earlier Nick may have already been anticipating a sexual tryst with his girlfriend. Like Hemingway himself evidently believed, Nick knows that his inner resources provide him with a

special knowledge and confidence regarding the opposite sex, and a very important part of this knowledge is his belief that women desire sex at least as much as men, and a comprehension of such knowledge is a starting point towards the male's seduction of women: "He [Nick] could make her [Kate] do it all right. Instead of curling up hard and slipping away she would open out smoothly, relaxing, untightening, easy to hold," and "it was liking, and liking the body, and introducing the body, and persuading, and taking chances, and never frightening" (497). Even though having sex is one of Nick's chief goals, the trappings of marriage are to be avoided at all costs, an attitude suggested when Nick informs Odgar and Kate that, though he says that he plans to marry a mermaid someday, he "wouldn't let her," that is, anyone, become "Mrs. Wemedge" (499-500). In other words, a mermaid would satisfy his sexual needs—that is, without the complications inherent to human relationships and without the responsibilities inherent to marriage. Moreover, mermaids, who, of course, spend much of their lives in the depths of the sea, may prove to be compatible with great writers like the kind that Nick hopes to be—those, that is, who must continually plumb the depths of their male selves in order to achieve greatness. Overall, Nick's exclusion of women as he dives and swims by himself at the lake while expressing his prohibitive attitude towards traditional marriage, is consonant with Messner's observation that sports is "an institution that helps to construct the current gender order" (174) and Connell's contention that sports include the "exclusion or domination of women" (*Masculinities* 54).

Hemingway underscores Nick's unique autonomous status, one that is owing to his knowledge of the male self, by emphasizing the young man's isolation as he journeys with the Ghee across the frontier-like landscape from Kate's house to his own cottage. It is only Nick, for example, who sucks the juice from a Duchess apple, one that he takes from a tree in the orchard

that he and the Ghee encounter, and only Nick who pauses at the bridge where a “cold mist” had accumulated “in the hollow where the road crossed the creek” (501). The apple episode also suggests that selfish Nick takes from others exactly what he wants—whatever will benefit himself without having to give anything back in return. After sucking out the apple’s juice, for instance, the young man spits out the pulp, an act which, metaphorically, means that he will take from Kate whatever he wants, that he will sexually exploit her before he discards her. Nick’s encounter with the hollow’s “cold mist,” on the other hand, metaphorically represents his desire to once again submerge himself into the depths of his male self. His isolation is suggested when tension with the Ghee develops as Nick turns down his friend’s request to walk further with him a rejection prompted most likely because Nick is already anticipating his forest rendezvous with Kate—before he concedes to accompany the Ghee as far as the cottage. Soon after their arrival there, the Ghee—who has been “looking at the lunch Nick had wrapped up,” that is, the food that Nick plans to take to his rendezvous with Kate—twice advises his friend not to be a “damn fool,” advice which indicates not only that the Ghee (unlike Odgar) is fully aware of Nick’s rendezvous with Kate, but also, as Joseph Flora explains, that Nick would be foolish by taking the risk of impregnating Kate (186). However, Nick’s reassurance to his friend—“that’s all right, Ghee” (501)—suggests that Nick has already decided on the lovemaking strategies that he will employ in order to avoid conceiving a child on his girlfriend.

Nick’s exploitation of Kate is obvious in the forest scene. The young man’s connection with his male self, which provides him with the confidence that enables his manipulation of attractive young women like Kate—to have his way with them, then abandon them without any impositions or limits to his freedom. Nick’s domination of Kate is a good example of Barbara Ehrenreich’s assertion that “in so much of our culture . . . masculinity has meant freedom,

motion, and adventure, while women stood for entrapment, stasis, and civilization” (286). The most significant aspect of the forest scene, however, is the nature of the sexual acts that Nick chooses to enjoy with Kate. At first, he and Kate engage in conventional sexual intercourse, with Nick on top: “He was hot against her cool body, hunting for it, then it was all right” (502), with the first “it” pronoun here (if not the second) a reference to Kate’s vagina, and without altering his position, Nick is able to touch his nose “along the line of her neck, down between her breasts.” Although there is no evidence that either Nick or Kate attains orgasm in this position, we are nevertheless provided with convincing evidence that Nick attains orgasm after he “moved Kate over,” that is, after he prepares her for what may be read as anal intercourse, a preparation that is consonant with Nick calling his companion “Butstein” three times earlier in the scene:

He searched, a little awkwardly, then found it [Kate’s anus]. He put both hands over her breasts and held her to him. Nick kissed hard against her back. Kate’s head dropped forward.

“Is it good this way?” he said.

“I love it. I love it. I love it. Oh, come, Wemedge. Please come.

Come, come. Please, Wemedge. Please, please, Wemedge.”

“There it is,” Nick said. (502, my emphasis)⁶⁶

Though Kate’s dramatics here reconfirm for Nick his assumptions about women and their sexual desires, most important is that by reaching orgasm through anal intercourse, Nick is relinquishing his personal responsibility. Unlike Hemingway, who during the time he was writing “Summer” was struggling with the responsibilities of marriage and fatherhood, Nick

⁶⁶ Anal penetration may be suggested here by Nick’s awkward search for Kate’s orifice, by his holding her against his body with his hands “over her breasts,” by kissing her back, and by asking her if it’s “good this way” (502). See also Mellow 278.

avoids pregnancy, a condition of which he had been reminded when Kate arrived at their rendezvous site carrying two blankets—"in the dark it looked like some enormous pregnancy"—and which had caused Nick to feel "shocked" (502). Even after being penetrated in her behind, Kate—ever the submissive plaything of Nick's—wants to know if she has pleased him: "Was I bad, Wemedge?" she inquires (503), and in keeping with Nick's philosophy about "making it all right afterwards," he reassures her that, "no, you were good" (503). For Nick, Kate is little more than a plaything, someone he can use for his own pleasure while showing no regard for either her feelings or her reputation.

Nick's confident exploitation of Kate is further emphasized after their sexual intercourse. Once Nick has taken what he wanted, he is anxious to return to the cottage, whereas Kate is reluctant to return home, remarking to Nick, "I wish we could sleep here all night" (503). Her wish suggests that, in addition to enjoying sex with Nick, she also desires his companionship—if not ultimately his hand in marriage—which was foreshadowed earlier at the lake when she had confessed to him, "I'd like to be Wemedge" (499). Now, however, Nick tries, albeit in vain, to persuade Kate to return home, that she's "got to get back to the house" and that she "won't be comfortable" if she sleeps in the forest all night (503). Nick concedes only to eat the lunch that he had brought with him and to bestow upon his companion a good night kiss—again, perhaps in keeping with his "making it right afterwards" philosophy (497)—before he sets out on his return journey to the cottage and his room. Though it may be, as Werlock has suggested, that Kate has a "strength and a self-possession from which Nick could learn" (130), Hemingway provides no evidence that suggests that selfish Nick loves her or anyone else (other than perhaps himself), nor does he even pretend to love anyone: For Nick, as was essentially the case for Hemingway in the aftermath of Agnes's dismissal, "loving was frightening" (497). Clearly a sexist if not

misogynist male, Nick sees himself as autonomous, and the source of his autonomy is the dynamic powers of his male self, which is underscored near the end of the story when Nick, resting in bed after having stolen up to his room, found that he was “good in bed, comfortable, happy, fishing tomorrow, he prayed . . . to be a great writer” (503). As Flora points out, “Nick’s first allegiance is to his art. Writing will be his true lover” (186). Moreover, Kate has served, as Werlock notes, as merely a “necessary step on his [Nick’s] way to acquiring the knowledge essential to being a great writer” (130). Thus, comfortable in bed, Nick—like his story’s author who, as Comley and Scholes report, “was always in flight from fatherhood because fatherhood was death” (17)—is clearly self-satisfied, his rendezvous with Kate having reconfirmed his belief in himself and in the powers of his male self, such that, once again, “he, Nicholas Adams, could have what he wanted *because of something in him*” (497, my emphasis).

Although Hemingway evidently assumed, as Reynolds suggests, that when he started writing “Summer People,” “he would never print it” (*Paris Years* 230), and even though he had employed memories of his post-war summers at Walloon Lake for this story, Nick’s confidence—as shown primarily through his ability to manipulate Kate—is also reflective of the confident attitude towards women that Hemingway had acquired from the inner strength he had discovered with Agnes’s dismissal. This story, moreover, is also indicative of the way that “hegemonic masculinity,” as Carrigan, et al., explain, “is centrally connected with the institutionalization of men’s dominance over women” (113). It may be that the author was fantasizing about the way that the inner strength he had discovered in response to the rejection of his first true love had fueled his self-defensiveness and confidence to the point that he would never again allow himself to be hurt and humiliated by any woman. He would, nevertheless, continue to mine his past experiences with the opposite sex as a means of expressing his attitudes

towards women and romantic relationships. As I will show next, in his first two novels, *The Torrents of Spring* and *The Sun Also Rises*, the sexist Hemingway will once again mark the difference between those males who render themselves as fools by not establishing contact with the male self, and those who render themselves as autonomous by establishing and maintaining such an important connection.

CHAPTER 4

POST-WAR FOOLS AND MALE SELF RECOVERY: *THE TORRENTS OF SPRING* AND *THE SUN ALSO RISES*

Not unlike the six short stories that I examined in my previous two chapters, *The Torrents of Spring* (1926) and *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) are two early novels that reflect Hemingway's reliance on his romance with Agnes for source material and include male characters whose excessive emotional dependence on women and sexuality has concealed their male selves so that their behavior is rendered immature and foolish. Whereas in the satirical *Torrents of Spring*, where the romantic foolishness of Scripps O'Neil and Yogi Johnson only increases, in *The Sun Also Rises* Hemingway's disabled war veteran, Jake Barnes, manages—through his renewed contact with his male self—to overcome his foolish emotional dependence on Brett Ashley, so that near the end he is able to perform heroically as he rescues Brett in Madrid following her abandonment by Pedro Romero.

These two early novels also include some of the same methods of masculinity construction that we saw in the six short stories—methods that include the construction of masculinity through relationships with people of color and women, as well as masculinity construction through participation in modern wars, sports and frontier settings. A crucial difference between the males of the two novels and their masculinity construction, respectively, however, is that, unlike Jake Barnes, Scripps O'Neil and Yogi Johnson, instead of controlling and dominating racial minorities or women in order to construct their masculinities, often allow themselves to be manipulated either by minorities or by women, or, if not, they develop a relationship with them that is not markedly dissimilar from identity merger. It is especially significant that we recognize the comedy that can be associated with Scripps and Yogi, for Hemingway creates an emotional distance between the reader and these two foolish characters primarily through a

variety of comic techniques so that we can judge them as males who are isolated from their male selves.⁶⁷

The Torrents of Spring

Illustrating Peter Messent's assertion that "romance . . . proves disastrous to the male protagonist's sense of self" (88), Scripps and Yogi permit their romantic illusions and sexual proclivities to prevent them from constructing their respective masculinities through the domination of their women. Rather than construct his masculinity through a dominance of the naked Indian squaw as the reader might expect, Yogi is so overwhelmed by his lust that he strips off his clothes and undertakes a journey by foot with her, an act that suggests identity merger. Although Yogi's performance of what may very well have been heroic actions as a soldier during World War I—participating in a conflict that "served as . . . 'test of manliness'" for Hemingway's generation (Badinter 20)—undoubtedly promoted Yogi's manhood, his masculinity was decimated when he discovered his Parisian lady's abandonment. Additionally, the foolish behavior of Yogi and Scripps contrasts with what has traditionally functioned, as I have pointed out, as an appropriate setting for masculinity construction: the frontier-like landscape of northern Michigan. Unlike the western, which "always tells the same story, of an incessant pursuit on the part of men in search of their virility" (Badinter 131), Hemingway's satire features two romantic fools who often subvert their own masculinity by undertaking journeys in pursuit of, or in the company of, women.

⁶⁷ Robert Gajdusek points out that "the *Torrents* text is filled with self-parody and self-mockery; pomposity, self-righteous absurdity and mad preening, insanity and inanity, cant and rant also mock the literary world and his [Hemingway's] own pretensions within it. Scripps and Yogi are like two clowns in a barrel, and within affectation and romantic posturing, the ideal and the real are tumbled, and 'the business of literature' is excoriated and revealed" (158).

The masculinity construction of Scripps and Yogi in *Torrents of Spring*, moreover, is essentially a reversal of Hemingway's attitudes towards race, women, war, and the frontier, that are evident in the short stories—a reversal that generates humor and satire. Yogi's failure to reestablish his masculinity through his relationship with the Indian squaw does not reflect what was Hemingway's and his generation's overall attitude towards Native Americans and other minorities. As Michael Reynolds observes, "like most Oak Parkers, Hemingway was an unconscious racist who went out of his way to appear unprejudiced" (*Young Hemingway* 163), and, as Bederman reminds us, "by the 1880s middle-class Americans were discovering an extraordinary variety of ways to link male power to race" (21). Also, whereas there existed in Hemingway, as Scott Donaldson suggests, the fear that "love would deprive him of his own individuality, of his own inmost self" (*Force* 174), in *Torrents*, both Scripps and Yogi do not hesitate to compromise their respective individualities through the nature of their obsessive romantic pursuits. Hemingway's and his Harold Krebs's heroic acts in war notwithstanding, Yogi's presumed heroism in battle does not generally represent the author or his generation's disillusionment with the Great War, and the fact that, as I have noted, Yogi's masculinity is subverted by his Parisian lady's abandonment clearly suggests the fragility of such heroism. Finally, the northern Michigan woods, which Hemingway employed as a significant source of masculinity construction, becomes in *Torrents* an ironic setting for the romantic antics of Scripps and Yogi, especially given the comic nature of Scripps's journey with his bird companion from Mancelona to Petoskey and Yogi's bizarre embarkation from Petoskey with his Indian squaw near the novel's conclusion.

Even though, as Robert Coltrane observes, "Scripps O'Neil and Yogi Johnson are parodies of Bruce Dudley and Sponge Martin in [Sherwood Anderson's] *Dark Laughter*" (153),

and although Hemingway's narrator denies using himself as the basis for any of the characters in *Torrents* (69),⁶⁸ there is ample evidence in the text which suggests that Hemingway modeled Scripps and Yogi on himself and that these two characters respectively constitute two important aspects of Hemingway's personality: the artistic and the military. First, the fact that Yogi and Scripps share a number of important similarities indicates their common source. According to Judy Henn, these "two unheroic heroes, . . . who often seem interchangeable, save for their disparate levels of sexuality" (6) are "so egocentric that neither can envision the other's quandary, nor imagine a woman's 'truths'" (14). Referencing Thomas Pughe, Henn also notes that Scripps and Yogi are "wise fools" or "child-men" (7), two picaros who are each engaged in a search for "the perfect woman" (11). Scripps journeys from Mancelona to Petoskey, where he establishes liaisons with Diana and Mandy, whereas, near the end, Yogi, accompanied by his naked squaw and her papoose, is walking north along railroad tracks that lead from Petoskey to Mackinaw City and St. Ignace. Scripps and Yogi, moreover, are both rejected by their lovers and, as I have noted, each compromises his masculinity by proving himself vulnerable to women. Scripps, after enduring the abandonment of first wife Lucy, allows himself to be easily seduced, first by Diana and then by Mandy; Yogi, rendered impotent by his Parisian lady's dismissal, has his sexual vitality restored immediately upon his initial encounter with the naked Indian squaw. Also, Scripps and Yogi each consider suicide: Thinking about what he should do

⁶⁸ In the P. S. near the end of Part 3, Hemingway's "Author" asserts the following:

Anyway, H. G. Wells asked us if perhaps our reader would not think too much of this story was autobiographical. Please, reader, just get that idea out of your head. We have lived in Petoskey, Mich., it is true, and naturally many of the characters are drawn from life as we lived it then. But they are other people, not the author. The author only comes into the story in these little notes. (69)

Though we can debate the degree to which Hemingway identified with this "author," Hemingway's disclaimer here provokes the larger question of whether writers are able to transcend their own experiences in their creation of literary works.

if his money runs out, Scripps muses, “when that was gone he could always put an end to things” (19), and the narrator explains that Yogi, in despair over his impotency, “had been on the verge of suicide. Self-destruction. Killing himself” (79). The similar characteristics shared by these two foolish males, then, suggest that their characters were based on one individual, and that individual, of course, is their creator, Ernest Hemingway.

Additionally, Scripps and Yogi each share similarities with Hemingway. Like the latter, who at the time of the novel’s composition had already had a number of his short stories published, Scripps, as he informs Diana, has had three stories published (18): one by George Lorimar (14) in *The Saturday Evening Post* and two others in the *Dial*, two magazines that had rejected Hemingway’s submissions (Mandel 22, 46). Could it be that Hemingway was suggesting that these two magazines were only good for publishing the works of fools like Scripps? Much as Hemingway’s maternal and paternal grandfathers had fought in the Civil War with the Union army (Mellow 6-7), General Sherman is able to burn down Scripps’s parents’ house because, according to Scripps’s mother, her husband, a Confederate officer, was not there to defend it (15-16). This incident is also reflective of Hemingway’s disillusionment with his own father, for, as Kert notes, “the doctor’s strict precepts could yield to his wife’s demands or simply be forgotten out of moral fatigue” (44). Unlike Bruce Dudley’s mother in *Dark Laughter*, a woman who devoted a significant portion of her life to sewing, lace-making, and reading (93, 99), Scripps’s Italian mother believes that her son will someday become an accomplished classical composer (11), a belief reminiscent of Grace Hemingway, who, as a young woman, had pursued a career as an operatic singer and had subsequently encouraged Ernest’s interest in music by taking him as a boy, for example, to the Chicago opera (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 150).

The primary similarity between Hemingway and Yogi Johnson, however, is that both are World War I veterans whose masculinity was promoted in battle. As I have shown, participation in modern warfare, through its exclusion of women, defines “not only who *does* what but who *is* what” (D. Morgan 166). Like Hemingway, who undoubtedly had had his masculinity boosted by enduring multiple wounds from the mortar round and the machine-gun fire at Fossalta, Yogi Johnson had also been wounded in the war. At first, for example, Yogi declines the invitation of his two Indian companions to play pool, because, as he informs them, “my right arm was crippled in the war” (59). The four phases of a soldier’s progressive wartime development (56–57)—bravery and a sense of immortality, the fear of death, wounding, and “doing good deeds” that Yogi also relates to his two Indian friends—can be traced back to comments Hemingway made in letters to his family while he was recovering from his wounds in the Milan hospital. In a letter dated August 18, 1918, for instance, Hemingway promoted his own bravery as he described the “good deed” he performed immediately following his wounding—how those who initially treated his wounds “couldn’t figure out how I had walked 150 yards with a load [a wounded Italian soldier] with both knees shot through and my right shoe punctured two big places” (*The Letters* 131). In his subsequent letter of September 11, 1918, Hemingway’s reassurance to his father regarding his safety suggests the young man’s belief in his own immortality and betrays his confidence that he will continue to perform good deeds during the war: “Anyway dont [*sic*] worry about me because It [*sic*] has been conclusively proved that I cant [*sic*] be killed. And I will always go where I can do the most good you know. And thats’ [*sic*] what we’re here for” (140). Although Hemingway’s comments in these letters do not suggest a progressive development, they nevertheless demonstrate that the author’s personal

experiences may very well have been the basis for the four phases of a soldier's development that Yogi recounts to his Indian companions.

Furthermore, Scripps's successive relationships with Lucy, Diana, and Mandy, are reflective of Hemingway's relationships with Agnes, Hadley, and Pauline, respectively, three women whose maturity often posed significant threats to the author's masculinity construction. It may be argued that for his characterizations of Lucy and her daughter Lousy, Hemingway had been recalling his relationships in Petoskey with fourteen-year-old Grace Quinlan, whom, according to James Mellow, Ernest had nicknamed "Sister Luke," and seventeen-year-old Marjorie Bump, for whom Hemingway would wait outside of her school (107), a practice that is not dissimilar from the way that Scripps, as he contemplates Lousy's capacity for learning, pauses outside of her school (6). There is, however, no evidence—similar to Scripps's habit of getting drunk with Lucy—of Hemingway's engagement in frequent drinking bouts with either of these two teenage girls, not to mention that neither one of them is an "old woman" like Scripps's wife (4, 6). Although Miriam Mandel feels that "Lousy recalls Sponge Martin's daughter, Bugs" (41), it is unlikely that Hemingway was thinking only of *Dark Laughter* for his characterizations of Lucy and Lousy. In Anderson's novel it is the husband, Bruce Dudley, who, without warning, abandons wife Bernice, a talented, liberated woman whose achievements as a journalist have severely challenged her husband's masculinity, and "who had thrown aside the possibilities . . . of womanhood" (224), but in *Torrents of Spring*, it is Lucy, of whose interests and talents little is revealed other than her excessive drinking and her singing a song that Scripps taught her (4, 6-7), who, without warning, abandons her husband, who, upon arriving in Petoskey, feels compelled to ask himself, "why had Lucy left? What had become of Lousy?" (12).⁶⁹ Though

⁶⁹ Hemingway's narrator explains that "after Scripps and his old woman had been out drinking on the railroad line for three or four days, he lost his wife. He didn't know where she was" (4). The empty

Hemingway's narrator does not provide us with a reason for Lucy's abandonment of Scripps,⁷⁰ nevertheless, if we consider that both Scripps's wife and his daughter share the same name—"Lucy O'Neil"—we can speculate that, through his merger of these two characters and by assigning the bizarre nickname of "Lousy" to Scripps's daughter, Hemingway may have been commenting on Agnes and what he saw as her emotional abandonment of him.

The great quantities of alcohol that Scripps and Lucy consume suggest that Hemingway was not only using Sponge Martin's relationship with his wife as the basis for Scripps's relationship with Lucy, but also that he may have also been recalling the drinking that he and Agnes had engaged in during his recovery in Milan—especially if we regard Lucy as Agnes's fictional representative. Participating in drinking bouts with women represented a challenge to a male's masculinity in the early years of the twentieth century, if only because such drinking with the opposite sex would violate what Elizabeth Lunbeck calls a "form of masculine resistance to feminization" (qtd. in Kimmel, *Manhood* 124). Hemingway had nevertheless presumably employed his recollections of his drinking in Milan in "A Very Short Story" and would again in *A Farewell to Arms*,⁷¹ but in *Torrents* the amount as well as the frequency of the drinking in

house to which Scripps returns supports the view that Lucy had abandoned her husband prior to Scripps undertaking his journey to Petoskey. As Mandel notes, "when he [Scripps] misplaces her [Lucy] after four days of drinking . . . , he leaves Mancelona" (41).

⁷⁰ Henn speculates that "by placing Lucy chiefly in a domestic scene, Hemingway mocks the traditional identification of women with hearth and home. It may be that only by drinking can Lucy overcome her distaste with being forced into that domesticated role" (11), and "the tracks indicate Lucy's desire to flee which she does—presumably taking Little Lucy with her—when Scripps's lack of understanding is too much to bear" (12).

⁷¹ In "A Very Short Story," for example, the narrator implies that Nick and Luz, along with the "others"—presumably staff and patients—have had a party on the hospital roof, for, as the narrator explains, after the "searchlights came out," everyone except the two main characters "went down and took the bottles with them" (Hemingway, *Short Stories* 107). In Chapter 20 of *A Farewell to Arms*, after the horse that Catherine and Frederic bet on finishes "fourth in a field of five" and the lovers move "out to the paddock," Catherine asks Frederic, "wouldn't you like a drink? We could have one out here and see the

which Scripps and Lucy engage can be seen as a satirical reflection of Hemingway's own drinking with Agnes. Scripps, for instance, looking out the window of the pump-factory, recalls, "with his wife in Mancelona Scripps often got drunk. . . . Sometimes they drank for a week at a time" (4). Henry Villard describes the drinking Hemingway and Agnes engaged in at various times during Villard's own convalescence with Hemingway at the Red Cross hospital in Milan: "I noticed that the Hemingway stamina was being bolstered by a bottle of cognac or some other spirituous liquor, hidden under his pillow," and "Hem didn't hesitate to point with pride at what he liked to call his army of 'dead men,' empty bottles of brandy, vermouth, Cointreau, or plain 'red ink' stashed away in the big oak armoire" (21). Although Agnes expressed concern on occasion that Hemingway sometimes drank too much—in her letter of December 20, for example, she advised him not to "lap up all the fluids in the Galleria" (Kurowsky, "Letters" 145)—her diary entries nevertheless demonstrate that she herself was no teetotaler during the time that she was administering to Hemingway in the hospital. In her September 16 entry, for example, Agnes mentioned "another little party" at the hospital, a gathering that was apparently attended by both patients and staff: "We played games, drank wine & danced & had a really good time" (Kurowsky, "Diary" 79). Also, she began her September 23 entry, "we had some party tonight!" (81), a reference to an event in which the attendees, who included five aviators, enjoyed "Asti Spumante" and "Cognac" (82). Villard and Nagel note, moreover, that "there was no prohibition against wine in the nurses' quarters downstairs, and plenty of drinking must have occurred when outsiders were introduced as guests" (275n33). Agnes's October 5 diary entry suggests that she was also not averse to having a drink with Hemingway in public, as she described how, one day,

horses." Although Frederic responds, "I'll get them," Catherine gestures for a boy to bring the drinks over to their table, where, according to Frederic, "we had a good time" (31-32).

she, her friend Cavie, Hemingway, and a Lt. Lewis “go for a drive” in the park, where each “had a vermouth” (Kurowsky, “Diary” 85). To suggest that Hemingway may have based the excessive drinking of Lucy and Scripps on his own drinking with Agnes may seem as speculative at best; however, if we factor in the other similarities between Lucy and Agnes, my suggestion becomes more plausible.

“Old” Lucy’s abandonment of Scripps (4, 7) was based not only on Grace’s eviction of Ernest from his family’s Walloon Lake cabin (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 135-38), but also, most likely, on Agnes’s dismissal of Hemingway, who was seven-and-a-half years her junior. It may be that Hemingway was recalling the emotional trauma he had endured upon learning of what he felt was Agnes’s abandonment as he described Scripps returning home from Lousy’s high school, only to find an empty house and then calling out his wife’s name with “a note of dumb terror in his mouth” (7). Later, the phallic-like frozen bird that Scripps finds on the railroad tracks outside Mancelona could very well represent metaphorically Hemingway’s memory of his unconsummated relationship with Agnes. Scripps placing the bird inside his shirt in order to keep it warm (8) may suggest that he is not only attempting to preserve his memories of his lost wife, but could also suggest his need to revitalize his love life, which would not be dissimilar from Hemingway, who may have subconsciously desired to both preserve his memories of Agnes and revitalize his own love life following her rejection. Even though Scripps tries to convince himself that Lucy and Lousy are “all behind him,” he nevertheless frequently informs others—including the telegraph operator (14), Diana (twice) (18), Mr. Shaw (30), and the drummer (36)—that “my wife left me,” a habit that may very well represent Hemingway’s inability to completely shed the psychological and emotional impact that resulted from his breakup with Agnes. It is also significant that Scripps departs from *Mancelona*, in that, if we

assume that the town represents manhood and the male self, or at least the potential of discovering them, then, Scripps, by leaving *Mancelona*—ostensibly in order to begin a new career while continuing to be vulnerable to the sex drive and romantic illusions—is, metaphorically, distancing himself further from his male identity. Hemingway, in other words, is spoofing here the inability of males like himself to consistently maintain their masculine autonomy—their faith in the male self—by creating men such as Scripps whose inability to discover or rediscover their male selves only serves to promote their excessive emotional dependency on women.

Hemingway's satire of sex and romance continues as Scripps meets and then, comically, almost immediately marries Diana, the elderly waitress. Although Hemingway may have based the latter's character in part on Gemma in Turgenev's *Torrents of Spring* and in part on, according to Rena Sanderson, Grace Hemingway and Gertrude Stein (qtd. in Henn 13), Diana's character's principal source was most likely Hemingway's first wife, Hadley, who was the author's most significant love interest following his breakup with Agnes. Soon after Scripps and Diana marry, the two newlyweds return (of all places) to the beanery, whereupon Scripps informs the drummer that, back in Mancelona, his wife left him, which prompts Diana to tell her new husband, "don't let's talk of that any more, Scripps, dear. . . . You've told that story so many times" (36). Much as Diana does not wish to hear her husband talk about Lucy, so too, according to Peter Griffin, was Hadley often similarly annoyed with her husband, for, during Hemingway's conversations with his first wife, "Agnes Kurowsky's name came up all too frequently" (qtd. in Brian 141). In fact, Scripps's habit of informing others of his first wife's desertion parallels Hemingway's inability to forget Agnes following her dismissal of him. In the same way that Diana is described as "an elderly waitress" (33-36), so too did Hemingway over the course of his first marriage evidently come to regard Hadley as old, an attitude that, as

Michael Reynolds explains, was Hemingway's estimate of his wife not long after he meets Pauline: "Hadley, tightly corseted now at thirty-four, seemed much older [to Ernest] than Pauline at thirty" (*Homecoming* 7). Diana's original home, the Lake Country of England, where the "wind [is] blowing at Windermere" (37), recalls not only Wordsworth's home (Gajdusek 168), but it also links Diana to Hadley, because Ernest and his first wife had spent their honeymoon at the Hemingways' Windemere cottage (Kert 97, 103). Moreover, the absurd story Diana relates to Scripps about her mother's abduction from a Paris hotel and her mother's subsequent replacement with a French general (20-22)—an event that occurred because, as the narrator informs us, Diana's mother's contraction of bubonic plague had threatened the success of the Paris Exposition (89-90)—is a story reminiscent of Hadley's long-term care of her ailing mother, Florence, who, shortly before Hadley meets Hemingway late in the summer of 1921, died of Bright's Disease (Kert 85-86).

Also, Diana's comical obsession with holding onto Scripps, who, like Turgenev's Sanin, wastes little time in breaking his commitments, is Hemingway's spoof of Hadley's attempt to hold together her marriage with Hemingway as she was becoming aware of Ernest's and Pauline's mutual interest in one other. Hemingway's first wife's concern over Pauline's pursuit of Hemingway is clearly represented in Diana's anxieties over Scripps's pursuit of Mandy: "Was that the way to do? Was that the thing to do? Go after another woman's man? Come between man and wife? Break up a home?" (42). Diana's subsequent concession that "she had lost him" and "it was over" (84), moreover, anticipates what would be Hadley's agreement to grant Hemingway's request for a divorce well before the conclusion of the hundred day period that Hadley had instituted in order to test Hemingway's and Pauline's love for each other (Kert 190). Not dissimilar from the way that Diana loses her husband to Mandy, so too would Hadley lose

her husband to Pauline, who is—at least from Hemingway’s perspective—not unlike the beans at Brown’s Beanery: “THE BEST BY TEST” (16).

Hemingway’s employment of Agnes for Lucy’s characterization and Hadley for Diana’s characterization is also supported by the fact that, not unlike the way that Agnes and Hadley shared important similarities,⁷² so too do Lucy and Diana share important similarities. Lucy and Diana, for example, are each significantly older than Scripps, a fact that parallels the age differences respectively between Agnes and Ernest and that of Hadley and Ernest. Lucy and Diana also constitute examples of mothers who abandon their daughters: Much as Lucy abandons without warning her husband and evidently her daughter, Lousy,⁷³ during the Paris Exposition, Diana, as she informs Scripps, visited her mother’s hotel room, where “instead of Mummy there was a French general in the bed,” and despite Diana’s subsequent efforts to locate her lost parent, Diana’s assumption that her mother may have abandoned her is underscored when the elderly waitress concludes her story by telling Scripps, “I never saw my mother again” (21-22). Thus, two important similarities between Diana and Lucy include their advanced ages and their respective abandonments of their daughters.

Perhaps an even more striking similarity between Lucy and Diana, however, is the origin of their respective names. Not only were the names for Luna, the Roman goddess of the moon

⁷² One could also make a good case for claiming that for his first marriage Hemingway had substituted Hadley for Agnes. Jeffrey Meyers cites a number of significant differences between the two women but also notes that “both women were considerably older than Hemingway; both were extremely attractive in a similar sort of way: with soft features and good figures; both wrote the same kind of conventional love letters” (*Biography* 61). Meyers, moreover, observes the following: “With Hadley, Hemingway achieved everything he had hoped for with Agnes: the love of a beautiful woman, a comfortable income, a life in Europe” (62). Also, Denis Brian reports that “Hadley Richardson was almost a carbon copy of Agnes von Kurowsky—within two months of her age, same height, similar blue eyes, and wry sense of humor” (34).

⁷³ As Scripps gazes at Lousy’s high school windows, he assumes that his daughter “was in there learning,” but we never see her in the school, and it seems unlikely that Lousy could have beaten Scripps back home (6-7). So, if Lucy had taken Lousy with her, then there is obviously no abandonment.

(“Luna”), and the name Lucy (“Lucy”) each derived from the same Latin term, “lux,” which means “light,” one of Luna’s alternate Roman names was Diana (Zimmerman 32). Furthermore, the name “Lucy” can be linked to Agnes Kurowsky. Luz, the nurse-lover of wounded veteran Nick Adams in “A Very Short Story,” Hemingway’s highly autobiographical account, as I have explained, of his own doomed wartime romance, was, in the author’s initial drafts of the story, originally named “Ag,” a nickname that Agnes, according to Villard (28), was called by her wartime patients. “Luz” is also a Spanish name that was derived from the same Latin root as “Lucy,” that is, “light” (“Luz”). Therefore, we can draw a clear line from Agnes to Luz to Lucy, three women whom Hemingway associated with abandonment and/or betrayal. Moreover, it may be the case that Hemingway chose the names “Luz” and “Lucy” for his two fictional characters because one definition of “light” is “sexually promiscuous.”⁷⁴ By employing the names of Luz and Lucy—two names, when spoken, sound like “lust”—Hemingway may have been attempting to rationalize Agnes’s dismissal as well as her engagement to her Italian lover by emphasizing her inability to control her sexual desires, an inability that, historically, males have cited in regards to women purportedly since the dawn of Western civilization.⁷⁵ In other words, as Hemingway saw it, the main reason Agnes rejected him was not because of deficiencies on *his* part, but because of *her* sexually promiscuity. He may also have selected these two names for their association with “lunacy” and “lunatic,” an association that could have been a way for him

⁷⁴ After Bassanio compares Portia to sunlight in Act V of Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice*, his wise, witty bride responds, “let me give light, but let me not be light, / For a light wife doth make a heavy husband / And never be Bassanio so for me” (5.1.141-43).

⁷⁵ In Kate Millett’s *Sexual Politics*, a landmark study of men’s subjugation of women, Millett accounts for the traditional association of women with sex by pointing out that two of the Western tradition’s most influential stories—the Pandora myth and the Biblical myth of the Fall—“condemn the female through her sexuality and explain her position as her well-deserved punishment for the primal sin under whose unfortunate consequences the race yet labors” (52).

to suggest that some type of mental deficiency caused Agnes's desertion—or he may have been thinking of one of the narrower definitions of “lunatic,” in which case, he would have been suggesting that Agnes's decision to replace himself with her Italian fiancé was “wildly foolish” (“lunatic”).

Much as Diana is a composite of a number of real and fictional women, so too did Hemingway evidently employ aspects of Turgenev's Maria Polozov, Anderson's Aline Grey, as well as his own memories of Marjorie Bump for a portion of his characterization of Mandy (Coltrane 154, 157). Her characterization, however, also shares important similarities with Hemingway's new love interest at the time he was writing *Torrents*, namely, Pauline Pfeiffer, a young woman who, “throughout the ten days of *Torrents* creation, . . . dropped by his [Ernest's] apartment regularly to visit with Hadley and to hear the latest chapter of the satire (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 335). Not unlike the way that Hemingway “decided that she [Pauline] was a good literary critic,” a woman “who knew what she liked and why, the difference between trash and quality in prose” (Kert 170), so too does Mandy demonstrate her vast knowledge of literature, for example, as she provides Scripps with her account of Henry James's death (38-39). Scripps is so inspired by her story that he speculates about the advantages that Mandy could offer to his own literary career: “What a background she must have, that girl! What a fund of anecdotes! A chap could go far with a woman like that to help him!” (39). Likewise, according to Reynolds, was Pauline—who understood the fundamental need of Hemingway's to shore up his masculinity—motivated to promote his literary career: She “not only loved Ernest but also recognized that his was an enormous talent which needed breathing room, was ready to give up her professional life and her soul, if need be, to marry this man and forward his career” (*Homecoming* 7). Mandy's appearance is also reminiscent of Pauline's. When Scripps first encounters Mandy, for instance,

he gazes at “the buxom, jolly-looking” relief waitress (35), the girl who would soon be “standing robust and vigorously lovely in her newly starched apron” (36). According to Kert, Pauline, during the time that she was pursuing Hemingway, “was slender and well built” (170), and, consonant with her career as fashion reporter and publicist for *Vanity Fair* (171-72), she had developed into an “attractive woman who looked younger than thirty in expensive, well-fitting clothes and fashion-model make up” (Reynolds, *Homecoming* 6). Thus, similar to the way that Hemingway replaced his lost Agnes with Hadley and then subsequently replaced his ageing Hadley with the younger, more attractive and more literary Pauline, so too does Scripps replace “old Lucy” with the elderly Diana and then subsequently replaces the latter with the younger-looking, more attractive and more literary Mandy. Scripps, however, is ultimately the real loser because, as he tries to persuade himself that a woman like Mandy will be enough to satisfy him, he also senses that there remains something that is missing from his life: “My woman. My woman. You are my woman. She is my woman. It is my woman. My woman. But, somehow, he was not satisfied. Somewhere, somehow, there must be something else. Something else” (86). Perhaps Hemingway here is satirizing males like himself whose desire for the opposite sex is insatiable, especially if the individual has lost the only person (Agnes or Hadley) who had originally fulfilled him romantically if not sexually.

Yogi Johnson’s character is also a reflection of the impact that Agnes’s memory exerted on Hemingway, for his character provides additional commentary on the way the male self may be suppressed and a male’s masculinity challenged as the result of the his relationship with a woman who has jilted him. Yogi, as I mentioned earlier, fails to adhere to an important tenet of masculinity construction, which is, as Reeser points out, “to control, dominate, or rule over the other” (149). Although through Yogi’s rendition of his romance with his Parisian lady

Hemingway was evidently parodying Anderson's account in *Laughter* of war veteran Fred Grey's Parisian courtship and subsequent marriage to Aline, Yogi's chief setback during the war was not his wounding, but rather his strange relationship with his Parisian lady, a relationship that constitutes Hemingway's satirical rendering of his own major romantic setback during the war, that is, his doomed relationship with Agnes.

Assuming that Yogi had employed the inner strength of his male self during one or more of the aforementioned four phases of a soldier's development during wartime, however, his male self was nevertheless soon suppressed, along with his sexual potency, by his ill-fated romance with the beautiful woman whom he meets while on leave in Paris, where, as the veteran explains to his two Indian companions, a "very beautiful thing happened to me" (80). Yogi's time on leave, "two weeks that were to have been the happiest weeks of his life" (3), unfortunately resulted, however, as he informs his two Indian friends, in "the ugliest thing that ever happened to me" (79). Yogi's story of his Parisian lady's rejection not only "recalls Sanin's relationship with Maria" in Turgenev's *Torrents*, a liaison that constitutes Sanin's betrayal of Gemma (Coltrane 158) and Aline Grey's relationship with Bruce Dudley in Anderson's *Laughter*, a liaison that constitutes Aline's betrayal of Fred, but it also parallels Agnes's liaison with her Italian fiancé, Domenico Caracciolo, a relationship that constituted what Hemingway regarded as Agnes's betrayal. Yogi's recollection of being solicited on the street by his Parisian lady and subsequently taken to a "mansion" where this "very beautiful thing happened"—that is, where he presumably had engaged in sex with her and may have fallen in love with her (80)—is not unlike Agnes metaphorically taking Hemingway to her Cupid-like "mansion" of love. Although, as I have pointed out, the critical consensus is that Hemingway most likely did not

consummate his relationship with Agnes, he nevertheless—especially in his fictional representations of his relationship with Agnes in works such as “Very” and *A Farewell to Arms*—fantasized about having sex with her, and he most certainly, as I have also pointed out, had fallen deeply in love with his wartime nurse. Yogi’s memory of his Parisian lady informing him before he departs her mansion that she “would never, that she could never, see me again,” moreover, recalls Agnes’s letter of dismissal, in which she informed Hemingway that, given her engagement to another man and due to the differences between her own and Hemingway’s ages, she could never be romantically involved with him again (Kurowsky, “Letters” 163).

Despite his Parisian lady’s insistence that her and Yogi’s relationship could never continue, Hemingway’s spurned comic lover’s desperate quest through Paris to find his lady not only parodies Fred’s desperation near the end of *Laughter* as he begs Aline not to leave him (307), but also Hemingway’s own fantasy to regain the love of his lost Agnes, even years following their breakup. In “The Snows of Kilimanjaro,” a story that Hemingway completed in 1936, some seventeen years after his romance with Agnes, Harry Walden, another of Hemingway’s fictional alter egos, remembers writing a letter to “the first one, the one who left him” and how “he would follow a woman who looked like her in some way” along the streets of Paris (*Short Stories* 48). Harry’s flashback here is not only similar to Yogi’s quest through Paris to locate his mansion lady, but it is also most certainly a reference to Agnes, the former lover with whom Hemingway had corresponded on at least one occasion during the time that he was married to Hadley (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 125).

When a guide eventually takes Yogi to an “old mansion” and Yogi sees, through a slit in a wall, his Parisian lady enter a room with a “young British officer,” whereupon the two of them begin undressing (80), Yogi’s bizarre discovery here of what he evidently regards as his lady’s

betrayal is also a satirical representation of what Hemingway presumed to be Agnes's betrayal, with the British officer in the role of Agnes's Italian fiancé, Lt. Caracciolo. Also, Henn's observation, that "Yogi's discovery of this betrayal of his innocent trust appears to be the cause of his impotence" (15), parallels the sense of violated trust that Hemingway endured when Agnes rejected him: As Yogi confesses to his Indian companions, "how I have suffered I cannot tell. But I've suffered, boys, I've suffered" (81). Yogi's miraculous ability to overcome the impotence that his Parisian lady's rejection had caused him and relinquish his disavowal of women, however, which resulted from the naked Indian squaw's appearance in the beanery, is a comic rendering of Hemingway's claim, in his June 15, 1919 letter to Howie Jenkins, that, through his "course of booze and other women," he had successfully expelled the remnants of his romantic relationship with Agnes (*The Letters* 193). Of course, Hemingway never did completely rid himself of his memories of Agnes, and whatever excessive drinking or womanizing he may have done, like Nick with his salesgirl near the end of "Very," such extreme behavior would have not only suppressed his male self but it also would have indicated to him that his first true love's rejection had indeed marked him indelibly for life. That Yogi emerges from his sexual dormancy because of the presence of a naked Indian woman may also be Hemingway's way of ridiculing the literary theory of naturalism, one that includes the "primitive, savage, barbarian, passion, [and] impulse" qualities that Hemingway's generation believed should be encouraged in males (Rotundo 253) to enhance their masculinity and his generation's practice of suppressing women and Native Americans for the purpose of masculinity construction.

Additionally, when Hemingway's narrator informs us that it was in St. Ignace where (similar to Yogi) "a strange and beautiful thing had once happened to Oscar Gardner, a laborer

who works beside Yogi in the pump-factory” (52-53), Hemingway was most likely once again recalling his friend, Carl Edgar, whose last name’s letters are contained in “Gardner.” The author may have also been recalling a phase in his own life when he felt Odgar-like (not unlike the Odgar of “Summer People”), a phase when he had enjoyed his beautiful experience with Agnes but had suppressed his male self and his sexual desire during his romance with the nurse, a woman, whose first name’s letters, as I explained in Chapter 2, are contained in “St. Ignace,” the town to which Dr. Adams, in “Indian Camp,” refers when he informs the Indian mother about the forthcoming arrival of a nurse (Hemingway, *Short Stories* 69). Not only does Yogi’s restored sexual capacity serve to distance him further from a potential re-connection with the male self in which he may have temporarily engaged during the war until his rejection by the Parisian woman, but his journey towards St. Ignace with the naked squaw Indian near the end may very well represent Hemingway’s desire to re-establish his romantic liaison with Agnes.

There is, then, no stopping these spring torrents of lust and romance for foolish individuals such as Scripps and Yogi, these emotionally dependent males who allow their male selves to be suppressed by women. The “something else” that is needed (86) by these males, however, is not more women but autonomy, a stable identity that could be realized, for example, through contact with the male self. By making fun of males who are too quick to shift from one relationship to the next with little or no control over themselves or their women, and by creating characters who are representations of himself and Agnes, Hadley, and Pauline, Hemingway was exposing not only his capacity for humor, but also his capacity for self-effacement, a quality of his which has been often overlooked by critics and biographers. Hemingway may have also been attempting to exorcize what he must have known as his own tendency to re-initiate his habit of becoming emotionally dependent on a member of the opposite sex.

Moreover, by making fun of such great authors as Ivan Turgenev, Sherwood Anderson, and Henry James, Hemingway was not only promoting his own writing talents and thereby preserving his own ego, but he was also killing off his literary forefathers with the weapons of satire and parody, true to the pattern outlined by Harold Bloom in *The Anxiety of Influence*. It be as well that Hemingway had been originally so impressed with Turgenev's *Spring Torrents* and Anderson's *Dark Laughter* because he sensed in these works a reflection of his own most significant expatriate experience: A young man in a foreign locale (Sanin/Fred/Hemingway/Yogi in Germany/Paris/northern Italy/Paris) falls in love with a woman (Gemma/Aline/Agnes/Parisian lady), then rejection and/or betrayal destroys their relationship (Sanin of Gemma with Maria/Aline of Fred with Bruce/Agnes of Hemingway with Domenico/the Parisian lady of Yogi with the British officer), a plot which will become, in *A Farewell to Arms*, an American, Frederic, in Italy falling in love with British Catherine who "betrays" Frederic by becoming pregnant and then dying in childbirth. But perhaps most significantly, with *Torrents*, Hemingway was continuing his quest to demonstrate to individuals such as Agnes the artistry which emerged with the help of the great source of strength he had discovered deep within himself, so that even a slim volume like this one which he composed in a mere ten days, became, in and of itself, finally, additional testimony to what he saw as the strength of his own male self.

The Sun Also Rises

In *The Torrents of Spring*, Yogi Johnson, war veteran, and Scripps O'Neil, writer/lover, represent major aspects of Hemingway, and in *The Sun Also Rises*, a novel that Hemingway was writing at the same time as *Torrents*, the author also conceived characters who reflect important aspects of himself. He employed his 1925 summer experiences in France and Spain for much of

Sun's material, and he also continued to employ elements of his romance with Agnes in his depiction of Jake Barnes, a wounded veteran journalist like himself who attempts a reconciliation with his physical handicap and his love wounds through the rediscovery of a male self which had been suppressed initially through Jake's wartime romantic breakup. Indeed, it should not be very surprising that the plot of this, Hemingway's first full-length, serious novel, follows essentially the same pattern of the satirical "A Very Short Story," the author's most autobiographical work prior to *The Sun Also Rises*, for in this novel, disabled veteran Barnes during the war had fallen in love with an attractive young nurse named Brett Ashley, a woman upon whom he is emotionally dependent until he manages to recover his autonomy near the end of his story.

Jake's construction of his masculinity reflects a number of the major ways in which Hemingway and other males of his era constructed their masculinity, especially through their oppression of minorities and women, and through their participation in various outdoor sports. As I will show, in *Sun* Hemingway constructs the masculinity of both Jake and Romero not only through their connections with their respective male selves, but also through their oppression of the Jewish boxer-writer, Robert Cohn. Consonant with Todd Reeser's assertion that "masculinity will always need more others in order to define itself" (38), Jake and his fellow white males boost their masculinities by rejecting Cohn and his excessive dependence on Brett, a rejection that reflects the predominant views of Hemingway and his generation, whose attitudes towards Jews, as I have shown, were undoubtedly affected by the perceived threat that the increased numbers of immigrants into the U. S. posed for white males (Kimmel, *Manhood* 85). Moreover, according to Todd Onderdonk, despite Robert's boxing prowess, "Cohn the Jew, the alien, can only imitate the behavior of a 'real' American man" (74). Brett, however, through a good portion of the novel, does not facilitate the construction of the masculinity of Jake and his

white friends: As perhaps our most striking fictional representation of the Jazz Age's liberated woman, "that fast-talking, cigarette-smoking libertine known as the Flapper" (Kimmel, *Manhood* 197), Brett—despite her profound frustration over her love for the impotent Jake—is very much in control of herself and her male companions until she develops a passion for the handsome Romero. Although most of Hemingway's narrative features a reversal of the traditional male-dominated romantic relationship, near the novel's end, as I will demonstrate, Brett's rejection by her young bullfighter, along with Jake's contact with the inner strength of his male self, serve to restore the traditional, superior role of males involved in such relationships.

With the important exception of Cohn, masculinity, however, is much more easily constructed by Jake and his companions through their participation in a variety of sports, which served to fill the masculinity construction vacuum left after the end of the war. Hemingway's enthusiasm for boxing is evident, for example, in Cohn's exaggerated utilization of the sport in his desperate attempts to shore up his masculinity; Hemingway's passion for fishing as well as for masculinity-producing, frontier-like environments is reflected in Jake and Bill's fishing expedition on the Irati; and the author's enthusiasm for water sports is exemplified in Jake's swimming and diving efforts at San Sebastian, where he also encounters bicycle racers who are engaged in another sport that Hemingway came to love during his residence in 1920s Paris. The sport that is most strongly associated with masculinity construction in *Sun*, however, is the bullfight or *corrida de toros*, the traditionally masculine ritual represented in the novel primarily through Jake's aficionado knowledge, and, of course, through the dynamic matadorial talents of Pedro Romero. Hemingway's fictional bullfighter, moreover, can be seen on one level as a Hispanic version of the classic American western hero who often exemplifies, as Jane Tompkins explains, "self-discipline, unswerving purpose; the exercise of knowledge, skill, ingenuity, and

excellent judgement; and a capacity to continue in the face of total exhaustion and overwhelming odds” (qtd. in Stein 62). The bullfight ritual in this novel is also associated with masculinity construction in terms of performance, a literary theory that is considered by many contemporary theorists as the most significant source of masculinity construction. As Judith Butler has noted, “identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results” (25), a process that is exemplified in the manner in which, according to Thomas Strychacz, “Hemingway’s male characters are constituted as men through their public relationship with an audience rather than through achieving autonomy; and by performance rather than by a process of internal transformation” (*Theaters* 8). Indeed, Hemingway employed his knowledge about a variety of sports as he composed *Sun* in order to construct the masculinity of a number of his novel’s male characters.

Even though critics have often briefly noted Hemingway’s use of Agnes as the basis for Brett’s wartime character,⁷⁶ they have also been too anxious to define the novel as a roman a clef, that is, a work that was based almost exclusively on Hemingway’s experiences at the 1925 Pamplona fiesta; or they have briefly noted Hemingway’s employment of Pauline Pfeiffer, Grace Hemingway or himself for the creation of Brett’s character; or they have focused primarily on the literary influences on various aspects of the novel. The roman a clef critics argue, for example, that Hemingway based Jake on himself, Brett on Hemingway’s fiesta flame, Duff

⁷⁶Mark Spilka, for example, in “Jake and Brett: Wounded Warriors,” after pointing out the similarities between Jake’s meeting Brett in a British hospital and Hemingway’s meeting Agnes in the Milan hospital, observes that, “this prefiguring of the plot of *A Farewell to Arms* is no more than a background notation in *The Sun Also Rises*; but it does remind us of the emotional damage Ernest had sustained from his rejection after the war by Agnes Von Kurowsky and his complicity in that rejection” (176). In *Hemingway’s Quarrel with Androgyny*, Spilka also recognizes the role that Agnes played in Hemingway’s construction of Brett’s character, but he makes only a passing reference to the fact that Jake and Brett had “met each other in a British hospital where Brett worked as a nurse’s aide, just as Ernest had met Agnes at a Milan hospital where she worked as an American Red Cross nurse” (200-01).

Twysden, Robert Cohn on his literary friend Harold Loeb, Pedro Romero on Cayetano Ordonez (also known as Nino de la Palma), Frances Clyne on friend Kitty Cannell, and Bill Groton on friends Donald Stewart and Bill Smith.⁷⁷ Linda Wagner-Martin, however, challenges this view by asserting that *Sun* reflects Hemingway's frustration over his inability to conduct an affair with Pauline Pfeiffer, who once observed in a letter to Ernest that the novel, "so far as we are concerned, . . . is out of our lives" (*Literary Life* 63). Noting Brett's masculine attributes, Mark Spilka compares her to Grace Hemingway ("Hemingway and Flaunteroy" 348), and Kenneth Lynn observes that, in Brett's "inability to accept Jake as he is and live with him simply because she loves him, in her raging need to fornicate at no matter what cost to the feelings of others, and in her unquenchable unhappiness, Brett was Hemingway" (325). Bertram Sarason notes the similarities between Harold Loeb and Robert Cohn: "Loeb, like Cohn, had edited an avant-garde magazine, written a novel, gone off to New York, returned to Paris, quarrelled [*sic*] with a so-called mistress, admired the romantic novels of W. H. Hudson, had an affair with a titled English lady, and raised a row with some of her male friends at Pamplona where they had all gone to see the bullfights" ("Hemingway" 9). Although critics have identified the intertextual influences on Hemingway's construction of Jake's and Brett's respective characters, these same critics, unfortunately, have made virtually no mention of Agnes. Kathleen Morgan, for example, believes that "Brett is remarkably similar to one of the oldest female characters of western literature, Homer's Helen of Troy" (169). Even though Hemingway himself denied Michael Arlen's direct influence on his writing,⁷⁸ Lynn reports that the earliest reviewers of *Sun* noted

⁷⁷ See, for example, Philip Young (85), Matthew J. Bruccoli (*Fitzgerald* 6, 34), Kenneth Lynn (296), Scott Donaldson (*Force* 32), and Jeffrey Meyers (*Biography* 156, 595n34).

⁷⁸ In a letter to Maxwell Perkins dated November 16, 1926, Hemingway asserted that he had "never read a word of Arland [*sic*]" (*Selected Letters* 224), and in a subsequent letter to Perkins dated December 7,

that Brett was “an imitation of the devil-may-care heroine of Arlen’s *The Green Hat*” (325), and Spilka provides additional support for Arlen’s influence on her characterization (*Quarrel* 205-08). Whereas Wolfgang E. H. Rudat observes that Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby* was one of Hemingway’s important inspirations for *Sun* and that Brett was based at least in part on *Gatsby*’s Daisy Buchanan (*Rotten Way* 67-91), James Plath sees *Sun* as a “parodic” version of *Gatsby* and compares (albeit briefly) Brett with Daisy (271). Both Linda Wagner-Martin and Peter L. Hays discuss the influence of Henry James’s *The Ambassadors* on *Sun*: Wagner-Martin compares Jake to Lambert Strether and Brett with Marie de Vionnet (*Literary Life* 54), the “seductively beautiful prototype of the *femme du monde*” (“Intertextual” 178), and Hays notes similarities between Strether and Jake, and Strether and Cohn (“Hemingway’s” 94-96). Wagner-Martin also claims that the works of Blasco Ibanez were an important influence on Hemingway’s composition of *Sun*; additional influences included contemporary novels such as Willa Cather’s *One of Ours*, Virginia Woolf’s *Mrs. Dalloway* and *Jacob’s Room*, D. H. Lawrence’s *Sons and Lovers* (“Intertextual” 181, 186), and T. S. Eliot’s *The Wasteland* (*Literary Life* 53). Unfortunately, however, Wagner-Martin does not provide detailed comparisons of Brett or Jake to the characters of these works other than to point out that Hemingway named Jake Barnes after Woolf’s Jacob Flanders and that the latter is “a character given to the very kind of introspection to which Jake finally succumbs before his bedroom mirror” (“Intertextual” 186). Finally, Charles L. Ross explores the influence of Ford Madox Ford’s *The Good Soldier* on *Sun*, but Ross all but ignores the women characters in Hemingway’s novel, devoting most of his discussion to a

1926, Hemingway explained, “my contact with Arlen was through Scott’s [F. Scott Fitzgerald’s] talking about him and his stuff when we once drove Scott’s car from Lyons to Paris” (Brucoli, *Only Thing* 54). Indeed, in the “Scott Fitzgerald” chapter of *A Moveable Feast*, Hemingway recalls that during his trip from Lyons to Paris with Fitzgerald, he had informed his friend that “I could not read the books [of Arlen]” (174), but that, nevertheless, “he [Fitzgerald] gave me a sort of oral Ph.D. thesis on Michael Arlen” (175).

comparison between Jake and Ford's narrator, John Dowell, and noting that both narrators either refuse or lack the ability "to judge the actions of [the] beloved deceivers" of their respective stories (29), that both are associated with the ordering of the modern world (31), and that both "Ford and Hemingway share a paradoxical attitude toward the representivity of language" (32). Overall, then, the observations of the roman a clef critics, the Grace-Pauline-and-Hemingway as the models for Brett's character proponents, and the intertextual scholars, have made important contributions to our understanding of Hemingway's sources of *Sun*.

Although there is a great deal of evidence which supports the view that for his composition of this novel, Hemingway relied to a large degree on the people and events that he remembered from his experiences in Pamplona during that summer of 1925, and even though the influence of the works of contemporary authors certainly cannot be ignored, Hemingway had, nevertheless, not entirely freed himself from his memories of his own war-related experiences. He certainly had not forgotten the young nurse of whom—if Harry Walden's obsession with his first love in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" can be seen as autobiographical—Hemingway recalled more, the more he came to know other women.⁷⁹ Indeed, it is quite likely that the young author's attraction to Duff Twysden was due at least in part to the similarities that she shared with Agnes,⁸⁰ much as Hemingway's attraction to Hadley was, as previously noted, due at least

⁷⁹ In "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," Hemingway undoubtedly had Agnes in mind when, regarding the identity of the woman that Harry desires to see along Parisian boulevards, the narrator observes, "how every one he had slept with had only made him miss her more" (*Short Stories* 48).

⁸⁰ Both women, for example, were virtually the same age and considerably older than Hemingway: Agnes was born on January 5, 1892 (Kert 50), and Duff's birth date was May 22, 1892 (156), which would have made both women thirty-three when Hemingway began writing *Sun* in July, 1925 (Reynolds, *Paris Years*,) and thirty-four by August, 1926, when the author returned the corrected galleys of the novel to Scribner's for publication (Reynolds, *Homecoming* x). Also, Agnes and Duff were similar both in appearance as well as in personality: According to Reynolds, "Duff was a tall, slim, witty woman with a bawdy sense of humor and a great capacity for drink" (*Paris Years* 288). According to Kert, Agnes was also tall (5' 8") (51), drank her share of liquor (Kurowsky, "Diary" 79, 81, 85), and, as Henry Villard reports, was "blessed with a sense of humor that verged on the mischievous" (14). Additionally, both women were very popular. Duff, for instance, evoked quite a sensation among the expatriates of Paris

in part to the similarities that his first wife shared with his wartime nurse. However, no matter what may have been the reason or reasons for Hemingway's attraction to Duff, as late as the spring of 1925, Hemingway, according to Michael Reynolds, "talked about his war with Fitzgerald and also with Loeb—the big wound, the hospital in Milan, the nurse, her incredible body, nights together, and how she sent him home to jilt him. Tore him apart" (*Paris Years* 285). Additionally, as William Adair has shown, *Sun* not only provided the basis for *A Farewell to Arms*, but Hemingway's two war-influenced novels have in common the themes of loss and longing, including more specifically "the aftermath of loss" ("Ernest Hemingway" 296), themes which suggest that Hemingway's chief psychological motive for composing *Sun* may have been to reconcile himself to the loss of his first great love, Agnes von Kurowsky.⁸¹ Thus, though Hemingway most certainly employed his experiences at the 1925 Pamplona fiesta in composing *Sun* and was influenced by the works of contemporary writers, he also continued to use his memories of the romance that had oppressed his male self before he had discovered the way to utilize its strength in order to survive and transcend the otherwise crushing rejection of his wartime nurse. Hemingway's employment of his wartime memories of Agnes for this, his first

during the 1920s: Kert notes that "half the men of Montparnasse fancied themselves in love with her" (158). Similarly, Agnes was very popular among the staff and patients during her tenure as a nurse in Italy during the war. Villard observes, for example, that in the Milan hospital "all the boys fell for Aggie to some degree" (28). Finally, much as Duff was a Scot, so too did Agnes, during her interview with Reynolds, claim Scottish descent on her mother's side: "I was named for my great-aunt Hannah, my mother's aunt. She and my grandmother were Scotch, by the name of Grant" ("Agnes Tapes" 259).

⁸¹ Adair summarizes his argument as follows:

The first section of both novels leads to a climactic evening when the protagonist is wounded (emotionally or physically); this is followed by his departure to a place of recuperation and holiday. The second half of each novel again leads to a "wounding"; and it too is followed by departure to a place of recuperation and holiday. Indeed, in both novels, the second half tends to be a disguised and intensified version of the action-structure (or relatively simple "story") presented in the first half. ("Source" 25)

full-length novel, is especially significant in terms of our understanding of Hemingway, for such employment demonstrates once again that he was continually trapped in his past, that he in fact could never write his way out of it.

A careful analysis of Jake and Brett's relationship during the war reveals important similarities between their romance and that of Hemingway's war-era romance with Agnes. Although, unlike Hemingway, whose principal role during the war was that of ambulance driver, Jake notes that he had served as an aviator, yet like Hemingway, however, Jake was wounded on the Italian Front: "Well, it was a rotten way to be wounded and flying on a joke front like the Italian" (31). In the galleys, moreover, Hemingway noted, "I made the unfortunate mistake, for a writer, of first having been Mr. Jake Barnes" (qtd. in Plath 270). Not unlike the way in which Hemingway had recovered from his war wounds at the American Red Cross Hospital in Milan, Jake had recovered from his war wounds in the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan (31), and although, unlike Hemingway, Jake is subsequently shipped to England, it is there that he, like Hemingway in Italy, fell in love with a nurse, whose liberated personality nevertheless presented a significant challenge to his masculinity. Indeed, Brett continues her role as nurse after the war in that she "cares" for males, whether they are love-sick lovers like Jake and Cohn, broke gamblers like Mike, or beat-up matadors like Romero (Gladstein 60-61). As Adair has noted, moreover, "Brett is like a mother whose children each want her exclusive attention" ("Mother" 204).⁸² Also, the seven-and-a-half-year age difference between Hemingway and Agnes as well as the latter's

⁸² Mimi Reisel Gladstein also emphasizes Brett's nurse/mother role. Brett, for example, cares for Romero after his fight with Cohn; Mike Campbell comments on how much Brett likes "looking after" people "like himself"; Brett "tries to maintain harmony in the group, placating the rivalrous siblings. . . . Her effect on the men is analogous to the effect a strong mother has on her sons" (58). Lorie Watkins Fulton similarly notes that "after Cohn beats Romero up, Brett nurses him and sends Jake to look after Mike (qtd. in Adair, "Mother" 202). Each of these views is more reminiscent of Agnes's maternal-like way of relating to Ernest than they are of the author's relationship with Duff.

rationale for concluding her romantic relationship with Hemingway in her letter of dismissal because of their marked age difference (Kurowsky, "Letters" 163), parallels Adair's assertion that "Jake's war wounding returns him to a childlike state in that he can love Brett not as an adult but, in effect, as a child" ("Mother" 194). Additionally, according to Charles J. Nolan, "as a way of coping and perhaps of self-medicating, she [Brett] has turned to alcohol" (112), an escape which is not dissimilar from the drinking that Agnes enjoyed with Hemingway during the time she attended him in the Milan hospital. Hays observes that "it is probably only a coincidence that Jake has served Brett as a subaltern for seven years, a coincidence based on the seven years since the end of the war in 1918 and 1925, the year Hemingway first wrote the novel" ("Imperial" 242n2). But it does not seem like too much of a coincidence when Ernest's inability to put his memories of Agnes behind him are considered alongside the fact that he had last seen his wartime nurse in 1918. In contrast, and even though it is not known for certain what was the nature of Duff Twysden's role in the war, the view of most commentators is that she served not with the Red Cross but with the British Secret Service.⁸³

Jake's war injury, which is assumed by most commentators to be the loss of his penis,⁸⁴ is

⁸³ James Charters, who worked as a bartender in Paris during the 1920s, recalls that he did "hear or overhear from behind the bar on odd occasions, that Duff had been a Red Cross nurse during the war" (246), yet it may be that his recollection was manifested in his overhearing the conversations of patrons who confused Duff with Brett. Sir William Twysden, Duff's brother-in-law, informed Bertram Sarason that Duff had been a Red Cross nurse during the war (Sarason, "Hemingway" 39), but Sarason also reports that Clinton King (Duff's husband) informed him that Brett "served during World War I in the Secret Service," and that, most significantly, "of fifteen persons who knew Duff *none had ever heard of her being a nurse during the war*" (40, my emphasis). Sarason concludes that, "in making Brett a former nurse Hemingway probably had in mind Agnes von Kurowsky with whom he was in love some years earlier" (41). Kert, moreover, reports that, "during World War I, Duff carried out volunteer assignments for the British Secret Service" (156).

⁸⁴ See, for example, Clifford (192-93, 200, 203), Hemingway, *Selected Letters* (231, 764), Eby, *Fetishism* (56-57), and Grace (135).

also a reflection of what Hemingway claimed to be one of his own war injuries,⁸⁵ in that, in addition to the leg wounds he had endured from the mortar round explosion and bullets, he had suffered an injury to his scrotum and had spent time in the hospital recovering from the latter injury with other servicemen who had suffered similar woundings. Such injuries, moreover, are blatant representations of the devastating effect of World War I on the masculinity of its participants: As I noted in Chapter 3, the day-to-day battle realities, as Fussell observes, of “extreme fear, chancy outcomes and disgusting deaths” (qtd. in Connell, *Masculinities* 214), often impeded if not completely destroyed the soldier’s masculinity development. Although it may have been the case that Hemingway had employed war aviator friend Bill Bird’s genital injury in his creation of aviator Jake Barnes,⁸⁶ from the outset of the novel it is not the injury per se that has troubled Jake so much as the effect of his relationship with Brett on his attitude towards his injury: “Probably I never would have had any trouble [adjusting to my disability] if I hadn’t run into Brett when they shipped me to England. I suppose she only wanted what she couldn’t have” (31). According to Donald Daiker, Brett and the war are linked in the sense that,

⁸⁵ In a letter to editor Thomas Bledsoe dated December 9, 1951, Hemingway explained, I could have told Mr. [Philip] Young the whole genesis of *The Sun Also Rises* [*sic*], for example. It came from a personal experience in that when I had been wounded at one time there had been an infection from pieces of wool cloth being driven into the scrotum. Because of this I got to know other kids who had genito urinary wounds and I wondered what a man’s life would have been like after that if his penis had been lost and his testicles and spermatic cord remained intact. I had known a boy that happened to. So I took him and made him into a foreign correspondent in Paris and, inventing, tried to find out what his problems would be when he was in love with someone who was in love with him and there was nothing that they could do about it. (*Selected Letters* 745)

⁸⁶ Sarason speculates that a “friend of Hemingway’s who had been wounded genitally in the then recent war [WWI] was the basis for Jake’s wound,” but that Hemingway “kept the friend’s identity a secret” (“Lady Brett” 231). Sarason, however, also states that Hemingway “may have been making the story up” about “one of Hemingway’s oldest friends” and his genital injury (“Hemingway” 4). Jeffrey Meyers, paraphrasing a passage from *Death in the Afternoon* and letters that Hemingway had written to Buck Lanham and Bill Smith (dated 24 November 1948 and 4 March 1925, respectively) believes that it was, in fact, Bill Smith who was the basis for Jake’s character (*Biography* 154-55).

whereas “the war injures Jake physically, . . . Brett damages Jake emotionally” (“Affirmative” 46). Similarly, Hemingway, who was transported to Milan following his wounding at Fossalta, was subsequently “injured” not only from the mortar round explosion and machine-gun fire, but also from his breakup with Agnes. The nature of Jake’s war injury was more likely influenced by the fact that Hemingway had not consummated his relationship with Agnes due to his scrotum injury and/or logistical or moral reasons than it was a reflection of his inability to consummate his relationship with Duff Twysden.

Whereas Brett and Jake’s relationship is ideal in the sense that they share a mutual respect and a mutual love for one another, Brett informs Jake that she cannot marry him because of her incapacity to remain loyal to someone like him who lacks the ability to satisfy her sexual and procreative needs.⁸⁷ Similarly, Hemingway, as I have explained, attributed Agnes’s rejection to her promiscuity. He evidently felt that he had not only failed to satisfy Agnes while he was with her in Italy, but that, by departing from Italy in favor of Oak Park after the armistice is signed, he had, in effect, unwittingly, through his absence, created a situation in which he rendered her vulnerable to the sexual passion that she subsequently came to feel for males such as Caracciolo.⁸⁸ In this way, Hemingway was preserving his own masculinity by resurrecting the

⁸⁷ Brett’s maternal interest in children may be suggested when she informs Jake in Madrid that she had dismissed Romero because, “I’m not going to be one of these bitches that ruins children” (243).

⁸⁸ James Nagel’s summary of the early years of Jake’s relationship with Brett closely parallels Hemingway’s relationship with Agnes:

They fell in love, and their relationship apparently deepened until he learned that he was impotent, at which point they thought it best to go their separate ways. In the course of things, Jake was sent to England for convalescence, and there he saw Brett again; they discovered that they were still in love. In material that does not appear in the novel, (Hemingway cut it from the manuscripts) Jake explains that he went home to the United States in 1916 to work on a newspaper and to forget about Brett. (“Brett” 91)

So too did Ernest and Agnes fall in love; then Ernest—if we accept the scrotum injury theory, or if not, at least the view that Hemingway and Agnes did not consummate their relationship on moral grounds or perhaps because they never had the opportunity or the inclination—in at least some sense was rendered, or rendered himself, impotent, then he returns to the States (albeit in 1919), where he begins his

aforementioned Pandora and Eve myths that attribute the Fall of Man to the woman's inability to resist the temptations associated with sex. Thus, like Hemingway, Jake loved a nurse during the war who reciprocated his love, but he failed subsequently to maintain his relationship with her because he could not satisfy her sexually or procreatively.

And what about Duff? Was there enough inspiration from Hemingway's brief, thwarted romance with her for him to devote an entire novel to her, as a host of Hemingway critics have suggested? No doubt the young author was frustrated with Duff partly because—despite her questionable reputation—she was not the type of woman who would violate a good friend's relationship with her husband: All the biographical evidence suggests that Duff was not callous enough, no matter what her feelings may have been for Hemingway, to violate Hadley's marriage.⁸⁹ As Reynolds explains, “the only apparent reason he [Hemingway] remained faithful to Hadley was Duff's disinclination to have him. She said she never slept with married men, and that she liked Hadley too much to upset her” (*Paris Years* 318). Therefore, in one sense we can surmise that Jake's war wound—which negates his ability to consummate his relationship with Brett as well as the possibility of betrothal to her—represents Hemingway's marital relationship with Hadley. As Hemingway's sense of obligation to her (and Duff's to Hadley) prevented him from consummating his relationship with Duff, we can also surmise that the author's relationship with Duff never reached the degree of romantic intensity and devotion that he had experienced during his romantic involvement with Agnes. Though there is evidence that Duff was sexually attracted to Hemingway, there is no evidence that she was ever in love with him, if only because, as Bernice Kert observes, “she [Duff] was in love with Pat [Gutherie]” (161). Moreover, the writing/journalism career and, upon reception of Agnes's letter of dismissal, learned that he best try to forget her.

⁸⁹ See, for example, Spilka, who observes the following: “And indeed, it was Hemingway's marital fidelity to Hadley that apparently kept him from having an affair with Duff” (*Quarrel* 200).

severe violation of Hemingway's very identity and the severe violation of the devout love that he allowed himself to endure from Agnes's dismissal are violations that he certainly did not have to endure at the conclusion of his affair with Duff, an individual for whom he evidently felt only a fleeting passion. As Kert reports, "most of his [Hemingway's] friends thought he was infatuated with her [Duff]" (161), and whereas Loeb assumed that "Ernest was in love with her [Duff]," it was also true that "everyone was [in love with Duff]" (162). Although it can be argued that Hemingway may have been over-dramatizing his relationship with Duff (and/or his relationship with Pauline) as he created the romantic dimension of Jake's relationship with Brett,⁹⁰ I feel that he also was—subconsciously if not consciously—employing memories of his lost Agnes in order to further enhance the romantic dimension of his story. After all, his first serious, full-length novel is, in the final analysis, more about a long-term romantic relationship between a former wartime nurse and her injured veteran than it is about the infatuation or brief passion a disabled veteran may have felt for an attractive young woman during a summer festival.

One way in fact to read *Sun* is as an extended treatment of the suffering and anguish that Hemingway endured as a result of his romantic involvement with Agnes, for in this novel, as I will show, Hemingway created characters (as he did in *Torrents*) whose experiences reflect various aspects of his relationship with his lost nurse. Jake, for instance, represents the suffering

⁹⁰ Sarason reports that Clinton King, Duff's husband, claimed that Hemingway and Duff "never had an affair. Hemingway was not her type" ("Hemingway" 42). King also informed Sarason that in *Sun* Hemingway "failed to bring out" Duff's "generous nature," that he "failed also to emphasize her cleverness and her constant flow of wit," and that Duff "resented his portrait of her" (43). Sarason, moreover, believes that "Lady Brett was the product of imagination" (44), that "no one ever heard her [Duff] speak" like Brett "in real life," that in the novel, "one can not find a single sentence quoted from the living Duff" ("Lady Brett" 234), and that "nowhere in the novel are her [Duff's] talents in music and painting in evidence" ("Hemingway" 55). Sarason also refers to a Dr. Harkavy, a psychoanalyst who knew Duff in New York, who was "certain that Duff was not an alcoholic" (as opposed to Brett who drinks a great deal) ("Lady Brett" 238). See also Sarason ("Hemingway" 84-87).

that Hemingway endured immediately following Agnes's dismissal,⁹¹ a period of time when Hemingway was struggling to overcome his emotional and psychological dependence on Agnes, and a period of time when he eventually managed to discover the resources of his male self, a discovery which parallels Jake's rediscovery and employment of his male self late in the novel.⁹² Much as we may see Brett on one level as a representation not only of Duff but also of Agnes, Robert Cohn, Brett's lovesick, boxer boyfriend, can be seen as a reflection not only of Hemingway's friend Harold Loeb,⁹³ but also of Hemingway himself during his romance with Agnes. In particular, Cohn's character can be seen as a reflection of the emotional/psychological dependency that accompanied the author's relationship with Agnes, a relationship that caused the suspension of Hemingway's developing manhood as he attempted to win the permanent affection of a woman who for him was ultimately unattainable. Finally, Romero, the nineteen-year-old consummate bullfighter, is, on an abstract level, a symbol of the very essence of Hemingway's male self. On a biographical level, however, Romero is a representation of the way that

⁹¹ Eby provides the following passage from a deleted postscript in Hemingway's *Sun* manuscript: "The thing I would like to make my reader believe, however incredible, is that such a passion and such a longing could exist in me for Brett Ashley that I would sometimes feel that it would tear me to pieces" (*Fetishism* 57). Here Jake sounds more like Hemingway commiserating over his lost Agnes than over his lost Duff. Nagel, moreover, points out that Book II of *Sun* "opens on the theme of betrayal, an idea that deepens with each progressive scene" ("Brett" 95).

⁹² Rudat observes that "the self-conscious awareness of the physical wound and the emotional pain it causes will go away once Jake has eliminated from his life the woman who makes him self-conscious about his physical wound" (*Rotten Way* 145).

⁹³ Meyers summarizes Loeb's relationship with Hemingway as follows:

Loeb was a good friend to Hemingway during these years [1924-25]. He bought him food and wine, boxed and played tennis with him, helped to get *In Our Time* published and defended him against charges of anti-Semitism. He could not understand why Hemingway later satirized him as Robert Cohn in *The Sun Also Rises*. Hadley thought Loeb was extremely good-looking and Hemingway may have resented this. Another source of conflict was that Loeb beat Hemingway on the courts. (*Biography* 155)

Hemingway, of course, was jealous of Loeb because of the latter's affair with Duff and especially because Hemingway may have known that Duff had (albeit briefly) been in love with Loeb.

Hemingway may have imagined himself at nineteen when he returned home not, of course, from a bullfighting arena but from the violent arena of World War I—a decorated war veteran who (like Harold Krebs) subsequently related fabricated tales of his battlefield experiences to fellow Oak Parkers in his effort to establish an heroic identity. Romero’s rejection of Brett becomes Hemingway’s fantasy of the way he may have liked to have endured Agnes’s dismissal and may also be reflective of the degree of maturity that Hemingway had been able to acquire since she rejected him.

Despite the ways in which the white males oppress the Jewish Robert Cohn, the latter shares a number of essential qualities with Hemingway as well as Jake,⁹⁴ beyond Cohn’s and Jake’s respective goals of winning the affection of women such as Brett Ashley. First, Cohn and Hemingway each discover their attractiveness to women, a discovery that changes their attitudes about themselves and the otherwise more guarded manner in which they had related to the opposite sex. As narrator, Jake explains that Cohn, for example, even during his liaison with Francis, “had never been in love in his life,” but when “he realized that he was an attractive quantity to women, . . . This changed him so that he was not so pleasant to have around” (8-9). Cohn’s realization parallels that of Hemingway’s during the author’s own recovery at the Red Cross Hospital in Milan, where Hemingway not only meets his first true love but also learns, according to fellow patient Henry Villard, that he “was undeniably attractive to women” (22) and that, as Villard explains, “everyone at the hospital overindulged him. This completely changed his fresh, boyish character and laid the foundation for . . . [his] self-centeredness” (43). Second,

⁹⁴ Grace notes that Jake shares with Cohn the following: a devotion to Brett, modesty, an “air of naivety,” an interest in writing, gambling, and sports such as “boxing and tennis,” a propensity to cry, the fact that “both are wounded and appear passive” and that they “are ultimately outsiders and insiders” (129-30). Stephen P. Clifford’s assessment of Jake and Cohn’s relationship sounds like a description of the way Hemingway evidently saw his relationship with Agnes: “he [Jake] identifies with Cohn as someone who has been unfairly treated, perhaps by fate and most certainly by women, especially Brett” (196-97).

much as Jake writes for a newspaper, and, as Bill reminds him in *Burguete*, aspires to be a writer (114), Cohn, like Hemingway during the time he was writing *Torrents* and *Sun*, is attempting to write his second full-length novel, confessing to Jake that he can't seem to get it started (37). Finally, Jake's notation that Cohn's boxing prowess had earned him the middleweight championship at Princeton (3), is reflective of a sport, as I have pointed out, in which Hemingway had excelled throughout most of his adult life, engaging in bouts in Paris with friends such as Morley Callaghan (*Mellow* 387) and providing friends such as Ezra Pound with boxing lessons (156).⁹⁵

It is Cohn's weakness, however, his emotional dependency on (if not his obsession with) Brett, that is most relevant here, as it constitutes a reflection of Hemingway's emotional dependency (if not his own obsession with) Agnes.⁹⁶ Both Cohn and Hemingway's respective dependencies, moreover, constitute significant challenges to their respective masculinities, dependencies that impede if not eliminate their "ability to control, dominate, or rule over the other" (Reeser 149). Whereas Plath draws comparisons between Cohn and Jay Gatsby, including the fact that the two characters are "rendered socially and emotionally impotent by unrequited love" (260) and that neither character has the capacity to realize "when 'love' has ended or even sense when their presence is unwanted" (262), most critics, as I have previously noted, mistakenly attribute Cohn's dependency on Brett solely to Hemingway's dependency on

⁹⁵ Reynolds notes that, according to Hemingway, the latter took up the sport of boxing when he was twelve after he was beaten up by another boy (*Young Hemingway* 27), and that, "throughout the Twenties he followed boxing religiously in Paris and kept abreast with American boxers through New York papers" (192). Hemingway's interest in boxing, of course, is reflected in short stories such as "The Battler," "Fifty Grand," and "The Killers."

⁹⁶ Robert W. Lewis explains, "love for Cohn, as for all Tristans, is a sickness. It affects the mind and the body. It dominates and one becomes a slave to it. One is in love with love. As in the words of a popular song of the late thirties, 'this can't be love because I feel so well'" (23).

Duff Twysden. Although Hemingway was undoubtedly jealous of Loeb because of the latter's liaison with Duff, the fact that it was Harold who proposed that he and Hemingway settle the matter by squaring off against each other in a Pamplona alley and the fact that the two of them subsequently elect to forgo the pugilistics, provide further evidence that Hemingway did not have a significant emotional investment in Duff. Reynolds summarizes Loeb's account of the alley incident in *The Way It Was* as follows:

Despite his smaller size, he [Loeb] challenged Hemingway to step down the alley with him to settle the matter. Once there, both tempers cooled, and they saw the comedy of their small-boy blustering. Ernest, grinning, offered to hold Harold's jacket; Loeb said only if he could hold Ernest's. The fight was over, and both men laughed as they walked back to the party together. (*Paris Years* 304-05)

The following day, moreover, Hemingway sent his friend a letter of apology, confessing, "I wish I could wipe out all the mean-ness [*sic*] and I suppose I cant [*sic*] but this is to let you know that I'm thoroly [*sic*] ashamed of the way I acted and the stinking, unjust uncalled for things I said" (qtd. in Reynolds, *Paris Years* 305). Cohn's severe beating of Jake at the Café Suizo after the latter refuses to inform Cohn of Brett's whereabouts (190-91) contrasts sharply with the relative sobriety of what actually occurred in a Pamplona alley between Ernest and Loeb, and suggests once again that Hemingway was most likely thinking more about his own emotional dependency on Agnes for Cohn's characterization than he was of whatever his own feelings may have been for Duff.

Similar to Hemingway's affection for Agnes and not unlike Jake's affection for Brett, Cohn has a deep love for Lady Ashley, and it is his feelings of frustrated love that compel him into physically attacking Jake, Mike, and Romero. During Brett's visit to Jake's apartment early

in the novel, Hemingway makes it clear through their conversation not only that the nature of Jake's war injury has prevented Brett from marrying her lover, but also that he and Brett are deeply in love with one another. Jake asks Brett,

“Couldn't we go off in the country for awhile?”

“It wouldn't be any good. I'll go if you like. But I couldn't live quietly in the country. Not with my own true love.”

“I know.”

“Isn't it rotten? There isn't any use my telling you I love you.”

“You know I love you.” (55)

When Cohn had previously quizzed Jake about Brett, Robert had confessed that “I shouldn't wonder if I were in love with her” (38), and as Jake provides us with details about Cohn's past, he points out that the boxer “fell in love with Brett” (45). Thus, Jake and Cohn's respective deep feelings for Brett fuel their idolization of her and establish their respective dependencies on a woman who is, for each of them, unattainable—dependencies that are more reflective of the Hemingway's emotional dependence on his unattainable Agnes than they are of whatever affection Hemingway may have harbored for Duff.⁹⁷

Much as Agnes in her dismissal letter offered Hemingway little more than an apology and certainly not a requital of the profound love that he still felt for her, Brett—her sexual liaison with Cohn in San Sebastian notwithstanding—can offer Robert only pity, not a requital of the true love that he feels for her. She justifies her tryst with Cohn in San Sebastian, for example, by

⁹⁷ Grace asserts that Jake is a “feminized male” who “must come to know and understand himself in a new way,” for “he is continually confronting himself, a more feminine self that will not acquiesce to redefinition by masculine standards” (98). Richard Fantina believes that Jake, “through a groveling embrace of his suffering and emotional trauma, . . . endeavors to emerge as a newly reconstituted man” (96).

telling Jake, "I thought it would be good for him" (83). Moreover, despite Brett and Jake's mutual love for one another, Brett cannot pledge her loyalty to any male such as Jake who is unable to satisfy her sexually: When Jake suggests to her that they might try living together, for instance, she responds, "I don't think so. I'd just *tromper* you with everybody. You couldn't stand it" (55). Brett, with her inability to accept her lover's sexual inadequacies, is not unlike Agnes, who would not allow herself to marry someone such as Hemingway, who did not and (as Agnes evidently believed) could not satisfy her emotionally or sexually, given especially Ernest's absence from Italy, his injured scrotum, and his immaturity. Cohn, whose male self is concealed by his romantic illusions for his unattainable lady, is constantly harassed by the rest of Jake's band of expatriates for his immature behavior. As Greg Forster points out, Robert "becomes to the others a walking embarrassment because his all-too visible pain exposes the yearnings for fulfillment, direct expressiveness, and love that they covertly cling to while insisting that such yearnings are sentimental" (70). After the fiesta has concluded, Cohn steals away from Pamplona alone, a quixotic knight vanquished by the indomitable Romero, whose performance in the bull ring transcends the pugilistic wounds that are inflicted on him by the most desperate of the rivals for Brett's affection.

In contrast to Cohn, Jake evolves from his romantic illusions and the emotional and psychological dependence that they incur, to a renewed awareness and appreciation of his otherwise concealed male self, an evolution that parallels Hemingway's evolution from his emotional and psychological dependency on Agnes to his discovery of the inner strength of his male self following her rejection. Hemingway, however, did not undergo a profound evolution following his brief infatuation with Duff Twysden, not only because his relationship with her did not involve true love, but also because it survived only as long as the Pamplona fiesta; after the

festival, Hemingway and Hadley simply packed their bags and continued their European journey.⁹⁸ Jake, deeply in love with Brett, hates Cohn not only because Cohn is Jewish, but also because the latter has the ability to sexually satisfy Brett, conceive children, and publish novels. As Nancy Grace points out, “Robert has proven his virility by having children, and he can flaunt his attractiveness to women as he does after the publishers herald his novel. Lacking the physical equipment and the stature of a published author, *Jake can do neither*” (135, my emphasis). In other words, at the outset of the novel, Jake (like Cohn) has sacrificed his male self in favor of Brett, a sacrifice not dissimilar from the way that Hemingway had sacrificed his male self in favor of Agnes during their romance. True love is one thing, Hemingway seems to be suggesting, but true love at the expense of one’s male identity is perverse, so Hemingway has his hero over the course of the novel struggling to overcome, or at least to place under his control, his dependency on Brett in favor of male autonomy. When on a number of occasions Jake tells himself, “to hell with Brett Ashley” (e.g., 30, 148), this feigned condemnation of his true love suggests that he is instinctively aware that he would be better off without Brett and the great frustration his relationship with her has caused him. He also senses, at least subconsciously, the need to reestablish contact with his male self, much as Hemingway had needed to rediscover his male self and establish his autonomy because of, as well as in spite of, what he perceived to be Agnes’s betrayal.

In the early scenes of the novel, Hemingway introduces Jake’s internal conflict, which consists of a desire to restore his masculinity by freeing himself from his love for Brett and his emotional dependency on her—a conflict that parallels Hemingway’s similar conflict regarding

⁹⁸ Lynn notes that “after his [Hemingway’s] return from Pamplona he made no effort to see her [Duff], and the letter she sent to him around the first of October indicates unmistakably that their relationship had lost its magic for both of them” (299).

the nature of his relationship with Agnes. Jake's conflict, moreover, exemplifies Lynn Segal's observation about Hemingway: That the author's "struggles with his male identity highlight a real dilemma: a 'pure' masculinity cannot be asserted *except* in relation to what is defined as its opposite. It depends upon the perpetual renunciation of 'femininity'" (114). Jake's picking up of Georgette not only introduces to us what Jake calls the "sickness" of his war wound, but this act also introduces us to his dependency on women, in that Jake (due to the nature of his wound and Brett's unwillingness to marry him) is compelled to substitute the companionship of a prostitute (whose sexual services he cannot enjoy) for the companionship of Brett. His real sickness, as I have shown, however, is not his physical disability, but the effect it has on his love life, in that, because of his injury, he is unable to secure the permanent affection of Brett, who is, after all, his true love, much as Hemingway was unable to secure the permanent affections of Agnes due to his scrotum injury as well as due to his immaturity and morality. Furthermore, Jake's ironic introduction of Georgette as his fiancé to his friends at Lavigne's (18) suggests that he would prefer Brett to be his real fiancé. Georgette's dancing with Brett's gay companions at the dancing club, moreover, underscores Jake's dilemma and illustrates the way Jake's lovesickness for Brett has come about as he loses a prostitute's attention to males who have the capacity to satisfy her, but choose not to, whereas, Jake, who would like to be able to satisfy women such as Georgette and Brett, lacks the capacity to do so. Thus, our awareness of Jake's emotional dependency is enhanced by his inability to secure the love and sex that he so desperately desires.

Jake's emotional dependency on Brett is further demonstrated when, having left her with the Count at a cafe,⁹⁹ Jake returns to his apartment. There he attempts to put Brett out of his

⁹⁹ The wealthy, paternal-like Count Mippipopolous can be seen as a more mature version of Jake, as the former's character anticipates Jake's re-contact with his male self near the end.

mind by telling himself, “to hell with Brett. To hell with you, Lady Ashley” (30). But the veteran recalls that as he contemplated his wound, he tried not to let it bother him: “I lay awake thinking and my mind jumping around. . . . I was thinking about Brett and my mind stopped jumping around and started to go in sort of smooth waves. Then all of a sudden I started to cry” (31). Jake’s weeping here, which is caused not so much by his sexual incapacity as it is by his profound romantic dilemma, demonstrates his severe dependency on the one person who is unwilling to help him solve his dilemma. After the inebriated Brett, having had the “damned silly idea” of calling on Jake in the middle of the night, leaves his apartment, and he watches her climb into the Count’s limousine, Jake confesses that he felt “like hell again” (34), a confession that illustrates once again his emotional dependency on Brett as it also reflects Hemingway’s own anguish resulting from his breakup with Agnes.

Additionally, much as Cohn’s emotional dependency on Brett parallels Jake’s dependency on her, the nature of Jake’s intense competition with Cohn for Brett’s affection provides us with further evidence of Jake’s dependency, and, biographically, Cohn represents Hemingway’s own excessive dependence on women such as Agnes. Moreover, Cohn’s Jewish ethnicity serves to increase Jake’s animosity towards Robert since the veteran’s castration-like injury may be compared to that of circumcision, a procedure that has been traditionally practiced by Jews and has contributed to white male anti-Semitic attitudes about Jewish men. As Elisabeth Badinter explains, “the castration complex is the deepest unconscious root of anti-Semitism,” for even a nursery boy’s knowledge that “something has been cut off the penis of the Jew” affords him “the right to despise the Jew” (123). When Jake receives the telegram from Brett and Mike about their plans to stay over at San Sebastian, Jake, in order to torture Cohn, immediately

informs the latter of their plans. Then, to torture his Jewish friend further, Jake, who knows that Robert has naively assumed that Brett is traveling to Pamplona primarily in order to be with him, tells his friend a falsehood: that Brett and Mike “send their regards to you” (99). Jake subsequently confesses to us the reason why he felt so compelled to “devil” Robert: “I was blind, unforgivingly jealous of what had happened to him. . . . I certainly did hate him.” Later, when Bill informs Jake that Cohn had told him about the date that Cohn had claimed to have had with Brett in San Sebastian, Jake’s response—“the lying bastard!”—is yet another indication of the animosity that Jake harbors for Robert (101). Thus, Jake’s competitive relationship with Cohn over winning Brett’s affections not only further illustrates his emotional and psychological dependency on Brett, but it also represents Hemingway’s inward struggle to rediscover his male self and thereby exorcize his dependency on women such as Agnes.

Jake’s evolution from dependency to autonomy is initiated during his fishing expedition with Bill to the Irati, an expedition that may be seen not only as a clear example of masculinity construction through male camaraderie, but also as reflective of Hemingway’s inner journey from dependency to autonomy following his breakup with Agnes. The close friendship between Jake and Bill that Hemingway establishes here in this frontier-like setting exemplifies Badinter’s observation that “friendship among men . . . strengthens masculinity, which is threatened by the love of a woman” (131). Much as Jake’s friendship with Bill is representative of Jake’s inward progress, a number of additional elements of his journey are also indicative of the confidence he is acquiring through his contact with his male self. The bus trip that Jake and Bill take up the mountain, for instance, can be seen as a metaphor for Jake’s inner quest for his male self. When the two adventurers’ bus attains a high elevation near the town of Burguete, Bill’s complaint about the “awful cold” and the frigidity of he and Jake’s room at the inn are good examples of

the tactile images that Hemingway at times associates with the male self (108-09). Prior to their arrival in Burguete, moreover, Jake foreshadows what will eventually be his tour of Roncevalles with Bill and Wilson-Harris, noting “the gray metal-sheathed roof of the monastery of Roncevalles,” an edifice that has not only an obvious spiritual connotation but one that is also associated with the legendary Count Roland (108),¹⁰⁰ the Frankish knight who was slain in battle at Roncevalles. For both Jake as well as for Hemingway, as H. R. Stoneback points out, “Roncevaux is a sacred place, and Jake the Fisher King inhabits deep time in its numinous landscape” (195). Though he cautions against “simplistic applications of the Fisher King matter” to the novel, Stoneback nevertheless observes that “Jake . . . is the fisherman on a redemptive quest, a specifically Christian quest” (57). We can, moreover, see Jake’s spiritual quest as reflective of his inward journey, his search for engagement with a male self that will effect a Roland-like masculine autonomy.

Jake and Bill’s fishing in the Irati—an episode that features one of the sports for which Hemingway was most passionate and a frontier-like setting appropriate for masculinity construction—is also illustrative of Jake’s inner journey. As Jake places the wine bottles into the very cold water and as he pulls half a dozen trout from the deep, cold water (119), his relationship, or what metaphorically constitutes his communion with nature, is also suggestive of his bonds with his male self. As the two fishermen ritualistically consume the cold wine and eat their chicken and eggs, Bill’s prayer regarding the sacredness of nature increases a reader’s sense of Jake’s inward renewal: “I want you to say with me, on your knees, brother. Let no man be

¹⁰⁰ Jake aspires to be autonomous not only like Romero but also like the hero of *The Song of Roland*, whose hubris is manifested primarily in his fears for his reputation. For example, when Oliver realizes that the French are greatly outnumbered by the approaching Saracen army, he advises Roland to sound his oliphant in order to summon Charlemagne’s aid, but Roland refuses, explaining to his comrade, “madman were I and more, / And in fair France my fame would suffer scorn” (92; *laisse* 83).

ashamed to kneel here in the great out-of-doors. Remember the woods were God's first temples" (122). Additionally, the "wonderful" story that Jake reads about the bridegroom whose bride "was going to wait twenty-four years exactly" for the recovery of her true love's frozen body to appear "on the moraine" (120), provides Jake with an important lesson regarding the nature of romantic devotion. As Donald F. Bouchard observes, "by remaining faithful to the woman's dead husband and to each other, the lovers [i.e., the bride and bridegroom] waste their lives" (53). The lesson Jake learns here, moreover, may be compared to the lesson Hemingway may very well have learned from his involvement with Agnes: That romantic liaisons and the loyalty they entail may be simply a waste of one's life. The impact of this "wonderful story" on Jake—if not the impact of the entire fishing expedition thus far—is suggested as Jake confesses to Bill that he had been in love with Brett "off and on for a hell of a long time," and when Bill tells his friend that he is "sorry," Jake responds, "It's all right. . . . I don't give a damn anymore" (123-24). Jake's renewed contact with his male self is further underscored through his and Bill's tour with Wilson-Harris of the aforementioned Roncesvalles monastery and the strong sense of camaraderie that the two Americans share with the Englishman. In the Burguete fishing episode, then, Jake's access to the strength of his male self is suggested through the association of his inner quest with that of the legendary Roland, through the rituals of fishing and wine drinking, through his reading of the bride and groom story, and through his camaraderie with Bill and Wilson-Harris.

Jake's inward strengthening process continues after he returns with Bill to Pamplona. Jake explains, for example, the significance of *aficion*, the passion for bullfighting that only a few select aficionados such as himself have acquired and the capacity to readily identify fellow aficionados through a kind of "oral spiritual communication" (132). In this way, *aficion*

becomes not only another means towards masculinity construction, but also a manifestation of the male self, for it is a quality that is associated with the very depths of one's being. Jake's improved contact with the strength of his male self is also suggested when he attempts once again to dismiss his feelings for Brett once again by saying to himself, "to hell with you, Brett Ashley," and by confessing that, even though he "liked to see him [Mike] hurt Cohn" (148), nevertheless, "I wished he would not do it, though, because afterward it made me disgusted with myself" (148-49). The fact that Jake has gained a degree of autonomy enables him to be more objective about his relationship with Cohn. In other words, Jake is able to temper his feelings of revenge against Cohn because by this point his emotional investment in Brett has diminished.

Jake's acquisition of additional inner strength continues during the fiesta, a celebration whose association with warfare—it "exploded" not unlike a mortar round on "the 6th of July" (152), and a rocket's "ball of smoke hung in the sky like a shrapnel burst" (153)—reflects not only the arena (i.e., warfare) that is traditionally associated with the attainment of manhood, but also what will be Jake's subsequent breaking through of his dependency on Brett in order to secure a connection with his male self. Attending Mass during the fiesta represents yet another of Jake's attempts to journey within himself, and we can see the dancers as well as the other participants in the religious processions that parade through the streets of Pamplona as representations of Jake's renewed inner energy. When Jake recalls that "in the crowd you saw only the heads and shoulders of the dancers going up and down," for example, his description suggests that the performers are like energetic spirits who have no contact with the physical earth, a suggestion consistent with Jake's observation that over the week of festivity, "everything became quite unreal" (154). The great energy of these dancers, then, reflects the power that Jake can continue

to elicit from within himself, if, that is, he can avoid concealing or suppressing this important resource that he had contacted with Bill while fishing the Irati.

However, when Jake's fellow aficionado, Montoya, notices Romero in the hotel restaurant drinking with Jake and his companions (177), this episode anticipates the restoration of Jake's dependency on Brett and her subsequent betrayal after Jake unwittingly facilitates Brett's seduction of Romero by escorting her to the cafe to meet the matador and then discreetly leaving the couple alone together.¹⁰¹ Earlier, at the fortifications, Brett, through her rhetoric, had easily persuaded Jake to help her seduce Romero, claiming, for example, that she had no one other than Jake to turn to, and dismissing whatever residual feelings she may have harbored for Cohn: "I hate him" (181), she tells Jake, and "he didn't need to be a swine" (182). Though Brett is uncertain over whether she loves Romero ("I'm in love with him, I think"), she is quite certain about her passion for him ("I'm mad about the Romero boy"), confessing three times that she feels like "such a bitch" (184). (It is worth noting here as well that Duff Twysden never expressed affection for Cayetano Ordonez, the real matador who performed in Pamplona in 1925, whereas Agnes, like Brett, on the other hand, had expressed her passion for Caracciolo in her letter of February 3 that she wrote to Hemingway) (Kurowsky, "Letters" 159). It is also worth mentioning that Jake, as some critics have observed, may be betraying a homosexual interest in Romero by using Brett as an intermediary between himself and the young matador.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Grace sees Jake's relinquishment of Brett to Romero as a "gift of self," an offering which causes Jake to give up "his membership in Montoya's all-male aficionado club" in order to "help the one who needs him most, the one to whom he is most responsible" (139).

¹⁰² Debra A. Modellmog, for example, notes that, "when Brett and Pedro consummate their desire for each other, Pedro also becomes Jake's surrogate, fulfilling his desire for Brett and hers for him, while Brett becomes Jake's 'extension' for satisfying his infatuation with Pedro" (*Reading* 98). According to Rudat, "Jake himself cannot give to the woman he loves sexual fulfillment but perhaps Romero can" ("Hemingway's" 55), and that the "sexually masculine Romero [can] vicariously . . . perform what Jake is incapable of doing himself because a war injury has deJacobed him" (58).

Whatever Jake's feelings may be for Romero, the key point is that he violates his *aficion* and breaks his renewed connection with his male self by helping Brett in her quest to satisfy her passion for the handsome bullfighter. Clearly, this is a low point for Jake, and much as Hemingway most certainly came to believe that he had risked his own masculinity during his involvement with Agnes, Jake not only risks his very male identity—especially in terms of *aficion* for a woman from whom he cannot yet shed his dependency, but he also facilitates her very betrayal of himself. In other words, Jake concedes his true love and her affection for another male similar to the way in which Hemingway believed that he had “abandoned” Agnes when he departed Italy after the war, and had, in effect, rendered his nurse-lover vulnerable to the advances of an Italian suitor: that he had, in effect, unwittingly promoted his own subsequent dismissal.

Fortunately for Jake, however, this low point in his quest for autonomy is short-lived. The anger and jealousy Cohn directs towards him (as well as towards Mike), emotions which had been intensifying from the time Cohn had arrived in Pamplona with Brett and Mike, erupt as powerfully as the fiesta's explosive beginning when Jake refuses to inform his Jewish friend of Brett's whereabouts and Cohn punches him three times (190-91). Though it very well may be that Cohn is also employing his boxing skills in order to compensate for the masculinity he has lost due to racism and his excessive dependence on Brett, what is often overlooked in this episode is the fact that it is not Cohn but Jake who takes the first swing (though Cohn ducks safely out of the way). Jake's initiative, moreover, suggests that, prior to Cohn's fists making contact, Jake, who is anxious to lash out against one of his chief rivals for Brett, still maintains at least some degree of his romantic feelings for her. Also significant is the fact that, after Jake falls backwards “under a table” during Cohn's attack, his observation that it felt as if he “did not

have any legs” (191) is reminiscent of the spirit-like street dancers who seemed to him as not having legs (153). Jake’s observation suggests that his defeat by Cohn forces the veteran to not only recognize the stupidity of his actions—that is, his violation of his *aficion* and concealment of his male self by “pimping” for a woman—but also that his pugilistic defeat forces (or enables him) to rediscover once again the enduring, inner strength of his male self.

This rediscovery is most evident during Jake’s return to his hotel, as he recalls his newfound, transformed perception of the world: “Walking across the square to the hotel everything looked new and changed. I had never seen the trees before. I had never seen the flagpoles before, nor the front of the theatre. It was all different” (192). In reference to this transformation, Sam S. Baskett observes that Jake is “a way he has not been before; he still cares, but he is now more irreversibly aware of the unreality of his dream of Brett and all she represents to him” (103). It is not surprising, then, that Jake, in keeping with his transformation, plans to take a bath once he returns to his room (though he is unable to do so because of a lack of water) (193-95). What is also suggestive of Jake’s inner renewal is his capacity to empathize with Cohn’s profound anguish and to offer Robert the forgiveness that the latter so fervently desires (“Please say you forgive me, Jake”) through the veteran’s willingness to shake hands with his recent boxing opponent (194-95). It is significant too that Cohn subsequently informs Jake that he is leaving Pamplona the following morning, for Cohn’s departure is symbolic of Jake’s loss of his dependence on Brett and represents what Hemingway apparently wanted to believe had been the loss of his own emotional dependence on Agnes.

Moreover, if we see Romero as a representation of Jake’s male self, then the young matador’s defeat of the bull that had killed Vicente Girones can be seen as symbolic of Jake’s subsequent emotional/psychological victory over his dependency on Brett, this castrating

“Circe” who is otherwise dangerous to men, especially to those like Cohn who have lost contact with their male selves (144). Though Brett maintains her emotional and psychological (i.e., traditionally masculine-like) control over the principal males through much of the novel, she is nevertheless defeated not only by Jake but also by Romero, with the latter, as the novel’s chief male self representative, conquering her with his inner strength and authentic traditional values. It may not be coincidental too that the matador’s character is not unlike that of Hemingway’s boyhood literary heroes, especially the American cowboy, who, as Owen Wister has explained, was a “‘man of action,’ who . . . forms no lasting emotional bonds with any single person” (qtd. in Kimmel, *Manhood* 149-50). It appears that Hemingway may have borrowed some of the key attributes of his American cultural heroes such as the cowboy in order to underscore the masculinity of the very physical, very autonomous bullfighter, Pedro Romero.

Though critics such as Thomas Strychacz feel that Romero’s construction of his masculinity is dependent upon his performance before a large audience (“Dramatizations” 256-60), the nineteen-year-old’s moral victory over Cohn testifies to the young matador’s engagement with his male self, anticipates Jake’s victory over his romantic illusions and his dependency on Brett, and reflects what Hemingway may have believed to have been his own ability to overcome his emotional dependency on his own nurse when he was nineteen years of age. Despite the terrible beating that Romero receives from Cohn,¹⁰³ the young bullfighter’s impressive performance in the arena proceeds without interruption: As Jake explains following Romero’s defeat of his final bull, “the fight with Cohn had not touched his [Romero’s] spirit” (219), for, as Jake had reported earlier regarding Romero’s performing as near as possible to

¹⁰³ Delbert E. Wylder observes that Romero “preserves his integrity despite the physical punishment he receives from Cohn. Then he erases the whole incident, as Jake realizes, by his performance in the traditional ritual of the bullfight” (56).

Brett, he “did it all for himself inside, and it strengthened him, and yet he did it for her [Brett], too. But he did not do it for her at any loss to himself” (216). When Brett had read Romero’s fortune at the cafe, informing him that he would “live a long time” and Romero had remarked, “I’m never going to die” (186), his declaration exemplifies the enduring strength of the male self in a young man who provides an ideal model for Jake, a male who is continuing his quest for a similar full realization of his male self.

Romero’s success with the two bulls, moreover, has a significant impact on Jake, not only because the young matador’s victories remind Jake that he had cut himself off from his own inner strength, but also because Romero’s performance represents for Jake the sexual activity that Romero can engage in with Brett but that Jake can never engage with her—the very activity whose conspicuous absence has created a wedge between himself and his lover—and an activity in which Jake can only vicariously participate. As Strychacz observes, “Jake’s valorization of Romero clearly disguises his own complex feelings about his failures to dramatize himself; seeing for Jake is not an antidote for his sexual impotency but rather another facet of it” (“Dramatizations” 259). Furthermore, by composing these bullfighting scenes, Hemingway may have been fantasizing about having sex with Agnes—the nurse whom he still deeply loved, the woman who had thwarted his love as well as his sexual desire. As Jake narrates Romero’s eroticized performance in the arena before nurse Brett, Hemingway may very well have been fantasizing about a more confident version of himself at nineteen engaging in sexual activity with the nurse with whom he had most likely failed in reality to have sexual intercourse.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Although Kenneth Lynn implies that Hemingway and Agnes consummated their relationship (“when he and Agnes embraced, the immobility of his leg presumably required that he stay beneath her”) (88), Henry Villard agrees with Agnes, albeit with some qualification, that such a locale as the Milan Red Cross hospital would have made the enactment of all of the aspects of an intense romance very difficult. Villard notes, for instance, that “no more improbable environment could have been devised for a clandestine love affair that culminated in the woman’s pregnancy than the two upper floors of a building

Jake's description of Romero's stylish handling of the bulls with his cape is, for Jake, a metaphorical reenactment of sexual foreplay between Romero and Brett, and the young bullfighter's slaying of the two bulls can be seen as a symbolic reenactment of his and Brett's sexual intercourse.¹⁰⁵ Jake, in other words, tries to construct his masculinity vicariously by watching Romero's performance with the bulls, a performance that functions as the disabled veteran's imaginative substitute for his own inability to perform well in the bedroom with Brett. As Strychacz notes, "Romero's victories in the bullring after the beating by Cohn . . . become the focus of Jake's own attempts to redeem his impotence" ("Dramatizations" 256). Foreplay is suggested, for example, as Jake describes the way that "Romero was . . . getting so close that the [first] bull could see him plainly, offering the body, offering it again a little closer" (218), and sexual intercourse is suggested as the second bull charges onto Romero's sword, and "he [Romero] became one with the bull" (220). Not only, then, does Romero's skillful artistry with the cape metaphorically represent his sexual foreplay with Brett, but his ability to practice *recibir* on the bull also represents the matador's sexual penetration of his newly acquired British lover.

Hemingway, moreover, in order to underscore the effect of Romero's bullfights on Jake, also provides additional details that serve to associate Brett with Romero's bulls. For instance, after Romero awards Brett the ear of his second bull, his advice to her, "don't get bloody" (221), constitutes a warning that not only foreshadows the young woman's failure to take the ear with

converted into sanitized, vigilantly supervised hospital premises by the American Red Cross" (42). Kert, as I noted earlier, believes as well that "Agnes's . . . reassurance was probably more important than that the affair be sexually consummated" (59). Likewise, Meyers is skeptical that the Hemingway-Agnes relationship involved serious sexual intimacies, observing that, "the fact that she [Agnes] later jilted Hemingway suggests that she was not sufficiently committed to sleep with him" (*Biography* 38).

¹⁰⁵ Rudat observes that "Romero has carried the art of performing *recibiendo* from the bullring over into the bedroom" (*Rotten Way* 102), and Sarah P. Unfried notes that Brett "desires to defeat him [Romero] just as the bull desires to defeat him" (53).

her when she leaves Pamplona (199), but also constitutes a warning that suggests a ritualistic association between Brett and the bull. In other words, according to Romero, Brett should be careful not to make contact with the blood of the animal he had killed, which, as a traditional method of establishing a male hunter's brotherhood with his prey,¹⁰⁶ is consonant with the matador's traditional gender assumptions—assumptions that the matador will maintain at the Hotel Montana in Madrid when (as Brett will subsequently relate to Jake) her Spanish lover explained that he wanted to marry her in order “to make it sure I could never go away from him. After I'd gotten more womanly, of course” (242). Following Romero's killing of this same bull, Jake informs us that “boys were running toward him [the dead bull] from all parts of the arena, making a little circle around him. They were starting to dance around the bull” (220). Similarly, on the first day of the fiesta, Brett, after being turned away at the chapel,¹⁰⁷ had been encircled by dancers who “did not want her” to dance: “They only wanted her as an image to dance around” (155). In regards to the first bull, moreover, Romero, after “offering his body” to the animal, “drew the sword out from the folds of the muleta” before driving it into the bull or, metaphorically, penetrating Brett with his phallus, and then, reflective of a sexual climax, “for

¹⁰⁶ In *True at First Light* Hemingway tastes the blood he finds on the shoulder blade of a leopard that he had just shot and notes that such spontaneous acts promote closer bonds between men and the animals that they hunt. As Hemingway and Ngugi, his gun bearer and tracker, follow the leopard's blood spoor, Hemingway notes that Ngugi, “out of a clot of blood . . . picked up a sharp bone fragment and passed it to me. It was a piece of shoulder blade and I put it in my mouth. There is no explanation of that. I did it without thinking. *But it linked us closer to the leopard and I bit on it and tasted the new blood which tasted about like my own*” (239, my emphasis). Although Brett evidently does not taste the bull's blood—does not participate in the bullfight ritual and then later leaves the bull's ear in her hotel room bed-table when she departs Pamplona (199)—Romero's warning to her not to “get bloody” suggests that he does not want her to assume a traditional *male* role, but the very fact that he awarded her with the bull's ear nevertheless associates her with the bull.

¹⁰⁷ Carlos Baker sees Brett's proposed entry into the church as resembling a witch attempting to “gain entry into a Christian sanctum,” and that after she is turned away, her “witchhood is immediately underscored. Back in the street she is encircled by the chanting pagan dancers who prevent her from joining their figure” (*Writer* 89).

just an instant he [read Romero] and the bull [read Brett] were one” (218). After his performance, Romero, not unlike a satisfied post-coitus lover, confesses to the sword-handler that the bull “made me sweat” or, on a metaphorical level, the young matador has become overheated during his passionate sexual intercourse with Brett (219).

Romero’s engagement with the second bull reinforces the sexual symbolism, if only because this bull, an opponent that was “what Romero wanted in bulls,” suggests that Brett is the woman with whom Romero most desires to have sex. The young matador’s superb handling of this animal is also symbolic of sexual foreplay: As Jake reports, “each pass [of the bull] . . . gave you a sudden ache inside” (220), and like voyeurs who (not unlike Jake) may prefer that such an erotic performance never ends, “the crowd did not want it [the bullfight] ever to be finished.” Similar to Romero’s handling of his first bull, now he “spoke to the bull” as if it were human, that is, similar to the way in which he may very well speak to his new lover, Brett; then, as the bull charges, Romero, like a lover attaining sexual climax, “became one with the bull, the sword was in high between the shoulders, . . . and it was over.” The young matador thus constructs his masculinity not only through his mastery of bulls before a large audience of spectators, but also metaphorically if one imagines his demonstrating a mastery of women.

Despite the fact that on the day of Romero’s success the fiesta is nearly over and Jake may very well still be feeling guilty for having helped Brett seduce the young matador, the only way to account for Jake’s depression at this time is to recognize that his watching of Romero’s two bullfights is indeed a stark reminder to him of his Spanish rival’s sexual relationship with Brett. Jake notes, for example, that after the bullfights he became “drunker than I ever remember having been” (223), that he informed Bill that he was “low as hell,” and that twice he informed Bill, “I feel like hell” (222-23). Not only does the excessive amount of alcohol that Jake

consumes fail to cure the “damn depression” that Bill recognizes in him (223), Jake also recalls that “outside in the square the fiesta was going on,” but “it did not mean anything,” and, when he looks at himself in his hotel room mirror, he notes that “I looked strange to myself” (224). Thus, by having Jake fantasize about engaging in sex with Brett, by having his protagonist imaginatively assume the role of nineteen-year-old Romero, Hemingway may very well have also been fantasizing about having sex at nineteen with his first love, Agnes, a woman whom he loved during wartime, yet one with whom, as I have suggested, he evidently failed to engage in sexual intercourse.

In order to overcome the despair caused by the effect of witnessing imaginatively the sexual activity of Romero and Brett—activity that he himself is responsible for fostering—Jake attempts to promote contact with his male self and the reconstruction of his masculinity by journeying from Pamplona to San Sebastian. Whereas Spilka notes that, “as Book III begins, Barnes tries to reclaim his dignity and to cleanse himself of the damage at Pamplona” (“Death of Love” 91), Donald Daiker points out that Jake’s journey to San Sebastian constitutes his attempt “not only to wipe out his degrading experiences in Pamplona but also to re-create his inner self” (“Affirmative” 45). Ultimately, in Madrid, Jake will demonstrate the success of his renewal through the aid he provides to Brett following her rejection by Romero, and this interior transformation of Jake’s parallels Hemingway’s rediscovery of his own male self following Agnes’s rejection. It is, moreover, appropriate that Jake completes his transformation in San Sebastian, for this is the same locale where Brett had conducted her sexual tryst with Cohn, so that Jake’s elimination of his dependency on Brett (represented by Cohn) suggests his renewed contact with his male self. In Bayonne, Jake’s dismissive attitude about fiestas is indicative of his need to forget the past two weeks in order to initiate his inner renewal: “I was through with

fiestas for a while. It would be quiet in San Sebastian” (232). Already he senses the need for contemplation, for going within, to renew contact with a male self that he has been neglecting due to his dependency on Brett. Notwithstanding his disdain for “more fiesta-ing” with Bill in Paris and his anticipated trip to “quiet” San Sebastian (232), Jake is happy to be back in France, because for him, France is the “simplest country to live in” (233). As Jake describes his subsequent trip from Bayonne to San Sebastian, moreover, it is significant that he mentions the “eight tunnels” through which his train runs (234), for, like Jason, the legendary Greek adventurer, whose ability to survive such dangers as the Clashing Rocks represents the young hero’s maturity,¹⁰⁸ Jake’s journey to San Sebastian is not only geographical, but it also represents his inward journey from dependency to masculine autonomy.

James Plath notes the influence of Nick Carraway’s sojourn at the beach near the end of *Gatsby* on Jake’s stopover in San Sebastian (273), but Jake’s experiences there—a reflection of Hemingway’s own masculinity construction through his participation in aquatic sports in high school (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 27)—are most significant because they represent the full

¹⁰⁸ In his landmark study of mythic heroes, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Joseph Campbell wrote that the fundamental polarities of existence “are the clashing rocks (Symplegades) that crush the traveler, but between which the heroes always pass” (89), making their way through “the threshold guardians [who] . . . ward away all incapable of encountering the higher silences within” (92). Campbell also explained that, “instead of passing outward, beyond the confines of the visible world, the hero goes inward, to be born again” (91), undergoing a passage which becomes a “life-centering, life-renewing act” (92). Hemingway’s account of Jake’s trip from Bayonne to San Sebastian, therefore, may be seen to parallel the classical hero’s passage through the pairs of opposites and into a new realm of spiritual maturity (which Jake will discover in San Sebastian): As Jake informs the reader, “I . . . bought a ticket, went through a *gate*, climbed onto the train, and after forty minutes and *eight tunnels* I was at San Sebastian” (233-34, my emphasis). Jake also resembles ancient mythical heroes, in that, following his spiritual renewal (or inner strengthening) in San Sebastian, he will rescue a beautiful maiden (Brett) in Madrid. As Campbell points out in *The Power of Myth*, “the moral objective [of heroism] is that of saving a people, or *saving a person*, or supporting an idea” (127, my emphasis).

recovery of Jake's male self.¹⁰⁹ Although Jake admits that he "felt like a fool" for returning to Spain (233), his description of the town, nevertheless, is suggestive of renewal: "Even on a hot day San Sebastian has a certain early-morning quality" (234). Moreover, after unpacking in a time zone where he "had recovered an hour" and where "the streets feel as though they had just been sprinkled," Jake's first task is to take a shower, an activity suggestive of an inward cleansing, that is, the removal of his emotional dependency on Brett. Additionally, Jake's subsequent account of his experiences at the beach is also associated with inward renewal:

The water was cold. As a roller came I dove, swam out under water, and came to the surface with all the chill gone. I swam out to the raft, pulled myself up, and lay on the hot planks. A boy and girl were at the other end. The girl had undone the top strap of her bathing-suit and was browning her back. The boy lay face downward on the raft and talked to her. She laughed at things he said, and turned her brown back in the sun. I lay on the raft in the sun until I was dry. Then I tried several dives. I dove deep once, swimming down to the bottom. I swam with my eyes open and it was green and dark. The raft made a dark shadow. I came out of water beside the raft, pulled up, dove once more, holding it for length, and then swam ashore. I lay on the beach until I was dry, then went into the bathing-cabin, took off my suit, sloshed myself with fresh water, and rubbed dry. (235)

Whereas Hays believes that Jake's diving "is a baptism of sorts, a sloughing off of the old self in an effort of rebirth" ("Imperial" 241), and Stoneback points out similarly that "Jake's swimming

¹⁰⁹ Grace notes that Jake's "swims at San Sebastian suggest that he is attempting to cleanse himself and that he is not entirely certain of the righteousness of what he has done," that is, the "righteousness" of helping Brett obtain Romero (139).

is a secular variation on the theme of baptism” (281),¹¹⁰ Jake’s aquatic activities here may also be seen as reflective of his attempts to go within and immerse himself in his male self, a self that is represented by the cold water. For Stoneback, “the couple on the raft may serve as a reminder of Brett and Cohn and their tryst in San Sebastian,” but the couple may be seen as well to represent Brett and Jake: The girl with her exposed back could stand for Brett’s sexual prowess, and the fact that the girl is engaged in conversation with a boy who, most significantly, is not in physical contact with her, may be seen to represent the way that Jake has been courting Brett without the ability to consummate his relationship with her. Stoneback feels too that the “dark shadow” cast by the raft represents the illusions about the Brett-Cohn tryst that Jake manages to put behind himself, and Todd Onderdonk believes that Jake “has taken his departure from the doomed, islanded happiness suggested by the raft and literally opened his eyes to ‘dark’ reality: the male disempowerment and benighted romanticism in modern sexual relations” (85). The “dark shadow,” however, may also be seen as a representation of Jake’s relationship with Brett (Knodt 31), a relationship that, as he recovers from her influence, has evidently become

¹¹⁰ Regarding Jake’s descent to the sea’s bottom, Daiker notes the following:

There he clearly recognizes the darkness and confusion that has motivated his conduct. Although the “dark shadow” of Jake’s past hovers over him, he will build upon it, use it as a learning experience, pull himself up by it to create a new self. In this sense Jake’s diving deep suggests that his new self will have depth and a sound basis; his holding the second dive “for length” signifies that his new self will last and survive. (“Affirmative” 45).

For Rudat, Jake “does gain peace when he goes to San Sebastian, where the bathings in the clear waters off the coast are symbolic cleansings” (*Rotten Way* 72). Ellen Andrews Knodt observes, on the other hand, that “a close reading of the two swimming scenes . . . reveals that on the first day Jake has an experience that produces an ‘epiphany’ or a moment of truth, and on the second day, the ‘echo scene’ reveals the change that has taken place in his character” (28). When he looks “up at the dark shadow of the raft, Jake sees their [his and Brett’s] relationship for what it is, a shadow that will never be lifted, a relationship which will never improve or come to fruition. Jake can now begin the change that enables him to utter the novel’s famous last line” (31). Robert W. Lewis believes, moreover, that “after the renewal of the sea, Jake is ready to answer the call of help from those without even his tentative faith, once more to play the role of sexless priest and steer for his friends, his ‘parish,’ his ‘herd’” (32).

only troubling memories for him.¹¹¹ Finally, Jake's successful dives suggest that he is able to recover more of a sense of his male self; before he returns to the shore, his washing of himself with the "fresh water" is yet another indication of his interior renewal in a locale where later he will enjoy the "fresh coolness of the hot day" (235).

Later, Jake's encounter with the French and Belgian bicyclists, as well as his additional swimming and diving activities, provide further representations of his interior renewal. Sibbie O'Sullivan observes that in the bicyclists episode, "not even the purely masculine comradeship between fellow sportsmen appeals to Jake" (76), as the chief characteristic of the bicycle riders is their camaraderie, for these athletes, as Jake notes, "had raced among themselves so often that it did not make much difference who won" (236). In other words, not unlike the way that Jake had journeyed to San Sebastian to renew his connection with his male self and thereby reduce or eliminate his dependency on Brett, so too had the bicyclists, who "drank much wine" together, journeyed to San Sebastian in order to renew their camaraderie. Also, Jake's account of his swimming and diving when he returns to the beach the following morning is once again filled with images suggestive of his inward renewal. "Having to dive sometimes," Jake's swimming exhausts him, so he goes out to the raft again, and after pulling himself up onto it (237), he notes that the "bathers on the beach" appeared "very small" to him (238). This passage reminds us that

¹¹¹ From Hemingway's perspective, as I have explained, Agnes betrayed him by not returning to the U. S. to marry him and by agreeing to marry another; Brett, who is unable to guarantee her loyalty to Jake, nevertheless challenges the strength of their relationship through her tryst with Cohn, her engagement to Mike, and her liaison with Romero—if not through her two marriages. In her comparison of Brett to Helen of Troy, Kathleen Morgan emphasizes the betraying propensity of both characters, observing that "Helen has abandoned her husband and daughter to accompany a foreign lover to Troy. Brett has had two failed marriages, is engaged to Mike Campbell, in love with Jake Barnes and carrying on affairs with anyone she happens to desire" (172). Sibbie O'Sullivan, on the other hand, sees Brett's romantic fickleness as a reflection of Hemingway's dilemma over "whether or not to divorce Hadley Richardson, his first wife, and marry Pauline Pfeiffer" (77).

Jake's inward renewal has been (and must be) essentially a solitary one, and his recollection that the other bathers seemed "very small" to him is indicative of the renewed confidence and sense of masculine autonomy that he has gained through his contact with his male self. It is, therefore, appropriate that in this scene, as Stoneback points out, that "there is no shadow in the water" (284), that "sex has been removed from the picture" (285), and that Jake's final nautical activity is to dive "cleanly and deeply" before he returns to shore (238). Perhaps at this point, Jake, having acquired his interior renewal, is emblematic of what Gail Bederman has observed about male perceptions of manhood during Hemingway's early years, in that, "manliness was a standard to live up to, an ideal of male perfectibility to be achieved" (27). Hemingway makes it fairly obvious in these San Sebastian aquatic sequences that his male protagonist has undergone a significant inward transformation.

The latter phases of Brett's relationship with Romero are also a reflection of Hemingway's fantasies about his relationship with Agnes, with Brett in the role of Agnes, and Romero in the role of Hemingway—that is, the author's idealized, heroic version of himself during his relationship with his nurse when he too, like Romero, had been a handsome nineteen-year-old. Hemingway wrote *Sun* during his twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh years, a period of time when not only Duff but also Agnes would have been in the thirty-third and thirty-fourth years of their lives. In her attempt to rationalize Romero's rejection by citing the age difference between herself and the matador, Brett reminds Jake at the Montana Hotel in Madrid, "I'm thirty-four, you know" (243). She also rationalizes Romero's rejection by claiming that, in setting Romero free, she was being self-sacrificing, explaining to Jake that she "made him go" (241) not because the traditionally-minded matador wanted her to be "more womanly" (242), for "he'd have gotten used to" her appearance, but because, as Brett asserts, "I'm not going to be one

of these bitches that ruins children” (243). Although Wendy Martin has observed that Brett’s “final triumph in this scenario of self-denial is to relinquish Romero” (77) and Adair has suggested that “Romero’s rejection by Brett was perhaps unmanning” (“Mother” 201), Daiker has argued quite persuasively that it is in fact Romero who jilts Brett (“Brett Couldn’t” 74-82). This latter view would suggest that, in order to compensate for his lack of control over the breakup of his romantic relationship with Agnes, and consistent with the theory that “‘masculinity’ does not exist except in contrast with ‘femininity’” (Connell, “Social” 31), Hemingway may very well have reversed the manner in which his relationship with Agnes had ended. Similar to the way that Agnes frequently—as she did repeatedly in her letter of dismissal—referred to Hemingway as a “boy” or “kid” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 163), “Brett’s disgust with herself,” as Kathleen Morgan points out, “is based on Romero’s age” (178), with their age difference being the very same reason that Agnes provided in her letter of dismissal in order to account for her decision to conclude their relationship. It is appropriate that Brett, as she trembles in Jake’s arms, “felt very small” to Jake (241), for her rescuer in this scene has been able—due to his renewed contact with his male self as well as due to his enhanced masculinity (and not unlike the way in which he rendered the bathers in San Sebastian as “small”)—to assume a dominant position.

Although Jake’s reversal of roles with Brett, his evolution from being emotionally dependent on her to that of her rescuer,¹¹² was not an evolution that Hemingway was able to fully

¹¹² The critical views regarding the extent of Jake’s inward growth by the end of the novel have ranged from the maintenance of Jake’s attachment to, and dependency on, Brett, to that of his achievement of complete male autonomy. Perhaps best representative of the former critical camp is James Nagel, who observes the following: “That Jake is willing to go to Madrid to assist her [Brett] indicates that he still loves her, that her indiscretions have not killed that part of him, and that he is resigned to the pain that continued association with her is likely to bring (“Brett” 99). Other critics argue that Jake has learned some important lessons from his relationship with Brett. Carole Gottlieb Vopat, for example, feels that Jake “has recognized that what he had been calling romantic love is instead compulsion and misery, a

realize in terms of his recovery from Agnes and her dismissal of him, nevertheless, in the author's fictional rendering of his dismissal by Agnes, it is not Jake (Hemingway) who weeps. It is, rather, Brett (Agnes) who despairs, the woman whom Jake (Hemingway) had anguished over, the one who had subsequently become emotionally dependent on Jake (Hemingway). Romero, of course, maintains his heroic, hyper-masculine role despite the severe "wounding" he receives from Cohn, a role reminiscent of Hemingway, who, following his wounding at Fossalta and his subsequent return home, fashioned himself as a great war hero, wearing his uniform around Oak Park¹¹³ and telling exaggerated war stories about himself. Much as Hemingway was able to survive Agnes's rejection by going within himself and discovering the inner strength of his male self, so too is Romero able to preserve his dignity because it is *he* who rejects *her*—as Forter explains, "to remain *uncorrupted*, matadorial masculinity must steer clear of such women [as Brett]" (83). Paying the hotel room bill prior to leaving Madrid (243), moreover, constitutes an additional demonstration of Romero's adherence to traditional patriarchal values that include the male taking responsibility for the financial costs of courtship. Hemingway's fictional alter ego, therefore, walks away from his true love with his male self intact, a reflection of the inner

neurotic and scarcely controllable sickness which, rather than shore up his tentative masculinity, only serves to castrate him further" (96). A third group of critics recognize Jake's inward growth, but with significant qualifications. Richard Fantina, for instance, notes that "the mutilated hero [Jake] emerges uncertainly triumphant at the end of the novel, vanquishing his genitally-complete competitors by successfully negotiating the female Other in the person of Brett Ashley. Of course, this also means that he must submit to her, which he has been doing all through the novel anyway" (96). A final group of critics, however, take the position that, by the end Jake achieves an unqualified male autonomy. Jackson J. Benson, for example, reports that "the climax and point of the novel is that Jake finally becomes his own man" (40), and Emily Miller Budick asserts that, "whereas Jake was once a puppet playing out a pantomime directed by Brett, . . . now [in Madrid] he directs the action. . . . He is his own man" (qtd. in Barlowe, "Brett" 27). For additional views, see Grace, 101.

¹¹³ For an interesting discussion of Hemingway's prolonged wearing of his Italian uniform, see Moreland ("Bringing" 58-59).

strength Hemingway discovered in response to Agnes's rejection and compensation for the fact that he was, in reality, never able to fully recover from her rejection.

In the Palace Hotel bar and Botin's restaurant episodes, Jake continues his rescuer role as Hemingway underscores the newly discovered confidence that Jake's male self and enhanced masculinity have provided him. The bartender and the bar itself at the Palace Hotel, for instance, are reflections of Jake's inner security. Jake mentions to Brett, for instance, that the "bar is always nice" in hotels and that "bartenders have always been fine" (244). After the barman's confession to Jake that he should have asked Jake if the latter wanted an olive in his martini, the barman discreetly withdraws in order to allow Jake and Brett to converse privately. Later, after Jake requests the address of Botin's from him, the barman immediately proceeds to write it down for him (245). The barman's gracious helpfulness here is thus reflective of the new-found, self-effacing confidence that Jake has been employing throughout his heroic rescue of Brett in Madrid.

As Jake helps Brett recover from her traumatic rejection by Romero, Brett's preoccupation with the bullfighter may be seen as Hemingway's fantasy about Agnes being unable to forget about her relationship with him and is yet another representation of Jake/Hemingway's masculinity construction through his domination of a woman. In the bar, for example, Brett interrupts her discussion with Jake about bars and barmen by musing, "he [Romero] is only nineteen. Isn't it amazing?" Moments later, she interrupts a second time, informing Jake that Romero "was born in 1905. I was in school in Paris, then. Think of that" (244). Reminiscent of Agnes's preoccupation with the seven-year age difference between herself and Hemingway, Brett, as she attempts to rationalize Romero's rejection, emphasizes the significance of the age difference between herself and Romero. She sounds once again like

Hemingway's fantasized version of Agnes, moreover, when, after claiming that Romero had blamed her for their liaison ("He thinks it was me"), she subsequently agrees with Jake ("Yes. It was me"). She feels compelled to agree with Jake after the latter reminds her that her romance with the young bullfighter was indeed her fault ("Well, it was you") (245). This could very well be additional wishful thinking on Hemingway's part, his fantasy about himself informing a humble Agnes that she was the one to blame for their breakup.

Jake's newly acquired masculine confidence and Hemingway's fantasies about Agnes are further illustrated in the Botin's restaurant episode. The great quantity of food that Jake consumes at Botin's betrays his enhanced desire to engage in sexual intercourse with Brett: "I ate a very big meal," he explains to her, and when he asks her if she wants dessert and she sarcastically asks him if he likes to eat, he twice tells her, "I like to do a lot of things" (246). One of the "things" Jake would like to do is just that—have sex with the woman he loves—in the same way that Hemingway, as I have previously suggested, may very well have fantasized at times about having sex with Agnes. It is also significant that Jake implies that Brett is unable to understand his inner transformation. When she advises him, "don't [get drunk]. . . . you don't have to," her advice, perhaps reminiscent of Agnes's concern about Hemingway's excessive drinking—is parried by Jake, who responds, "I'm not getting drunk. . . . I'm just drinking a little wine." Then, by asking Brett how it is she knows that he does not have to get drunk ("how do you know?"), Jake is implying that she cannot understand the renewed masculine confidence that he has acquired through his restored connection with the inner strength of his male self.

Hemingway's sexist fantasy regarding his superiority to Agnes continues in the final scene of the novel as Jake once again assumes a superior position to Brett in an episode that is also reminiscent of Ernest and Agnes's carriage rides through Milan during the war. Jake tipping

the waiter and instructing the taxi driver “where to drive,” exemplify Jake’s newly discovered sense of masculine-like confidence, and his recollection of the way Brett “rested against me comfortably” and that “the car slowed suddenly pressing Brett against me” (247), suggests the young woman’s dependency on Jake. As Jake and Brett’s cab proceeds along the Gran Via, moreover, the mounted policeman’s phallic-like baton that Jake also recalls can be seen as symbolic of Jake’s inner strength, a strength that is underscored as Jake responds half-heartedly if not indifferently to Brett’s speculation about what “could have” been, by rhetorically inquiring, “isn’t it pretty to think so?”

In *Sun*, Hemingway was evidently attempting to show that, like Jake, he was able to overcome much of his dependency on women such as Agnes. Even though Hemingway may very well have felt at times that his first true love had tried to “castrate” him psychologically, he, again like Jake, had discovered and utilized the strength of his male self in order to reassert his masculine autonomy so that he could, like Jake, ultimately write novels demonstrating this autonomy, to show everyone—and perhaps most importantly, Agnes—how his male self had enabled him to regain control of his life. Indeed, the sun that rises here is not the orb that ascends the sky each morning, but rather Hemingway’s and his protagonist’s respective male selves emerging from the darkness of weakness and dependency.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Daiker notes that, in Madrid, Jake “is not the loving, doting, and accepting romantic that he used to be” (“Brett Couldn’t” 82), and that “Jake’s sun has risen, and there is no suggestion that it will set” (“Affirmative” 40). Also, Rudat similarly observes that, by the end, “the sun eventually shines on a Jake who is totally changed” (*Rotten Way* 75), for he “has overcome the wound/trauma that had stood in the way of his union with God” (151). Rovit and Brenner likewise believe that Jake “is able to force himself to a new beginning, eradicating the determinism of his past—his wound, his self-treachery and degeneration with Brett—through self-forgiveness and faith in his own human resources that, like the earth, ‘abideth forever’ in the granite veins of humanity” (141). For Reynolds, *The Sun Also Rises*, the very novel that Jake writes, “is an act of redemption written by a troubled man struggling to maintain some sense of dignity” (*Sun* 61). Finally, Onderdonk feels that, “in transforming a vanquished masculine identity into authorial mastery, Hemingway performs through the feminized Jake a novel-length recuperation of masculine authority exclusive to himself, even as he depicts the shattering of that authority for men in general” (67).

Whereas in this novel, Hemingway dramatizes the foolishness that is exhibited by males such as Jake and Cohn who allow their excessive emotional dependency to dominate themselves, in *Spring Torrents* his satiric rendering of males such as Yogi Johnson and Scripps O'Neil, who—unlike Jake in *Sun*—fail to learn just how foolish they are. Hemingway's heavy use of satire in *Torrents* thus serves to underscore for males the importance of establishing male-self contact and constructing their masculinity. Though at times we may find Cohn to be a sympathetic character, he has, unfortunately, been born too late. In an earlier age, before industrialization, mechanized wars such as World War I, and liberated women such as Brett Ashley, Cohn might very well have been able to assume the role of traditional hero in order to win the hand of a “maiden in distress.”

Yogi and Scripps, however, would not be able to make the excuse of being born too late. They are so deluded by their illusions of romance and their sexual proclivities, that they are rendered hopeless, individuals whom Hemingway presents as examples of pathetic males who have victimized themselves through a complete ignorance of, and lack of engagement with, their male self's inner strength. In Hemingway's next novel, however, as I intend to show, Hemingway will make another major effort to expel the romance-related trauma that he had evidently felt had challenged his male self and his masculinity, for in *A Farewell to Arms*, he employs not only his war wounding and subsequent recovery experiences, but also, once more, the former lover whom he had allowed to exert control over him until, that is, he was able to discover his own potent inner resource.

CHAPTER 5
THE MALE SELF CONCEALED BY LOVE AND WAR: A *FAREWELL TO ARMS*

The quest for the male self and masculinity construction are motifs that Hemingway features in *A Farewell to Arms*, his next significant literary achievement after *The Sun Also Rises*, and the novel that has not always been accurately seen as the one for which Hemingway relied heavily upon his experiences during World War I, especially those experiences that we can associate with his romance with Agnes von Kurowsky.¹¹⁵ Hemingway also continued to feature in novels such as *A Farewell to Arms* the masculinity construction methods that he had included in his previous works, such as *The Sun Also Rises*. Responding to Teddy Roosevelt's observation that "athletics might be one way to combat excess civilization and avoid losing Americans' frontier-bred manliness" (qtd. in Bederman 186), Hemingway and others of his generation, as I have shown, participated in a variety of sports for masculinity construction. Much as Jake Barnes and friend Bill Gorton in *The Sun Also Rises* enhance their masculinity through their fishing expedition to the Irati, Frederic Henry, following his desertion, undertakes a similar expedition with the hotel barman on Lake Maggiore, and much as Jake's swimming and diving at San Sebastian represents his re-contact with his male self, so too does Frederic's dive into the Tagliamento River and his subsequent negotiation of its raging currents in order to effect his escape from the battle police represent his employment (albeit temporary) of his male self. And similar to the way that Robert Cohn in *Sun* uses boxing as a method of masculinity construction, so too does Frederic attempt to employ this indoor sport as a substitute for his

¹¹⁵ James Nagel provides a brief summary of the way Hemingway transformed his experiences in Italy during the war into *A Farewell to Arms* ("Hemingway" 267-69). Nagel, moreover, includes the following regarding the impact of Agnes on Hemingway's fiction: "All his life Hemingway would write about his experiences in Italy, and always with a sense of loss and remorse for the woman who rejected him" (241). More poignant is Marcelline Hemingway Sanford's recollection of the day that her brother Ernest received Agnes's dismissal letter: "I have thought many times since that day that the letter from Agnes

participation in war and as a way to resist the threats to his masculinity posed by fatherhood and domesticity. Another important source of masculinity development featured in the two aforementioned novels, is one that, as I have explained, “consists in [men’s] power, prestige, privilege, and prerogative” over women (Stoltenberg 41). Parallel to Jake’s achievement of autonomy which enables him to establish his superiority over Brett following her rejection by Romero, is Frederic’s achievement of a superior role in his relationship with the heroic Catherine after her defeat by death and through his completion of a war novel that depicts a world so chaotic that the traditional roles of men and women have been reversed. Finally, much as in *Sun*, the nature of modern warfare—which, until the Industrial Revolution had served as an “important site in the shaping and making of masculinities” (D. Morgan 168)—had severely challenged the masculinity of characters such as Jake and Mike, in *A Farewell to Arms*, the absurd nature of twentieth-century combat prevents masculinity development through its undermining of all potentially heroic acts that otherwise may be performed on the battlefield.

Even though Linda Wagner-Martin has provided a helpful discussion about the influence of contemporary literary works on Hemingway’s composition of *A Farewell to Arms*,¹¹⁶ critics have not fully accounted for the important role that the author’s romance with Agnes played as he worked on his World War I war novel. Commentators such as Scott Donaldson, Bernard Oldsey, Ernest Lockridge, and Millicent Bell, for example, have placed more emphasis on the differences between Agnes and Catherine Barkley than on their

may have been the most valuable one my brother ever received. Perhaps without that rankling memory, *A Farewell to Arms* might never have been written” (188-89).

¹¹⁶ Wagner-Martin discusses these influences: Ford Madox Ford’s *The Good Soldier*, Blasco Ibanez’s *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, Henri Barbusse’s *Le Feu*, Hugh Walpole’s *The Young Enchanted*, Solita Solano’s *The Uncertain Feast*, Willa Cather’s *One of Ours*, Virginia Woolf’s *Jacob’s Room*, and D. H. Lawrence’s *Sons and Lovers* (“Intertextual” 181-90).

similarities. In *By Force of Will*, Donaldson notes that “Catherine’s most obvious model . . . is Agnes” (162), but in “The Jilting of Ernest Hemingway” he also observes that “the real nurse and the fictional one share almost no qualities whatever” (671). Oldsey concedes that Catherine was based “partly on Agnes” (*Hidden* 47); however, he also notes that *Farewell* is a good example of the way “art improves on life,” for Hemingway “did not have the love-of-his-life affair that Lieutenant Henry does. . . . He was not the common-law husband of a beautiful Scotch woman, was not the father of her stillborn child” (45). Lockridge observes that, with Catherine, Hemingway has “replaced his first true love, Agnes von Kurowsky . . . with a submissive, fawning dream-girl whose actions are in every significant way Agnes’s opposite” (170). For Bell, “Hemingway’s novel [*Farewell*] is not the autobiography some readers have thought it,” and even though Hemingway “did fall in love with a nurse, . . . She was no Catherine Barkley” (113).

A number of other critics agree that Agnes served as Hemingway’s primary inspiration for Catherine and Hemingway himself for his characterization of Frederic, but that Hemingway had additional people in mind for each of these characters. Jeffrey Meyers, for example, suggests, on the one hand, that Agnes’s dismissal “may have driven Hemingway . . . to recreate Agnes as Catherine” (*Biography* 41), yet on the other hand, Meyers also notes that, “like Hadley and Pauline (but unlike Agnes) the self-effacing Catherine is desperately eager to please her lover” (217). Allen Josephs similarly believes that even though Catherine’s character “was clearly based in part on Agnes von Kurowsky,” her “caesarean operation came from then Pauline’s delivery of their son Patrick” (80). Carlos Baker too feels that Catherine’s “portrait . . . seems to have been founded chiefly on his [Hemingway’s] remembrance of the Red Cross nurse

[Agnes] in Milan,” but he also notes that Hemingway employed Pauline’s caesarean for that of Catherine’s and that Hemingway may have been influenced by his “recollection of his first wife, Hadley” for his “portrait of Catherine” (*Writer* 98-99n4). Though Michael Reynolds’s *Hemingway’s First War* includes a comprehensive examination of Hemingway’s employment of his World War I experiences for the writing of *A Farewell to Arms*, Reynolds’s thesis is that Hemingway relied more on his research and reading about the war than on his experiences during the war and specifically on his romance with Agnes for his composition of the novel. Reynolds observes, for example, that “partly, Hemingway was able to use the physical beauty of Agnes Von [*sic*] Kurowsky” for Catherine’s characterization, but that he also employed “qualities drawn from his first wife, Hadley,” for Catherine’s character and used Pauline’s caesarean as the “naturalistic basis for his conclusion” (*First War* 24-25). James Mellow concurs, pointing out that Hemingway’s relationship with Agnes “provided the basis for the love affair between Catherine Barkley and Lieutenant Frederic Henry in *A Farewell to Arms*” (97). He also notes, however, that Hemingway shaped Agnes into “the more interesting and more complex Catherine Barkley of the novel—more sensual, slightly perverse, even a bit ‘crazy’” (99), and that Catherine is “a more sophisticated woman with an edge of bitterness in her voice and manner—not, after all, the naively romantic, vital nurse of the Agnes diaries and letters, who flirted with and misled the lieutenant from Oak Park” (99-100). Mark Spilka believes that “Hemingway drew on his romance with Agnes von Kurowsky for the central situation” of *A Farewell to Arms*, but Spilka notes too that Agnes was much older than Catherine and “seems to have been a much more confident and flirtatious woman than Catherine Barkley,” and that Catherine’s willingness to “please” and “be like” Frederic “are like the admiration and fondness that Sunny and her sisters had for brother Ernie” (*Quarrel* 277). Moreover, though Catherine’s

“most obvious prototype is Emily Bronte’s addled heroine, Catherine Earnshaw Linton, . . . She owes something more, however, to such live prototypes as Agnes Von [*sic*] Kurowsky, Pauline Pfeiffer, and Hadley Richardson” (211). James Nagel, who provides what is perhaps the most detailed comparison of the Hemingway-Agnes relationship with that of the Frederic-Catherine, observes that, although Hemingway’s breakup with Agnes accounts for the novel’s “inexorable movement towards loss and isolation,” nevertheless, as he composed the novel, Hemingway “transformed” his Italian experiences—including his “innocent affair with Agnes” (“Hemingway” 267). Nagel also points to the age difference between Ernest and Frederic, and the fact that, whereas Hemingway had served with the Red Cross beginning in late 1917, Frederic served in the Italian army “from 1915 onward.” Additionally, Nagel attributes events in Hemingway’s life apart from his romance with Agnes as having affected his composition of the novel. These events include “the suicide of his father; his divorce from Hadley and the simultaneously loss of a son, Bumby; and the near death of Pauline and their son Patrick in childbirth” (268).

At least four studies—those by Jamie Barlowe, Sukrita Paul Kumar, Henry Villard, and Robert W. Trogdon—underscore a stronger influence that the Hemingway-Agnes relationship may have exerted on Hemingway’s construction of the two major characters of *Farewell*, yet the respective discussions by each of these four commentators is brief. Barlowe observes, for instance, that in *Farewell*, “Hemingway is re-telling a personal story, although metaphorically through the characters of Frederic Henry and Catherine Barkley” (“Catherine” 176). Kumar believes that “Catherine . . . is almost wholly a fictional representation of Agnes,” and that “the ideal love that Hemingway’s unconscious cherished . . . seems to have formed an artistic expression which released the psychic tension of his unfulfilled desire” (106). Villard too has

little reservation regarding the influential role that Hemingway's memories of Agnes played in his characterization of Catherine: "I had no doubt that the major contribution was that made by Agnes herself. Agnes might not have been her precise counterpart, but without Agnes there would have been no Catherine" (44). Finally, Trogdon reports only that Hemingway's relationship with Agnes "provided him with the inspiration for . . . the love story in *A Farewell to Arms*," and that the author's "letters during this period reveal many similarities between the novel's protagonist, Frederic Henry, and Hemingway himself, including a prolonged hospitalization in Milan, a trip to Stresa, a friendship with an elderly diplomat, and a desire to visit the Abruzzi to hunt" (lxiv). Thus, although these commentators offer helpful comparisons between the Hemingway-Agnes romance and that of Frederic-Catherine, each falls short of providing a complete, in-depth analysis of the influence that the Agnes-Hemingway relationship had on Hemingway's composition of his first war novel. In this chapter, however, I extend the studies of critics by arguing that Hemingway relied primarily on his own experiences during World War I and especially on his romantic relationship with Agnes for the composition of *Farewell*, a novel in which Frederic's quest for the realization of his male self is impeded but ultimately not completely thwarted by the distractions of women and the absurd nature of modern warfare.

In Book One, the early phases of the Frederic Henry-Catherine Barkley relationship reflect Hemingway's limited knowledge about—and his attitudes towards—women, that is, during his late adolescence, including the early phases of his relationship with Agnes.¹¹⁷ In the

¹¹⁷ Carlos Baker notes that Hemingway's romance with Agnes "was his first adult love affair—there is no trustworthy indication of any before it—and he hurled himself into it with uncommon devotion" (*Ernest* 69). Kert explains that, for Hemingway, his romantic involvement with Agnes "was the first time he was in love, and the fact that the object of his passion was pretty and accomplished and seven years older fed his ego. . . . And Ernest, although sexually aroused, was not so sexually advanced that he would seduce her" (58).

opening chapters, Frederic's preoccupation with sex represents what was most likely Hemingway's intense interest in a subject in which he had evidently acquired no significant experience prior to, as well as during, his romance with Agnes, and it is Frederic's obsession with sex which not only betrays a desire to enhance his masculinity but also prevents him from connecting to his male self. According to Judith Fetterley, Frederic fails to understand "that sex is a dangerous and wasteful commodity and the best world is one of men without women" (52). Lt. Henry, who is clearly older and more mature than was Hemingway during the time the latter had served primarily as an ambulance driver with the Red Cross in Italy, nevertheless is a representation of Hemingway himself, for Frederic enacts the sexual fantasies that Hemingway had evidently failed to experience with Agnes. Although a number of critics have identified what they see as Frederic's androgyny, citing, for example, his alleged deviant relationships with the priest and Rinaldi,¹¹⁸ Frederic continually parries or rejects whatever sexual advances that these two friends may be seen to make towards him. A good example of Frederic's rejection of Rinaldi's alleged advances occurs when Frederic, following his return to his ambulance unit after his furlough, arrives at the room he shares with Rinaldi and explains that, after he and his roommate "shook hands and . . . [Rinaldi] put his arm around my neck and kissed me," Frederic responded, "oughtf" (11), a euphemism which suggests his disgust with what for Italians are traditionally innocent gestures of amiability.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Ira Elliot notes that Frederic's relationship with the priest "suggests that he, Frederic, is prepared to accept alternative, if not oppositional, sexualities" (295) and that "one cannot help but feel that the real subject of their conversation is their love for each other" (296). Moreover, Elliot observes that "the erotic nature of Rinaldi's love for Frederic is so open that it may be that his strategy is to hide in plain sight" (298). Regarding the priest and Rinaldi, Debra Modellmog notes that "there is . . . more than a hint of the homoerotic in their in their attachments to Frederic and in his to them" ("We Live" 14).

¹¹⁹ In *Living, Studying, and Working in Italy*, Travis Neighbor and Monica Larner explain that, in Italy, "male friends . . . often hug and kiss each other when they meet," and "when people speak together they often touch each other's arms or hands to emphasize a phrase. You will often see people stroking each

The novel *Frederic* narrates, moreover, is about a woman that a young man once loved, made pregnant and lost, not about a young man's experiments with deviant sexuality, experiments that Hemingway most certainly did not conduct during the war, a period of time when he too, after all, fell deeply in love with an attractive young woman. Although it is true that, in the first mess hall scene, Frederic does not participate in the officers' mockery of the priest, when the captain suggests that everyone "go whorehouse before it shuts," Frederic's bidding the priest "good-night" betrays the young lieutenant's decision to accompany the captain and the other men to the whorehouse, a place from which Frederic had earlier "watched the snow falling, looking out of the window" (6). The young man's decision to spend his permission time seducing women throughout the Italian peninsula, as opposed to following the priest's recommendation that he visit the spiritual adviser's family in Abruzzi, also betrays Frederic's own intense interest in heterosexual sex and suggests once again a desire to develop his masculinity. Much as the priest, whose character is based in part on a priest that Hemingway knew in Italy,¹²⁰ is essentially unaffected by the aforementioned officers' mockery, and though he follows a profession which is not associated with traditional masculinity, nevertheless, his homeland of Abruzzi can be seen as symbolic of Frederic's male self. After returning to his unit from his leave, for example, Frederic confesses to his spiritual adviser that he had failed to follow the latter's advice to visit his homeland, a "place where the roads were frozen and hard as iron, where it was clear cold and dry and the snow was powdery and hare-tracks in the snow and the peasants took off their hats and called you Lord and there was good hunting" (13). Cold, as I

other's cheek affectionately as they converse" (37). I also witnessed similar instances of these types of gestures during a month-long trip to Italy that I took with my wife in May and June of 2006.

¹²⁰ In his August 29 letter to his mother, Hemingway mentioned "a peach of a Catholic missionary Priest

have pointed out, is not infrequently associated with the male self in Hemingway, and here the camaraderie of the presumably male hunters and peasants is suggestive of the male self as well. Later, following Frederic's conversation with the priest at the hospital, Frederic provides us with additional details about the masculine nature of his spiritual adviser's homeland: "At Capracotta . . . there were trout in the stream below the town"; the priest's father "hunted every day and stopped to eat at the houses of the peasants . . . [where] they were always honored"; "what was lovely was the fall to go hunting through the chestnut woods" (73). Relevant too here is the fact that Frederic informs the priest that, although he had wanted to go to Abruzzi, he had not gone because "we did not do the things we wanted to do; we never did such things" (13). The young man senses that in Abruzzi he would have had the opportunity to contact his male self and construct his masculinity: This is a location in which his profound desire for women would not have allowed him to become distracted from making such crucial contact.

Frederic's inability to discover his male self and develop his masculinity due to his preoccupation with sex continues with the young man's attempts to seduce Catherine by participating in what he calls a "game" (30), one that is probably not dissimilar from whatever seduction games he may have played with women while he was on leave. Frederic's new game, moreover, as he explains, is even more engaging than the antics of the girls that he evidently has enjoyed at the officers' whorehouse: "This was better than going every evening to the house for officers where the girls climbed all over you and put your cap on backward as a sign of affection between their trips upstairs with brother officers." This new game, which is "like bridge," is

[sic] from India . . . [who] comes in to see me very often and we have great old gab fests" (*The Letters* 135).

better, Frederic seems to be implying, because attaining the prize of sex is not a foregone conclusion—it must be earned. Worth noting too is that, even though the kind of seduction game that Frederic plays with Catherine (who remarks to him that it is a “rotten game” they are playing) (31) had evidently not been played by Rinaldi during the latter’s brief courtship of the nurse, Frederic’s comments about Catherine here are not dissimilar from those of Rinaldi’s. When the physician initially informs Frederic, for instance, that he is “in love with Miss Barkley” and that he “will probably marry Miss Barkley” (12), his disingenuous confession here is not unlike Frederic’s subsequent lies to the young nurse regarding his love for her: Frederic explains to us, for instance, how he had answered Catherine’s inquiry about whether he loves her: “‘Yes,’ I lied.” He confesses to us that “I knew I did not love Catherine Barkley nor had any idea of loving her” (30), and that he wished “there was some place” that he and Catherine could go, because “I was experiencing the masculine difficulty of making love very long standing up” (31). Clearly, much as Frederic’s need to play his game with Catherine betrays a desire to enhance his masculinity, his inability to control his sexual desires becomes so intense that it conceals his male self and thereby prevents the development of his masculinity. As Messent has observed, “to plumb the intimate, the world of erotic bliss and emotional expression is . . . to discover a kind of wholeness . . . which proves to be entirely hallucinatory” (109).

Hemingway’s source for the competition between Frederic and Rinaldi for Catherine’s affection, moreover, was evidently his own relationship with Captain Serena, an Italian officer who was infatuated with Agnes prior to Hemingway falling in love with her,¹²¹ and probably based Rinaldi’s character not only on Serena but also on a doctor who had courted Agnes in New

¹²¹ In her August 15 diary entry, Agnes described Serena as “rather a lovable sort . . . [who] seems to be more faithful than I gave him credit for” (Kurowsky, “Diary” 70).

York. Although Hemingway chose not initiate his courtship of Agnes until he was certain that the Captain had relinquished his claims on her,¹²² the author reverses this in the novel, for Frederic does not hesitate to invade his physician friend's romantic territory during the latter's pursuit of Catherine. Rinaldi, who, despite his claims to the contrary, is not in love with the nurse, is also (unlike Serena) quick to concede defeat following Frederic's initial encounter with Catherine, admitting to his friend that "Miss Barkley prefers you to me. That is very clear" (21). Hemingway knew from Agnes's letters to him that she had also been conducting an ongoing correspondence with Doctor S, a physician with whom the young nurse had evidently developed an affectionate relationship during her medical training at Bellevue Hospital in New York.¹²³ Thus, it seems likely, especially given the fact that Serena was an officer in the "Alpini corps of the Italian Army" (Villard and Nagel 273n9) and not, like Rinaldi, a surgeon, that Hemingway

¹²² Agnes noted in her August 4 diary entry that, "last night I had a lecture from Kid Hemingway on the subject of my 'meanness to the Capitano [Serena]'" (Kurowsky, "Diary" 66), and on August 8 she wrote, "Mr. Hemingway is devoted to that man—and they tell each other all their secrets" (67). Mellow observes that

Hemingway did not make a play for her [Agnes] until more than a month after his admission to the hospital, and two weeks after his operation. The striking fact is that it was not until late in August, after Captain Serena announced that he was leaving Italy, that Hemingway made his move. Something about his relationship with the captain evidently held him back. (71)

¹²³ Agnes informed Hemingway in her October 29 letter, for example, that, "I've just written a letter *by way of duty*, to the medico [Dr. S], the first in over a month, I think" (Kurowsky, "Letters" 117, my emphasis). In her December 13 letter, Agnes mentioned to Hemingway that, "I wrote to my mother that I was planning to marry a man younger than I—& it wasn't the Doctor" (140), a comment that suggests the nurse's former serious intentions regarding Dr. S.

employed his knowledge of both of Agnes's suitors—Captain Serena and Doctor S—for his characterization of Rinaldi.

Although for his characterization of Catherine, Hemingway most certainly employed characteristics of Hadley, Pauline, and Elsie Jessup (a nurse with whom Agnes became acquainted during the latter's residence in Florence),¹²⁴ nevertheless, the author also most certainly relied on his memories of Agnes. Henry Villard recalls that Agnes herself had once claimed that “a tall, blond nurse named Elsie Jessup . . . was the pattern for much of the characterization of Catherine,” but Hemingway's former patient friend also believes that, “I had no doubt that the major contribution was that made by Agnes herself. Agnes might not have been her precise counterpart, but without Agnes there would have been no Catherine” (44). In terms of physical characteristics, moreover, Catherine's height as well as the color of her eyes, are not markedly dissimilar from those of Agnes. Much as Frederic, for example, describes his nurse as being “quite tall” and having “gray eyes” (18), Villard remembers Agnes as a “tall, slender, chestnut-haired girl with friendly blue-gray eyes” (3).

For his characterization of Catherine's former fiancé, who, according to Catherine, was blown “all to bits” at the battle of the Somme (18, 20), Hemingway most likely used the

¹²⁴ Kert reports that Agnes's

relief nurse was Elsie Jessup, American-born but British in her ways. She wore her long blonde hair up in a “knob,” carried a walking stick, spoke in a clipped English accent. To Agnes she seemed “wild” but intriguing. She smoked, had her own pensione for days off, and had served valiantly as the only nurse in a Serbian hospital during the typhus outbreak. (61)

Kert also points out that Hemingway's sources for Catherine's character include not only Agnes but also Duff Twysden (“Scottish origins and mannerisms”), Elsie Jessup (“her troubled past”), Hadley (“her nickname”), and Pauline (whose “letters to Ernest in 1926” sound like “Catherine's way of expressing her love for her lieutenant”) (218-19).

information that Elsie and/or Agnes had provided him about Elsie's fiancé, who was MIA. However, the author may very well have also been recalling what he knew about Agnes's relationship with Doctor S, the New York physician, whom Agnes replaced with Hemingway. Although Agnes informs Ernest in her October 25 letter that "Miss Jessup was engaged to a British officer who has been missing since April, & she is wearing mourning for him" (Kurowsky, "Letters" 112), in her October 29 letter, she makes clear her preference for Hemingway over Doctor S, explaining that, "he [Dr. S] never saw much of the Inner me, & you've seen so much. I'm ashamed to say I'm always comparing you with him in my mind's eye, & the comparison always comes out bene for you, & *he is left in the dust*" (119, my emphasis). Catherine likewise confirms her preference for Frederic over her lost fiancé, as she informs her new lover about her failure to engage in sex with and/or marry her fiancé:

"I didn't know about anything then. I thought it [marriage and/or sex] would be worse for him. I thought perhaps he couldn't stand it and then of course he was killed and that was the end of it."

"I don't know."

"Oh, yes," she said. "That's the end of it." (19)

What is often seen as Catherine's remorse (if not guilt) for neglecting to sleep with and/or marry her lost fiancé and then to end her posthumous devotion to him—that is, to violate her memory of him in favor of Frederic¹²⁵—is not dissimilar from Agnes's feelings of guilt, emotions that she initiated by choosing Hemingway over Dr. S. In her October 22-23 letter to Hemingway, for

¹²⁵ Catherine informs Frederic that she had planned to have her hair cut off after her fiancé was killed, because, as she explains, "I wanted to do something for him. You see I didn't care about the other thing [sex] and he could have had it all. He could have had anything he wanted if I would have known [that he was about to be killed]. I would have married him or anything. I know all about it now. But then he wanted to go to war and I didn't know" (19).

instance, the nurse confesses her guilt as she describes her dream about Dr. S:

Today, I dreamed . . . I saw my doctor, & almost passed him by, then decided to speak. "Hello, Daddy," I said, & he remarked it was about time I recognized him.

Then the rest of my dream I was all the time trying to get a chance to explain to him why I couldn't marry him, & always some interruption came just as I was about to say it. He was so kind & sweet *I felt more guilty than ever, too.*"

(Kurowsky, "Letters" 109-10, my emphasis)

Parallel to Hemingway's evolving love for Agnes during his residence as a patient at the Red Cross hospital in Milan is the evolution of Frederic's relationship with Catherine from that of sexual preoccupation to that of devout love, an evolving relationship that distracts Frederic from his role in the war and that thereby serves to further suppress his male self and negate any chance of developing his masculinity.¹²⁶ Frederic clearly feels something in addition to sexual frustration, for instance, a feeling that is suggestive of the early stirrings of love, when one evening he is informed by Fergie that Catherine could not see him: "I went out the door and suddenly I felt lonely and empty. I had treated seeing Catherine very lightly, I had gotten somewhat drunk and had nearly forgotten to come but when I could not see her there I was feeling lonely and hollow" (41). The next day, Frederic's description of his departure from Catherine on his way to the front is clearly less indicative of sexual desire than it is of romantic

¹²⁶ Naomi Grant "claims that Catherine . . . helps mature Frederick [*sic*] into a code of love" (qtd. in Whitlow 23). Scott Donaldson believes that "as the book progresses, he [Frederic] becomes more loving and less selfish, but only as compared to an initial policy toward Catherine that can best be defined as exploitative" (*Force* 156). Frederic Svoboda feels that "only through Catherine's continuing example of unselfish love does he [Frederic] gradually grow toward maturity" (162). For William K. Spofford, Frederic's relationship with Catherine provides him with the "direction and fulfillment that his life lacks at the beginning of the novel" (310), and for Modellmog, Frederic's "lesson of true love is sharpened by its contrast to the lustful, selfish, and ultimately empty one-night stands with prostitutes" ("We Live" 10).

love: “I looked back and saw her standing on the steps. She waved and I kissed my hand and held it out” (43). Frederic here is attempting to construct his masculinity by imitating the leave-taking gestures of a Medieval knight from his maiden, a leave-taking that occurs during “the absolute horror of World War I,” a conflict that, according to Kim Moreland, caused “a nostalgia . . . for the aesthetically ordered and self-contained warfare of chivalric romance” (“Hemingway’s” 39).

Catherine, moreover, had demonstrated earlier her devotion to her modern knight by bestowing on him the protective St. Anthony medal that she had been wearing around her neck. Even though following his wounding, Frederic forgets about the St. Anthony and speculates that it may have been stolen while he was recovering at “one of the dressing stations” (44), the fact that he had chosen to wear the medal around his neck as had Catherine, suggests not only his need of protection, but his gesture also attests to his love and devotion for Catherine. Could it be that his loss of the medal represents a subconscious need to dismiss his lover from his life and thereby construct his masculinity by developing a sense of autonomy from within himself? Moreover, a St. Anthony medal became a noteworthy item in Hemingway’s relationship with Agnes, for, according to James Mellow, “ironically, in life, it was Hemingway who sent Agnes von Kurowsky a St. Anthony when she went to Florence for her extended stay. (‘But do you think you should have given me your good luck, dear boy? Suppose you should go back to the Front while I’m here, & have it not to guard you?’) (381). Agnes explained too, in her November 1 letter to Hemingway that she was able to suppress the onset of the flu with the help of “medicine & St. Anthony” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 121). Additionally, as he composed the leave-taking episode, Hemingway may also have been recalling the ring that Agnes had given him, a gift which, like the St. Anthony that Frederic forgets about and subsequently loses, the

author may also have forgotten about or lost sometime before or following his breakup with Agnes.¹²⁷ Finally, we may speculate that the bad luck Frederic endures subsequent to his loss of the St. Anthony—the loss of his beloved Catherine in childbirth—is a reflection of Hemingway’s sense of the bad luck he endured following his loss of the aforementioned ring and medal: that is, his loss of Agnes.

In Book One, Frederic’s inability to connect to his male self and the difficulty of his constructing his masculinity are caused not only by the young man’s preoccupation with Catherine, but also by the anti-heroic, absurd nature of modern warfare.¹²⁸ As Sandra Gilbert has observed, World War I was “‘the apocalypse of masculinism’: paradoxically . . . the war to which so many men had gone in hope of becoming heroes ended up emasculating them” (qtd. in Herndl 42). Although Hemingway employs elements of his own frontline experiences in Frederic’s narration, the author’s subversion of Frederic’s opportunities for heroism underscores

¹²⁷ In her September 11 diary entry, Agnes wrote, “I gave my home ring to the Kid—and was astonished to see how really pleased he was. It’s strange to think how little an act will give a huge amt. of pleasure to someone” (Kurowsky, “Diary” 78). Agnes’s gift to Hemingway is confirmed by the photograph included on page 238 of *Hemingway in Love and War*. As Villard and Nagel note, “the ring shows clearly in the photograph of Hemingway in his new uniform. Certainly the gift of a ring would indicate an advance in their relationship” (275n30). However, at least to my knowledge, Hemingway never made further mention of this ring or the St. Anthony medal nor am I aware of any evidence which suggests that either the ring or the medal are extant.

¹²⁸ A number of scholars have provided the reasons for modern warfare as being anti-heroic or perverse. Charles Hatten, for instance, observes that “in World War I, the masculine experience of war was itself so transformed by technology as to overwhelm notions of war as a site of individual masculine achievement” (81). Alex Vernon likewise reports that

one historical consensus about World War I is the unprecedented degree to which its soldiers were rendered passive by the new technology of machine guns, indirect fire artillery, and mustard gas. Soldiers rarely had the opportunity to fight the enemy, not in any classic sense in which one's own agency and skill might affect the outcome. Instead, bullets from great distance sprayed them, bombs dropped on them, and gas invaded their lungs, and they were powerless to prevent it. (45)

Donaldson, moreover, explains that, for Hemingway, “modern warfare was especially hateful because men killed indiscriminately, in cold blood, without so much as a glimpse of the enemy” (*Force* 130).

the insignificance of the individual soldier's efforts in the terrible conditions of modern, mechanized warfare. When Frederic returns to his ambulance unit from leave, for example, he realizes that, despite his absence, his unit had continued to operate with remarkable efficiency:

I had imagined that the condition of the cars, whether or not things were obtainable, the smooth functioning of the business of removing wounded and sick from the dressing stations, hauling them back from the mountains to the clearing station and then distributing them to the hospitals named on their papers, depended to a considerable extent on myself. *Evidently it did not matter whether I was there or not.* (16, my emphasis)

Furthermore, Hemingway's decision not to utilize the courageous acts that he himself had performed following his wounding at Fossalta in the episode which features Frederic's wounding also suggests that Hemingway evidently wanted to negate whatever presumptions his readers may have entertained about Frederic's heroism. In his August 18, 1918 letter to his family, Hemingway explained the way that, immediately after his wounding by the mortar round explosion, he had carried an injured Italian soldier to safety: "The machine gun bullet just felt like a sharp smack on my leg with an icy snow ball. However it spilled me. But I got up again and got my wounded into the dug out" (*The Letters* 131). Unlike Hemingway, however, Frederic does not rescue anyone, a fact that he relates repeatedly to Rinaldi at the field hospital as the physician interrogates him about his alleged heroism:

"Tell me exactly what happened. Did you do any heroic act?"

"No," I said. "I was blown up while we were eating cheese."

"Be serious. You must have done something heroic either before or after. Remember carefully."

“I did not.”

“Didn’t you carry anybody on your back? Gordini says you carried several people on your back but the medical major at the first post declares it is impossible. He had to sign the proposition for the citation.”

“I didn’t carry anybody. I couldn’t move.” (63)

It is also relevant that Frederic and those soldiers with him in the trench are eating cheese when the mortar round explodes, for this type of food suggests that the front line soldiers are as insignificant and as vulnerable as the rats that frequently infested the trenches during World War I.¹²⁹ Additionally, Hemingway had anticipated Frederic’s denial of performing heroic acts in an October 18, 1918 letter, in which the author had reported to his family that “there [*sic*] are no heroes in this war. We all offer our bodies and only a few are chosen, but it shouldnt [*sic*] reflect any special credit on those that are chosen” (*The Letters* 147).

In Book Two, Frederic’s attempts to re-contact his male self and construct his masculinity are thwarted primarily by his relationship with Catherine and by his vulnerable status as patient, and the nature of his romantic relationship with the nurse while he is recovering in the Milan hospital prior to his departure for the front is reflective of Hemingway’s relationship with Agnes prior to her departure for Florence and his own subsequent departure for the front. The nature of Hemingway’s relationship with Agnes during the early phases of their relationship well documented, as I have demonstrated, by Agnes in her diary entries and in her letters to Hemingway—was such that Hemingway’s feelings for his nurse increased immediately after

¹²⁹ In *All Quiet on the Western Front*, Erich Maria Remarque’s highly autobiographical account of front line duty in the German trenches during World War I, the “repulsive” rats, with their “evil, naked faces” (102), are not unlike the troops themselves, who are not only often hungry but also locked into a terrible life-and-death struggle for survival.

she received the news on August 21 regarding Captain Serena's departure from Milan. In her entry dated August 25, for instance, Agnes mentioned that "Ernest Hemingway has a case on me," and in her diary the following day, she wrote that "Ernest Hemingway is getting earnest" [*sic*] (Kurowsky, "Diary" 72). Likewise, Frederic's emotional dependence on Catherine after he realizes that he has fallen in love with his nurse upon her arrival at the Milan hospital, is foreshadowed by his dependence on the medical staff when he first arrives there. The severe pain that he endures from his wounds as he is being transported to his room intensifies his dependence on the staff: He recalls, for instance, that in the crowded elevator, "as my legs bent the pain was very bad" (81). His dependence on the staff is further intensified when he discovers that his room had not been prepared before his arrival and that his doctor had gone to Lake Como, for, as Miss Gage informs Frederic, "no one knew there was a patient coming" (84). Even though Frederic tries to counter his dependency—in other words, he tries to construct his masculinity—by drinking and by attempting to keep up with the latest news from the front (87), his suffering due to his wounding will render him all the more vulnerable to Catherine upon his reunion with her. Much as reading about the war news constitutes one of Frederic's chief methods of at least vicariously participating in the war (albeit a mechanized one that affords soldiers little opportunity in which to employ their male selves), drinking is not only traditionally associated with male camaraderie, but it also affords Frederic the chance to rebel against Miss Van Campen, the strict nurse-supervisor who otherwise represents a severe impediment to the young man's contact with his male self.

In another effort to contact his male self, Frederic asks the barber for the latest war news. However, since the latter's misinterpretation of the porter's remarks about Frederic resulted in his mistaken assumption that Frederic was an Austrian officer, Frederic is forced to endure the

barber's potentially lethal threats—"beware," he said. The razor is sharp"(90)—as well as the porter's laughter when, after the barber's departure, the porter informs Frederic that the barber had "thought I said you were an Austrian officer" (91). This episode, moreover, since it involves an Italian who mistakes a comrade for one of the enemy, contributes to the theme regarding the absurdity of modern warfare, which, as I have stressed, denies war participants of the opportunity to connect to their male selves and develop their masculinity.

Hemingway, on the other hand, provides Frederic with a male self prototype in Dr. Valentini, a physician who represents the kind of man Frederic could become if he had the opportunity or allowed himself the opportunity to re-contact his male self. As Frederic's male self has been severely suppressed by being bedridden for what appears at first to be an extended period of time and with the knowledge that he may lose his leg, a prospect that implies castration,¹³⁰ Valentini, who is in contact with his own male self, through his medical assistance as well as through his strong masculine character, promotes Frederic's ability to discover his male self. Valentini, as Alex Vernon notes, "operates on Frederic and restores him to full masculinity" (43). The surgeon's character, moreover, stands in sharp contrast to that of the other doctors who examine Frederic's leg. The house doctor's advice that Frederic should follow the first captain's recommendation about Frederic waiting six months before undergoing an operation (96-98) when Frederic is clearly anxious to return to the front, represents a severe

¹³⁰ Carl Eby reports, regarding Hemingway's condition in the hospital (and given the evidence from Agnes and Henry Villard), that "there is little reason to doubt Ernest's fear of an amputation. Citing an interview with Ernest's fellow-convalescent, Henry Villard, Carlos Baker notes that 'there had been some loose talk about possible amputation'" (*Fetishism* 61). Klaus Theweleit explains that the hospital situation renders the soldier "reduced to the status of a child" and so he compensates by projecting his "needs for mother-child and sibling relations onto the sister-nurses" (qtd. in Comley and Scholes 38). Mark Spilka, on the other hand, asserts that Frederic's condition "is both the badge of manhood and the secret entry into womanhood," in that the "physical wounds help to certify Frederic's manliness and so free him for a time from future heroism, while he "can enjoy being weak, frail, 'female,' without being ashamed of his condition" (*Quarrel* 219).

challenge to Frederic's male self discovery and masculinity. Valentini's masculinity, however, is conveyed not only by the associations of his name with that of the notorious Italian lover, Rudolph Valentino, and because the doctor is willing to "have ten drinks" with Frederic, but also because of the playful nature of his remarks to Frederic about Catherine (99). The surgeon, for example, repeatedly calls Frederic's nurse "the pretty girl" and "a lovely girl," informs Frederic that she will "make you a fine boy," and even asks Frederic if he thinks Catherine would have supper with him. Valentini's personality, in fact, is not unlike that of a Greek satyr, and his sexual arousal is suggested as Frederic notes that when the doctor entered the room the "points of his [Valentini's] mustache stood straight up" (99) and in the way in which "his mustaches went straight up" when he departed (100). Thus, whereas Frederic allows his love and passion for Catherine to control if not dominate him, Valentini is in full command of himself. Finally, since he operates on Frederic the day immediately after his examination, Valentini speeds up the young man's recovery, a recovery that potentially could serve to promote Frederic's relationship with his male self and his masculinity by enabling the young man to return the front much sooner than he had originally anticipated.

Catherine's arrival at the same hospital where Frederic is recuperating from his wounds, an episode in which he realizes that he is "crazy about her" (91),¹³¹ is a reflection of the period of time in which Hemingway became aware that he was deeply in love with Agnes. Frederic confesses to us that when he was reunited with Catherine in his hospital room, "I was in love with her. Everything turned over inside of me" (92). Then, after she departs, he explains, "God

¹³¹ Svoboda explains that Frederic has "the moment of the realization of a love that already exists, much against Frederic's conscious will" (161). Reynolds suggests that "before the blast at Plava, Frederic was certain that he would not die in this war; afterwards he has lost this false sense of immortality," so that "after . . . [his] wounding, he is a changed man," a transformation that makes him, in turn, susceptible to Catherine and his love for her ("Doctors" 119).

knows I had not wanted to fall in love with her. I had not wanted to fall in love with anyone. But God knows I had” (93). Of course, Frederic had not wanted to fall in love, because he knew instinctively that love would constitute a major distraction from his realization of his male self and the construction of his masculinity. His confession of love, moreover, is reminiscent of Hemingway’s confession of his love for Agnes, which Hemingway made in his August 29 letter to his mother: “Also Mom I’m in love again” (*The Letters* 136). Frederic also underscores the irrational nature of his love as he informs Catherine, “I’m crazy about you,” “I’m crazy in love with you,” and “I’m just mad about you” (92). Similarly, Agnes, in her August 27 diary entry, noted the excessive nature of Hemingway’s feelings for her: “All I know is ‘Ernie’ is far too fond of me, & speaks in such a desperate way every time I am cool” (Kurowsky, “Diary” 73). Frederic’s recollection of the time he realized that he was in love with Catherine, then, is a reflection of the strong emotions that Hemingway evidently felt during the early phases of his relationship with Agnes.

Since it was against the rules for nurses serving with the Red Cross in Italy to socialize with patients unless the nurses were properly chaperoned,¹³² Hemingway’s and Frederic’s respective romances are also similar in that they were/are forced to conduct their romances clandestinely. Much as Agnes took night duty so that she and Ernest would have ample time alone together,¹³³ Catherine and Frederic must engage in many of their romantic activities at night, for if their liaison were to be discovered, Catherine, as she informs Frederic, would risk being sent back to Scotland (115). The clandestine nature of their relationship is also evident as

¹³² Nancy R. Comley and Robert Scholes observe that during the war, the social codes forbade “sexual relations between military nurses and their charges” (37).

¹³³ Villard reports that “after hours, . . . when the other patients were asleep [,] . . . Aggie could pay more visits to Ernie’s room than were strictly necessary” (42).

Catherine prepares Frederic for his operation, at which time she reminds her injured young lover that during the procedure he should “just think about something else—not us. Because people get very blabby under an anesthetic” (103). The enema that Catherine administers to Frederic here—given traditional sexist assumptions regarding the subordinate status of women—can be seen to represent Frederic’s effeminate, inferior status as a wounded soldier who has become emotionally and medically dependent on his nurse. As Vernon explains, “nothing in the text suggests that he experiences the enema erotically, but still he is penetrated” (43). In other words, Hemingway reverses here traditional hegemonic masculinity, “which guarantees,” according to R. W. Connell, “the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (*Masculinities* 77). Another way in which the two pairs of lovers are similar is through their secret exchange of letters. Villard, for instance, recalls hearing rumors that Ernest and Agnes “had engaged in a running underground correspondence, exchanging notes and letters at a prodigious rate, usually with Mac [Elsie MacDonald] as trusted intermediary” (27). Frederic similarly describes how he and Catherine “wrote notes during the day when we were awake and sent them by Ferguson” (108).

As Frederic and Catherine’s romance intensifies along with the suppression of Frederic’s male self and masculinity, the two lovers enjoy the kind of sexual intimacies that can be read as imaginative elaborations of the more innocent physical contact that Hemingway and Agnes evidently shared.¹³⁴ Catherine’s pregnancy, reflective of Hemingway’s and Frederic’s anxieties about fatherhood and domesticity, attests, of course, to Catherine’s and Frederic’s engagement in

¹³⁴ Villard explains that “surely, no more improbable environment could have been devised for a clandestine love affair that culminated in the woman’s pregnancy than the two upper floors of a building converted into sanitized, vigilantly supervised hospital premises by the American Red Cross” (42).

conventional sexual intercourse, an engagement that is suggested in Book Two, when Catherine, just prior to Frederic's departure for the front, proposes that they "do something really sinful" because "everything we do seems so innocent and simple" (153). Although Hemingway and Agnes, as I have claimed, in all likelihood never did have sexual intercourse together, there is, nevertheless, ample evidence in Agnes's letters that at least some degree of intimate physical contact occurred between them. In an undated letter Agnes sends to Hemingway while he is on leave at Stresa, for example, the nurse included a poem to her "dear old furnace man," a lyric that contains the lines, "and tonight I'll keep / You up till the break of day," and "tonight when you've gone to rest, / While the rain it doth pour / I'll open the door / And ask for the loan of your chest" (Kurowsky, "Letters" 95-96). Also, in her October 16 letter, Agnes informed Ernest that during her train ride from Milan to Florence, "I kept wishing I had you alongside of me, so I could put my head on that nice place—you know—the hollow place for my face—& go to sleep with your arm around me" (99).

Hemingway may have been recalling his intimacies with Agnes as he composed Frederic's account of the occasions when his removal of Catherine's hair pins would create a refuge for himself and Catherine within the tresses of her hair:

I loved to take her hair down and she sat on the bed and kept very still, except suddenly she would dip down to kiss me while I was doing it, and I would take out the pins and lay them on the sheet and it would be loose and I would watch her while she kept very still and then take out the last two pins and it would all come down and she would drop her head and we would both be inside of it, and it was the feeling of inside a tent or behind a falls. (114)

We can speculate that Hemingway too may very well have engaged in similar intimacies with Agnes, given especially the latter's description in her September 7 diary entry of the time Elsie MacDonald discovered one of Agnes's hairpins in Hemingway's bed: "Lo'dy, Lo'dy, Goodness me—Mac found one of my yellow hairpins under Hemingway's pillow, & she & Mr. Lewis [presumably another patient] will never let me forget now" (Kurowsky, "Diary" 77). In effect, though both Hemingway and his fictional protagonist here manage to isolate themselves from the outside world, they are also isolating themselves from their male selves and from what could be the opportunity to perform masculinity construction.

It is also quite likely that Hemingway may have been recalling the possessiveness and jealousy that he and Agnes had felt for each other as he developed the relationship between Frederic and Catherine—feelings that exacerbate both the concealment of Frederic's male self and the impairment of his masculinity development. As Catherine prepares Frederic for his operation, for example, the nature of her confession to him is suggestive of her possessiveness and jealousy: "I don't want any one else to touch you. I'm silly. I get furious if they touch you" (103). Another example of her jealousy and possessiveness occurs when she describes for Frederic the manner in which he sleeps:

"You have such a lovely temperature and you sleep like a little boy with your arm around the pillow and think it's me. Or is it some other girl? Some fine Italian girl?"

"It's you."

"Of course it's me." (104)

After Catherine finishes cleaning Frederic "inside and out," moreover, she asks him how many women he has "stayed with," whether they were "pretty" and "attractive," and even though she

once again tries to reassure herself by telling Frederic, "I don't care" if he has "belonged to any one else," she nevertheless requests that he not tell her about these other women (104-05).

Additionally, she asks Frederic whether prostitutes tell their clients that they love them and whether Frederic had ever told a prostitute that he loved her, before Catherine tells her lover, "I'll say just what you wish and I'll do what you wish and then you will never want any other girls, will you?" (105). Frederic's jealousy and possessiveness are suggested too when he asks Catherine whether someday she might "ever leave" him for "some one else," and even though she reassures him that he does not have to "worry about that," he nevertheless reminds her that "you did love someone else before" (116).

In her letters to Hemingway, Agnes likewise expressed her anxieties about Ernest's loyalty, and some of her diary entries attest to her young lover's possessiveness and jealousy. In her October 8 letter, for example, Agnes responded to what had evidently been Hemingway's account in a previous letter to her of his encounters with the three young Bellia sisters that he had met while on leave in Stresa: "I don't want you to think that I've stopped being jealous, or you'll immediately suggest that I don't care for you anymore" (Kurowsky, "Letters" 96). Moreover, Agnes explained to him in her letter of October 17 that, "I haven't really started to worry yet over your forgetting to love me as you do now, but sometimes I do think of the possibility & I don't enjoy my thoughts at all" (102). In her diary entry of August 8, Agnes referred to a Lt. Darling, a patient with whom Hemingway evidently felt himself to be in competition for the nurse's attentions: "Mr. Hemingway is jealous of the attention he gets as he has been spoiled himself" (Kurowsky, "Diary" 68). Agnes's August 30 diary entry also provides us with further evidence of Hemingway's jealousy, for in this entry Agnes noted that she felt it necessary to conceal from Ernest the manner in which she had bid farewell to a Navy paymaster: "Mr.

Michels left this A.M. & I'm not ashamed to say I kissed him goodbye—though I didn't dare tell the Kid [Hemingway]" (73). In a diary entry dated October 7, in fact, Agnes recorded her overall assessment of what she believed to be Hemingway's feelings for her: "I am sorry to say the Kid has a jealous disposition" (86), and in her October 10 entry the nurse described the way in which Hemingway had refused to attend a party because of his jealousy over what he believed to be Agnes's date with another patient, Mr. Fiedler:

After lunch, Mac [Elsie MacDonald] & I danced with Mr. Fielder, one of our aviator pts. a Southerner with all the wiles & graces of the type. Hem. came down & found us in the Salon, as he was going to the Races, and immed. thought I had a date with Mr. Fielder. When he came back at 6 I was walking downstairs with Mr. Fielder & he believed it when Mac said I had been out with him all the afternoon. So he refused to come to our fudge party. (87)

Not unlike many lovers, then, the love that characterized the early phases of Agnes and Hemingway's relationship was unfortunately also laced with anxieties about their devotion towards one another.

Catherine, like Agnes, not only has anxieties about her ability to maintain her relationship with her lover, but the young nurse's reassurances to herself regarding the merger of her identity with Frederic's—a merger that presupposes the exclusion of others—are also reflective of Agnes's similar views regarding the nature of her relationship with Hemingway. Moreover, the threat of identity merger further reduces Frederic's chances of contacting his male self and constructing his masculinity.¹³⁵ As Peter Messent points out, "the references to androgyny

¹³⁵ Donaldson explains that "Catherine's eagerness to serve and sacrifice for Frederic apparently stems from a powerful drive to obliterate herself" (*Force* 155). In regards to Catherine and Frederic's relationship, Modellmog points out that "she desires him while also being him; he is her while also

suggest a negation of sexual difference; the references to the loss of separate identity, a negation of individual difference,” and “the attraction of romance and of sexual fulfillment is confused . . . with the diminishment of the male self” (108). Following her aforementioned inquiry of Frederic about prostitutes, Catherine introduces the subject of identity merger when she informs her lover that she is willing to give up her very self for him: “I want what you want. There isn’t any me any more” (106). One summer night, after Frederic explains to Catherine that he wanted to marry her if only for her own good, (“if anything happened to me or if you had a child”), Catherine explains that they need not formally wed, because “there isn’t any me. I’m you. Don’t make up a separate me” (115).

Catherine’s sense of oneness is also evident in the race-track episode. Here, for example, they isolate themselves from Mr. Meyers and their other companions, first by retreating by themselves to the paddock and then by choosing their own horse to bet on, “a horse,” as Catherine informs Frederic, “we’ve never heard of and that Mr. Meyers won’t be backing” (131). After the race, as the two lovers are having drinks together at their own table, Frederic responds in the affirmative (albeit perhaps with a bit of irony) after Catherine asks him, “don’t you like it better when we’re alone?” (132). When, in a subsequent scene, Catherine informs Frederic of her pregnancy, the lovers’ isolation is also suggested as Catherine explains that it is important they not fight, for the outside world poses a constant threat to their alliance: “Because there’s only us two and in the world there’s all the rest of them. If anything comes between us we’re gone and then they have us” (139).

After Frederic describes his purchasing of a pistol at the armorer’s store, his subsequent account of kissing Catherine as they stroll along the streets of Milan can be seen as a metaphor

desiring her,” and the fact “that they both desire and wish to be each other collapses the strict boundary between male and female, between heterosexual and homosexual” (“We Live” 19).

for their identity merger, a union that provides them with a sense of protection against the indifference of the rest of the world: “While I kissed her I felt her hand on my shoulder. She had pulled my cape around her so it covered both of us. We were standing in the street against a high wall” (150). This episode, moreover, had been foreshadowed earlier when the two lovers that Frederic and Catherine had encountered at the cathedral had reminded Frederic of himself and Catherine:

There was a soldier standing with his girl in the shadow of one of the stone buttresses ahead of us and we passed them. They were standing tight up against the stone and he had put his cape around her.

“They’re like us,” I said. (147)

Later, as he recalls having dinner with Catherine in their hotel room, Frederic’s description—“Catherine wore my tunic over her shoulders while we ate” (153)—is reminiscent of the couple that he had seen at the cathedral. His description is significant because it underscores both his isolation from his male self as well as his and Catherine’s identity merger and their isolation from the rest of the world.

Similarly, Hemingway and Agnes’s preoccupation with identity merger and isolation is evident in Agnes’s letters to Hemingway. In her October 15 correspondence from Florence, for example, the nurse expressed her wish that, had Hemingway taken the train with her, they would have been like the married couple—the “hubby” with his ill wife “all wrapped up in his coat”—whom Hemingway had seen at the Milan station and across from whom Agnes had subsequently sat after she boarded the train: “Perhaps that’s why I like to imagine that you are here, offering me these little attentions, & *putting my cape around me, etc.*” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 97, my emphasis). It is significant, moreover, that Agnes’s fantasy about herself and Hemingway here is

similar not only to Frederic's description of the soldier whose cape is wrapped around his lover at the cathedral, but also to Frederic's description of the way in which his cape is wrapped around Catherine as they eat dinner together in their hotel room. As Agnes emphasized the isolated nature of her relationship with Hemingway in her October 21-22 letter to him, she also reassured him that they should not be too concerned if the world discovers the secrets that they share together, for "I'm afraid the world doesn't understand everything anyhow, & would make very harsh criticisms" (108). Agnes also sounds very much like Catherine in her December 13 missive, a letter in which she informed Hemingway, "don't let's talk about me. I'm not worth it so now, we'll speak of you & us—as you usually prefer such speakings" (140). In her December 20 letter to Hemingway, Agnes also sounds very much like Catherine as she commiserates over her lover's return to America and Oak Park: "What if our hearts should change? Both, I mean, & we should lose this beautiful world of us?" (145).

Hemingway employs additional wartime experiences associated with Agnes and what he saw as the injustice of his losing her, in order to foreshadow, in the bat, race track, and the pregnancy revelation episodes, the injustice of Frederic's loss of Catherine. Regarding the bat that flies into his room through the open balcony door as he and Catherine recline on his bed one night, Frederic recalls that "the bat was not frightened but hunted in the room as though he had been outside," and "we lay and watched him and I do not think he saw us because we lay so still" (101). The bat's role here as hunter, with Frederic and Catherine in the role of its potential prey, not only can be seen as symbolic of the unjust, evil nature of the war if not the world in general, but it may also be seen as a foreshadowing of Catherine's death. However, as I shall demonstrate, her will enable both Frederic's re-contact with his male self and the construction of his masculinity through the removal from his life of the woman who, as Charles Hatten notes,

“undermines Henry’s efforts . . . to secure a masculine identity” (95). In the bat episode, moreover, Hemingway was most likely drawing upon his memories of the night that he and Agnes had corralled a bat in his hospital room. In her September 13 diary entry, Agnes noted that she “forgot to mention the bat fight Ernie & I had at 1 A. M. Wed. We finally captured it after chasing it around the room for 3/4 of an hour. It was most exciting” (Kurowsky, “Diary” 78). Also, not unlike the way that Frederic, in his romantic fantasy about Catherine, imagines “very small bats hunting over the houses and close down over the trees” outside his and Catherine’s hotel room on a “hot night in Milan” (38), so too would bats, according to Villard, often fly into the Milan hospital windows: “It was not unusual for a bat to stray into one of the bedrooms, the windows of which were unscreened. Bats were almost as numerous as pigeons around Milan’s famous Duomo nearby” (qtd. in Villard and Nagel 275n31).

Also reflective of what Hemingway evidently felt to be his unjust loss of Agnes as well as functioning as a foreshadowing of Frederic’s loss of Catherine, is the San Siro race track episode, one that is reflective of the enthusiasm that Hemingway developed for horse racing during his romance with Agnes. Injustice is suggested, for instance, as Catherine and Frederic discover that they have failed to win the thousands of lire from their placement of a bet on a disguised horse that was expected to pay “thirty-five to one” (128). Catherine’s response to their failure—“I don’t like this crooked racing!” (129)—can be seen to foreshadow her remark about her upcoming death near the end of the novel: “It’s just a dirty trick” (331). Regarding Frederic here, however, his betting debacle may also be seen to represent his failure thus far to develop his masculinity. In other words, Frederic’s failure at sports—which, as I have explained, otherwise functioned for males like Hemingway as a principal means of masculinity construction—represents his failure to become more masculine. For in the San Siro episode,

moreover, Hemingway was most likely drawing upon his own experiences with Agnes at the same race track outside Milan, a venue with which they had become quite familiar during their romance. Villard recalls, for instance, that “once a group of us went to the races at the suburban track at San Siro, as Ernie would do when he was well enough. As Agnes would write to her mother in Washington, ‘It’s great fun—there are so many amusements here’” (32). In her diary entries dated September 12 (Kurowsky, “Diary” 78) and September 15 (79), Agnes mentioned attending the races with Ernest, and in her October 3 entry, the nurse, mistakenly assuming that Hemingway had already departed for the races, described her ride to the track with Elsie MacDonald, with her notation, “we drove out there” (85), suggesting the same mode of transportation—“open carriage”—used by Frederic and Catherine for their ride out to San Siro. Finally, Michael Reynolds reports that “at the San Siro track . . . [Hemingway and Agnes] once backed fixed races” (*Paris Years* 54).

Yet another reflection of what Hemingway evidently felt to be the injustice of his loss of Agnes, as well as a foreshadowing of Frederic’s unjust loss of Catherine, is the episode in which the latter reveals her pregnancy to Frederic. Although as he composed this episode, Hemingway may very well have been thinking of Hadley’s and/or Pauline’s pregnancies,¹³⁶ he may also—if we are willing to see the progression of Catherine’s ill-fated pregnancy as a reflection of the gradual demise of Hemingway’s relationship with Agnes—have been recalling his loss of Agnes. As I will show, the nurse included, in the letters that she sent to Ernest as he awaited her arrival in Oak Park, numerous hints and clues in order to indicate her waning interest in him. For Agnes, these hints and clues that she provided Hemingway in her letters culminated in a

¹³⁶ Meyers observes that “Catherine Barkley expresses the guilt that Hemingway imposed upon Hadley” for allowing herself to become pregnant on two occasions (*Biography* 121).

dismissal letter that ended her romance with Hemingway; for Catherine, the progression of her pregnancy will culminate in the deaths of herself and her child. In this way, Frederic's defensiveness when she reveals her pregnancy to him can be seen as a representation of Hemingway's denial of Agnes's waning interest in him—a denial that betrays his effort to preserve the heroic, highly masculine identity that he had constructed for himself since his wounding at Fossalta. Although after Catherine reveals her condition, Frederic reassures her that, "I only worry about you" (138), his defensiveness becomes evident after she asks him if he feels trapped and he answers, "maybe a little. But not by you," because "you always feel trapped biologically" (139). Moreover, after Catherine informs Frederic that she would find an appropriate place in which to have the child while he is at the front, the isolation of the two lovers from each other that is suggested here indicates that Catherine's revelation of her pregnancy establishes the pre-condition for her eventual separation from her lover through death in childbirth: "We were quiet awhile and did not talk. Catherine was sitting on the bed and I was looking at her but we did not touch each other. We were apart as when some one comes into a room and people are self-conscious" (138). Relevant here is Judith Fetterley's observation that "Frederic's need to avoid responsibility is central to his character and Catherine is central to that need" (59) and Diane Herndl's view that "Frederic's repeated silences . . . [constitute] a notion of masculinity as numbness, as lack of feeling, as a kind of dissociation from self" (45).

The unborn child within Catherine's womb, moreover, can be seen to represent the aforementioned individual who played an important role in Agnes's rejection of Hemingway and the decimation of his masculine identity: Domenico Caracciolo. In much the same way that Catherine's child will effect her death as well as the "death" of her relationship with Frederic, Caracciolo, by courting Agnes and subsequently becoming her fiancé, helped to effect the

“death” of Hemingway’s romantic relationship with Agnes. Catherine’s pregnancy, as I have noted, reflects the hints and clues that Agnes provided in her letters regarding her declining interest in Hemingway; however, her pregnancy may also be seen more specifically to represent those aforementioned hints and clues that Agnes included in her letters that were related to her developing interest in her new lover, whose existence Hemingway ignored in order to maintain his constructed heroic identity. In her January 21 letter from Torri di Mosta, for instance, the nurse mentioned that her “one devoted admirer” was “Domenico,” though she attempted to obscure the exact nature of her relationship with the artillery officer by claiming that this “admirer” was only “aged 14” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 157). In the same letter, she also informed Hemingway that “last night I & Cavie & Domenico went about 3 kilometers to give a morphine hypo. [*sic*] to a sick man who never can sleep” (157). Additionally, in this letter, Agnes mentioned “an Ital. doctor—tenente . . . who seems nice tho’ [*sic*] quiet,” an observation which may be another thinly disguised reference to Caracciolo, especially given the fact that, as Agnes once informed Michael Reynolds, her Italian lover was a “very gentle, a gentle, nice soul” (qtd. in Nagel, “Hemingway” 246). In her aforementioned February 3 letter, Agnes confessed to Hemingway that the hare that that her Italian “tenente” brought her for dinner that day, may, like the rest of the food there, “take the place of flowers & candy” (159). Finally, in her letter of March 1, Agnes advised Hemingway that he “shouldn’t write so often,” that she was “having the time of my young life,” and that she liked some of her “several tenentes” (162).

Additional challenges to Frederic’s establishment of contact with his male self and the construction of his masculinity that are also featured in Book Two include those associated with a female authority figure, preparations for returning to the front, and protocol on the train. In much the same way that Hemingway’s masculinity was challenged by his mother Grace’s

strictures against drinking, Ernest also, according to Villard, “had more than one violent run-in on the subject of alcoholic beverages” with Katherine C. Delong (21), the nurse-supervisor who becomes the notorious Miss Van Campen in the novel.¹³⁷ Van Campen’s most dramatic challenge to Frederic’s masculinity occurs when she accuses him of drinking in order to contract jaundice, a disease whose acquisition would prolong his absence front line duty (144). Initially, Frederic achieves a moral victory over Van Campen by comparing the pain caused by jaundice to that of kicking oneself in the scrotum, but she nevertheless manages to effect the cancellation of Frederic’s convalescent leave by having his empty liquor bottles taken to a doctor and reporting his drinking to the appropriate hospital authorities (145). Although Frederic acquires the disease just prior to his return to the front and Hemingway had returned briefly to the front before being evacuated back to Milan after he contracted the disease,¹³⁸ Hemingway was obviously employing some of his own experiences as he composed Frederic’s encounter with the illness and with his strict nurse-supervisor.

As he prepares for his return to the front, Frederic’s purchasing of the pistol and ammo at the armorer’s shop is suggestive of his instinctive desire to contact his male self and develop his masculinity through the successful performance of his duties as an officer.¹³⁹ Frederic’s subsequent use of this pistol and ammunition, however, will only exacerbate his inability to

¹³⁷ Katherine C. Delong, according to Villard, was the Red Cross hospital’s “small, dignified, gray-haired supervisor, with whom Ernie had more than one violent run-in on the subject of alcoholic beverages” (21). Spanier and Trogdon report that Delong “was known among the patients as ‘Gumshoe Casey’” (Hemingway, *The Letters* 167n5).

¹³⁸ See Lynn, 89.

¹³⁹ Clifford observes that Frederic has a “temporary desire to escape responsibility by returning to the masculine values of the front. Instead, Frederic behaves as though he is a connoisseur and expert gunman as he makes a show of purchasing the gun in front of Catherine” (254). Sean Hemingway (Ernest’s grandson), moreover, points out that “the primary function of an officer’s pistol is to ensure that the enlisted soldiers under his command perform their duties as instructed” (xiv).

effectively perform his duties in a war that renders heroic acts as virtually impossible, for war in this novel, as Herndl points out, is “anything but heroic” (42). What will become Frederic’s vain efforts to perform well at the front, moreover, is foreshadowed by the “a pile of cheeses” (148) that he notices in a window along the same street as the armorer’s shop, for this particular food, as I have noted, represents the vulnerability and insignificance of the soldiers amidst the absurdities of modern warfare. This motif is underscored when the armorer shop salesgirl informs Frederic that since he is going to the front he “won’t need a sword” (149). Such a weapon will not be useful to Frederic at the front, in other words, because it is an instrument of traditional war, a type of conflict in which soldiers were afforded the opportunity to fulfill their duties and thereby construct their masculinity by fighting enemies at close range. Before the twentieth century, soldiers in battle were able to determine their own fates: Unlike modern soldiers, they were not victimized by the arbitrary nature of mechanized warfare.

Frederic’s masculinity is also challenged when he finds himself lying on the floor of a train car corridor after admitting that the “very tall gaunt captain of artillery . . . was in the right” (158-59) over the question of who was entitled to occupy the train seat. The nature of Frederic’s decision to relinquish the seat to the artillery captain is, moreover, not inconsistent with the concealed status of Frederic’s male self and his lack of masculinity construction. Even though Frederic mentions that he “wanted the seat,” he could have maintained his place simply by refusing to move; instead, he decides to give up his seat to the officer, a concession that will result in Frederic later being forced to sleep on the corridor floor where, as he notes, the other passengers “could walk all over me” (159). In effect, by capitulating to another male’s demands, Frederic places himself in the position of males who violate their own masculinity by allowing themselves to be dominated by other males: As Michael Kimmel observes, “being seen as

unmanly is a fear that propels American men to deny manhood to others, as a way of proving the unprovable—that one is fully manly” (“Masculinity” 281). The train incident also foreshadows the episode in which Frederic is forced to give up his participation in the war and then later, during his escape from the battle police, finds himself trying to fall sleep on the floor of a flat-car (229-33). Is it only a coincidence that Agnes had replaced Hemingway as her lover with Caracciolo, who, like the Italian captain on the train, happened to have been an artillery officer? If not, then we may compare the way in which Frederic and the artillery captain compete for the train seat to the way in which Hemingway and Caracciolo competed for Agnes’s affection. Finally, much as Frederic feels that he must concede his seat to the artillery officer, so too was Hemingway forced to “concede” his Agnes and his love for her, to Domenico.

In Part Three, however, Rinaldi—not unlike Valentini in Part Two—represents the possibility that Frederic may be able to discover his male self and strengthen his masculinity if he were to model himself on his roommate, who is in contact with his male self and knows how to effectively construct masculinity.¹⁴⁰ Whereas Frederic’s masculinity is compromised through his emotional dependence on Catherine, Rinaldi preserves his autonomy by using women for the sole purpose of sex. Frederic, for example, orders his friend to “shut up” after the latter inquires about Catherine’s sexual prowess (169), an inquiry that not only betrays Frederic’s dependence on his lover, but also Rinaldi’s self-serving view of women. The physician, moreover, also informs Frederic that by providing his young roommate with an “Italian liver,” he will make him “a man again” (168).

¹⁴⁰ Robert E. Gajdusek observes that *A Farewell to Arms* is the “story of a son without a father who must learn how to become a man without one, and it is therefore a story of a search for the surrogate father—whether Rinaldi, the priest, or Count Greffi—who may lead him to manhood” (226).

Rinaldi evidently has such an ability to transform his friend, since, like Valentini, Rinaldi's contact with his male self has enabled him to realize his true medical skills. Much as Valentini had demonstrated his outstanding surgical talents by immediately and successfully operating on Frederic, Rinaldi informs Frederic that he had greatly improved his surgical skills during the time that Frederic had been recovering from his wounds in Milan. He informs his roommate, for example, that "I work all the time. I do everybody's work. All the hard ones they leave to me. By God, baby, I am becoming a lovely surgeon" (167). Also, the examination that Rinaldi performs on Frederic's leg parallels Valentini's similar examination of the leg earlier. And even though Rinaldi counsels Frederic that he should have undergone additional therapy on the leg before returning to the front, the physician nevertheless is knowledgeable enough and honest enough to admit that "the knee itself is a good job." Apart from their medical talents, another similarity between the two surgeons—a similarity that is also suggestive of their respective connections with their male selves—is their drinking habits. When Frederic offered Valentini a drink, the doctor had not only responded, "I will have ten drinks," but he also said that he would bring Frederic "better cognac" than that which Catherine had provided him (99); likewise, Rinaldi, after offering Frederic a glass of his Austrian cognac, informs Frederic, "I will get you drunk" (168). The most striking similarity, however, between the two surgeons is in their respective playful attitudes about women and sex. Valentini's remarks to Frederic about Catherine (which parallel Rinaldi's aforementioned insinuations about her) emphasized her physical attributes and procreative capacities: To Valentini, she was a "pretty girl," "a lovely girl," "a fine blonde," one who "will make" Frederic "a fine boy" (99).

Whereas Rinaldi, as I have explained, has been accused by critics of attempting to initiate a homosexual relationship with Frederic, he is, nevertheless, a surgeon who exudes so much

masculine energy that it metaphorically “spills over” onto his relationships with other males and makes him only *appear* to be sexually attracted them. Rinaldi, moreover, recognizes that he does not require a meaningful relationship with someone of the opposite sex: His life, he observes to Frederic, need only consist of drink, work, and sex (170-71). Rinaldi’s access to his male self is not thwarted, as is Frederic’s, by an emotional dependency on women. The surgeon may at times allow himself to be preoccupied with the subject of sex, he may at times express great despair over the war (167-68), and he may worry at times that he may have contracted syphilis (175); however, as he confesses to Frederic, “I am only happy when I am working” and “I only like two other things; one is bad for my work [drinking] and the other [sex] is over in half an hour or fifteen minutes” (170). Rinaldi also informs Frederic that he has no married friends and that he is “the snake of reason,” comments which indicate that the doctor is essentially anti-commitment and anti-love. Later, as he attempts to reinitiate the priest-baiting—a ritual that is, at least for Rinaldi, a clear method of masculinity construction—he points out to Frederic the value of work: “There’s nothing else I tell you. Not a damned thing. I know, when I stop working” (174). Rinaldi is suggesting, in other words, that through hard work a male can enhance his masculinity and find fulfillment by discovering the strength of his inner self. The surgeon, in fact, is not dissimilar from the idealized cowboys that Hemingway read about in his youth, those western heroes who exhibited, as Jane Tompkins observes, “self-discipline, unswerving purpose; the exercise of knowledge, skill, and ingenuity, and excellent judgement; and a capacity to continue in the face of total exhaustion and overwhelming odds” (qtd. in Stein 62).

Frederic, however, does not seem to benefit very much from Rinaldi’s example, for he is not about to relinquish his love for, and thereby, his emotional dependence on, Catherine. The

progress that Frederic achieves regarding his attitude about women, from his obsession with sex to that of devout love, is reflected in his attitude towards the two virgin sisters that he and his comrades transport during the retreat—two girls whom Hemingway evidently based on the Bellia sisters that he met while on leave at Stresa.¹⁴¹ Frederic, aware that the two virgins are religious, treats the girls with consideration and respect. Whereas Aymo, for example, twice places his hand on one of the thighs of the elder girl (195-96), Frederic, in an effort to reassure the younger sister, merely pats her knee (196). Describing the sisters as “a couple of fine girls,” Frederic observes that a retreat is not an appropriate place for virgins (197) and recognizes the two girls’ need of protection, a recognition that is made manifest when he provides them with money and directs them to where they may find people who might help them (206). Frederic’s considerate attitude towards the girls is underscored by the attentive attitudes of his three comrades. Notwithstanding his physical contact with the elder girl, Aymo nevertheless reassures the two sisters that they are in no danger of being raped, and following Barto’s reassurances to them regarding their virginal status, “both the girls seemed cheered” (196).

In addition to reflecting Frederic’s evolution of attitude towards women, another function of the two virgin characters is that they trigger the young man’s longings for Catherine, longings that testify to not only his continuing love for her but also his emotional dependence on her. Frederic, in fact, is in violation of what Clare calls “one central tenet of many men’s masculinity [, which is] a desire to control both self and others” (qtd. in Whitehead 165). Frederic’s imaginings in his dream about Catherine also constitute another impediment to his ability to contact his male self and construct his masculinity. As he falls asleep in Piani’s car while

¹⁴¹ In his September 29 letter from Stresa, Hemingway informed his family of the three Bellia sisters: They are, he explained, “three beautiful daughters” named “Ceda, Deonisia and Bianca” whose rich parents “adopted” him (*The Letters* 144-45).

awaiting the retreat's reactivation, Frederic's dependence is evident as he prays, "Christ, that my love were in my arms and I in my bed again" (197). When Frederic soon afterwards asks Catherine whether she is "really there," her response, that she "wouldn't go away," betrays her lover's need of reassurance regarding the endurance of Catherine's devotion to him. She also reassures him that "I am always here. I come whenever you want me" (198). Later in the novel, lying on the floor of the flat-car as he makes his way back to Milan following his desertion, Frederic will once again construct his true love in his imagination. He will recall, for instance, "lying with Catherine on the floor of the car" (231) and will anticipate drinking and sleeping with her, and anticipating "never going away again except together" (233).

Although Frederic may escape the war in his imaginings about Catherine, throughout the remainder of Book Three he makes attempts to employ his male self and to construct his masculinity, despite the fact that the absurd, inhumane nature of modern warfare does not provide the conditions appropriate to effect such projects. As Robert Solotaroff notes, "during most of the time he tries to preserve his male identity by fulfilling his charge, by getting his men and the three ambulances to Pordenone" (9). Frederic, moreover, attempts to assume a leadership role during the retreat; however, episodes such as the one that involves the desertion of the two sergeants, demonstrates the futility as well as the destructive nature of the young officer's efforts at effective leadership. It is an especially ironic episode since the two individuals—Bonello and Frederic—who participate in the death of one of the sergeants, will soon become deserters themselves. Frederic becomes responsible for the sergeant's death not only by wounding him with his pistol as the sergeant attempts to run away, but also by instructing Bonello in the proper use of his pistol in order that he can finish off the deserter, which Bonello accomplishes by twice firing at the injured man (204). Frederic may be suggesting too that he

was willing to accept blame for the sergeant's execution when he admits to himself that it was his "fault" that Aymo's car became stuck in the muddy road, though whatever amount of blame Frederic may be willing to assume is soon forgotten as he rips up the dead man's cape and places it under one of the car's wheels and then advises Bonello to discard the man's coat after Bonello searches through its pockets. Frederic's description of the sergeant as Frederic and his men attempt in vain to drive across a field is emblematic of the pathetic inhumanity of modern warfare: "I looked back up the road. The sergeant lay in his dirty long-sleeved underwear" (206). The nature of the sergeant's death can be seen, then, as a manifestation of the absurdity and the inhumanity of modern warfare, an enterprise in which soldiers may feel justified in the killing of their own comrades, one in which officers—those presumably responsible for the welfare of their men—become the very participants in the deaths of those under their command. In this way, modern warfare subverts efforts that soldiers may direct towards masculinity construction, a subversion that Herndl defines as "the whole self-destructiveness of wartime masculinity" (42).

As each of Frederic's subsequent attempts at effective leadership during the remainder of the retreat, in fact, also prove to be futile, Aymo's death, Bonello's desertion, as well as Frederic's own desertion, constitute incidents that further underscore the severe difficulties involved in making male self contact and constructing masculinity amidst the absurdities of modern warfare. Frederic assumes responsibility for Aymo's death when he becomes aware that his decision to have his men traverse the countryside had rendered them vulnerable and resulted in Aymo being shot as the latter attempted to cross the railroad tracks (213). After the incident, Frederic admits his role in his comrade's death as he points out to Bonello that Aymo was killed "because we started across the field." Bonello's subsequent cynical inquiry, moreover,

underscores the enlisted man's recognition of Frederic's responsibility for his friend's death: "Who's dead next, Tenente?" (214). Additionally, despite his experience as a medical officer, Frederic's description of Aymo's wounds and his account of his own failed efforts to save Aymo after he was shot underscore the futility of one's efforts in modern warfare: "He was hit low in the back of the neck and the bullet had ranged upward and come out under the right eye. He died while I was stopping up the two holes" (213). Significant too is the fact that it is the low-ranked Piani, and not Frederic, who first realizes that it was Italians who shot Aymo (214)—a realization that constitutes a dramatic example of the war's irrational, self-destructive nature. The injustice of modern warfare is suggested too in Aymo's death, in the sense that it was Bonello and not Aymo who had coldly executed the deserting sergeant. Furthermore, Frederic's description of Aymo's corpse recalls his earlier rendering of the dead sergeant's body: "Aymo lay in the mud with the angle of the embankment. He was quite small and his arms were by his side, his puttee-wrapped legs and muddy boots together, his cap over his face." Later, as he contemplates Bonello's desertion and attempts to downplay the danger of their journey across the countryside, Frederic observes that his unit had "walked through two armies without incident. . . . The killing came suddenly and unreasonably" (218). His observation suggests that he has not fully comprehended the futility of making effort in a chaotic war, an enterprise in which "maintaining a faith in old models of manhood proves impossible" (Herndl 43).

Another result of Frederic's inability to connect to his male self or construct his masculinity through effective leadership is Bonello's desertion, an event that anticipates Frederic's own desertion. Bonello and Frederic each deserts not only because each does not believe in the war but also because each one is convinced that if he does not desert, then he would be killed. After Bonello departs, Frederic discusses Bonello's desertion with Piani:

“Where’s Bonello?” I asked.

Piani looked at me.

“He went away, Tenente,” he said. “He wanted to be a prisoner.”

I did not say anything.

“He was afraid we would get killed.”

I held the bottle of wine and did not say anything.

“You see we don’t believe in the war anyway, Tenente.” (217)

Piani’s report here that Bonello “wanted to be a prisoner” attests once again to the absurdity of this war, a conflict which not infrequently consists of soldiers killing their own comrades. Additionally, Frederic’s lack of verbal response to Piani’s comments indicates that he not only may be feeling guilty because of his failure to earn the respect of one of his men, but also because he may already be identifying with Bonello’s decision to desert. Such an identification would have been promoted by Frederic’s profound longing for the woman that he loves and by what he may have been learning about the futility and the destructive nature of his efforts at leadership.

Frederic’s desertion constitutes yet another example of the way in which the absurd, irrational nature of modern warfare renders engagement with the male self and the construction of masculinity virtually impossible. The battle police’s arrest of Frederic because he is a “German in Italian uniform” (224), for example, is irrational not only because Frederic is American but also because Frederic felt that he was at least partly responsible for Aymo’s death, one that was occasioned by the fact that Italian soldiers had evidently assumed that Aymo was a German in disguise (216). Much as Frederic felt some degree of responsibility for his comrade’s death, so too would the carabinieri and their drumhead court be responsible for Frederic’s death

if they were to mechanically carry out their plans to execute him as they had intended after presuming that he (like Aymo) was a German in disguise. Also ironic is that when he makes his escape from the battle police, Frederic runs with his “head down” (225), which is not unlike the way that the deserting sergeant escaped from Frederic by running across the field with “his head held low” (204).¹⁴² All of this suggests that there is no security in the chaos of modern war: One’s nationality can readily change from Italian to German, for instance, or one’s status can easily change from commander to deserter. The individual has little or no control over these random alterations. Thus, each of Frederic’s attempts to engage his male self or construct his masculinity by performing his duties as an officer is subverted by the topsy-turvy, random nature of modern warfare.

Frederic’s dive into the cold waters of the Tagliamento River to effect his survival during his escape—an episode that reflects Hemingway’s use of sports such as swimming for his own masculinity construction—may, however, be seen to represent metaphorically Frederic’s brief contact with his male self and a degree of masculinity construction. In Hemingway, as I have shown in my discussions of Nick’s aquatics in “Summer People” and Jake and Bill’s fishing expedition in *The Sun Also Rises*, for example, the male self is often associated with cold water. Not only can the Tagliamento be linked to the male self because it “cold,” “icy” (226), and “very cold” (225), but it can also be compared to the strength of the male self because it (like Rinaldi) exudes energy. Frederic, for example, is forced to grab hold of a piece of floating timber

¹⁴² Brenner asserts that

the conspicuous misconduct that predated the writing of *Farewell* was of course the result of Hemingway’s adultery, betrayal of Hadley. His divorce from her and marriage to Pauline also betrayed his family’s values. It would benefit him to show his family that his conduct was consistent with the irrationalities of the world he inhabits. And by emphasizing as *Farewell* does that it is permissible to desert irrational commitments, Hemingway may have hoped to mollify his guilt for betraying Hadley. (56)

because the river's swirling waters are so overpowering. Ironically, however, the river's otherwise dangerous currents serve to facilitate Frederic's very survival: He decides to remain within the eddy ("I was afraid we would move out of the eddy") (227), for instance, evidently because as it turns him "slowly around," it also pulls him further downstream and out of range of the battle police's bullets.

Frederic's chief sources of security, however, are not only the piece of timber but also the willow branch to which he clings near the shore—two facets of nature that symbolize the confidence and security that are associated with the strength of the male self. By promoting Frederic's movement downstream, for example, the "heavy timber" (226) boosts the young deserter's confidence so much that he feels invincible: "It had never occurred to me on the timber that I might drown" (227). Likewise, his recollection of the way he clung to the willow branch suggests a sense of security: "I hung to the willow branch and did not have strength to pull myself up but *I knew I would not drown now*" (227, my emphasis). Thus, as the river's icy coldness and its energy are reflective of the male self, and the piece of timber along with the willow branch represent Frederic's confidence and sense of security gained from his employment of his male self, Frederic is able to survive the dangers implicit to the river as well as those implicit to his newly acquired status as deserter.

However, after reaching the shore, Frederic's reaffirmation of his decision to desert suggests that he once again has lost his connection with his male self. Removing the water from his shoes and clothing metaphorically suggests that Frederic is separating himself from the strength of his male self. After he empties his shoes, for example, Frederic recalls, "I took off my coat, took my wallet with my papers and my money all wet in it out of the inside pocket and then wrung the coat out. I took off my trousers and wrung them too, then my shirt and

underclothing” (227). Next, he emphasizes the “separate peace” (243) he had declared by noting, “before I put on my coat I cut the cloth stars off my sleeves and put them in the inside pocket with my money” (227-28). Placing the stars in his pocket, however, may also be an indication that Frederic has not lost interest in the war, for there remains in him an instinctive desire to establish further contact with his male self, a need that will continue to be manifested in his thinking about his friends back at the front (232-33) as well as evident in his reading about the war’s progress in the newspapers (253, 292, 308).

In Book Four, the concealment of Frederic’s male self is quite evident upon his return to Milan, an alienation that contrasts with the civilians that he encounters who are evidently in contact with their male selves and, unlike Frederic, have no masculine identity crises. The fact that Simmons’s civilian clothes do not fit Frederic (“the trousers felt very floppy”) (243), for example, suggests that Frederic is not comfortable in his recently acquired civilian identity. Frederic, despite his claim that he “was going to forget the war,” also recalls that he missed wearing his uniform: “I had been in uniform a long time and I missed the feeling of being held by your clothes.” Simmons evidently has been employing the inner strength of his male self in order to realize, despite serious setbacks (“I was a great flop at Piacenza”), a professional singing career (240-42). Frederic, however, who “wanted to be an architect” (242), has negated the utilization of his own male self by deserting. Simmons’s inner strength is evident in his confidence in his musical abilities. He informs Frederic, for instance, that “I can sing. . . . whether they [the audiences] like it or not.” Much as Hemingway was anxious to return to the front following his leg operation and in spite of his romantic liaison with Agnes,¹⁴³ Frederic’s

¹⁴³ Although in his letter of August 29 Hemingway communicated to his mother his love for Agnes (*The Letters* 136), in his letter of September 11, he informed his father, “I would like to go back to the ambulance but I won’t be much use driving for about Six [*sic*] months. I will probably take command of some 1st line post up in the mountains” (140). Also, in his October 18 letter to his family, Hemingway

mood here suggests that he would prefer being at the front. As he travels by train from Milan to Stresa, we might expect him to be a good mood: After all, he has survived the retreat, escaped his own execution, and now can anticipate a joyful reunion with his true love. In reality, however, he feels quite the opposite: “I myself felt as sad as the wet Lombard country that was outside through the window” (243).

Although he claims to have made a “separate peace,” it is clear that Frederic is struggling with the instincts that challenge him to think about his deepest need—to be involved in the war, no matter how irrational or dangerous it may in fact be. Following his arrival at the Stresa hotel, for instance, Frederic recalls that, even though the martinis made him “feel civilized,” nevertheless, after the barman asked him “some question” and Frederic had told him not to talk about it, Frederic muses, “the war was a long way away. Maybe there wasn’t any war. There was no war here. Then I realized it was over for me. But I did not have the feeling that it was really over. I had the feeling of a boy who thinks of what is happening at a certain hour at the schoolhouse from which he has played truant” (245). Also, when he reaches Catherine’s hotel, his otherwise happy reunion with his lover is undermined by the comments of Fergie, whose realistic evaluation of Frederic and Catherine’s status not only foreshadows the lovers’ subsequent tragedy in Lausanne, but also underscores Frederic’s alienation from the war and from his male self. Although Frederic notes that Catherine “looked too happy to believe” that he had arrived, and even though he jokes about being “in the Cabinet,” Fergie reminds him that he is “in some mess,” and that, “I know the mess you’ve gotten this girl into” (246). Fergie also criticizes Frederic for what she calls his “Italian sneakiness” and informs him that he is “like a snake.” The latter is a significant figure of speech, for, much as Rinaldi saw himself as “the

wrote, “but I can be of service over here [a]nd I will stay here just as long as I can hobble and there is a war to hobble to” (147).

snake of reason,” or an antagonist to love, so too does Fergie see Frederic as a threat to Catherine. Frederic, however, is more of a threat to himself, for he has suppressed his male self and undermined his masculinity development not only by taking on the responsibilities inherent to his impregnating Catherine, but also by his withdrawal from what he evidently continues to feel instinctively to be the province of masculinity construction—war.

Alone in their hotel room, Frederic’s allusions to his identity merger with Catherine and his remorse over his desertion provide further evidence of his alienation from his male self and of his inability to construct his masculinity. When Fergie had informed the two lovers that they were “two of the same thing,” in that Catherine is “as sneaky as he [Frederic] is” (247), her accusation foreshadowed the identity merger that Frederic will experience with his lover later that night: “We could feel alone when we were together, alone against the others. It has only happened to me like that once” (249). Hemingway most likely was thinking here of Agnes, the woman whom he had loved more deeply than anyone else, including his first wife. In fact, as Brenner has pointed out, by including this hotel episode, Hemingway was informing Hadley that “their relationship would never be as deep as the one he wanted to think he and Agnes had” (58). Though Frederic’s subsequent oft-quoted observation—that the world breaks you and if you will not break then it will kill you (249)—seems to be directed more towards Catherine than himself, on a biographical level, Hemingway may very well have also been expressing the injustice of what he perceived to be that of Agnes’s betrayal. Another one of Frederic’s observations—that “the world breaks every one and afterward many are strong at the broken places”—could also be a reflection of Hemingway’s heart being broken by his breakup with Agnes before he was able to employ his male self in order to mend the “broken places” that his breakup with his first true love caused him. However, Frederic—alienated from his male self—evidently feels here that he

lacks Catherine's measure of courage, confessing to her, for example, that "I feel like a criminal. I've deserted from the army" (251). In place of participating in what at least traditionally has been an important setting for masculinity construction, that is, the battlefield, an activity in which women often have been "formally barred" (D. Morgan 166), Frederic finds himself at a great distance from the fighting and with a woman to whom he is otherwise committed. In response, and reminiscent of Agnes, who often assumed a maternal role with Hemingway,¹⁴⁴ Catherine attempts to console her "silly boy" by reminding him that "it's only the Italian army" and reassuring him that "I'll look after you" (251) and "get you some place where they can't arrest you" (252).

Frederic tries to challenge Catherine's maternal role as well as his deserter status by reading about the progress of the war in the newspapers (253), but more significantly by undertaking a fishing expedition (one not unlike the fishing trip taken by Jake and Bill in *The Sun Also Rises*) with the hotel barman. Frederic's fishing venture, one that Hemingway most likely based on his own angling experiences with friend John Miller on Lake Maggiore during the author's leave at Stresa,¹⁴⁵ is obviously a "men without women" episode, for it not only establishes the friendship between Frederic and the individual who will later help him and

¹⁴⁴ In her dismissal letter of March 7, 1919, for instance, Agnes confessed to Hemingway that, "I know that I am still very fond of you, but, it is more as a mother than as a sweetheart" (Kurovsky, "Letters" 163).

¹⁴⁵ Hemingway's description of his activities at Stresa in his September 29 letter to his family anticipates Part Four of *A Farewell to Arms*: "I limp pretty badly but can row on the lake and sit around under the trees and listen to the music and go on trips up the mountain in the cog railway" (*The Letters* 145). Peter Griffin notes that the real barman, who was "especially friendly" to Hemingway and Miller, provided the two young men with a hotel skiff so that they could troll "for lake trout almost every afternoon" (88). Also, Hemingway "usually insisted on rowing out" to a "little fisherman's cafe" at Isola Bella and Miller rowed back.

Catherine flee Italy, but it also provides Frederic with another opportunity to employ his male self—to develop his masculinity through his engagement in a sport that Hemingway employed for the same purpose. Like warfare, fishing has often been another way that modern males have constructed their masculinities through the exclusion of women: As Connell explains, “thus men’s greater sporting prowess has become a theme of backlash against feminism. It serves as symbolic proof of men’s superiority and right to rule” (*Masculinities* 54). Although Frederic assumes the role of rower (a role that may be associated with masculinity construction) as the barman trolls for lake trout (254-55) along the shore, nevertheless, after they reach Isola Bella, the two fishermen agree that their luck might change if Frederic does the fishing. The two men also agree, however, that the war is not worth fighting. The barman informs Frederic that he “won’t go” when his class is called up (255), and Frederic, in an apparent attempt to rationalize his desertion, informs the barman that he himself was a “fool” for going off to war (256). In other words, both by initially assuming a secondary role as rower and then subsequently dismissing the war, Frederic is, in effect, further alienating himself from his male self.

However, by relinquishing his rower position and assuming the role of fisherman, Frederic is intensifying his overall attempt to contact his male self, which is symbolized by the “pretty big” fish that pulls on his line in the male self-like “very cold” water (256). If Frederic could have commandeered the fish, this would have meant that he had once again engaged his male self. Unfortunately, the fact that he fails to catch the fish suggests that he has lost the opportunity to make such contact. Frederic recalls that when he subsequently returns to the hotel room, he was trying “to keep from thinking” and what he was probably thinking about is not only the lost fish but also about how his life has worsened since his desertion. As he confesses to Catherine, “my life used to be full of everything. . . . Now if you aren’t with me I haven’t a thing

in the world” (257). Frederic has become, as Catherine points out to him, “Othello with his occupation gone.”¹⁴⁶ Thus, instead of fighting alongside other males in the masculinity-producing arena of the battlefield where women are excluded, Frederic has compromised his masculinity by making his “separate peace” and by continuing to engage in his emotionally dependent relationship with one of these excluded women.

Frederic, however, has yet another mentor in Count Greffi, a character that Hemingway evidently based on “old Count Greco [Greppi],” a wealthy gentleman who befriended Hemingway during his leave at Stresa.¹⁴⁷ Greffi’s proficiency at billiards—another competitive sport associated with masculinity construction—his health, and his philosophy of life, suggest that the old man (like Valentini and Rinaldi) is emblematic of the male self. Much as the male-self-like water during Frederic’s fishing trip had been “dark and *smooth* and *very cold*” (255, my emphasis), so too does Greffi, according to Frederic, play a “*smoothly fluent* game of billiards” (254, my emphasis) while drinking the champagne that he keeps in a “silver *icing*-bucket” (259, my emphasis). The icing-bucket, as well as the billiard balls that the Count strikes so skillfully, are reminiscent of the “circles on the water” that had been created by “the rising fish” on the

¹⁴⁶ Bickford Sylvester defines Frederic’s “lost autonomy” here as a “loss of purpose leaving an ‘unoccupied’ inner vacuum” (178) and explains that

much of Hemingway’s fiction . . . is focused on the philosophical and creative attempt somehow to integrate a man’s need for the love he can share with a woman and his need for aggression that she cannot share with him. . . . Othello’s rash decision to take Desdemona to war with him at Cyprus contributes to his undoing. The issue of jealousy aside, one of the play’s points is that Venus and Mars cannot be served simultaneously. (181)

¹⁴⁷ Hemingway’s description of Greppi in the author’s September 29 letter to his family is similar to Frederic’s description of Greffi. Much as Greppi “will be 100 years old in March” (*The Letters* 145), Greffi “was living to be one hundred years old” (254); similar to the way that Greppi “drinks champagne” (*The Letters* 145), Frederic recalls that he and Greffi “drank champagne” (254); not unlike the way that Greppi “told” Hemingway “all about his dining with Maria Theresa [*sic*] the wife of Napoleon the 1st” (*The Letters* 145), Greffi “had been in the diplomatic service of both Austria and Italy” (254).

surface of the lake water (255). Even though the Count, as he practiced his pool strokes, initially seemed to Frederic “very fragile under the light” (259) and although he provides the young man with an eighteen-point handicap (260), Greffi, by playing a “lovely game of billiards,” defeats him by a score of 100-94.¹⁴⁸

What most associates Greffi with the strength of the male self, however, are his health and his philosophy of life. Although Frederic notes the Count’s aged appearance (his “white hair and mustache” and his “ninety-four-year-old brittleness”) (254) as well as the old man’s weaknesses (his need to speak Italian when he’s tired (259) and his inability to “become devout”) (263), Frederic also recalls that Greffi “was living to be one hundred years old” (254), that the old man had informed him that he would “like to live forever,” that “I very nearly have” (261), and that “I have” (263). Greffi’s philosophy of life is consonant with his talents and his vitality: He explains to Frederic, for instance, that “it is the body that is old. . . . And the spirit is no older” (261). Though the Count (like Frederic) values whomever he loves the most (262) and believes (like the priest) that love is a “religious feeling” (263), he also feels that loving someone is “not wisdom” and that the war “is stupid” (262). Thus, through his qualifying of the significance of the body, love, and war, and emphasizing the durability of the soul, Greffi is suggesting the existence of some mysterious strength of spirit that has enabled him to maintain his youthful vitality into his nineties. If Frederic can emulate this old man who has lived most of his life without an overdependence on women—if he can engage his male self, in other words, as the Count evidently has—he would be able to find a resolution to his chief dilemma regarding his

¹⁴⁸ The Count earns the exact number of points as the age he believes he will attain before he dies (100 years), and Frederic achieves the same number of points as is the Count’s current age (94 years) (254). It may be that Hemingway here was trying to construct a bridge between the old man and Frederic—that the latter is a youthful version of the Count and/or that Frederic is the Count’s understudy.

alienation from his own male self and his inability to construct his masculinity due to his desertion from the war and his emotional dependence on Catherine.

Although during the Tagliamento River episode, Frederic was at least able to make brief contact with his male self, he suffers greatly during his flight across Maggiore with Catherine because of his status as an escaping deserter, a role that has alienated him from his male self and masculinity construction. Metaphorically, Frederic's rowing (similar to his rowing earlier with the barman) across male-self-like water that is "icy cold, so cold it made my teeth ache" (273) represents another vain attempt of Frederic's to engage his male self, but—unlike in the Tagliamento River episode—he is not *in* the water but *on* the water. The suffering caused by his disengagement from his male self is suggested through the crucifixion imagery. Frederic recalls, for instance, that after he rows "all night . . . my hands were so sore I could hardly close them over the oars" (271). He notes that near Luino, "my arms and shoulders and back ached and my hands were sore" (272), and when Catherine later asks him, "aren't you dead?" Frederic responds, "no. I'm all right. My hands are sore is all" (274). Frederic also challenges his masculinity by permitting Catherine to steer the boat and then subsequently row it, and as he wrestles with the umbrella that he had attempted to use as a sail, he elicits a great deal of laughter from Catherine (272). In essence, Frederic's so-called heroic efforts here become as absurd as his attempts at heroism in battle, and so he becomes a mockery of himself. Any attempt at masculinity construction, in other words, becomes essentially ridiculous; in fact, a young man like Frederic can even find himself playing the role of a woman. As Stephen Clifford has observed, Frederic "becomes a comic figure . . . , appearing pregnant as he attempts to rig a sail from an umbrella" (263). Frederic's struggle with the umbrella can be seen as a mock-battle that illustrates the absurdity of his situation, which is that of a young man who should be engaged in

a traditional battle against enemy soldiers instead of wrestling with a buckled umbrella in a rowboat with his pregnant young girlfriend.

In addition to using his memories of whatever trips across Maggiore that Hemingway may have undertaken while on convalescent leave at Stresa as the basis for Frederic's misadventure on the lake with Catherine, Hemingway may have also had his honeymoon boat trip with Hadley across Walloon Lake in mind as well. I speculate, moreover, that Hemingway may have been imagining Agnes in his honeymoon boat as well as in Frederic's boat on Maggiore. In other words, as he composed the lake episode, Hemingway may very well have been fantasizing about how *it might have been* had he and Agnes honeymooned together at Walloon Lake. In this way, Switzerland in the novel would represent the idyllic life that Hemingway felt that he and Agnes would have been able to share upon her arrival in Oak Park, a locale which Hemingway may have imagined as paradisaical had he married Agnes. Yet, perhaps more significantly, Oak Park in reality became a "Paradise Lost" for Hemingway when he learned of Agnes's dismissal.

Switzerland similarly becomes a "Paradise Lost" for Frederic in the sense that he continues to suffer there because of his deserter status and because there he will subsequently lose his true love in childbirth. Catherine's death, in fact, is foreshadowed in the lake episode when Catherine explains to Frederic that rowing would be good for her, because "it would keep me from being too stiff" (274); later, her lifeless body will prompt Frederic to compare her to a "statue" (332). When she informs Frederic that "life might be much simpler" if she were to "pop" herself "in the tummy" with the oar (thereby aborting the baby and freeing Frederic from a major threat to his masculinity as well as to his relationship with Catherine) (275), her speculation may be interpreted biographically. Catherine's musing here, for example, could be

seen as a fantasy of Hemingway's, one in which he imagines Agnes informing him that her life would have been "much simpler" (and better) had she "aborted" or dismissed Caracciolo. The latter, Agnes's collaborator in her rejection of Hemingway, is represented by the unborn child who will ultimately effect the destruction of Frederic's relationship with Catherine.

Upon Frederic and Catherine's arrival in Switzerland, the fact that their initial optimism is soon undermined by the realities of their refugee status not only foreshadows their tragic fate but also illustrates the remorse Frederic feels from abandoning the war and further alienating himself from his male self. After he and Catherine are arrested (279), for example, Frederic's ruse that he is a civilian traveling with his cousin in order to "do the winter sport" (280) betrays the young man's desire to construct his masculinity by returning to the front. Hemingway and those of his generation, after all, came of age when "war and athletics were equated and war was thought to breed a new, forceful manhood, people readily came to the position that athletics, too, fostered the new form of manhood" (Rotundo 240-41). Additional indications that Frederic has not fully embraced his "separate peace" include the confiscation of his and Catherine's boat by the Swiss authorities (280), the German (enemy) language that he and Catherine overhear (281), and Catherine's ironic remark to Frederic in regards to the tip that he failed to offer the soldier who had accompanied them to Locarno: "You've forgotten the army" (284).

As Book Four draws to a close, Hemingway underscores in a variety of ways the suffering that has been caused by Frederic's isolation from the war and from his male self. For example, while the authorities are checking Frederic's and Catherine's passports and the lovers discuss various artists, Frederic mentions that Mantegna painted "lots of nail holes" (280), which is another strong crucifixion image. Later, as Frederic and Catherine take a carriage ride to their hotel and Catherine asks Frederic to show her his hands, he explains that they "were both

blistered raw” (284). Also, in his attempt to reassure Catherine by informing her that “there’s no hole in my side,” Frederic is alluding to the wound that was inflicted in Christ’s side by a Roman soldier following His death on the Cross (*The Jerusalem Bible*, John 19: 33-36). Furthermore, Frederic’s order to Catherine that she not touch his hands indicates not only his desire to isolate her from his suffering (285), but also that the type of suffering which results from a male’s isolation from his male self cannot be understood—let alone be alleviated by—a woman. If anything, she, according to Hemingway, often becomes the instrument of such isolation.

In Book Five, Hemingway continued to employ memories of his own wartime experiences as he intensified Frederic’s struggles to connect to his male self and construct his masculinity, despite the challenges posed by his desertion as well as by Catherine and her pregnancy. Frederic’s ongoing interest in the war, for example, is reflective of Hemingway’s interest in the conflict while he was recovering at the Milan Red Cross hospital. Villard recalls, for example, that the topic that he discussed the most with Hemingway (along with the “seeming ineptitude of Italy’s soldiers”) was the latest war news, and among their chief sources for this news were “Milan’s *Corriere della Sera* or yesterday’s newspapers from Rome” (20). As Frederic waits for Catherine at the coiffeur’s, he too feels compelled—like Villard and Hemingway—to peruse the same newspaper: “I read the *Corriere della Sera* and the English and American papers from Paris. . . . Everything was going badly everywhere” (292). Frederic is apparently able at times to temporarily forget about the war through such activities as playing cards with Catherine and taking long walks with her into Montreux (290-91), but for Frederic, as Mark Cirino explains, “planning to forget about the war and actually forgetting it are two vastly different enterprises” (160). Frederic recalls, for instance, that for himself and Catherine,

It was lovely in bed with the air so cold and clear and the night outside the window. We slept well and if I woke in the night *I knew it was from only one cause*. . . . The war seemed as far away as the football games of some one else's college. *But I knew from the papers that they were still fighting in the mountains because the snow would not come.* (291, my emphasis)

Frederic's observation here, as Solotaroff points out, means that "he is far from the healthy influence of his male component with its insistence on struggling and functioning in a difficult world" (10). Frederic's sexual, if not his emotional, dependency on Catherine is evident as he waits for the hairdresser to finish styling Catherine's hair: "It was exciting to watch and Catherine smiled and talked to me and my voice was a little thick from being excited" (292). Although some critics have suggested that Frederic is betraying a fetish for haircuts here,¹⁴⁹ a careful reading of this episode does not support this view, in that Catherine is not (at least when Frederic is watching) having her hair cut, but rather the hairdresser, as Frederic notes, "was waving her hair" and having it "put up." In other words, as Catherine is maintaining her longhaired, *traditional styling*, Frederic's excitement is occasioned by her more *feminine appearance*. Thus, the young man's excitement here not only reflects his sexual orthodoxy, but it also emphasizes his sexual if not his emotional dependency on the woman that he loves.

Additional distractions that impede Frederic's ability to utilize his male self and construct his masculinity (reflected in his continued interest in the war) include his discussions with

¹⁴⁹ Eby, for example, points out that

Hemingway's fetishism often left him choked by desire. Insofar as it can be equated with a sort of "genuine desire," that is, fetishism often makes its presence felt in Hemingway's fiction by a swelling of the male protagonist's throat and a thickening of his voice. When Frederic Henry watches Catherine getting her hair cut and waved near the end of *A Farewell to Arms* [*sic*] he tells us, "my voice was a little thick from being excited" (292). (*Fetishism* 41)

Catherine about their child's delivery, the future, and the merger of their identities. Frederic, for instance, becomes worried about Catherine and her upcoming delivery after she explains to him that, because of her narrow hips, the doctor had informed her that "it's all for the best if we keep young Catherine small" (294). The lovers' future becomes another distraction for Frederic when Catherine confesses to him that she had lied when she had informed the hairdresser that "we had two boys and two girls" (293) and when she had told the doctor that "we'd been married four years" (294). Frederic and Catherine's future as distraction for Frederic is also suggested as Catherine expresses her desire to become an American during her discussion with Frederic about their someday visiting Niagara Falls, the Grand Canyon, and San Francisco (295). An indication of Frederic's instinctive need to make contact his male self and construct his masculinity, however, occurs when he tells Catherine about his not being interested in skiing even though he had earlier informed Mr. Guttingen that he would like to learn to ski (297). Frederic's interest in skiing as a means of masculinity development is reflective, as I have explained, of Hemingway's enthusiasm for the sport, including the skiing excursions from Paris to Austria he undertook with Hadley and Pauline in the 1920s. Also, even though Frederic tells Catherine that he does not want "to think about the war," he nevertheless admits to her that he thinks about "Rinaldi and the priest and lots of people I know" and "whether Rinaldi had the syphilis" (298). The beard that Catherine suggests Frederic grow (298), moreover, can be seen as emblematic of the false identity that Frederic has constructed through his desertion and through his excessive emotional dependence on his lover.¹⁵⁰ Notwithstanding Frederic's agreement to grow the beard, his

¹⁵⁰ Robert Emmett Finnegan points out that Catherine "may be unconsciously asking Frederic to parallel her pregnancy by growing a beard, a specifically male secondary sexual characteristic. He would thus participate analogously and symbolically in a displaced childbearing, so bringing them closer together in

resistance to Catherine's proposal that they attain the same hair length suggests what has become his defensiveness about their identity merger:

"Darling, why don't you let your hair grow?"

"How grow?"

"Just grow a little longer."

"It's long enough now."

"No, let it grow a little longer and I could cut mine and we'd be just alike only one of us blonde and one of us dark."

"I wouldn't let you cut yours."

"It would be fun. I'm tired of it. It's an awful nuisance in the bed at night."

"I like it."

"Wouldn't you like it short?"

"I might. I like it the way it is."

"It might be nice short. Then we'd both be alike. Oh, darling, I want you so much I want to be you too."

"You are. We're the same one." (299)

Like post-Agnes Hemingway, Frederic is fearful of what Solotaroff describes as "*total* surrender

an essential and usually biologically differentiated creative function" (269n9). This, of course, suggests that the beard would come to represent for Frederic the severe threat of identity absorption and the further suppression of his male self. Eby explains that Frederic's beard, a "homovestic object, as paternal phallus," which, as it "wards off cross-gender identification and reinforces the anatomical *difference* between the sexes," ultimately calls "attention to the bisexual nature of the rift in it [Hemingway's ego]. By disavowing his femininity, he [Hemingway] establishes a masculinity, but it is unstable, parodic, openly performative, found not in the self but in the specular, alienated image in the mirror" ("Ernest Hemingway" (56-57).

to Catherine's femininity as engulfment: as a regression to the helplessness of an infant before the threats of the world; as so complete a withdrawal from the world of functioning as to constitute a kind of psychic death" (11). Frederic's resistance to Catherine's promotion of their identity merger is also suggested as he recalls one night in bed when he had failed to comply with Catherine's request that they "go to sleep at exactly the same moment," explaining, "we did not. I was awake for quite a long time thinking about things" (301).

Frederic's internal conflict intensifies as Catherine's delivery time approaches, and the inconsistency of his resistance to her enables Catherine to assume the dominant role in their relationship. As Hatten observes, "when the lovers have escaped to Switzerland the pattern of female assertiveness and concomitant subversion of masculine identity becomes more pronounced" (95). Because Frederic's beard had initially been Catherine's idea, his reference to the beard ("by the middle of January I had a beard") (302) and Catherine telling him that "you have a splendid beard now" (303), are indications that she has been acquiring more control over their relationship. Also, Frederic's description of his lover during their long forest walks together is more suggestive of her phallic-like masculinity rather than of maternity: "Catherine wore hobnailed boots and a cape and carried a stick with a sharp steel point. She did not look big with the cape" (302). When Frederic, during one of their forest walks, attempts to demonstrate to Catherine his knowledge about the woodcutters and chamois hunters, pointing out to her that the hunters wear gold earrings because "they say it makes them hear better," she challenges him by responding, "I don't believe it. I think they wear them to show they are chamois hunters" (303). Not only may we see Frederic's remark about the hunters—given the similarities between hunting and the masculinity-producing enterprise of warfare—as yet another instance of his continued interest in the war, but his remark about the phallic-like fox's tail ("I

always wanted to have a tail like that”) also suggests his desire to restore the masculine inner strength that he has compromised through his desertion and through his romance with Catherine.

After Frederic and Catherine rest themselves on some logs, however, Catherine reasserts herself again through her comments about Frederic’s relatives, her reference to Frederic’s beard, and her intention to have her hair cut. When Frederic tells her that he does not care about his family, Catherine defends them—certainly an understandable response given that she has become, if only through her pregnancy, a *de facto* member of his family. Her promotion of domesticity—which, as I have noted, males such as Hemingway have often seen as a major threat to their masculinity—through her support of Frederic’s family members, moreover, represents an obvious challenge to her lover’s identity:

“Won’t your family try and get hold of you now they know you’re in Switzerland?”

“Probably. I’ll write them something.”

“Haven’t you written them?”

“No. Only the sight draft.”

“Thank God I’m not your family.”

“I’ll send them a cable.”

“Don’t you care anything about them?”

“I did, but we quarreled so much it wore itself out.”

“I think I’d like them. I’d probably like them very much.” (304)

As the two lovers reinitiate their walk along the forest road, Catherine reasserts herself once again (albeit through the use of phallic imagery) by praising Frederic’s beard: “I love your

beard. . . . It's a great success. It looks so stiff and fierce and it's very soft and a great pleasure." She also informs him that after her delivery she plans to have her hair cut; Frederic, however, resists her proposal, much as he had initially resisted it earlier because a hair cut would suggest identity merger to him and thus present another challenge to his masculinity. Nevertheless, after Catherine inquires, "you won't say I can't, will you?" Frederic concedes defeat by at least pretending to support her wishes, responding to her that getting her hair cut "would be exciting" (305).¹⁵¹ Catherine's ability to control Frederic is shown once again in this episode when she subsequently informs him that "I want to ruin you," and all the vanquished Frederic can muster in response is "that's what I want too."¹⁵²

Much as Mr. Gottingen's offer to accommodate the two lovers in the spring, following Catherine's delivery (307), reminds Frederic of the imminence of his domestic responsibilities, the nature of his description of his and Catherine's new residence, their Lausanne hotel room, represents metaphorically the entrapments of marriage and fatherhood. Frederic recalls, for instance, that "the windows of the room looked out on a wet garden with a wall topped by an iron fence" (308). Nevertheless, Frederic attempts to counter his feelings of entrapment and thereby construct his masculinity, in three principal ways: first, by reading assiduously about the war; second, by drinking, and third, by boxing in a gymnasium. Much as Hemingway, as I have pointed out, while awaiting Agnes's arrival in Oak Park, often read about the war in the local

¹⁵¹ Eby suggests that "when Catherine asks Frederic to grow his hair out to match her own haircut, she is asking him to transvestically identify with the phallic woman, *herself*; meanwhile, she assumes phallic/masculine properties by fetishistically cutting her own hair" (*Fetishism* 206).

¹⁵² Robert Solotaroff believes that Frederic "has been pulled so far from the props of his masculine identity that he cannot stand against her [Catherine] on so important an issue [as her ruining him]" (10), and that (as I noted earlier) Frederic "fearfully regards *total* surrender to Catherine's femininity as engulfment: as a regression to the helplessness of an infant before the threats of the world; as so complete a withdrawal from the world of functioning as to constitute a kind of psychic death" (11).

library, Frederic, while awaiting Catherine's delivery in Lausanne, reads the newspapers, discovering, on one occasion, that "the German offensive had started in France" (308). When Catherine explains that she is trying to envision their hotel room "like our home" and Frederic responds, "hang out the Allied flags" (309), his response becomes another indication of his inner conflict, for Frederic would prefer returning to the war over setting up housekeeping with his pregnant lover.

In addition to reading about the war, another way that Frederic attempts to shore up his masculinity is through drinking. While Catherine packs, for instance, Frederic drinks whiskey and soda (308); then Catherine, aware of whiskey's importance to her lover, apologizes after the pillow she playfully tosses at him results in his drink being spilled. Additionally, after the hotel waiter brings Frederic another whiskey "in a glass with ice" and a bottle of soda (309), Frederic orders two bottles of dry white capri for dinner before expounding on the subject of whiskey:

I went back to the papers and the war in the papers and poured the soda slowly over the ice into the whiskey. I would have to tell them not to put ice in the whiskey. Let them bring the ice separately. That way you could tell how much whiskey there was and it would not suddenly be too thin from the soda. I would get a bottle of whiskey and have them bring ice and soda. That was the sensible way. Good whiskey was very pleasant. It was one of the pleasant parts of life.
(310)

Frederic's boxing workouts in the gymnasium are perhaps the most obvious examples of his attempts to resist the non-masculine encroachments of fatherhood and domesticity as well as constitute additional evidence of his increasing desire to return to the masculine arena of war. Even though Frederic recalls that at the gym he "worked quite hard, skipping rope, shadow-

boxing, doing abdominal exercises” (311), the bogus, non-masculine identity that he has constructed through his relationship with Catherine and his desertion is reflected in the boxing professor’s appearance, in his overly deliberate style of pugilistics, and in his fragility. Frederic remembers, for example, that “the professor . . . wore mustaches and was very precise and jerky and went all to pieces if you started after him.” Additionally, the beard that Catherine has championed continues to irritate Frederic, because it represents to him his fake, non-masculine identity, one not unlike that of the professor. Frederic explains, for instance, that he was unable to box in front of the gymnasium mirror “because it looked so strange to see a man with a beard boxing. But finally I just thought it was funny. I wanted to take off the beard as soon as I started boxing but Catherine did not want me to.” Although boxing for Hemingway and his generation was supposed to be a way to showcase a male’s “toughness, prowess, [and] ferocity” (Kimmel, *Manhood* 102), Frederic’s attempts at pugilistics, as Solotaroff has noted, constitute “a parody of masculine assertion” (11).

When Catherine goes into labor, Frederic’s inner conflict continues to intensify as he becomes increasingly concerned about his lover’s condition, while also increasingly feeling the need to rediscover his male self and construct his masculinity. His conflict, moreover, is compounded because of Catherine’s generosity, for, despite her own intense suffering and imminent death, Catherine heroically demonstrates more concern for Frederic and the doctor than for herself. After she is assigned to her hospital room, for example, Catherine suggests to Frederic that he “go and get some breakfast” (315). Despite the fact that Frederic prefers to remain with her, and despite her protracted labor, his need to discover a male self that has been concealed by the imminent responsibilities of fatherhood and marriage is suggested by his appetite. Even though, as Frederic discovers upon his return to the hospital after breakfast, that

Catherine's suffering has increased, she tells him not to worry and to "go have another breakfast" (317). Later, Catherine shows her concern for Frederic when she apologizes to him for the difficulties involved with her labor, as well as her concern for her physician when she subsequently informs him, "You must have something to eat, doctor."

Although Frederic's subsequent assistance in the administering of gas (317-18) to Catherine can be seen as another effort to construct his masculinity by reversing his and Catherine's earlier patient-nurse roles, Frederic's efforts may also be seen to represent Hemingway's desire to "keep alive" his relationship with Agnes. In other words, if Catherine's death can be seen to represent Agnes's termination of her relationship with Hemingway, Catherine's desperate pleas for more gas—"give it to me. Give it to me." (319)—could represent Hemingway's wish-fulfillment regarding Agnes's desire to "keep alive" her relationship with Hemingway. In this way, Frederic's willingness to administer the gas may be seen as a reflection of Hemingway's desire to "keep alive" his relationship with Agnes.

Even though Frederic's decision to have lunch may suggest his need to contact his male self and his need for masculinity development, more significant here is the type of food and drink that he orders at the café—"a dish of sauerkraut with a slice of ham over the top and a sausage buried in the hot wine-soaked cabbage," along with a glass of beer (318). This typically German meal (served in the French region of Switzerland) is reflective not only of Frederic's interest in the German war offensive, but also of Hemingway's attachment to Agnes, given her association with German culture.¹⁵³ It is significant too that after Frederic pins on his white

¹⁵³ Hemingway referred to Agnes's German heritage in his December 13 letter to Bill Horne: "I was going on to give some instances of my Tedeschi named wives [*illegible*]. But you know her—so why bother?" (*The Letters* 166). "Tedeschi" in Italian means "German"; Agnes's father, "Paul Moritz Julius von Kurowsky, was a naturalized U. S. citizen of Polish, Russian, and German ancestry" (*The Letters* 167n8).

gown following his return to the hospital, he recalls, "I looked in the glass and saw myself looking like a fake doctor with a beard" (319). His recollection here, of course, is not unlike his previous response to the image of himself that he had seen in the gymnasium mirror: Neither in the gym nor in the hospital does Frederic feel like himself, because in neither of these two locations is it possible for him to make contact his male self and develop his masculinity.

Soon, however, his fears for Catherine's death—based perhaps on Hemingway's deep-seated anxieties about Agnes's imminent rejection as he awaited her arrival in Oak Park—are indicative of Frederic's emotional dependence on Catherine. They also suggest that, even though Frederic has an instinctive desire to utilize his male self and construct his masculinity, he nevertheless continues to be dependent on his lover. As he waits during the doctor's examination of Catherine, for example, Frederic muses, "but what if she should die? She won't die. But what if she should die? She won't. She's all right. But what if she should die? She can't die. But what if she should die? Hey, what about that? What if she should die?" (321). It is also significant that Frederic—in contrast to Catherine and her generosity—is not expressing concern for his lover's suffering or for whatever fears she may have about her own death. Frederic's concern, his sympathy, is reserved essentially only for himself. Again, he is absorbed in himself because of his profound desire to reconcile his love for Catherine with his need to contact his male self and develop his masculinity. Moreover, Frederic's earlier rationale to himself that Catherine would not die—"there's just a child that has to be born, the by-product of good nights in Milan" (320)—may also be a reflection of Hemingway's dilemma over his attempts to rationalize to himself the aforementioned hints and clues in the letters that Agnes sent to him in Oak Park, the letters in which she suggested that she was no longer interested in him. In other words, much as Frederic rationalizes that Catherine would not die from their simply

having had “good nights in Milan,” Hemingway (at least subconsciously) may have been asking himself, “how could Agnes have terminated our relationship after all the good times we had in Milan?”

There are reasons beyond those that I mentioned earlier to support the claim that the infant son that Catherine delivers stillborn is a representation of Domenico Caracciolo.¹⁵⁴ Much as Hemingway felt that Agnes had “betrayed” him with Caracciolo, so too does Catherine’s stillborn infant “betray” Frederic by causing the death of Frederic’s lover. Caracciolo and Catherine’s child are also linked, moreover, because each is associated with royalty as well as with animals. Domenico, as Bernice Kert explains, was “a handsome Neapolitan who was the heir to a dukedom” (66-67) and whose mother terminated her son’s engagement to Agnes

¹⁵⁴ Oldsey reports that “during the composition period of *A Farewell to Arms* Pauline suffered through an eighteen-hour ordeal (June 27-28, 1928) that ended with a Caesarean-section delivery of a son, Patrick” (*Hidden* 46). Meyers associates Hadley’s loss of Hemingway’s manuscripts with the stillborn infant: “In the novel he vicariously got rid of the unwanted infant just as Hadley (subconsciously, if not deliberately) got rid of the manuscripts that had kept them apart, day and night” (*Biography* 70). Solotaroff believes that “the child symbolizes the perilous future of Henry’s manhood: apparently nurtured by Catherine but fated to be killed by her, by entanglement and smothering, if she survives” (12). Judith Fetterley, however, asserts that “Frederic Henry sees himself in the dead fetus which emerges from Catherine’s womb and that her death, however much it may be shaped as biological accident, is in fact the fulfillment of his own unconscious wish, his need to kill her lest she kill him” (53). Kenneth Lynn feels that “the baby he [Frederic] has sired can thus be said to symbolize the babyish Henry himself, for it has choked to death on its umbilical cord” (390).

It may also be significant that in the No. 46 earlier draft of the novel Hemingway refers to Naples, a city that he knew was the home of Caracciolo: In Agnes’s December 22, 1922 letter to Hemingway, Agnes had informed the author that “I was surprised & relieved to find that I landed without any of the feelings that tormented me on previous visits—Naples being the home of a certain dashing young Artillery Officer” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 165-66). In No. 46 draft, moreover, Frederic associates Naples with hatred, death, and misfortune: “See Naples and die is a fine idea. You will live to hate its guts if you live there. Perhaps there is no luck in peninsula” (“Appendix II” 322). Perhaps the most accurate way to interpret Frederic’s observation is to say that Catherine is like Naples in terms of her inward and outward beauty, but eventually, just as you will eventually come to hate Naples, so too will you hate the bad luck that has robbed you of your first true love. It is rather easy to imagine Hemingway fantasizing about communicating this version to Agnes, as if to tell her, “you forgot about me and got yourself engaged to that lousy royal officer who in turn dumped you, so you came to hate him and your bad luck. But even if you had married him and lived with him in Naples, you would have eventually hated him and his corrupt city.”

because she felt that Agnes was interested in marrying her son only in order to acquire a title (68). Catherine's infant son, on the other hand, is associated with royalty in terms of his delivery by caesarean section (321, 324), a procedure that, in its etymology, recalls the imperial Caesars of Roman antiquity.

Additionally, Frederic associates the infant with royalty early in the novel as he describes the way that the King of Italy would ride in his car past troops who looked "as though they were six months gone with child" (4). As he describes, the Italian king sitting in the back seat of the moving car, for example, is similar to the position of a baby that is about to emerge from a mother's womb: "If one of the officers in the back was very small and sitting between two generals, he himself so small that you could not see his face but only the top of his cap and his narrow back, and if the car went especially fast it was probably the King." The two generals sitting on either side of the King can be seen to represent the legs of the mother, and the "very small" King, with his exposed cap and back, could represent the top of the baby's head and his back as he is about to come out of the womb, which is represented by the car. Frederic's recollection that his son had a "puckered up *old-man's face*" (326, my emphasis), is not unlike the King, who had a "*gray beard* like a goat's chin tuft" (6, my emphasis). Also, reminiscent of the King's "little *long necked* body" (my emphasis), is Frederic's son, who died because, as the nurse informs Frederic, "the [umbilical] cord was caught around *his neck* or something" (327, my emphasis). Finally, Frederic's observation that the King "*came out . . .* nearly every day to see how things were going, and things went very badly" (4, my emphasis), foreshadows how badly things will go for Frederic and Catherine when their son "comes out," that is, when he is removed stillborn from his mother's womb (327).

Not only are Domenico and the stillborn child each associated with royalty, they are each associated with animals in a number of ways. Frederic recalls, for example, that when the doctor came out of the operating room after performing the caesarean on Catherine, he was carrying something “that looked like a freshly skinned rabbit” (324), and Frederic will subsequently inform Catherine that their baby “looks like a skinned rabbit” (326). We may recall that in her aforementioned letter of February 3, Agnes informed Hemingway that “the little tenente I spoke of before, is giving me a desperate rush—now don’t get excited. Today *he brought a hare* for our dinner. Food here seems to *take the place of flowers & candy*” (Kurowsky, “Letters” 159, my emphasis). Agnes was most likely referring to Caracciolo here (or even if not, Hemingway may subsequently have assumed that she was), having also attempted to mislead Hemingway in her letter of January 19 (as I have indicated) by stating that her “tenente” was “aged 14” (157). It could very well be too that in describing Catherine’s infant son, Hemingway was recalling the period of time when he was naively anticipating the arrival of a lover who was nevertheless accepting gifts such as hares from an Italian aristocrat. Hemingway, moreover, knew that Agnes was interested in an Italian officer: In his March 5 letter to Bill Horne, for example, he informed his friend that “a certain small and too adipose Tenente of Artigleria [Lieutenant of Artillery] is making an awful bid for her [Agnes’s] hand and fortune” (*The Letters* 173, 175n4). Also, the fact that the baby dies in Catherine’s womb may be a reflection of the way that Domenico’s mother had “killed” her son’s engagement to Agnes before it could “grow into” or “evolve into” that of a marriage.

Agnes’s correspondence with Hemingway as he awaited her arrival in Oak Park is reflected too as Frederic returns to the hospital from the café and learns from the nurse that Catherine’s condition has deteriorated due to a hemorrhage that she had suffered following the

caesarean (330). Catherine's revelation to Frederic that she nearly wrote him a letter may represent not only the numerous letters that Hadley had written to Ernest during their courtship,¹⁵⁵ but also the many letters that Agnes wrote to Hemingway. More specifically, Catherine's revelation here may, in fact, recall Agnes's dismissal letter, especially if Catherine's death is seen to represent Hemingway's loss of Agnes. Additionally, Catherine's reference to her precarious condition as a "dirty trick" (331) may very well be a reflection of Hemingway's cynical attitude about Agnes's rejection.¹⁵⁶ Finally, not unlike the way in which Catherine reassures Frederic that "I'll come and stay with you nights," Hemingway's memories of losing his beloved Agnes in a sense "haunted" him for the rest of his life.

Moreover, Hemingway may very well have named his novel's major female character "Catherine" or "Cat" after Agnes, for this former lover whom Hemingway allowed to devastate his masculine identity and whose memory subsequently haunted him, used to describe herself to him as "cattiva," an Italian word whose various meanings include "wicked" or "wicked person" ("Cattiva"). Agnes closes, for example, her January 12 letter with, "suo cattiva ragazza [your naughty girl] Agnes (Kurowsky, "Letters" 156, my emphasis) and her March 1 letter with, "I'm feeling very cattiva [wicked] tonight" (Agnes's translation in brackets in both quotations) (163, my emphasis). It was probably not so much Hadley (whom Hemingway called his "feather Cat, shortened to Kat or Cat") (Kert 218) and what the author saw as his first wife's responsibility for

¹⁵⁵ Gioia Diliberto reports that "Ernest kept Hadley's love letters all his life. His fourth wife, Mary, sent them back to Hadley after his suicide in 1961, and Hadley kept them for another eighteen years. After her death in 1979, Jack Hemingway found them stuffed into a shoe box in her Florida apartment" (xiii). Wagner-Martin observes that, for *Farewell*, Hemingway used "the repeated motif from Hadley's months of love letters—that she wanted his arms around her, and she wanted to put her arms around him" (*Literary Life* 85).

¹⁵⁶ In his June 15, 1919 letter to Howie Jenkins, Hemingway, in reference to Agnes's dismissal by Caracciolo, observed, "poor damned kid I'm sorry as hell for her. But there's nothing I can do. I loved her once and then she gyped me" (*The Letters* 193).

the loss of his manuscripts in the Paris train station, but Agnes as the one that Hemingway most likely had in mind as his original “wicked” Cat, or Catherine. Agnes, after all, had been the war era lover who, at least in his view, betrayed him for another. Could it be that Hemingway’s notorious obsession with cats was caused by his perpetual need to feel close not only to Hadley, but to Agnes?¹⁵⁷ Also significant is that in one of Hemingway’s early drafts of the novel’s final chapter, Frederic recalls that, following Catherine’s death, “I walked that night in March nineteen hundred and eighteen in the rain back to the hotel” (“Appendix II” 308): Hemingway received the news of the “death” of his romance with Agnes one year later in March, 1919.¹⁵⁸

Ironically, however, Catherine’s death permits Frederic to initiate his recovery of his male self and construct his masculinity, a transformation that is foreshadowed when, immediately following her death, he orders the nurses out of Catherine’s room and then soon emerges from the hospital alone in the rain (332).¹⁵⁹ Frederic, unlike his lover and his son,

¹⁵⁷ It’s quite possible that the cats that Hemingway includes in two of his other works were psychological projections of his ongoing affection for Hadley and/or Agnes. I’m thinking here especially of works such as “Cat in the Rain” and *Islands in the Stream*. The lost cat in the former story may, for example, be seen as a representation of Hemingway’s “lost” Agnes and the cat that the maid provides the wife at the end may be a representation of his “lost” Hadley, who, of course, in one sense “replaced” Hemingway’s lost first true love. Also, in her letter of October 17, 1918 to Ernest, Agnes provided an account of a “poor little kitty” that she discovered on a rooftop and had subsequently rescued (Kurowsky, “Letters” 101). Additionally, in *Islands in the Stream*, Thomas Hudson’s affectionate, if not intimate, relationship with Boise, his cat, may be seen perhaps as the author’s subconscious need to relive the love that he had experienced during his respective romantic involvements with Hadley and/or Agnes.

¹⁵⁸ In the forty-seven earlier drafts of the novel’s final chapter, Frederic refers to March, 1918 a total of thirteen times (“Appendix II” 303-22).

¹⁵⁹ Spilka notes that “the love she [Catherine] offers so absorbs male identity that she is as threatening to it, finally, as any bitch heroine; and though she dies bravely, like a true Hemingway hero, it may be that she is sacrificed to male survival” (*Quarrel* 215). Fetterley observes that Catherine’s “death in childbirth is fit punishment for having failed Frederic sexually by getting pregnant” (69). Richard B. Hovey believes that Frederic “has learned that both of these [love and war] alienate and destroy” (89) and that Hemingway’s “hero’s love is the sort that never allows him to get beyond his own self” (90). Finnegan feels that Frederic is “left alone: he cannot return to the army, and Catherine is dead. There is nothing to provide him a self-image he can recognize, a definition that will give him purpose, a community of which he can be a part” (268).

manages to survive and, through Catherine's death, is finally released from his excessive emotional dependence. Yet not unlike Hemingway following (and because of) Agnes's rejection, over the years since Catherine's death, Frederic also manages to rediscover his male self—a rediscovery that will provide him, as it did Hemingway, with the inner strength necessary to construct his masculinity by composing popular and enduring novels such as *A Farewell to Arms*. Catherine's lifeless body, compared by Frederic to a "statue,"¹⁶⁰ represents not only the emotionally cold manner in which Hemingway believed Agnes treated him through what he saw as her betrayal, but it is also emblematic of the former lover whom he nevertheless wanted to memorialize—to give Catherine, the woman, instead of the male, and consonant with the theme of the perversity of modern warfare—a heroic status.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Sandra Spanier argues that "to read her [Catherine's] death merely as a consequence of Hemingway's hostility toward women, or his existential fear of complication, or his fictional revenge on his first love Agnes von Kurowsky, or the end that a troublesome woman deserves, is to ignore the whole point of the novel" ("Unknown Soldier" 93). Paul Smith, however, feels that "Catherine's fated 'rendezvous with death' was an act of revenge for Agnes's failure to keep her rendezvous with Ernest" ("Trying-Out" 39). Likewise, Kim Moreland notes that "in the case of Catherine Barkley's death, Hemingway was also wreaking revenge on Agnes von Kurowsky for jilting him by providing her fictional alter-ego with a painful and drawn-out death" (*Medievalist Impulse* 228n26). In an earlier draft of the novel's final chapter, most of which Hemingway subsequently deleted, Frederic elaborates about loss, and though, of course, the loss of Catherine is what triggers his essay, we can also read it as being about Hemingway's loss of Agnes: "They say the only way you can keep a thing is to lose it and this may be true but do not admire it. The only thing I know is that if you love anything enough they take it away from you. This may all be done in infinite wisdom but whoever does it is not my friend" (qtd. in Reynolds, *First War* 40). Reynolds believes that by 1928, the year that Hemingway returned to the story about his experiences during the war, a story that he had been writing since 1919, "the bitterness toward Agnes had disappeared, for it does not touch the characterization of Catherine Barkley" (*First War* 280). Spilka observes that "it was his [Hemingway's] farewell to Hadley and his ensuing marriage to Pauline Pfeiffer that truly determined the novel's tone of loss and failure" (*Quarrel* 221). Regarding Hemingway's rejection of Hadley, Diliberto explains that "he felt guilty about leaving her all his life. His betrayal of her seemed to damage his sense of himself as essentially strong and decent, and it sparked his creative and physical decline" (xii). Finally, Brenner, who attributes Catherine's death primarily to Ernest's aggression towards his father, nevertheless also notes that "Hemingway's feelings about Hadley's deficiencies, Pauline's treachery, Agnes's betrayal, and his mother's tyranny may account for the unconscious aggression in *Farewell*, resulting as it does in making Catherine die" (59).

¹⁶¹ Reynolds explains that Frederic and Catherine "reverse roles in the novel," so that "by the end of the

Frederic's comparison of Catherine's dead body to a statue is foreshadowed earlier in the novel when Frederic described in detail the marble busts that he observed while waiting for Catherine one evening in an office at the Milan hospital:

There were many marble busts on painted wooden pillars along the walls of the room they used for an office. The hall, too, that the office opened on, was lined with them. They had the complete marble quality of all looking alike. Sculpture had always seemed a dull business—still, bronzes looked like something. But marble busts all looked like a cemetery. There was one fine cemetery though—the one at Pisa. Genoa was the place to see the bad marbles. This had been the villa of a very wealthy German and the busts must have cost him plenty. (28)

The term “busts” here, suggestive of female sexuality and maternity, associates the marble busts with Catherine. That the busts, with their “marble quality,” all look “alike” to Frederic indicates that his thoughts are focused on a single individual, Catherine; that the busts look “like a cemetery” foreshadows Catherine's death, though she became as valuable to Frederic in terms of romance as the busts had been to the wealthy German who had owned them. Could this wealthy German also be a reference to Agnes's father, who, as I have previously pointed out, was closely

novel, it is Catherine who dominates the action; Frederic has been reduced in stature while Catherine has gained” (*First War* 257). For Joyce Wexler, “Catherine becomes Frederic's model of courage by sustaining her capacity for love after the death of the man she loved. Her ability to find—or create—something of value in a world that resists human control is the primary example of bravery Frederic remembers after the war” (116). Spanier, moreover, believes that

Catherine Barkley not only is a strong and fully realized character, she is the one character in this novel who exemplifies in the widest range the controls of honor and courage, the “grace under pressure” that have come to be known as the “Hemingway code.” Her part is to teach Frederic Henry by example how to survive in a hostile and chaotic world in which an individual can gain at most a limited autonomy—through scrupulous adherence to roles and rituals of one's own devising. She is the code hero of this novel if anyone is. (“Hemingway Code” 132)

Finally, Daniel S. Traber notes that in Catherine's “final minutes” there is “just a staring down of the facts with the cold eye of existential realism, a ‘masculine’ grace under pressure rather than ‘feminine’ hysteria” (37).

associated with German culture? As Frederic muses over the busts here, it is not difficult to imagine Hemingway thinking of Agnes and his feelings about her.¹⁶² He, after all, not only may very well at times have caressed Agnes's breasts, but he evidently, as I have noted, did not consummate his relationship with her before her "death" to him—before, that is, he "interred" her in the "cemetery" of his mind following their breakup.¹⁶³ Furthermore, Agnes, who became the former lover whom Hemingway had the most trouble forgetting, and though she was not wealthy, nevertheless, given that she (like her father) was associated with German culture may very well suggest that the "bad marbles" at Genoa here represent the feelings of loss and regret that Hemingway experienced when, in January, 1919, he left Agnes and Milan for the U. S. and Oak Park before sailing from Genoa.¹⁶⁴

Overall, then, in *A Farewell to Arms*, through his characterization of an heroic Catherine Barkley who dies a tragic death at the end, Hemingway, as he attempted to exorcise what he saw as Agnes's betrayal, both memorialized and avenged his former wartime lover. By employing his avatar-narrator, Frederic Henry, Hemingway was also attempting to demonstrate that, much as Frederic—notwithstanding his prolonged competition with Catherine for the superior position in their relationship—utilizes the emotional devastation that he had endured through his beloved's death to drive deeper into himself in order to compose a great war novel, so too had Hemingway

¹⁶² In her December 15 letter to Hemingway from Treviso, Agnes described her visit to the Villa Margarita, an estate that "used to belong to the Queen as it certainly was a pretentious place once," and where the nurse strolled along various walkways that were "lined with busts—artists on one—musicians another—all sorts of famous folks" (Kurowsky, "Letters" 142).

¹⁶³ Wilma Garcia notes that "the final irony in Catherine's brief rule as the archetypal Female is that she most resembles the merciful and powerful Virgin Mother of Christian myth—or the gray marble statues that represent Her in churches here on earth—when she is dead" (165), and "as such, she is an ironic figure of the Virgin Mother, a Lady of Sorrows who herself suffers and dies in a vain attempt to bring forth new life in a world where death prevails" (161).

¹⁶⁴ According to Mellow, Agnes and Ernest "did, in fact, have a final rendezvous in Milan on December 31, just before Hemingway took ship for America" (85).

employed the emotional trauma occasioned by his loss of Agnes in order to drive deeper into himself and write *A Farewell to Arms*. Like Frederic, Hemingway had discovered a male-self strength that had provided him with the discipline as well as the ability to transcend the traumatic effects of his first love's loss and ultimately become his generation's most popular and most successful author.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Solotaroff believes that Hemingway wrote the novel in the hope that he could escape the "engulfment" of a woman's influence (12). Gajdusek's view, however, is that, "we might posit that Catherine, as the 'statue within the mind,' has been a . . . bearer of light against darkness/death for Frederic/Hemingway and has demanded her own story, the work of art that is the novel we have read—the novel that Frederic was by guilt impelled to write" (90), and that, as Frederic "walks off in the rain, he walks toward the writing of the book we have just read, which is to make him father of the Word, a legitimizer of the spirits of the dead. His own dead, even denied, son is the sacrifice who underwrites the emergence of a valid Father" (232). For Oldsey, "Hemingway reduces Catherine Barkley to the level of a cold piece of stone, but an artistically shaped stone. The Pygmalion myth is here acted out in reverse, and then put right again. For out of that 'statue' of the penultimate line of *A Farewell to Arms* springs the entire warm and loving story that constitutes the novel, a story told years after its occurrence" ("Sense" 93).

CONCLUSION

In a letter dated July 2, 1919 that Ernest Hemingway wrote to friend Bill Horne from Stone Crest Farm in northern Michigan, the young author claimed that he had essentially eliminated from his mind all memories of his first true love, Agnes von Kurowsky: “Now for the last month and a half I’ve been up North [*sic*] here And [*sic*] ‘Ag’ doesn’t recall any image to my mind at all. It has just all been burnt out. So that is finito per sempre [finished forever]” (*The Letters* 195, 196n1). Through my research I have taken issue with this early claim of Hemingway regarding his putting Agnes and the after-effects of his intense romance with her behind him. The careful examination of Hemingway’s early prose works that I have completed here indicates that the young author had indeed not “burnt out” his memories of Agnes from his mind, but that he, in fact, had employed more of his remembrances of his relationship with her for the material of his early stories and novels than critics have thus far realized. Most significantly, he had employed the inner-strength concept that he himself had discovered from his otherwise devastating breakup with Agnes in order to create male protagonists who are able to endure the challenges posed by modern women and various other facets of modern life by going deep within themselves to engage the inner strength of their respective male selves.

I have demonstrated the significant influence that Hemingway’s memories of his relationship with Agnes exerted on his early fictional works by comparing biographical evidence with a number of the author’s early published texts. I have been most interested in passages included in Hemingway’s letters to his friends and family, Agnes’s letters to Hemingway as well as her diary entries, information supplied by various Hemingway biographers and critics, and of course, the fiction that Hemingway composed from the time of his initial short story publications in the early twenties through to and including the publication of *A Farewell to Arms* in 1929. One of my chief goals has been to determine the degree to which the romantic couples of the stories

share characteristics with Hemingway and Agnes, and to determine whether such similarities could also be identified between additional fictional characters and those people with whom Hemingway and Agnes knew during the time of their romance. I also compared what I defined as the very nature of the author's relationship with Agnes to the nature of the respective romantic relationships featured in each story, and after defining the conditions under which Hemingway discovered the inner strength of his male self, I assessed the male protagonist's ability to discover and employ his inner strength in an effort to negotiate his romantic involvements and the other challenging aspects of his life.

I found that the nature of the similarities between Hemingway and the youthful protagonists in three early Nick Adams stories set in the frontier-like environment of northern Michigan—"Indian Camp," "Ten Indians," and "The Battler"—suggest not only what the author perceived to be the modern women's threats to masculine identity, but also the significant influence of the author's romantic relationship with Agnes. Hemingway and his generation's masculinity construction through their prejudices towards Native Americans are represented in the attitudes of Uncle George in the first story and Dr. Adams in the first two stories. Also, what Hemingway perceived to be Agnes's betrayal with Domenico Caracciolo became, respectively, the Indian mother's "betrayal" of her husband through the bearing of a white man's son in the first story, Prudie Mitchell's betrayal of Nick with Frank Washburn in the second story, and the brakeman's betrayal of Nick as well as Mrs. Francis's abandonment of ex-boxer Ad in the third story. In the latter story, moreover, African-American Bugs's domination of his white male lover underscores the perversity of the latter's heavy reliance on his wife's emotional support.

Romantic betrayal is also featured in at least two of three subsequent Nick Adams (or, Harold Krebs) stories, "Soldier's Home," "A Very Short Story," and "Summer People." In the

first of these, Harold is evidently betrayed by his Agnes-like wartime European girlfriend; in the second story, Nick is betrayed by his Agnes-like nurse-lover, Luz, and her Caracciolo-like Italian major fiancé; in the third story, “betrayal” may be suggested by the clandestine sexual activities in which Nick and Kate engage without the knowledge of their mutual friend, Odgar. Betrayal is also featured in *The Torrents of Spring* as Scripps O’Neil’s Agnes-like wife, Lucy, abandons her husband, Scripps replaces Hadley-like Diana with Pauline-like Mandy, and Yogi Johnson’s Agnes-like Parisian lady rejects Yogi in favor of her Caracciolo-like British officer. In *The Sun Also Rises*, Brett Ashley, a former World War I nurse like Agnes, betrays Jake Barnes with Robert Cohn, Mike Campbell, and Pedro Romero, and in *A Farewell to Arms*, another wartime nurse like Agnes, Catherine Barkley, “betrays” Frederic Henry (at least in his eyes) by allowing herself to become pregnant with his child before abandoning him by allowing herself to die.

Hemingway translates the inner strength of the male self which he discovered upon his breakup with Agnes into the first aforementioned trio of short stories, works that feature Nick’s increasing awareness of the importance of his own male self’s inner strength. In the first story, the birth of the Indian mother’s infant son concurrent with her husband’s suicide—a birth suggestive to Nick of the enduring strength of his own male self—instills in the boy a sense of his own immortality by the story’s end; in the second story, the natural imagery near the conclusion metaphorically represents the inner strength of Nick’s male self, helps the boy to endure the trauma of his Indian lover’s betrayal; and in the third story, Nick’s encounter with the perverse ex-boxer demonstrates to the youth what can happen when a man allows his male self to be suppressed through his relationship with a domineering woman.

In the second trio of short stories, a more mature Nick/Harold alternatively fails and succeeds in utilizing the inner strength of his male self. In “Soldier’s Home,” the male self that

Harold was evidently able to employ during battle is suppressed by the illusions he creates for his townspeople through his lies about the war and through the lies he tells his mother, though his relationship with Helen indicates that he may recover his male self following his move to Kansas City. Nick's deep love for Luz in "A Very Short Story" conceals his male self, and even when she rejects him in favor of her Italian officer, Nick's failure to restore his masculinity is suggested through his liaison with the salesgirl. In "Summer People," Nick, whose connection with the strength of his male self is illustrated in the spring water and in the swimming episodes, demonstrates his confidence in his ability to exploit Kate for his own pleasure and for material that he will need for his writing.

In the three aforementioned novels, the protagonists also experience varying degrees of success and failure in terms of employing the inner strength of their male selves. Although in *Torrents of Spring*, Scripps's and Yogi's romantic illusions conceal their respective male selves and they choose not to develop their respective masculinities, Jake Barnes's Cohn-like romantic illusions conceal his male self in *The Sun Also Rises* until he rediscovers his Romero-like male self near the end at San Sebastian, so that he is able to establish his superiority to Brett when he rescues her in Madrid. Finally, in *A Farewell to Arms*, Frederic, despite the male-self prototypes of characters such as Rinaldi, Valentini, and Greffi, allows his male self to be concealed through his romantic relationship with Catherine and through his desertion from the Italian army after enduring the absurdities of modern warfare—until, that is, Catherine's and his infant son's death frees him so that he ultimately will be able to compose his novel.

These findings suggest that future scholarship and academic instruction regarding Hemingway should take into consideration the more influential role that Hemingway's romantic relationship with Agnes played in his personal life as well as in the composition of his early

prose fictional works. Given that Hemingway's involvement with his first true love was, as I have argued, an experience that the author could not completely dismiss and one that infused itself into many of the characters and events that he would include in his early fiction, to marginalize, or worse, to ignore the impact of this crucial defining experience on the young writer would be to mislead ourselves into assuming that what was his most significant early romantic relationship could somehow be surgically removed from works that often feature romantic relationships. Such an oversight would mean that we would not appreciate the degree to which Hemingway was trapped by his memories of his wartime romance with Agnes, and that at least in the early period of his career, he was unable to free himself from such overpowering recollections. Ultimately, Hemingway was a writer, then, whose inability at least during the early years of his career to free himself from his past, essentially limited what could have otherwise enabled a more varied and more imaginatively creative rendering of his literary works. I think it is a truism that an author's heavy reliance on real-life experiences for virtually all of his or her sources of literary fiction often means that such an author will more quickly write him or herself out—certainly a problem with which Hemingway struggled at various times, during his career. Furthermore, I believe that Hemingway's defensiveness and his aggression towards women stemmed in large degree from the way in which he had subsequently viewed his breakup with his beloved World War I nurse. The inner strength of the male identity that he had constructed through his heroism at Fossalta in 1918, yet had subsequently concealed during his romantic relationship with Agnes, was the same inner strength that he had rediscovered and would later employ both in his actual future relationships with women and as an important theme in his fiction. This is not to suggest that Hemingway's own engagement with his male self's inner strength was necessarily beneficial to those with whom he was in contact. Indeed, the

celebrated author's sexism and misogyny were at least in part constituted by the inner strength that Hemingway himself had undoubtedly utilized in his relationships with his various wives and extra-marital lovers. As I pointed out in my introduction, in Hemingway's fiction we have to consider the viewpoint of the character in order to evaluate whether the inner strength is a force for good or bad. For many of Hemingway's early protagonists, inner strength promotes if not enables such qualities as confidence (Nick in "Indian Camp" and "Summer People"), spontaneity (Harold in "Soldier's Home"), longevity (Greff in *Sun*), athleticism (Ad's boxing career in "The Battler"), artistic creation (Jake in *Sun*, Frederic in *Farewell*), hard work and discipline (Rinaldi and Valentini in *Farewell*), and overcoming romantic traumas (Nick in "Ten Indians," Jake in *Sun*).

I also have addressed a related question that is unfortunately rarely asked about what has been so often cited as perhaps the chief attribute of his fictional heroes: "Where does 'grace under pressure' come from?" Its source, as I have tried to make clear, is, at least according to what is suggested in Hemingway stories, the deep reservoir of strength that his male protagonists attempt to employ during their respective engagements in romantic relationships and in those of modern warfare. In my view, the best examples of the "grace under pressure" that the male self's inner strength enables in Hemingway's early fiction, include Harold's ability to do "the one thing, *the only thing for a man to do, easily and naturally*" (111) in battle, and Romero's stylized engagement with the bulls late in *Sun*. Moreover, although it may seem axiomatic that a Hemingway male who is in constant contact with the inner strength of his male self does not necessarily require the encouragement or assistance of another male, a male's camaraderie with his male companion may nevertheless facilitate such contact. Most assuredly, characters such as Nick in "Summer People" and Romero in *Sun* do not require the help of other males in terms of

making and maintaining male self contact. Nick knows full well how to plummet deep with himself in order to strengthen his confidence with women, and Romero's male self contact is dramatically if not colorfully evidenced by the young matador's aficion and his exceptionable ability to dominate not only his bulls but also even the most liberated of women. Regarding the relationship between camaraderie and male self contact, however, I'm thinking in particular here of the ability of characters such as Jake and Bill to make such contact during the Irati fishing episode in *Sun*. Barnes is able to restore his male self connection in this episode not only because of his reading about the bride-in-waiting and her lost groom, but also because Jake has Bill to listen to his ruminations about Brett, the woman with whom the disabled veteran has been emotionally dependent since the war.

Unfortunately, however, the inner strength that Hemingway assigns to his male characters provides them with a source of power that enables them to assume the superior role in their romantic relationships and at times to take advantage of their female lovers. The most obvious example in the six short stories I have discussed is Nick Adams in "Summer People," whose confident manipulation of pliable Kate for the purposes of his own pleasure and future writing material is nothing less than a clear reflection of Hemingway's own sexism and perhaps misogyny. Examples in the three novels I have examined include the superior position that Jake Barnes assumes over Brett as well as Romero's rejection of her in the Madrid episode in *Sun*. Also, the respective abilities of Rinaldi and Valentini in *Farewell* (unlike Frederic) to avoid an excessive emotional and sexual dependence on women, to use the opposite sex strictly for the purpose of their own pleasure, also shows the way that the male inner self can be employed in order to take advantage of women. The inner-strength motif should thus be included in any discussion of Hemingway regarding the author's characterization of his protagonists, especially

those who are involved in situations that greatly challenge their endurance—whether they are playing the role of lover, patient, bullfighter, soldier, aviator, writer, or fisherman.

My findings, moreover, suggest a number of future research projects on Hemingway that should be undertaken. The most obvious and immediate of these would be determine whether or not Hemingway's relationship with Agnes exerted the same amount of impact on his post-*Farewell to Arms* prose fiction as it had on the composition of his early works, and in which ways was that impact similar or different. Much as I have alluded in this regard to Harry Walden's imaginative recollection of his first lover in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," additional topics related to Hemingway's later fiction that could be examined in terms of this impact might include that of Margot Macomber and her betrayal of her husband with Robert Wilson in "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber," and the nature of Harry Morgan's masculinity construction in *To Have and Have Not*. One could also examine Richard Cantwell's male identity in *Across the River and into the Trees*, the colonel's recollections of his medical treatment during World War I, and the Agnes-Hemingway-like nature of his relationship with Renata. What also could be explored are the nature of Robert Jordan's male self and the Agnes-like qualities of Maria in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Santiago's male self in *The Old Man and the Sea*, and the "inner core" of David Bourne's identity as well as the Agnes/Catherine Barkley-like characteristics of David's wife, Catherine Bourne, in *The Garden of Eden*. Yet another relevant topic for research would be to ascertain the reasons why Hemingway modified certain aspects of Agnes's character as well as particular aspects of his relationship with her as he shaped his the majority of his narratives.

Finally, an additional area of research would be to investigate whether Hemingway's women characters possess an inner strength that is as potent as that of his male characters—even

though, as I have suggested, it appears that Hemingway *intentionally* assigned the quality of inner strength to only a select number of his male protagonists. Moreover, a related project here would be to determine whether Hemingway's fictional women are more inclined to employ inner strength when alone or when they are members of a group or community. Is their "version" of inner strength identical to that of males or is it comprised of some other elements? Are there, in other words, distinctly "paternal" and "maternal" kinds of inner strength and, if so, what does this suggest in either case? Relevant to this research area would be examinations of such characters as Marjorie in "The End of Something," Helen Krebs in "Soldier's Home," Katy Smith in "Summer People," Brett Ashley in *The Sun Also Rises*, Catherine Barkley in *A Farewell to Arms*, Helen Walden in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," Margot Macomber in "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber," Maria and Pilar in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Renata in *Across the River and into the Trees*, and Catherine and Marita in *The Garden of Eden*. Moreover, if such research indicates Hemingway's assumption that inner strength is reserved exclusively for males, then this finding would provide more evidence for what has often been seen as Hemingway's notorious sexist if not misogynist attitude towards women.

As I mentioned early in my introduction, it is my belief that all individuals—regardless of gender or sexual orientation—are possessed of an inner strength that they can employ, especially in difficult or challenging situations. Although historically males have often assumed that they are the sole possessors of this important inner resource, there are nevertheless numerous instances throughout history and in world literature of women who are able to meet the often severe challenges of human existence through their employment of a great inner strength. Examples of women in literature known for their profound inner strength include the Biblical characters of Esther and Ruth, classical women such as Homer's Penelope, Sophocles's

Antigone and Euripides's Medea, Renaissance figures like Shakespeare's Juliet and the two Portias of his *The Merchant of Venice* and *Julius Caesar*, and nineteenth and twentieth-century characters such as Jane Austen's Elizabeth Bennet, Nathaniel Hawthorne's Hester Prynne, Leo Tolstoy's Anna Karenina, Henrik Ibsen's Nora Helmer, Kate Chopin's Edna Pontellier, Kate O'Brien's Helen Archer, Zora Neale Hurston's Janie Crawford, Paula Gunn Allen's Ephanie Atencio, Alice Walker's Celie, and the four mothers of Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*.

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