Programa de Doctorado en Estudios Norteamericanos

DISPATCHES FROM THE OLD MAN OVERSEAS: Ernest Hemingway's Journalism

Tesis Doctoral presentada por

MARCOS TODESCHINI

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Director:
DR. JOSÉ ANTONIO GURPEGUI PALACIOS

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INTRODUCTION

Like many writers of his generation – and the generations before and after him – Ernest Hemingway's first articles were published in the pages of a newspaper. At the age of 18, he was producing news stories on a daily basis as a reporter for *The Kansas City Star*. On the one hand, the writer has always admitted that the seven-month period in the newspaper had a strong influence on the fresh, direct, and dynamic style developed in his literature. On the other hand, Hemingway also recognized that the profession could negatively impact anyone wanting to be a professional writer. In one of the many interviews that Ernest Hemingway gave, he told George Plimpton that journalism "will not harm a young writer and could help him if he gets out of it in time" (25).[1] According to Hemingway's reasoning, there is a moment that a writer must leave journalism. Except that he did not.

Throughout Hemingway's life, he never quit the profession entirely. From his first job in *The Kansas City Star* until the last byline one year before his death at the age of 61, Hemingway never stopped writing for the press. His contribution was intermittent but extensive. In the 1920s, Hemingway was sent off to Paris to be a correspondent in Europe for the media group Toronto Star. In the early-1930s, he became a lifestyle chronicler in the magazine *Esquire* and, later that decade, worked as a correspondent in the Spanish Civil War for the *North American Newspaper Alliance*. In the 1940s, Hemingway went to Asia for the first time and wrote a series of articles on the Sino-Japanese war for the newspaper *PM*. The experience was followed by the dispatches sent from Europe during World War II for the weekly magazine *Collier's*. Finally, in the 1950s, he worked as a contributor on special

[1] The famous interview with George Plimpton was included in the anthology *Hemingway and His Critics*, edited by Carlos Baker, which is where the reference is taken from. But it was originally published in the issue 18 of *The Paris Review*, in the spring of 1958.

assignments. His last news story was commissioned by *Life* magazine and was later turned into the book *The Dangerous Summer*.

Despite the importance of journalism in Hemingway's corpus, it is surprising how little attention has been paid to this side of his life. Most scholarly works focus on Hemingway's literary production, even though the journalistic pieces add up to almost a third of his written output. It is true that biographers and scholars have carried out very successful works scrutinizing Hemingway's life and tracing the influences on his style. In these cases, journalism is inserted as one of the most significant influences. Hemingway's journalistic career path is included in the multiple and extensive work of biographers like Carlos Baker, Michael Reynolds, Phillip Young, Scott Donaldson, and it even represents a third of Charles Fenton's *The Apprentice of Ernest Hemingway*. Nevertheless, these works normally mention the journalism practiced in the early years and often overlook Hemingway's journalistic practice during his adulthood. They also fall short in putting his journalistic career in a lifetime perspective. The present work proposes to take this road.

When using journalism as the main framework to dissect Hemingway's life, some questions arise. Since Hemingway has remained a journalist throughout his life, did the profession intertwine with the writer he became? How did the journalistic experiences cross Hemingway's path as a fiction writer? Is it possible to separate the journalist from the writer? Finally, can we observe an evolution of Hemingway's journalistic style in the same way the scholarship has observed in his literature?

The main purpose of the present dissertation is to explore in which ways Hemingway's journalism and literature make a connection in his corpus of writing. The thesis title, *Dispatches from the Old Man Overseas*, nudges these two main sides of Hemingway's life. The first reference is to the journalistic articles dispatched from overseas to different news outlets in the United States and Canada: more than ninety percent of Hemingway's journalistic pieces were

written outside the United States. The second reference is to Hemingway's last literary work, *The Old Man and the Sea*, whose fictional character, the "old man" Santiago, is often seen as an alter ego of the writer. Although Hemingway never really became an old man, he somehow assumed this archetype during his life by giving himself the nickname *Papa* and carefully cultivating a white beard. Hemingway's fictional work, therefore, is mixed with his personal life. By reviewing the journalistic production of a lifetime, we aim to understand if his journalism mixes with his literary production and, therefore, his personal life too.

In order to support the main objective of this dissertation, we established a secondary goal. We want to observe if Hemingway's journalistic production reflects his personal growth. Scholars have already asserted that Hemingway's literary writing evolved as he himself matured. We want to see if this evolution can also be noticed in his journalism. The secondary objective is linked to this thesis's primary goal, which is to analyse how journalism and literature have always gone hand in hand through Hemingway's life. For a writer who created the iceberg theory, in which seven-eighths of the story should be submerged, analysing Hemingway's journalism in perspective might add another layer to the understanding of his other texts.

The hypothesis that guides this work is that the journalism written by Hemingway followed a similar path as his literature, both in terms of *topics* explored and in the *style of writing*. To test this hypothesis, we will compare the evolution of Hemingway's literary style with the one practiced in his news reporting. It is important to note that what became known as "Hemingway's writing style" is not a steady, fixed rule that remained the same over his forty-year literary career. It was a practice that he kept developing and changing. Even the general characteristics for which Hemingway's style became known – short, direct sentences, and the omission of information to make the narrative more powerful – were not immovable. They

appear in his texts with more or less intensity depending on the phase it was written or the story that was being told.

Due to the groundbreaking importance that it represents, Hemingway's style in literature has been thoroughly studied. An in-depth look at his fictional pieces published in the time span of 40 years shows specific patterns that allowed academics to group Hemingway's corpus in stages. Most scholars separate his writings into two distinct phases: an early one, which goes from 1920 until the first half of the 1930s, and another that spans from 1935 until his death in 1961. José Manuel Barrio, on the other hand, offers an alternative option. In the book *Ernest Hemingway: su dinámica narrativa*, he makes an extensive analysis of the development of Hemingway's style and suggests that his literary work should be divided into three groups. These phases roughly comprehend the decades of the 1920s, the 1930s and, finally, the 1940s onwards. We will use Barrio's definition as the framework for this dissertation.

The choice for Barrio's approach is justified for two main reasons. Firstly, his definition contemplates three separate stages; therefore, it captures the nuances of Hemingway's literature more comprehensively, making any analysis much richer. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, Hemingway's career as a reporter can be divided into three specific moments as well: the experience as a cub reporter in the 1920s, as a columnist and Spanish Civil War correspondent in the 1930s, and a World War II correspondent and feature reporter in the 1940s and 1950s. We deemed it more suitable to use Barrio's definition for this work because it will allow us to make a more accurate parallel between Hemingway's literature and journalism.

In the following chapters, we will discuss the literary production in each of the phases and compare it with what Hemingway did in journalism within the same time frame. In order to accomplish this goal, we organized this thesis into three main parts, one for every phase.

Each part is divided into three chapters: one corresponding to the journalism produced in that period, another corresponding to the literature and, finally, one that compares these two sides. The group of nine chapters that compose this thesis is preceded by a first chapter that provides an overview of the main discussions permeating the fields of journalism and literature.

Following the theoretical discussion comes "Part I – the Early Years: A Cub Reporter in Paris," which spans from 1917 to 1929. This period covers Hemingway's first promising steps in journalism and literature while still in his 20s.[2] Chapter 2 covers Hemingway's experiences as a cub reporter: the seven-month incursion in *The Kansas City Star*'s newsrooms, followed by a longer period working for the Toronto Star Group. The Canadian media conglomerate was responsible for sending the young Hemingway to Paris, an experience that would change his life and impact his writing. Chapter 3 will be devoted to exploring the literary production from that period. It highlights the main characteristics of Hemingway's style and his hero, which makes his first appearance as Nick Adams. Chapter 4 will explore how the early journalism connects to the literary output, focusing mainly on the short story books *In Our Time* and *Men Without Women*, and the novels *The Sun Also Rises* and *A Farewell to Arms*. The complete journalistic production for the Toronto Group was published in a collection edited by William White called *Dateline: Toronto*. This book will provide us with the journalistic articles from this period.

"Part II – The Adult Years: Lifestyle Writer and War Correspondent" examines the phase that ensued, from 1930 to 1940. Chapter 5 is focused on his journalism. It covers Hemingway's first incursions as a lifestyle columnist writer for *Esquire*. We will explore how the news articles at this point were different from the previous phase, given that, when he became a magazine columnist, Hemingway was already a well-established writer. In the almost

[2] Hemingway was born on July 21, 1899. Therefore, it is easy to know how old he was in each phase: the last two digits of the years roughly correspond to his age.

three years that the contributions lasted, Hemingway used the magazine pages to cultivate the image of an adventurer. Another point covered in Chapter 5 encompasses Hemingway's experiences covering the Spanish Civil War for the *North American Newspaper Alliance*. In Chapter 6, we will walk through the literary output from the second period, focusing mainly on the novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, the short story book *Winner Take Nothing*, and the non-fiction work *Death in the Afternoon*. Chapter 7 will contrast the fiction and journalism from the 1930s. The news articles explored in Part II are taken from the book *By-Line: Selected Articles and Dispatches of Four Decades*, a collection of Hemingway's journalistic articles.

"Part III – The Late Years: Papa Hemingway's Return to the Battlefields and the Bullrings" goes over the last two decades of Hemingway's life. From 1940 to 1961, his production as a writer and journalist waned but did not disappear. Chapter 8 will explore the late journalistic pieces: the Sino-Japanese War and World War II during the 1940s, and the special report on bullfighting for *Life* magazine in the late 1950s. Chapter 9 focuses on the last pieces of fiction. The two works that came out of this phase were *The Old Man and the Sea*, which was preceded by one of his most criticized books, *Across the River and Into the Trees*. Finally, Chapter 10 establishes a comparison between the last productions of his life with this and the previous phases, providing an examination of Hemingway's development as a writer and journalist.

The methodology of presenting the three literary phases contrasted to the journalistic production will allow us to better compare Hemingway's evolution as a fiction, non-fiction, and news writer. From an author that lived and explored the world without borders, we finally want to see what limits – if any – Hemingway set between journalism and literature.

CHAPTER 1 - JOURNALISM AND LITERATURE'S BOUNDARIES

Journalism is a profession deeply rooted in the craft of writing. Regardless of the medium that the journalist chooses to disseminate the news – internet, TV, radio, or print – the written word is the raw material with which stories are built. In online and print journalism, the importance of the text is even more evident because the news is not heard or watched, but interpreted through reading. Therefore, one essential ability that a good journalist must have is to write well – and do it under time pressure.

The intense contact between journalists and the written word has made these professionals be associated with writers since the beginning of the printing press. When the first newspapers started to sprout in the 17th century, the newsrooms on both sides of the Atlantic became a lightning rod that attracted aspiring writers. Not surprisingly, the list of well-known writers who worked as journalists for some time or throughout their entire lives is long. In Europe, examples abound, from Honoré de Balzac and Émile Zola to George Orwell. In Latin America, Mario Vargas Llosa, José Luis Borges, and Gabriel García Márquez are some of the most notorious contemporary examples. In the United States, the tradition of writers with a journalism background is also extensive and includes names such as Mark Twain, Walt Whitman, John dos Pasos, and the subject of this academic work, Ernest Hemingway.

Authors who started their careers in newsrooms acknowledge that journalism exerted some influence over their literary creations to a greater or lesser extent. However, for many of them – Hemingway included – journalism was only a means of living and is ranked at the bottom of the writing hierarchy. Hemingway was never particularly fond of being associated with the newspaper world. Even though his most intense period working as a journalist happened in the early 1920s (that is, before becoming a well-known writer), Hemingway practiced journalism throughout his life.

If we trace back the origins of the printing press and the dissemination of fiction books, it is possible to see that journalism and literature have always had a troubled and blurry relationship. The purpose of this chapter is to present this historical background with the objective to see how these two distinct yet similar fields have historically interacted with each other. The discussions that permeate the field of journalism and literature will help us have a deeper understanding of the corpus of writing that Ernest Hemingway produced as a journalist and as a fiction writer.

1.1 Journalists and Writers

Because of the nature of the job, journalism goes hand in hand with literature. The legitimacy of this kinship, however, is highly controversial and far from being unanimous. On one side of the debate is the group that does not find enough reasons to separate journalism from literature because they are both focused on the same purpose: to tell stories. In this pursuit, journalists and writers play roles that complement each other. The former works with both eyes in the present, translating worldly events into words in the heat of the moment. The latter is focused on working retrospectively, analyzing the spirit of the moment with distance and a touch of creativity. Colombian writer Gabriel García Márquez, who always identified himself primarily as a journalist, contended that not only are both fields conceptually linked, but they should also be ever more intertwined. According to the author of *100 Years of Solitude,* poetry should be more and more informative and journalism should be more and more poetic.[3]

On the other side of the debate is a group of scholars that assert that journalism and literature are completely different crafts. In the book *The Politics and Poetics of Journalistic Narrative*, Phyllis Frus examines some of the most important literary texts of the 20th century

[3] García Márquez's famous quote is mentioned by Catalina Buezo in the article "De la escritura, los medios de comunicación y otras razones de la literatura": "García Márquez opina que lo ideal sería que la poesía fuera cada vez más informativa y el periodismo cada vez más poético" (par. 20).

written by journalists. The scholar states that there is little support to qualify journalism as a branch of literature because "journalism is discursive and mundane" while literature is a "specialized realm of texts embodying universal values and higher truths" (9). In other words, the texts produced in journalism are mostly written to be forgotten, while the words in literature are penned to be eternalized.

Upton Sinclair had supported this idea many decades before in the book *Brass Check*, considered one of the first works of criticism of modern capitalist journalism. He states that while literature writers try to say something once and for all, journalists say it over and over, with slight variations every day, week, or month. Sinclair takes a stand against the limitations of the press and accuses it of being attached to the agenda, ideology, and policies of the elites that control the means of communication. For him, "Politics, Journalism, and Big Business work hand in hand for the hoodwinking of the public and the plundering of labor" (153).

Even though the profession has recently gained back its romantic aura in popular culture with the release of movies like *Spotlight* or *The Post*, newsrooms have not exactly been incensed by the writers who worked there. Oscar Wilde, who also made a career as a journalist, famously said that the difference between journalism and literature is that journalism is not readable and literature is not read. In his *Soul of a Man*, he digresses on the topic stating that "the public have an insatiable curiosity to know everything, except what is worth knowing. Journalism, conscious of this, and having tradesman-like habits, supplies their demands" (58). With notable exceptions like Charles Dickens, who enthusiastically edited a weekly magazine for 20 years until he suddenly died of a stroke after a long day at work, many of the writers that started in journalism quit their jobs at some point to dedicate their time fully to fiction.

Shelley Fishkin gives some historical examples of writers that followed this path. For most of them, journalism became a meaningless job, with strange or repetitive assignments.

Theodore Dreiser, for instance, resigned from the newspaper after he was asked to cover extraterrestrial manifestations. Walt Whitman wrote an editorial about how to write an editorial when there is nothing to be said on an uneventful day. Eventually, the newsrooms became places with such a twisted dynamic that most aspiring writers were forced to abandon journalism entirely or considerably decrease their contribution to the press. Fishkin writes that "while censorship and boredom probably played a role in the decision of each of these writers to leave journalism, even more important were their rising doubts about the ability of conventional journalism to do justice to the complexities of the world they encountered" (8).

Much the writers' criticism about journalism has to do with the nature of the journalistic text. While both journalism and literature share the written word as a common ground, the objective of these words holds significant differences. Roman Jakobson, one of the most influential linguists and literary theorists of the 20th century, posed that language can have six functions depending on its focus.[4] He contends that, although most of the messages fulfill more than one function, there is always one that stands out. "The diversity lies not in a monopoly of some of these several functions but in a different hierarchical order" (353). The informative nature of journalism to provide context uses the *referential* function of the language. Literature, on the other hand, is centered in the form and, for that reason, it uses the *poetic* function of the language. Writers, therefore, prefer to have a *poetic* use of the language and leave behind the *referential* language used in newspapers.

Another aspect that often repels writers from newsrooms lies in the very nature of the job, which is to work under time pressure. Journalists perform their jobs under the stress of

[4] According to Jakobson, for communication to occur, six elements are necessary: context, sender, receiver, contact, common code and message. Each of the six functions that he proposes is linked to one of these elements. The functions are the following: referential (focused on the context), emotive (on the sender), conative (on the receiver), phatic (on the contact), metalingual (on the common code) and poetic (on the message).

what contemporary Polish philosopher Zygmunt Bauman calls “the impatience complex” (23). The working-against-the-clock ethos in which newsrooms are immersed, particularly now in the era of instant communication, helps explain why journalism has had such a bad reputation amongst aspiring writers. For them, the time constraint imposed by journalism does not allow reporters to work on the aesthetic function of the language.

This argument, however, is highly debatable. If we scratch these simplified definitions, a lot more nuances to the topic will emerge. A journalistic text is not always exclusively committed to informing, while the literary text can also be informative. In fact, the discussion of whether a line should be drawn to separate journalism and literature is a relatively recent one. Until the 18th century, this division was unclear and unnecessary, as we will see in the section below.

1.2 Literature inspired by reality

While it is true that literature is focused on bringing an aesthetic finishing to the text, it is also true that literary texts are capable of informing people and chronicle reality. Literature had the role of writing (not in stone, but in print letters) the history of the United States. As early as the 17th century, the puritan testimony written by the settlers fleeing from Europe to the New World was the narrative that prevailed in colonial America.

José Antonio Gurpegui, in the chapter “Orígenes conceptuales de la narrativa norteamericana,” contends that even though puritans’ writings are often neglected in North American literature studies, they play a crucial role in narrating the foundation of the United States. Their texts mainly consisted of diaries, sermons, stories, and poems heavily based on religious beliefs and were not intended to be published or reach a large audience. On the contrary, they were intended to be kept private or to communicate with a small number of people. Still, the puritan texts abound throughout the 1600s to such an extent that the 17th century is considered the great century for puritan literature. Gurpegui asserts that puritans set

the base for the North American literary identity: "El puritanismo, tanto desde una perspectiva conceptual como artística, ha influido de manera fundamental en los modelos estéticos e intelectuales que conforman la esencia de la narrativa norteamericana" (12-13).

Puritan writers tried to be as precise as possible in the task of narrating family and community life. In terms of content, the texts they produced were stories or anecdotes whose objective was to be instructional and achieve a higher spiritual level. In terms of format, writers tried to avoid complicated words. As Gurpegui highlights, this characteristic does not reflect a lack of preparation or simple-mindedness. After all, puritan leaders were the result of the Enlightenment period and arrived from Europe with a solid cultural background. The reason for the direct style was that the texts should be read and understood immediately by the audience (mostly made up of farmers who did not have a vast lexicon). For Gurpegui,

> Este 'plain style' característico del puritanismo huía de cualquier ornamentación, de todo tipo de embellecimiento que pudiera distraer el lector en su conocimiento de la verdad. Así, por ejemplo, entendían que un sermón suntuoso era como las vidrieras de las catedrales católicas, que no dejaban pasar la luz cuando ese, y no otro, era su objetivo. (19)

Therefore, the puritan texts written in the 17th century are examples of how literature can be informative. Because of its purpose of documenting a fact, it could be argued that the puritan texts of the 17th century resemble journalism in its purpose of providing information of what was happening at a certain period of time.

In the following century, fictional authors started using elements of reality inside their literary writings both in Europe and in colonial America. In the book *Journalism and the Novel*, Doug Underwood provides an interesting analysis of the association between the world of journalism and literature over the span of three centuries, starting in 1700. The scholar compiles the names of 300 important literary figures who had also been connected to the world of

journalism and points out how the experience in the newsrooms was essential for them to build their literary canons. Underwood contends that writers with journalism experience built their literary legacy by applying what they learned in the newsrooms into their fiction. The reporters that turned into writers resorted to journalistic methodology to develop stories under a more realistic beat.

> From the beginnings of the novels in English, writers who had experience in the world of journalism have been at the center of a movement that has repeatedly returned to journalistic methodology as the basis for developing realistic plots and journalistic research to provide the material for the construction of literature that draws upon actual events as the inspiration for dramatic narrative. (13)

One of the first novels in English literature based on real events was published in 1722. Daniel Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year* is an account of one of the most tragic episodes in Europe, the bubonic plague – a disease that killed more than 70,000 people in London in 1665. The English journalist wrote the story forty years after the event took place, but his work was groundbreaking because it incorporated reality and research elements into his fiction. As explains Underwood, "in the eighteenth century, many people wanted more 'truth' in the novel," and Defoe, together with other fellow novelists, "felt bound to defend their imaginative writing as something more than mere fiction" (45).

In order to build his narrative with a higher level of verisimilitude, Defoe spent some years digging into the archives and records of the plague that witnesses put together. The author identified streets and houses where the events took place and reprinted anecdotes and other stories collected during his endeavor. He wrapped up the material in an embellished text to render it more appealing. Albert Chillón, in the book *Literatura y periodismo: una tradición de relaciones promiscuas* explains that "Defoe llevó a cabo un minucioso trabajo de indagación retrospectiva, basado en la recopilación de datos documentales y en entrevistas a los

supervivientes, con los que el escritor intentó reconstruir la experiencia de la peste y sus efectos sobre la población" (78).

The reason for Defoe's detective work is that, in the 18th century, the world was going through a period of great belief in science. Consequently, there was a flourishing of the "pseudo-factual" novel: the art of presenting a story with the values of fiction, but at the same time with empirical validity. Some of the fiction books recognized as classics from the 18th century are closely connected to the world of journalism, either because their authors worked in newsrooms or because their fictional plotlines were heavily based on real facts. Besides Defoe, we can also mention Jonathan Swift (*Gulliver's Travels*), Tobias Smollet (*The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*), Henry Fielding (*The History of Tom Jones*), and Oliver Goldsmith (*The Vicar of Wakefield*) as key literary names that also worked in journalism during that period. For Underwood, "the writing style, authorial voice, and literary viewpoint manifested in those early novels reflect the practices of a time when journalism often looked like what we call fiction today and fiction could look like journalism" (35).

1.3 The press and the literature of the 1800s

The scenario in which the world of literature and journalism were closely connected changed at the dawn of the 19th century. The industrial revolution brought about a transformation in how written words were consumed and how information was flowing around. The number of periodicals launched in the United States in the 1800s soared. The invention of the steam-powered printing press, the development of a railway system that could carry newspapers back and forth, coupled with the surge of a literate urban mass, gave rise to what is known as the "Age of Periodicals." This period is easily seen in the United States by the number of media outlets launched in a 50-year time span. David Bulla accounts that in 1783, the newly formed country had 35 newspapers, and in 1833 this number skyrocketed to 1,200:

> The non-advertising content of the party press era was primarily political news

> and interpretation, including abuse hurled at opponents. Most editors prominently displayed the names of a party's ticket for weeks. Editors also printed speeches of major national and state political leaders as well as significant government documents. (par. 3)

As a consequence, a new business model in the newspaper industry was created. In the first half of the 1800s, newspapers and magazines became mass-market products based on scale economy and driven by business interests. The price of newspapers fell dramatically, making information widely available to the masses. It was a big change considering that the predominant journalism model in North America up to that point was the party press. Bulla explains: "News editors received patronage from political parties, usually in the form of government printing contracts" (par. 1). An editor could endorse a party or a candidate's ideas only to receive support for his six-cent paper. Both the newspaper's high price and the sense of notoriety that an editor possessed made early journalism be associated with power and prestige.

Since the so-called *penny press* made news accessible to everybody, the distinction between journalism and literature began to take shape. People started to perceive the flurry of daily information in the news columns as something different from artwork production. There were tireless efforts in England to make some literary magazines a mesh between popular taste, commercial goals, and high art elements. But still, states Underwood, "the term 'journalism' became increasingly associated with the industrialized newspapers, which had become relentlessly factual, with little analysis or interpretation, where graceful writing had been replaced by utilitarian recitations of official information and statistics" (39).

While the press world was going through a phase of intense change, the literature produced in the first half of the 1800s was marked by a movement called Romanticism. According to Joseph Warren Beach, this was a reaction against the "didacticism and paternalism of the Victorian writers" (16). The movement reflected the significant changes that

were happening in society thanks to industrialization. Migrants were fleeing from the countryside to make a living in the promising urban and industrial centers. The cities' skylights became the aspired landscape and forged a new set of parameters in people's relationships.

As readers started perceiving romantic stories as a break from a grey reality, authors preferred to resort to imagination over reason, emotion over logic, and intuition over science. The middle ages and the gothic became the central motif of many stories, such as the *Wuthering Heights*, by Emily Bronte, or *Frankenstein*, by Mary Shelly. Novels contained a moralizing tone, and, for the first time, women could be found as protagonists. José Manuel Barrio, in "La novela norteamericana desde sus orígenes hasta la Guerra Civil," explains:

> En estas novelas se proyectará la confrontación hombre-mujer en sus diferentes facetas sociales: unas veces triunfará la doncella virginal y conseguirá hacer entrar en razón todo ese caudal de animalidad que reside en el hombre, sus armas serán la comprensión, la tolerancia, el matrimonio y la familia. En otros casos, triunfará el varón despiadado y cruel, que seduce, utiliza y abandona a una incauta mujer, convertida en muchos casos en madre soltera. (77)

Although Romanticism has its roots in Europe, it was transformed into something particularly distinct in the United States with the American settlers' experiences. In the years preceding the Civil War, Romanticism was mediated through the *transcendentalist* movement, focused on mythic, abstract, and symbolic subjects. The production of that period represented the colony's yearning to find its own voice and representation in literature, in a period known as the American Renaissance. This urge resulted in the gothic books written by Charles Brockden Brown (*Wieland*), the dark scenarios of Allan Poe's short stories, such as "The Black Cat," the mixture between rational and irrational by Nathaniel Hawthorne in *The Scarlet Letter,* and the tragedy and metaphysics from Herman Melville in *Moby Dick*. These authors were a sign that the United States was trying to find its own literary voice.

1.3.1 Realism

The Civil War ended in 1865 brought about a profound change in the structure and society of the United States. With the development of science, people became far more interested in the explanation of scientists than in the preaches of the pastors. Besides, a period of economic growth and industrial expansion started, creating many job positions and an actual wage increase.

However, this period known as The Gilded Age was also characterized by abject poverty and inequality. Millions of people fled into the United States and became impoverished immigrants. The social and economic gap increased as the concentration of wealth became more visible. A wealthy upper class in the country was created while leaving the most significant part of the population struggling to survive in the metropolis. Life in the big cities did not turn out to be as promising for those immigrants after all. In *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today,* Mark Twain and Charles Warner satirize the corruption in the post-civil war era, saying that it resembled gold, but it was just cheap metal.

The new scenario demanded from literature a different role. It is when the school of Realism comes to the stage. Introduced in France in 1845, the movement arrived in the United States in 1875 with the release of William Dean Howells' *Their Wedding Journey*. Realism is the period of transition from Romanticism and Modernism that caused a rupture with the model of literature anchored in the past, where the mythical and abstract topics predominated while the historical and social worries were left behind.

Constante González Groba, in his "Desde la Guerra Civil hasta la Primera Guerra Mundial: el realismo y el naturalismo," explains that, for the new wave of realist writers, the hero should be found in the daily lives. It was a writer's role to take the routine of a common man so seriously as to make it worth writing about. The realist writer should be worried about the real life around him, interpret it and create something out of the original experience.

> El realismo rechazaba la ficción que explora verdades abstractas o simbólicas, y sus objetivos principales eran descubrir lo heroico en lo ordinario, tomar en serio tanto los temas ordinarios como la experiencia individual, y hacerlos objeto de un tratamiento fidedigno. El realismo no era ni un nuevo término ni un nuevo concepto estético pues prácticamente todos los movimientos literarios han señalado al realismo como su objetivo. (132)

The arrival of Realism in literature allowed authors to be more connected to the world around them. Most realist writers were not only observers of the progress but also critical of it. Considered one of the most influential Realist writers, Mark Twain tried to show these changes through the eyes of the characters Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn. The stories are narrated through the voice of a child in vernacular English. Unlike the precedent romantic novels full of sentimentalism and moralism, they reflect a much more complex reality. Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, published in 1885, is often regarded as the great American novel. González Groba asserts that Huckleberry Finn makes the reader see the absurdity of social conventions:

> La simplicidad de Huck quizá le convierte en un personaje plano, pero son precisamente su inocencia amoral y su mirada transparente las que desenmascaran las convenciones de nuestra civilización y nos permiten ver lo que normalmente no vemos: los prejuicios, la violencia, el conformismo, la credulidad e incluso la humanidad del mundo en el que se mueve el 'pícaro' Huck. (147)

Adventures of Huckleberry Finn was especially relevant for the formation of Hemingway's style. Even though Hemingway is framed in the school of modernism, the writer himself always reinforced that Mark Twain was of extreme importance to him. Hemingway absorbed many of the realist principles to create and consolidate his style. Some scholars

contend that more than a *style* of writing, we should talk about an *aesthetic* of writing that Hemingway created under the influence of Realism.

This aesthetic refers to what the writer decides to put in and what to leave out of the text. According to William Cain, in his study "Sentencing: Hemingway's Aesthetic," this is the driver that propels and defines Hemingway's aesthetic – or style. It also helps explains why the process of creating fiction for Hemingway is more editing than writing: one starts writing down sentences, then makes the crucial decision of whether to keep, change, or cut them: "For Hemingway, the acute aesthetic challenge is confronting and making choices about words that have something, everything, or nothing to do with the story" (81).

1.4 Early influences on Hemingway

The school of Realism and the realist writers had a strong influence on Hemingway, but they were not the only ones. His upbringing also plays a crucial role in Hemingway's formation as a writer and the man he became. Ernest Hemingway was born on July 21, 1899, to a family of Protestant immigrants. His father, Clarence, was a doctor who had established an office in Michigan, and his mother, Grace, a frustrated opera singer obsessed about educating her children in the fine arts of music. Besides a good sense of arts, she also inculcated in her six children the importance of good reading and literature.

According to one of Hemingway's biographers, Carlos Baker, an adequate education was of primary importance to the Hemingways. In *A Life Story*, Baker says that the library at Scoville Institute in Oak Park was a common destination for their children after school, especially the twins Marcelline and Ernest. Clarence wanted to ensure that his young children only read upstanding books, so he prohibited them from possessing individual library cards. Every time Ernest or any of his siblings wanted a book, says Baker, they needed to rent it through their parent's accounts so they could control what the children were reading. This gives an idea of how controlling the Hemingways were – though the doctor was by far the strictest.

According to Baker, "he [the father] was always so nervously busy that any signs of idleness or procrastination among his brood roused him to sharp words and sudden scolding" (17).

Hemingway's parents could also be held accountable for awaking in Hemingway a keen interest in hunting, fishing, and camping – topics that later became the center of many of his news and literary writings. Encouraged by his family, Hemingway was exposed to a range of different sports from an early age. A letter written from Clarence Hemingway to his youngest daughter, Carol, gives us an idea of how badly the Hemingways wanted their children to be in contact with nature. The letter, dated July 16, 1919, published by Rose Marie Burwell in *Hemingway: The Post War Years and Posthumous Novels*, says: "We planned a long time before you were born that our children should have good healthy bodies and some good food and a nice place to live and grow up without all the naughty people of the cities to bother them" (190).

Therefore, it comes as no surprise that these topics profoundly influenced Hemingway's journalistic and literary work. Most of the short stories involving the character Nick Adams take place in a forest in close contact with nature. As many as thirty stories published in newspapers were about fishing and other outdoor activities, such as camping or hunting. *The Old Man and The Sea*, one of Hemingway's last works, is a parable of a fisherman's struggle to catch a marlin.

Being brought up in a home that valued sports had a strong influence on Hemingway's fictional writing, and so did being born in a conservative slow-paced town in the state of Illinois. The distance between Chicago and Hemingway's hometown Oak Park was only a few kilometers. In *The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway,* Charles Fenton irreverently states that the boundary dividing the two cities was defined "as the point where the saloons ended and the churches began" (4).

Fenton's mockery is rooted in the fact that Chicago's social life mostly happened in bars and clubs, while in Oak Park, it was at schools and churches. In a community with such characteristics, education was considered as necessary as religion. In light of this, the city established a public school system whose standard was so impressive that many of the graduates of Oak Park High entered the most important universities in the country, such as Wellesley, Yale, Amherst, or the fashionable and more regionally attractive Beloit. That, however, was not the case for Hemingway, who never demonstrated much of an academic excellence, as explains Fenton:

> It would be a distortion to conceive of Hemingway as a predominantly bookish or literary high school student. In the accumulation of extracurricular posts and memberships Hemingway was spectacularly well-rounded. It required eight lines to list his achievements in the Class Book. Only the class president and one of its star athletes exceeded him in the length of their paragraphs. (10)

Michael Reynolds is another biographer that delved into Hemingway's first years. In *The Young Hemingway*, the first book of a five-volume saga that chronicles Hemingway's life, he examines the interests that moved Hemingway as a child, the dynamics of his family as well as his short-lived years as a student. At Oak Park High School, young Ernest was considered an average pupil, despite showing some interest in sciences. Among the documents unveiled by Reynolds are early letters and notes written by Hemingway in which he envisions his future:

> I desire to do pioneering or exploring work in the three last great frontiers Africa, central South America or the country around and north of Hudson Bay. I believe that the Science, English and to a certain extent the Latin that I am now studying in the high school will help me in this object … I have no desire absolutely to be a millionaire or a rich man, but I do intend to do something toward the scientific interests of the world. (29)

Nevertheless, his interest in science declined as years went by. Even though Hemingway's interest in science eventually declined, his attraction to dissect human nature and to explore the world did not. These aspects remained with him throughout his life and influenced much of his writing. Reynolds concludes that the education focused on discipline resonated in Hemingway's life to such an extent that even his pastimes were seen as opportunities to fulfill this yearning. "Winter sports in the Alps, bullfighting in Spain, hunting in Africa, marling fishing off Cuba – he could justify them all if he wrote about them. He was not just having fun, he was doing research" (29).

Hemingway's close relationships with his English teachers were another fundamental stone to his development as a writer (English was the only subject he excelled at in High School). As a junior, Hemingway enrolled in the classes with teacher Margaret Dixon. As Fenton suggests, Miss Dixon "was not professionally unique, nor was her relationship with Hemingway an unusual one, but it was a piece of extreme good fortune that she was available to Hemingway" (8). It turns out that Miss Dixon was a demanding yet didactic and very patient teacher who "devoted enormous time and energy to teaching her students to write" (36).

With the encouragement of this teacher, Hemingway joined the High School newspaper team, *Trapeze*. During his time as a contributor to the newspaper and later as an editor, he realized he had an inclination towards writing. As Hemingway grew up, he would see that journalism and literature could be the perfect catalyzers for his quench to write something that would represent the real truth, the way it was. As Carlos Baker says in the biography *The Writer as Artist*, Hemingway "had trained himself to observe accurately and to express clearly a careful selection of what he saw, heard, and felt" (31). This search to express something as realistically as possible became known as Hemingway's style. The following chapter will investigate how this style was created and developed through the first phase of Hemingway's fictional writing.

PART I - THE EARLY YEARS (1917-1929)
A Cub Reporter in Paris

CHAPTER 2: HEMINGWAY'S FIRST STEPS IN JOURNALISM

The journalistic text is informative by nature. Newswriting techniques such as the inverted pyramid render hard news less personal and give journalists little space to show their style in the text. In most cases, it is irrelevant – and advisable not – to associate the news article with the journalist. That, however, is not what happens with artistic production.

One question that often arises when we talk about arts is whether authors can be separated from the work they create. According to Robert Weeks, this could be true for a few writers, who can be read and studied without making many references to the author's life. But this is not the case with Ernest Hemingway. In the introduction of *Hemingway: A Collection of Critical Essays*, Weeks argues that "to an extraordinary degree Hemingway and what he has written exist in a synergic relationship, re-enforcing and fulfilling each other; he created a personal legend which serves as an ambiance in which we read him" (7). Scott Donaldson expands on Week's argument, stating that Hemingway's experiences served as the pillars on which he created his fiction. For Donaldson, Hemingway made his stories "*out* of his experience, instead of merely *about* it" (*Works and Days* 6).

Many scholars devoted to studying Hemingway's life and work support the idea that Hemingway's experiences were closely related to the writing style he became famous for. Mark Schorer says that Hemingway's style "is not only his subject, it is his view of life" (323). Developing on this idea, Harry Levin adds an extra layer to the statement by suggesting that

Hemingway's style was not only his *view* of life but also his *way* of life. According to the scholar, this way of life has led Hemingway "to live his books, to brave the maximum of exposure, to tour the world in an endless search for wars and their moral equivalents" (605-06). Hemingway's literary production is heavily drawn from his experiences. It is hard to deny that the most important of them were lived thanks to the possibilities that journalism offered him. Consequently, no reading or analysis of Hemingway's work and style can be fully elucidating if it does not consider the journalist he was.

The present work's primary goal is to understand if Hemingway's literary and journalistic writing share the same characteristics. Therefore, it will be crucial for us to scrutinize Hemingway's professional achievements as a writer and journalist. In this chapter, we will examine the experiences Hemingway had as a reporter at the beginning of his career, starting as a cub reporter at *The Kansas City Star* between 1917 and 1918.[5] This period was followed by the experience working for the Canadian media group Toronto Star from 1920 to 1924, which includes his years as an international correspondent in Paris.

This early incursion in the press coincides with Hemingway's first literary phase that starts in 1923 with the publication of *Ten Stories and a Poem* and ends in 1929 when *A Farewell to Arms* came to light. In "An Interview with Ernest Hemingway", Hemingway reminisces with George Plimpton about the decade of the 1920s: "I used to try to write better than certain dead writers of whose value I was certain" (33). We will see how Hemingway's effort of trying to write better played out by scrutinizing what he published in the pages of the newspapers and magazines during that period.

[5] 'Cub reporter' is a slang used in journalism to refer to novices in the field. This applied to Hemingway because his only experience in the field before *The Kansas City Star* was the contributions to his High School's newspaper *Trapeze*.

2.1 The Journey of the Hero

In *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, his masterpiece about myths, Joseph Campbell talks about the creation of mythology and how men used it throughout the centuries to explain life. Campbell points out to one specific mythological archetype that is to be found in every culture around the world: the archetype of the journey of the hero. In general terms, Campbell defines the hero's journey as the story of someone who received a call to live an adventure and says "yes" to it. It comprises the archetypical figure of the hero that sets off on an adventure and accepts to live in a reality foreign to his own.

During the journey, the archetypical hero will go through various stages. First, he will have to face different tasks and trials. He then will achieve a great gift. Finally, the hero goes back to the ordinary world to share with the people what he learned. It will ultimately depend on him to decide whether he will use this gift to improve the world or not. Campbell notes that the journey follows the stages of a rite of passage:

> Whether presented in the vast, almost oceanic images of the Orient, in the vigorous narratives of the Greeks, or in the majestic legends of the Bible, the adventure of the hero normally follows the pattern of the nuclear unit above described: a separation from the world, a penetration to some source of power, and a life-enhancing return . . . We shall have only to follow, therefore, a multitude of heroic figures through the classic stages of the universal adventure in order to see again what has always been revealed. This will help us to understand not only the meaning of those images for contemporary life, but also the singleness of the human spirit in its aspirations, powers, vicissitudes, and wisdom. (33)

From its early beginning, the North American literary tradition seems to be fond of the archetypical fable of the journey of the hero. Some of the essential books in North American

literature portray the saga of a youngster that becomes a man (in few cases a woman) through a call for adventure, resembling a coming-of-age type of story. There are many examples of this occurrence in different literary periods. From the 18th century, we have Charles Brockden Brown's *Arthur Mervyn,* published in 1799, depicting a young man searching for his place in the world. To achieve his goal, he probes himself in his adventures and due to the hurdles, his innocence is replaced by experience, making him a new man.

The archetypical journey is also the underlying plotline of *Moby Dick* (1851). By giving life to Ishmael, the narrator of the story, Herman Melville manages to bring the reader to the fantastic quest of an obsessed sailor looking for revenge on the white whale. From the same century, the archetypical journey can also be found in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884) by Mark Twain and *The Red Bad of Courage* (1895) by Stephen Crane. From the 19th century, *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) by J. D. Salinger, and *The Old Man and The Sea* (1952) by Ernest Hemingway are two examples that epitomize the journey of the hero.

The list of authors that depict the hero's archetypical journey is so long and enduring throughout the centuries that it makes us wonder why this is such a recurrent topic in North American literature. In the article "La Novela Norteamericana desde sus orígenes hasta la guerra civil," José Manuel Barrio suggests that the journey of the hero is always so present because it suits well the narrative of the United States as a nation and its identity:

> El hecho de que América se forjase mediante un viaje arquetípico y su devenir en el tiempo procurase la creación de una nueva sociedad y un nuevo estilo de vida, requería la creación de un hombre nuevo, adecuado a un proceso histórico-social y a una nueva identidad. Tal vez sea la razón última de la proclividad hacia este esquema literario . . . En líneas generales todos los personajes implicados en este tipo de narrativa están buscando, de una u otra forma y como América, el desarrollo de su propia identidad. (86)

Barrio highlights that the real point of the travels and adventures is the other journey that the protagonist is indeed looking for: the journey to the world inside. The experiences drawn from the call for adventure will lead in most cases to a more profound odyssey towards the discovery of the individual's inner identity, which is the real journey that the archetypical hero is seeking. Barrio concludes: "El viaje más penoso es el que se pone como meta alcanzar el abismo profundo del individuo y ese será el reto definitivo de la literatura norteamericana del siglo XX" (88).

Hemingway belongs to the group of authors whose production – and personal life – can be read under the light of the hero's journey. In many of his literary works, this fable is present. This is the case for most of the short stories in which the character Nick Adams appears, such as his discovery of death in "Indian Camp" or his process of healing upon coming back from the war in "Big Two-Hearted River." It is also the case of Frederic Henry, the protagonist of *A Farewell to Arms,* who retells the story of his war experiences and his quest for love. Robert Johnson, in *For Whom the Bell Tolls,* quit the academic world in North America to fight in the Spanish Civil War.

Another meaningful – and perhaps subtler – connection between Hemingway and Campbell's study of myths is related to the North American author's personal life. Hemingway himself was a person who said yes to many calls for adventure. The first important one was at the age of 18 when he signed up to be a volunteer for the Red Cross and set off to Italy to serve as an ambulance driver in World War I. While stationed in Fossalta di Piave, in the north of the country, he experienced first-hand the hassles of the war and felt in his bones how painful it could be: five months after Hemingway's arrival in Italy, a mortar shell exploded in a trench while delivering goods to soldiers. After spending a few months recovering in a hospital bed in Milan, Hemingway's participation in the war was shortened, and he was sent back to the United States.

The seven-month period in Italy was just the first of many war experiences Hemingway would have throughout his life. His short career as an ambulance driver set the stage for a more prolific and adventurous one as a journalist. Every time he returned to the battlefields later was due to his work as a reporter. From his first piece published on the Prussian-Russian war for the *Star Weekly* until World War II, with a story for *Collier's* magazine, he covered at least six wars and published as many as sixty news articles related to the topic.

Thanks to journalism, Hemingway witnessed and lived situations that he would later use in his fiction. Two of his most famous novels, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and *A Farewell to Arms,* have the war as a backdrop. Nevertheless, the adventures in his professional and personal lives went way beyond the battlefields: besides covering wars in Europe and Asia, Hemingway also dodged sniper's bullets in France, chased wild animals in Africa, survived two plane crashes and four failed marriages. Unlike the hero's archetypical journey, Hemingway did not wait to come back to share with the others what he lived and witnessed in his travels. He reported them through the pages of newspapers and magazines – and eventually immortalized them in his literature.

2.2 Hemingway as a cub reporter: *The Kansas City Star*

Hemingway's first steps into journalism were taken after finishing high school. His first choice was to enlist to go to war straight away, just like many of his older high school peers. However, at the age of 17, he was too young for that. Upon Ernest's refusal to go to university, his father, Clarence Hemingway, forced him to look for a job. Ernest managed to get an interview at the newspaper *The Kansas City Star,* with the help of his uncle Tyler Hemingway. Tyler had been a classmate of Henry Haskell, then editorial chief of the newspaper.

In the book *The Apprentice of Ernest Hemingway*, Charles Fenton brings forward a

review of the first and early influences on Ernest Hemingway and devotes a whole chapter to the *Star*.[6] Fenton explains that in 1917, it was one of the half-dozen great American newspapers:

> The *Star* had been for almost twenty years the natural target of talented, ambitious Midwesterners. Through its city room during this period there passed a stream of young, obscure reporters who during the next generation would form a kind of self-perpetuating cadre in the editorial rooms of the Hearst empire, in the Curtis publications in Philadelphia, in the executive offices of other, Star-derived Midwestern papers, and in the writers' wings of Hollywood studios. (29)

The *Star*'s reputation was primarily due to the lively, fresh, and provocative stories featured on its pages. To achieve that crispiness, the newspaper did not want to hire reporters with a vast repertoire. Unlike other newsrooms in the country – namely its archrival *New York World* – the *Star* preferred to take on inexperienced reporters and train them. Fenton quotes an assistant editor's words to an experienced candidate who was rejected after the interview: "We don't want men from big papers, and we don't want boomers who run around the country from one paper to another. We train our men, and we train them well" (30).[7]

Ernest Hemingway landed in the *Star*'s newsroom as a cub reporter and worked there from October 1917 to April 1918. The atmosphere inside the newsroom was fresh and vibrant, while senior editors kept reporters busy at all times. His production in these seven months was very intense. Spanier and Trogdon show that towards the end of that period he was publishing "over a column a day" (90).

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[6] Although the newspaper's complete name is *The Kansas City Star*, Charles Fenton and other scholars referred to it simply as the *Star* – a name we will also adopt henceforth.

[7] The experienced candidate being interviewed was the publicist and writer Courtney Ryley Cooper. Cooper did not get the job for the position that he was applying for but in the end managed to work for the paper.

As a cub reporter, Hemingway was in charge of covering police stations and emergency rooms. He was requested to go to these places and discover whether there was a story worth reporting. Hemingway's assignments demanded that he constantly be in contact with different kinds of people from all sorts of backgrounds. Hemingway's work in the *Star* gave him the possibility to interact with different styles of the spoken language. This would help him develop an acute ear for the various flavors and nuances of the daily and ordinary speech. The fact that Hemingway's style in literature resorts heavily to the dynamic of quick-witted dialogues is highly due to these early experiences in the street working as a reporter.

In his extensive examination on Hemingway's life, Kenneth Lynn uncovers Hemingway's routine at the newspaper and gives us an idea of how broad and varied his interactions as a reporter were: "At the police station he covered reports of small crimes. At the railroad station, he checked on the activities of various shady characters of his acquaintance and interviewed celebrities who were passing through. At the hospital, he spoke to the victims of accidents and crimes of violence" (68-69).

Looking back at the period that Hemingway worked under his supervision, the editor in chief Colonel Nelson said that the young reporter liked the action. Instead of just waiting in the hospital for the ambulance to come back with the wounded, he would go off with the paramedics to pick up people and see any accident or gory event. In the words of Nelson, "he always wanted to be on the scene himself, and I think that trait has been evident in his later writings" (Fenton 34).

The *Star* provoked in its staff a curiosity about humankind. It encouraged reporters to go after the real story behind what was happening while at the same time predicated clear writing. American journalism was coming from a period of dense prose and the last thing the *Star*'s editors wanted was another flourishing style that tangled up or bored readers. A typical page of the *Star* would be jammed with as many as 25 one- or two-paragraph stories, forcing

journalists to work exhaustively to achieve a crisp, clear, and compact text. Perhaps this is one of the most powerful lessons that Hemingway learned from his first job as a newspaperman: an appreciation for succinct writing. Critics seem to agree that the experience writing one-paragraph stories for the *Star* highly influenced Hemingway to later write *vignettes* in his first short story book, *In Our Time*.[8]

2.2.1 The Star's Style Guide

In order to standardize the best practice and educate both young and experienced reporters, the *Star* had its style guide, known as "The *Star* Copy Style." Rather than a book, this was a long galley-size single page that laid out 110 rules that the journalists should observe in their accounting of the stories. The manual is still published to date, in a more extended version, although the guide as it was in Hemingway's time is accessible in the digital archives of the *Star*.

The opening paragraph of the one-page set of rules broadly summarizes the style that Hemingway became famous for: "Use short sentences. Use short first paragraphs. Use vigorous English. Be positive, not negative" ("The *Star* Copy Style" 1). The guide continues advising reporters to write short sentences in vigorous English and avoid extravagant adjectives. Some rules from the style guide became particularly keen to Hemingway, like the ninth, "Eliminate every superfluous word," and the twenty-first, "Avoid the use of adjectives, especially such extravagant ones as splendid, gorgeous, grand, magnificent."

Despite the imperatives on the style, the rules allowed for a flexible narrative. Therefore, reporters could – and should – write beyond the rigid inverted pyramid structure and the confining *what, where, when,* and *why* of conventional hard news reporting. Editors

[8] A 'vignette' is a brief essay, story or any carefully crafted short work of prose. It may be either fiction or nonfiction, either a piece that is complete in itself or one part of a larger work. Hemingway used the technique of writing vignettes in his early short stories books, in which they are inserted between the stories.

encouraged the use of dialogue and words that people speak to give authenticity to the texts. Rule 64 advised that the text should preserve the flavor of the speech: "Try to preserve the atmosphere of the speech in your quotation. For instance, in quoting a child, do not let him say 'Inadvertently, I picked up the stone and threw it.'" ("The *Star* Copy Style" 1). It was said that a reporter could write a story backward if he made it interesting enough.

The style guide's rules can be seen in Hemingway's texts for the *Star*. In Fishkin's evaluation, "his articles were concise and clear, his grammar and diction were accurate, and his images were often fresh and vivid" (139). These characteristics are apparent in most stories included in the book *Ernest Hemingway, Cub Reporter – Kansas City Star Stories*, which brings a collection of eleven articles that were proved to be written by Hemingway.[9] Its editor Matthew Bruccoli carried out the task of identifying these stories. In the preface, the scholar says that some of the news stories have clear connections with the vignettes of the fiction book *In Our Time*, published seven years later. For Bruccoli, the eleven news pieces show that "Hemingway was more interested in color stories and character sketches than in straight reporting" (xiii).

One of the stories featured in the book is "At the End of an Ambulance Run," which came out in the edition of January 18, 1917.[10] In this news article, it is possible to find some early signs of Hemingway's prose that would be later intensified in his literature. One of them is the presentation of characters through dialogue, keeping words the way they were pronounced to maintain the characteristics of spoken English. Another point worth noting is that the reporter does not reveal the names of the policeman or the robbers but uses their physical traits to tell one from the other, like "the big policeman in uniform" or "the big

[9] Following the tradition of the newspaper, the stories in *The Kansas City Star* were not bylined. Bruccoli found out Hemingway's authorship based on reliable sources that were involved in the making of the stories.

[10] This story is attributed to be written Hemingway by editor Mel Foor. The journalist mentions the story in the article "Remembering Hemingway's Kansas City Days," published in the *Star* in 1968.

officer." Moreover, the dialogues are full of grammatical incorrectness (italicized below) to keep the language as close as possible to the way people were talking.

> Here comes another case. This time a small man limps in, supported by an ambulance man and a big policeman in uniform. 'Yes, sir, we got a real robber this time – a real one – just look at him!' the big officer smiled. He tried to hold up a drug store, and the clerks slipped one over on him. It was a ---. 'Yes, but *they was they was* three of 'em, an' they *was* shooting all at once,' the prisoner explained. (47)

The combination of close mentoring, strict editing, and sheer interest in human nature was a quite particular school for Hemingway as a cub reporter. According to Fenton, "the *Star* offered a discipline not characteristic of American papers. Its treatment of news stories lent itself to a prose exercise of which Hemingway, determined as he was to learn to write, was in desperate need" (42). Fenton's point of view is shared by Fishkin, who also agrees that the period working for the *Star* exposed Hemingway to experiences that would ultimately form the core of his greatest literary works. For Fishkin, journalism

> forced him to become a precise observer, nurtured in him a respect for fact, and taught him lessons about style that would shape his greatest literary creations. It taught him to be mistrustful of rhetoric, abstractions, hypocrisy, and cant; it taught him to be suspicious of secondhand accounts and to insist on seeing with his own eyes. (4)

The experience working at the *Star* is often used to backfire critics that say that Hemingway had an inadequate and abbreviated academic education. Hemingway, after all, ended up never going to university. Nevertheless, no formal training would have provided a cub reporter with so much attention to details and to the text as the practice in a newsroom

interested in young reporters. Scholars agree that this stint was vital for the development of Hemingway's style.

The rules learned and put into practice daily in the *Star* remained a constant characteristic in Hemingway's fiction. But they were notably more present in the production from the first period. Hemingway himself acknowledged the influence of the *Star*'s style sheet. In an interview on the front page of the *Kansas City Times* in 1940, Hemingway recalled on that period: "Those were the best rules I ever learned for the business of writing. No man with any talent, who feels and writes truly about the thing he is trying to say, can fail to write well if he abides with them" ("Back to His Field" 1).

The first newspaper job fulfilled Hemingway's desire to be at the center of the action. However, that did not seem to be enough for him. After seven months in the *Star,* he left the newspaper to finally join the American war efforts in Italy. His experience in Kansas did not last long – but his exploration in the world of journalism would continue to a much larger part of his life.

2.3 Reporting from Canada: *Toronto Star*

The work as a journalist in the early 20s would highly influence Hemingway in the literature he would later write. The job Hemingway had in the *Star* had a positive impact on his literary ambitions because that newsroom was a good school for writing. The strict deadlines established in him a disciplined routine for writing. According to Fenton, it was "ideal as a preliminary school" where he "had been indoctrinated in the necessities of accuracy, in the obligation of vigorous prose, and in the requirements of forceful narrative" (75).

The subsequent newspaper job would provide Hemingway with a different set of benefits for his literary ambitions. While working for the group *Toronto Star Limited*, Hemingway would have the possibility to experiment with different literary styles and live experiences he would probably not have had otherwise. The media company was the house for

two major publications: the *Daily Star*, a newspaper focused on hard news, and the *Star Weekly*, a weekly periodical focused on features and long stories, and particularly devoted to the entertainment of its readers. The experience in the media group would turn out to be much longer and fruitful than the first job in Kansas. Hemingway would work for these two media outlets for almost four years – two of which as an international correspondent in Europe. Nevertheless, the path which led him to join the Canadian press was not straightforward.

After returning from the Italian front, Hemingway took some time to recover in his parent's summer house in Petoskey, in the north of Michigan. He dedicated most of his time to fishing, reading, and writing. While spending time there, he made a strong connection with the Connables. The family was vacationing in the area too and was an old friend of the Hemingways. Mr. Connable proposed that, after the summer, Hemingway went with them to Canada and became a tutor who looked after their youngest son, Ralph Jr. The child had a physical disability that prevented him from leaving the house by himself. It was not a great financial deal for young Ernest. However, spending time with the child would not demand too much commitment and would enable him to have free time to invest in his writing. Hemingway accepted the invitation, and at the end of the summer of 1919, he fled to Toronto with the Connables.

Ralph Connable knew about Hemingway's literary ambition and introduced him to Gregory Clark, the feature editor for the *Star Weekly*. Clark offered young Hemingway the opportunity to work on a freelance contract with the magazine. Like most young journalists, he would be working on a space-rate basis and get paid by the inches published. In *Fitzgerald and Hemingway*, Scott Donaldson recounts that Hemingway would get half a cent to a penny a word for the features the media group ran beginning February 14, 1920. "That was a cheap arrangement for the paper, which only paid for what it wanted to print and not very much for that" (234). It was an excellent, inexpensive deal for the paper, but it was also a good practice

for Hemingway, as he was encouraged to nourish his instinct for interesting material and his knack for narrative.

Donaldson reminds that the style of journalism developed in Canada was remarkably different from the one back in Kansas. The Midwestern American newspaper praised objectivity and required reporters to follow the stylebook strictly. It deliberately taught reporters how to build sentences. In Toronto, things were way more flexible. The Canadian newsroom nourished a free-style journalism that encouraged reporters and editors to explore various subjects without being attached to daily events. For that reason, it gave total freedom to journalists' style and urged them to report their stories in a very personal tone. Not only did they encourage but also required from reporters – freelancers or not – an acute sense of human sensitivity to describe their impressions in the stories they wrote. Donaldson writes:

> These newspaper pieces, written from 1920 to 1923, were remarkably personal for a profession that prided itself on objectivity. In writing about what he saw and heard on his pan-Atlantic beat, Hemingway of the *Star* [Weekly] put his own personality and tastes, even his prejudices into his articles. That was fine with his employers. They wanted color from him, and color was what he gave them. (233)

Under the reigns of J. Herbert Cranston, its editor from 1911 to 1932, the *Star Weekly* took great pride for being the media that gave voice to the ordinary people, as opposed to the powerful. Charles Fenton recounts that Cranston knew that "the masses derived much more entertainment from reading of the doings and foibles of ordinary individuals like themselves than of those in the seats of the mighty" (77). Therefore, the magazine "aimed to give people largely what they wanted to read rather than what they ought to read if they would become intelligent citizens" (78). Hemingway joined the newspaper when Cranston was enjoying his greatest freedom from the executive supervision and, therefore, gave entertainment features a

much larger space than information articles. His ultimate intention was to make the *Star Weekly* contribute to the literary renaissance that was starting to happen in Canada at the time.

2.3.1 Satirical pieces

It is true that the contacts and the strings pulled paved the way for Hemingway to arrive at the *Star Weekly*. But it was his talent that made him stay. It did not take more than a few articles for him to rise as a promising reporter at the media company. His very first article, "Circulating Pictures: a New High-Art Idea in Toronto," was published on February 14, 1920. The 500-hundred-word story was an ironic account of a Toronto scheme of renting works of arts. Even though it was not bylined, it had a humorous tone, which was much appreciated by the editors because it caught the attention of the paper's middle-class readers. According to Fenton, "Hemingway's instinct towards satire was sharpened by his experiences in the World War I and by the disillusioning contradictions that he observed between Chicago and Toronto" (84). As a result, humor, sarcasm, and irony were some of the main characteristics that prevailed in most of the work developed at the beginning of Hemingway's reporting career at the Toronto media group.

Hemingway's name would first appear in the *Star Weekly* two weeks later, on March 6, 1920. "Taking a Chance for a Free Shave" was a piece that ultimately fulfilled the requisites that the newspaper was seeking. The story chronicles the reporter's visit to an apprentice barbershop in the city where sharp razors were wielded for free by students. In the early 20s, Canada was experiencing a subtle spasm of anti-Americanism, and Hemingway opens the story using this as a hook to catch the attention. The story's first lines addressed this situation and served as bait to take the readers by the hand and invite them into the story with the reporter:

> The land of the free and the home of the brave is the modest phrase used by certain citizens of the republic to the south of us to designate the country they live in. They may be brave – but there is nothing free. Free lunch passed some

> time ago and on attempting to join the Free Masons you are informed it will cost you seventy-five dollars. The true home of the free and the brave is the barber college. Everything is free there. And you have to be brave. (*Dateline* 4)

Once Hemingway sets the scene, he continues with a fresh, sharp, and ironic dialogue that describes his immersion into the world of the apprentices who would become barbers soon. The three stories published in the following weeks also had the same sarcastic vein. In "How to be Popular in Peace Though a Slacker in War," published on March 20, 1920, Hemingway gives hints on how to pretend to have been in service at war. He mocks the Canadians deployed to work in relatively safe jobs at munition factories in the United States as opposed to the ones that were sent off to fight overseas.

Using a tongue-in-cheek tone, Hemingway gives some advice for these comrades to pass themselves off as ex-soldiers. His first suggestion is to hit a store and buy a used trench coat and, if money does not allow, at least a pair of army boots. Then, he suggests trying some cultural reference background that could be easily acquired through textbooks.

> Buy or borrow a good history of the war. Study it carefully and you will be able to talk intelligently on any part of the front. In fact, you will more than once be able to prove the average returned veteran a pinnacle of inaccuracy if not inveracity. The average soldier has a very abominable memory for names and dates. Take advantage of this. (*Dateline* 11)

2.3.2 Outdoor activities

As a reporter for the Toronto group, Hemingway was not restricted to satiric pieces. He also wrote articles on nature and outdoor activities. The tone of these was more serious and seemed to be aimed at the middle-class readers of Toronto that were off to the woods for the weekends. From the 26 stories published in the year 1920, seven were related to camping and

fishing, from suggestions on how to spend a vacation in the woods to how to go trout-fishing with the best bait.

As precise and accurate as these articles were, scholars point out that the pieces on camping and fishing were not the most noteworthy writings Hemingway would feature in the press. Those were long, detailed articles that were similar to instruction materials, as Fenton puts it:

> In wordage they exceeded the satiric group; they were also less impressive as prose . . . The treatment was loose and patronizing. Stylistically, with occasional exceptions, they tended to look back toward the high school *Trapeze* rather than forward to the early fiction. They were virtually essays, clear and interesting, but without the sense of form which characterized his portraits and denunciations. His manners were stern and didactic. (87)

While it is true that, as pieces of writing, these texts lack attention to structure and development, it is also true that we can find early signs of the style that Hemingway would develop in his literature later. One example is the didactic way that he uses to explain how to do things, such as in the story "Are You All Set for the Trout?" published in the *Toronto Star Weekly* on April 10, 1920. The article is full of instructions on the necessary gear to fish properly: "a good steal rod nine and a half feet long," "half-dozen three-foot gut leaders," or "twenty-five yards of excellent bait line" (*Dateline* 14). It also explains specific terms about the sport, like this one: "Horsing is a technical term for that free arm motion that causes the trout to suddenly desert the stream he has been born and raised in and go for a flying trip through the air" (*Dateline* 14).

It is well-known that fishing and camping were among Hemingway's favorite activities and he had quite a few skills in this field himself. In some articles on fishing, the

young reporter also shares his knowledge with readers, such as the article published on August 28, 1920, "The Best Rainbow Trout Fishing in the World is at the Canadian Soo":

> The rainbow takes the fly more willingly than he does the bait. The McGinty, a fly that looks like a yellow jacket, is the best. It should be tied on a number eight or ten hook. The smaller flies get more strikes but are too small to hold the really big fish. The rainbow trout will live in the same streams with brook trout but they are found in different kinds of places. Brook trout will be forced into the shady holes under the bank and where alders hang over the banks, and the rainbow dominates the clear pools and the fast shallows. (*Dateline* 51)

The article also emphasizes how to do things right, and it implies, as suggests Fishkin, that "correct knowledge and accurate technique determine more than whether or not one snares a fish" (142). The articles on fishing demonstrate Hemingway's early pursuit of writing only about things that one really knows.

Hemingway would spend little time in Toronto. In the spring of 1920, he went back to Chicago, where he met his soon-to-become first wife, Hadley Richardson. However, he continued writing pieces for the *Star Weekly* from Chicago. Meanwhile, he accepted a short-lived tedious job as an associate editor for the Co-operative Commonwealth, which by Donaldson's definition, was "a slick-paper monthly extolling the doubtful virtues of the Co-operative Society of America" (235). However, the steady source of income working for an institutional paper only lasted a few months. In October 1921, after almost two years contributing as a freelancer and after having published over thirty articles, Hemingway was offered a position abroad. He would soon cross the Atlantic to start his role as an international correspondent based in Paris for the Toronto Star group.

2.4 Dispatches from Europe as an international correspondent

In the first decades of the 20th century, Europe proved to be a fertile source of news, since it was immersed in territorial disputes and wars. Newspapers in North America were craving to have information coming in from the continent and started to have reporters based there as foreign correspondents. They usually chose to send young talented journalists to the old continent instead of more experienced ones. The reason was mainly the costs: newspapers managed to get fresh reporting from young journalists at a much lower price than from veterans. Seeing in Hemingway a promising young writer amongst the staff, the newspaper offered him a position as a foreign correspondent in Paris. It was Hemingway's second call for an adventure in Europe – and he once again said yes.

Accompanied by his wife, Hadley, Hemingway boarded the transatlantic *Leopoldina* and left for Paris on December 1921, with little over two years of experience in journalism, some unpublished juvenilia, and the responsibility to be working as a *roving correspondent* – one who travels often to cover a wide array of topics. For Fenton, "considering that he was not yet twenty-three, it was an encouraging testimonial to the reputation he had achieved in Toronto" (116).

As an international correspondent, his job consisted of sending dispatches to both newspapers published by the Toronto Star group, the *Daily Star*, and the *Star Weekly*. In some cases, Hemingway was free to choose the topics for his dispatches and took advantage of this independence. In *Hemingway's Non-Fiction – The Public Voice*, one of the first works that examined in detail Hemingway's nonfictional writing, Robert Stephens explains the arrangement with the newspaper: "He had complete freedom of movement and choice of material and was expected to cultivate a lively, intimate, and subjective approach in his articles" (10).

This is why when analyzing Hemingway's reporting from the early 1920s – available in the book *Dateline: Toronto*, organized by William White – some characteristics stand out. One of them is the chronicle tone present in some articles that display a young and adventurous North American reporter living a European life. That was the case of one of the first pieces bylined from Europe, "A Canadian with One Thousand a Year Can Live Very Comfortably and Enjoyably in Paris." [11] As the title anticipates, the 580-word story was no hard news but rather a personal account of a newbie in town. The reporter starts: "Paris in the winter is rainy, cold, beautiful and cheap. It is also noisy, jostling, crowded and cheap. It is anything you want – and cheap" (*Dateline* 88). He then specifies exchange rates and the differences between the franc, the Canadian dollar, and the U.S. dollar. He explains the costs of living in Paris, offering concrete examples.

Inexpressive and bland as it was for a first story, the account is particularly interesting for analyzing Hemingway's style because it shows his tendency to look at things from a monetary perspective. This would later be a common trait in his fiction from the 1920s, in what Donaldson calls "morality of compensation." In the article "Hemingway's Morality of Compensation," the scholar asserts that in works of fiction like *The Sun Also Rises*, "Hemingway reveals much more about his characters' financial condition and spending habits than about their appearance. The book would be far more useful to the loan officer of a bank than, say, to the missing person's bureau" (402). Many other similar chronicles followed the first one, usually providing readers with a fresh description of the discoveries of a young man arriving in Europe.

[11] Although the editor William White decided to shorten the titles of the articles for concision inside the book, the titles published originally in the newspaper are written in the Table of Contents. Since the present work is devoted to scrutinize Hemingway's journalism, we decided to refer to the stories using the original titles.

Despite the freedom to choose topics as random as the cost of living in Paris, Hemingway was also asked by his editors to run specific assignments around Europe. In the period of one year, Hemingway took six international trips across the continent and the Near East in a time that commercial flights did not exist. He covered events like an economic conference in Genoa, the Greco-Turkish warfighting in Adrianople, and the occupation of Rurh, a territorial dispute between Belgium and France. In the dispatches from Rurh, suggests Donaldson, Hemingway "responded with some of his best articles, combining sensitivity to the political and economic pressures that led the French to occupy the area with characteristic attention to the human element: the effect the occupation had on the people he met and talked with" (241).

Perhaps one of the most poignant stories written while traveling was the coverage of the Greco-Turkish conflict. The article published on October 30, 1922, named "A Silent, Ghastly Procession Wends Way from Thrace," describes the evacuation of refugees while naval troops try to impose some order at the docks. Just like the early years in the *Star*, Hemingway wanted to be at the scene of the events to witness the aftermath of the conflict. This is why he manages to convey a story that is more than a description of the war. For Fishkin, Hemingway's biggest strength in this article was that he "breathed life into the terms of 'refugees' and 'evacuation' as few of his fellow reporters had been able to" (143). The story's lead is, indeed, a realistic and tragic picture of the people deserting Adrianople:

> In a never-ending, staggering march the Christian population of Eastern Thrace is jamming the roads to Macedonia. The main column across the Maritza River at Adrianople is twenty miles long. Twenty miles of carts drawn by cows, bullocks and muddy-flanked water buffalo, with exhausted, staggering men, women and children, blankets over their heads, walking blindly along with the rain beside their worldly gods.

> This main street is being swelled from all the back country. They don't know where they are going. They left their farms, villages and ripe, brown fields and joined the main stream of refugees where they heard the Turk was coming. Now they can only keep their places in the ghastly procession while mud-splashed Greek cavalry herd them along like cow-punchers driving steers. (*Dateline* 232)

The news story would appear three years later in the book *In Our Time* as a vignette, published with the following disclaimer: "In view of a recent tendency to identify characters in fiction with real people, it seems proper to state that there are no real people in this volume: both the characters and their names are fictitious" (5). The fictional story was slightly modified from the news reporting. Still, reviewers were quick to remark that Hemingway's style blurred the boundary between fiction and non-fiction.

2.4.1 Debatable practices

Scholars suggest that while traveling around Europe, Hemingway sent some of his most potent articles as a foreign correspondent – but some of his blandest too. The first international assignment given to Hemingway was to travel to Italy to cover the Genoa Economic and Financial Conference. The event was a conclave of 34 nations whose aim was to develop strategies to rebuild central and eastern Europe and discuss how the European capitalist nations would interact with the new Bolshevik regime in Soviet Russia. From April 10 to April 24, 1922, Hemingway published five stories for the *Daily Star*, "four of them long and detailed," according to Fenton's assessment (135).

Under journalistic standards, Hemingway's reporting covering economic world events was not the best example of his journalism. The texts were crammed with declaratory sentences from authorities that, according to Kenneth Lynn, rendered his reporting "inadequate" (174). We could infer that by "inadequate," Lynn might be referring to the fact that his reporting does

not always give context background. Hemingway's interest in people diverted him from an accurate situational analysis when that was expected from him.

Hemingway's text is not committed to explaining the significant issues or giving context to the policies discussed. A Canadian reader could not understand the impact of the conference in their life. Lynn concludes that Hemingway "made next to no effort to understand the significance of the proceedings, contending himself instead with dashing off dramatic accounts of rhetorical clashes between rival delegations and vivid descriptions of various people who caught his eye" (174).

Giving context to the economic trends when reporting conferences was not Hemingway's most robust quality as a roving reporter. It could be argued that this deficiency was due to the excessive working hours. While traveling to cover hard news, Hemingway made most of his time by wiring the news to other companies. That was the case when he traveled to Lausanne to cover the peace talks in the near east. During the event, he managed to have as many as three different sources of income. Besides writing for the Toronto Star group, he also contributed with two newswire services.

Donaldson exposes the dynamics of Hemingway's exhausting reporting routine. On any typical day, he would cover the conference in the morning for the news agency *INS* and wire the breaking news to the *Universal News Services* in the afternoon. He wrote these texts under different names in order not to breach the contract of exclusivity with the Toronto Group. He would save features for the weekly edition of the Canadian newspaper that came out on Saturdays. It is not hard to believe that these long working hours affected the quality of his work.

Hemingway proved to be a much more skilled reporter when interviewing and writing features on world leaders such as Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, British statesman David Lloyd George and soviet politician Georgy Tchitcherin. Donaldson considers these pieces

particularly good because “Hemingway's dispatches reduced them all to human size” (237). One such example is in the story “Mussolini, Europe’s Prize Bluffer, More Like Bottomley Than Napoleon,” published in the *Daily Star* on January 27, 1923. Hemingway’s remarks are not as impressive at exploring Mussolini’s political role as it is at depicting a powerful man reduced to human proportions. In the first phase of Hemingway’s life, his political points of view were only timidly expressed in his journalistic texts. Being more politically outspoken is a characteristic reserved for his second and third phases, as it will be discussed later.

Editors were happy with Hemingway’s production as an international correspondent and complimented him on several stories sent from Europe. However, Hemingway did not see himself in the field of journalism for the rest of his life. Being based in Europe as a journalist provided him with a steady source of income while investing his time in creative writing and experimenting in the world of fiction. Paris made it possible for Hemingway to be in contact with a wide range of artists who would later influence his style. It also became the perfect scenario to meet people and gather the material that he would often describe in his articles for the press and later use in his literature.

As months passed by, Hemingway became increasingly serious about fiction writing while growing more critical about journalism. He understood that literature, not journalism, was his real profession. At the end of 1923, after four years of feature writing and reporting, he decided to quit journalism and channel his efforts to literature. By then, he had already been working on his fiction, and the journalistic production was showing that. Some of his last articles published in the *Star Weekly* were, as Fenton highlights, “transition pieces between the feature and the short story” (93). In the following paragraphs, we will see how Paris became a central city for Hemingway to develop his style while working as a journalist. Understanding this feature is of primary importance to grasp how his style in the first period came to fruition.

2.5 Paris and the 'Lost Generation'

Hemingway was in Paris as a correspondent in a moment when the city was the best place for an aspiring writer to be. By taking the step of moving to Europe, he could continue exploring the world in his own journey of the hero. What he was able to experience as a journalist gave him cannon fodder to create his literature. As a roving reporter, Hemingway came in contact with the scenes, landscapes, and characters that he would immortalize in his fiction. For the development of his style, few aspects turned out to be more decisive in Hemingway's life as his first years in Paris. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to understand the importance of the experience in France without considering the tension that the world was living in the 1920s.

Any beliefs in science and technology seemed to have been dissipated at the beginning of the 20th century because of the wars, especially World War I. The death toll of 22 million made people reconsider the meaning of their lives – if there was any meaning left at all. The conflict had a strong influence on the generation of people born at the turn of the millennium, like Hemingway. From the fall of Constantinople to the end of World War I, that generation had known nothing but wartime. They created habits only suitable to periods of war, and not for the routine of peaceful lives. The devastation caused worldwide, and especially in Europe, resulted in a generation of people that were more worried about their next drink than about their future. They became known as the Lost Generation. The term was used for the first time by writer Gertrude Stein to name these young men and women who grew up amidst world violence and disorder.

The complete disenchantment with human nature was already common among intellectuals before. However, after World War I, it became thoroughly widespread. Therefore, the artistic production from that period reflects a general disillusionment with life and with human beings to an extent never seen before. The Lost Generation's points of view were

registered in literary magazines like *Transatlantic Review* and *Transition*. Those media outlets reflected the thought of the contemporary artists, whose creation resulted from exploring the world with the senses. Joseph Warren Beach explains the artists' general feeling at that time:

> They have lived through times of violence and disorder. They have been disillusioned. They have formed habits suitable to war times and been made unfit for the peaceful routines of civil life. They have been shaken loose from their moorings, saddened in their outlook, made restive and skeptical; above all made unwilling to submit themselves to any authority but of their own creation, to grant any assumptions which they haven't personally tested. (83)

Paris was the capital of the world in this period. It was the epicenter of an influx of artists coming from all over the world. The French capital turned into a melting pot where artists gathered to complain against the world while having a good time. The cosmopolitan air that the city gave off was the perfect scenario for artists coming from different countries. Under this context, the "gay Paree" legend was created, in which drinking, dancing, and other behaviors were at their highest.

We can travel back in time through the works of many authors that described Paris's atmosphere during the 1920s in their writings. With his *Paris on Parade,* from 1924, Robert Forrest Wilson meant to create a guidebook to France's capital. However, instead of tips on monuments and museums or a deep immersion into the French culture, he provides readers with a thorough guide to the bohemian neighborhoods of Quartier Latin and Montparnasse and their fauna. While the guide was not necessarily useful for a tourist in Paris, the book is valuable to understand the atmosphere surrounding the city and why France's capital was so attractive to foreigners.

Wilson contends that the atmosphere surrounding the Quartier Latin and other places in Paris owed their fame to foreigners like Hemingway who were inhabiting the city. The

French territory was especially appealing to American authors because they were running away from a country smashed by Prohibition. Wilson highlights the city's bohemian atmosphere: "At the Raspail-Montparnasse corner on a summer evening, for instance, those two chief artists' cafés of the new Quarter, the Dôme and the Rotonde, will be jammed to the last chair inside and out, with dozens standing on the sidewalks waiting for places" (206).

Due to Prohibition's strict laws, it was not difficult to imagine that America's intellectual life fared negatively compared to Europe's.[12] In his account of the legendary years of the lost generation, Malcolm Cowley reminds us that in America, it was understood that everything that came from Europe was better. In the book *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s*, Cowley says that, for American artists, Paris was the oasis of freedom that would be unthinkable under the American puritan values. American authors were, therefore, feeling the urge to expatriate, and break the shackles of the puritan life:

> American themes were lacking in dignity. Art and ideas were products manufactured under European patent . . . Everywhere, in every department of cultural life, Europe offered the models to imitate in painting, composing, philosophy, folk music, the drama, the sex, the politics, national, consciousness – indeed, some doubted that this country was even a nation; it had no traditions except the fatal tradition of the pioneer. (94)

The first point worth noting about Paris's influence on Hemingway is about the people surrounding him. During his stay in the French capital, he interacted very closely with the fauna of expatriate writers that influenced him, like Gertrude Stein, Sherwood Anderson, Ezra Pound,

[12] Prohibition was a nationwide ban on the production, importation, transportation, and sale of alcohol. The law was in effect between 1920 to 1933 and was spearheaded by the Pietistic Protestant – a branch of Lutheranism that followed the Bible strictly. This was a downturn for the intellectual and bohemian life in the United States. In *Exile's Return*, Malcolm Cowley assesses: "our own nation had passed the Prohibition Amendment as if to publish a bill of separation between itself and ourselves; it wasn't our country any longer" (47).

and Ford Madox Ford. In correspondence with Fitzgerald, dated from 1925, and featured in the book of Hemingway's selected letters organized by Carlos Baker, Hemingway himself recognized the importance of befriending writers that would have something to teach him. He said that "a writer should learn about writing from anybody who has ever written that has anything to teach you" (*Selected Letters* 176).

A second important hallmark from Hemingway's first staying in Paris was what the city provided him. Paris was a rich soil for a writer that intended to capture the atmosphere of the places. In the letters recompiled by Baker, it is possible to understand Hemingway's general first impressions on the city because of the way he describes it to his acquaintances and family. Few weeks after arriving in Europe, he wrote to a friend that Paris was "cold and damp but crowded, jolly and beautiful" (*Selected Letters* 60). Amid the hustle and bustle of "crowded, jolly and beautiful" Paris, Hemingway was able to meet a fauna of boxers, *bon vivants*, wrestlers, soldiers, clochards, and writers. Some of these characters were described in the dispatches for the *Star Weekly*. From 1921 to 1923, when Hemingway lived in Paris with his wife, he wrote over twenty-seven stories from or about the city.

In some of the dispatches from Paris, Hemingway makes a strong criticism against the lifestyle of expatriates – especially and mostly the Americans. In the article "American Bohemian in Paris, a Weird Lot", published in March 25, 1922, he does not give a kind overview of the community, starting the text stating his opinion bluntly:

> The scum of Greenwich Village, New York, has been skimmed off and deposited in large ladles on that section of Paris adjacent to the Café Rotonde. New scum, of course, has risen to take the place of the old, but the oldest scum, the thickest scum and the scummiest scum has come across the ocean, somehow, and with its afternoon and evening levees has made the Rotonde the leading Latin Quarter showplace for tourists in search of atmosphere. (*Dateline* 114)

Thirty years later, Hemingway would reminisce about this period in a much more reconciled tone in the memoir *A Moveable Feast*. Nevertheless, it is through the dispatches found in the newspaper that we can better understand his real points of view about the city and its foreign dwellers. While the memoir is a selected memory of what he remembered from those years and, therefore, can be idealized, the newspaper articles were a much realistic unedited account of his encounter.

The Paris that Hemingway experienced was portrayed not only in his journalism but also in his literature. It is known that the main characters from *The Sun Also Rises*, his first novel published in 1926, were inspired by real people. Lady Brett was modeled upon socialite Duff Twysden and Robert Cohn was inspired by American writer Harold Loeb. Alisson Field, in "Expatriate Lifestyle as a Tourist Destination," writes that "Hemingway contributes to a body of travel literature describing the places that constitute the geography of the infamous expatriate lifestyle" (30). Most of the characters presented in *The Sun Also Rises* and their obsession with drinking, gambling, and longing for love can be considered the lost generation's epithet. In the next chapter, we will study the literature produced in the 1920s, considered the first phase of Hemingway's style.

CHAPTER 3: THE REPORTER BECOMES A WRITER

We will dedicate this section to examine the literature that Hemingway produced throughout the decade of the 1920s. José Manuel Barrio defines this time frame as the first phase of Hemingway's fiction style, and it comprises six books. It starts with the publication of *Three Stories and Ten Poems* in 1923, a book with little relevance in Hemingway's career but that represented the official start in his path as a writer. His literary breakthrough would come in the following year with *In Our Time,* a collection of short stories.[13] The novels *Torrents of Spring* and *The Sun Also Rises* ensued, both published in 1926. While the former does not have much representation in Hemingway's literary production the latter is one of the most representative books the American author has ever written. One year later, a second short story book, *Men Without Women,* came to light. The first period wraps up with the novel *A Farewell to Arms*, published in 1929.

Many scholars attest that some of Hemingway's best works of fiction were written in this phase. In a review for *The New York Times* in 1943, James Farrell declared that Hemingway's contribution was virtually complete by the age of 30: "He said pretty much what he had to say with his first stories and his first two novels" (6). In a recent article analyzing Hemingway's work in the 1920s, William Cain states that the literary output of the 1920s was an "astounding achievement by a man in his twenties" and that the aesthetic of Hemingway's prose "differentiated him from every writer who preceded him and who would come after him" (84).

[13] An earlier version of the book was published in 1924, under the title *in our time* written in lower case. It was made up of only eighteen vignettes. The following edition of the book, finally written in capital letters, included fourteen short stories, interspersed with the vignettes.

What does define Hemingway's style in this first period? We will address this question in the following pages by looking into Hemingway's use of language, the narrative structure of his novels, and the iceberg theory, which is on the base of all his fiction writing. These topics will be discussed after a brief overview of Hemingway's most significant works of fiction from this period.

3.1 Literary production from the 1920s: short stories

Ernest Hemingway spent most of his early twenties living in Europe. His first fiction book, *Three Stories and Ten Poems,* was published while working as a journalist and traveling around the continent to cover a story or for personal entertainment. With a limited edition of only 300 copies, the book had little repercussion at the time. However, it was a hallmark in Hemingway's career as a writer because, with the publication of this work, the journalist officially became a writer. The three short stories mentioned in the title of the book are "Up in Michigan," "My Old Man," and "Out of Season." Except for "Up in Michigan," they would be published again in his subsequent book, *In Our Time,* which came out in 1924. *In Our Time* contains fourteen short stories, among which some of Hemingway's most emblematic ones, such as "Indian Camp," "The Battler," "The Doctor and The Doctor's Wife," and "Big Two-Hearted River."[14]

The book is a hallmark in Hemingway's style, amongst other things, because it introduces Hemingway's hero Nick Adam. Nick Adams is a recurring character that appears both in this and other phases. For biographer Philip Young, Nick Adams is the most important single character in all Hemingway's work and the first in a long line of fictional self-projections. "Later protagonists from Jake Barns and Frederic Henry to Richard Cantwell and Thomas Hudson were shaped by Nick, were all to have (if only tacitly) his history behind

[14] A 15th story, "On the Quay at Smyrna," was included in the 1930's edition.

them" (99). From the fourteen stories in *In Our Time*, six have Nick Adams as a protagonist. They are set independently but can also be read as a continuation of one another.

The book follows a particular structure. The short stories are interspersed with 18 vignettes – small, untitled stories that do not describe a consistent action or event. Sometimes the vignettes add a complementary meaning to a story or act as an ironic or tragic counterpoint. They are primarily characterized by discontinuity and incompleteness. In his analysis of *In Our Time*, Thomas Strychacz argues that by introducing the resource of vignettes in the book, Hemingway was experimenting with new forms of writing and chose to sacrifice the logic of the traditional narrative:

> As the work unfolds, the reader comes under increasing pressure to make sense of the crosscutting of scenes and characters, abrupt transformations of narrative voice and perspective, and sudden shifts in geographical and temporal location. As unstructured as it might appear, *In Our Time* seems a cohesive if not necessarily unified work. (60)

Even though the vignettes would not be used again in other books, scholars have argued that they play an essential part in Hemingway's message in his early literature. They testify that Hemingway's writing in the first period is influenced by the aesthetic of the modernist movement, which is strongly marked by fragmentation. The vignettes of *In Our Time* reflect the collage approach used by other modernist artists at that time, such as the painter Pablo Picasso, the movie director Sergei Eisenstein, and the writer James Joyce.

Jacqueline Vaught Brogan examined the affinities between the modernist arts and Hemingway's construction of *In Our Time's* chapters. She concludes her analysis by putting forward the argument that the book has a "cubist anatomy": the individual pieces of *In Our Time* should be put together so the reader can understand both the story on its own and the book as a whole. Says Vaught Brogan:

> Certainly not a mere collection of random stories, *In Our Time* methodically and even ruthlessly presents us with a violent world, full of emotional and physical abuses, racist and sexist denigrations, failed male posturing and military escalations on a global scale that seem disturbingly altogether too much a part of our actual time. (44)

Nick Adam's life would appear again in *Men Without Women*, the second short storybook from the first phase.[15] Five of the fourteen stories in the book are about him: "The Killers," "Now I Lay Me," "An Alpine Idyll," "Ten Indians," "In Another Country."

The focus of the non-Nick Adams stories is not on the hero but the anti-hero. Hemingway depicts the archetype of a male character that lacks heroic attributes but works hard to preserve his dignity. That is the case of "The Undefeated," which narrates the perils of Manuel García, a veteran bullfighter who has to beg to keep working in the bullrings. He ends up agreeing to receive a fraction of what other younger bullfighters would get paid. The bullfighting does not go as well as he expected: it took him five attempts and a lot of sword bouncing to finally kill the bull. Manuel gets hurt and is rushed into the hospital, where his pigtail is cut off on the operating table – an act that cemented his career for good.

"The Undefeated" is not seen by the scholars as the most typical of Hemingway's story in terms of style. Scholars generally point out that it contains too much information on the characters. As we can see later in this chapter, giving out too many details is not Hemingway's practice. However, it plays an essential role in this story because it is the corollary of Hemingway's anti-hero that needs to preserve his dignity. Besides, even though the bullfighters sounded, as Stanton puts it, "like New Yorkers" (86), this was Hemingway's

[15] The stories included in *Men Without Women* are: "The Undefeated," "In Another Country," "Hills Like White Elephants," "The Killers," "Che Ti Dice la Patria," "Fifty Grand," "A Simple Enquiry," "Ten Indians," "A Canary for One," "Alpine Idyll," "A Pursuit Race," "Today is Friday," "Banal Story," and "Now I Lay Me."

first story on bullfighting, a topic he would write about many times again throughout his career.

For many scholars, *Men Without Women* is the book that summarizes Hemingway's philosophical perspective in a world where loss is inevitable. In the introduction of *Ernest Hemingway. A collection of critical essays,* Robert Weeks states that the stories depict a world of men not only without women but "of men without jobs, men without parents or children, men without homes or even communities" (3). We can easily include on the list, as the title suggests, a world without women. The female essence ends up being a central figure in the book not because of its presence but rather its absence. Many scholarly works devoted to understanding the short stories presented in *Men Without Women* inevitably delve into the relationship that Hemingway had with the opposite sex. Most analyses conclude that Hemingway created a fictional world where characters did not have to confront women.

In *Love and Death in the American Novel*, Leslie Fiedler assertively points out that the primary relationships present in the short stories of *Men Without Women* are the ones where women are not included: relation of a father to son, bath companions, friends on a fishing trip, fellow inmates in a hospital, a couple of waiters preparing to close up a shop, a bullfighter and his manager, a boy and a gangster. Fiedler writes: "Perhaps he is best of all with men who stand alone – in night-time scenes when the solitary individuals sweat in his bed on the verge of a nightmare or arises to confront himself in the glass" (317).

3.2 Literary production from the 1920s: the novels

In the middle of the 1920s, after successfully settling down in Paris and establishing his place among expatriate writers, Hemingway felt that his fiction should go one step further. It was time for an in-depth story to prove to critics that he would be able to maintain his freshness in a long-breath narrative in the same way he did with short stories. In the summer of 1925, Hemingway attended the fiesta of San Fermin, in Spain, with a group of friends. It

was his third time participating in the event, but he experienced the festivities differently that year. For him, the fiesta had become more of a tourist attraction for foreigners who were not aficionados of the bullfighting, and therefore it lost some of its feeling of being an original, untouched villagers celebration.

From a personal perspective, Hemingway's binge-drinking party fellows did not help create a good atmosphere either. They were either too drunk or arguing with each other – sometimes both things at the same time. Hemingway thought that the experience he had at the fiesta of San Fermin provided him with enough elements to sustain a more ambitious form of writing: he had found the argument for the novel he was seeking. On July 15, 1925, a week after the celebration was over, Hemingway started working on a first draft that would be finished only one week later under the provisional name of *Fiesta*. Hemingway would spend the winter in the small Austrian town of Schurns working over the manuscript, changing lines and eliminating sections, experimenting with new openings. The result is Hemingway's first novel, *The Sun Also Rises*, which would come out in October 1926.

The narrative is a first-person account of journalist Jake Barnes and his unfulfilled love towards the heroin Lady Brett. Barnes, who lives in Paris, had been emasculated by a war injury. Therefore, his relationship remains stagnant at a platonic level. He decides to go on a trip to Spain to attend the fiesta of San Fermin with a group of other expatriate friends. The novel is considered to be the portrait of what is called the "Lost Generation" because it depicts the characters' search for meaning in a post-war world. Matts Djos, who wrote on the role of alcohol for this generation, recounts that the bars and bottles are omnipresent throughout the book:

> Drinking on this kind of scale cannot even begin to resemble normalcy . . . These people lack the skills and the sanity to break their addiction to self-sufficiency and their destructive loop of unmanageability. Instead, they seek

> refuge in broken relationships, in changes of scene, in drunkenness and the illusion that however meager, they can find some pleasure in their brief interludes of time and place. (66).

The war wound of the protagonist also stands for the psychic and physical signs of lost masculine potency. Greg Forter expands on the topic by referring to this situation as a "melancholy modernism." The scholar states that in a moment of profound social crisis, melancholy becomes a collective condition. In the case of the Lost Generation, this feeling is rooted in the loss of the old world order, and the breakdown of the social constructs. Forter underlines that Jake Barnes had been whole and experienced the loss of his wholeness in a war that divided the old from the new. Therefore, he "bears an emblematic modern male consciousness, haunted by the memory of a potency and plenitude it cannot recover" (26).

The second relevant novel from the first period is *A Farewell to Arms*. It is set in Italy, where a young Frederic Henry arrives to fight in World War I. He goes from having a skeptical approach towards romantic relationship to finally finding true love in Catherine Barkley's arms. In this novel, fiction and reality are enmeshed once again, as some of the situations in the story also happened to Ernest Hemingway. The main action, for example, takes place in Italy, where the writer lived temporarily during his experience as an ambulance driver. It has been well-documented that Catherine was modeled upon nurse Agnes H. von Kurowsky, with whom Hemingway fell in love while recovering from the war wounds. He meant to leave Italy with Agnes and marry her, except that the nurse did not have the same intention and left him for good.

A Farewell to Arms is a story told in the first person. Even though it was written after *The Sun Also Rises*, the action takes place in an earlier period. The protagonist reminisces on his life chronologically, from his engagement with World War I to his engagement with Catherine. War and love appear so frequently together that scholars like Judith Fetterley assert

that Hemingway likens romantic love with a type of war. The title of the book, which plays with the double meaning of the word *arms,* suggests, according to Fetterley, that "the arms of a war and the arms of love are equivalent" (49). When Henry deserts the war, he loses both arms: the guns and Catherine's arms, because she dies during labor. For the scholar, Hemingway is stating something that later would be more evident in the second phase of his literature: a man's life is not possible with a woman. The ideal of a fulfilled romantic love is replaced with the loss of love.

3.3 The use of the language

By the time Hemingway's first book came out, he had been writing for newspapers for five consecutive years. Therefore, the influence that the school of journalism from both *The Kansas City Star* and the Toronto Star group's newspapers had on him is evident. Scholars seem to agree that the seven months at *The Kansas City Star* were the most decisive for the first stage in Hemingway's literature regarding the use of language and grammar. The short but intense experience in that newsroom provided him with the obsession to eliminate what is unnecessary in the narrative, especially adjectives: this is the phase in literature where he is most focused on nouns.

It is no secret that Hemingway was a great admirer of the realist Gustave Flaubert. To a certain extent, both writers coincide in the goal of extensively describing situations and sensations in their texts. They, however, follow different approaches to accomplish that. For Flaubert, the only way to convey the best feeling was through the *mot précis*, the discriminating word, the most expressive and specific one. Hemingway's style, on the other hand, follows a different path. For him, the exact word to describe a situation or a feeling would probably not be the most precise one, but rather the most common, the one that would first come to the mind of an average citizen.

According to Beach, this approach places the least strain upon the intellect for Hemingway. Therefore, he uses simple words to describe places and feelings. How was the vacation? “We had a very *fine* room and in the fall the country was lovely” (*Men Without Women* 70). What about the village? The little town was “clean,” and “there was a *fine* fountain in the square” (*A Farewell to Arms* 164). If a character asks what kind of day it was, the answer is, “It was a *lovely* day, not too hot” (*The Sun Also Rises* 90). What kind of bullfighter was Belmonte? “Belmonte was *very good*” (*The Sun Also Rises* 217). What is Chicago like? “Chicago is a *fine* town” (*First Forty-Nine Stories* 126).

These laconic and arguably simplistic descriptions of places and people could happen through the narrator’s voice or, as it was often the case, through dialogues. Hemingway’s dialogues are not long, deep, philosophical conversations, but dynamic, quick-witted interactions. The conversations tend to emulate a real-life way of speaking, with characters pronouncing two- or three-word sentences, interspersed with many *yes* and *no*. In *Ernest Hemingway: A Reconsideration*, one of the most significant memoirs on the author, Philip Young explains: “Hemingway’s dialogue strips speech down to the essentials which are typical of the speaker. He built a pattern of mannerisms and responses which give an illusion of reality that, in its completeness, reality itself does not give” (169).

Although sometimes there is no reference to the person who is talking, the main declarative verb used is said, leaving readers confused. This excerpt is taken from the short story “Indian Camp” and summarizes all these characteristics:

> 'Why did he kill himself, Daddy?'
>
> ‘I don't know, Nick. He couldn't stand things, I guess.'
>
> 'Do many men kill themselves, Daddy?'
>
> 'Not very many, Nick.'
>
> 'Do many women?'

'Hardly ever.'

'Don't they ever?'

'Oh, yes. They do sometimes.'

'Daddy?'

'Yes.'

'Where did Uncle George go?'

'He'll turn up all right.'

'Is dying hard, Daddy?'

'No, I think it's pretty easy, Nick. It all depends.'

(*The First Forty-Nine Stories* 99)

"Indian Camp" is full of examples of Hemingway's literary style of the first period, using short sentences to convey feelings and more extensive sentences to create judgments and make comparisons. The strategy of placing nouns as the protagonists of the sentence, the use of sharp dialogues such as the one seen above, and an almost childish description of situations leave little space for the narrator to be too profound.

As we stated in the previous chapter, to analyze Hemingway's style accurately, we should first consider his personal life because it is deeply ingrained in this writing. When he published his first works in literature, Hemingway was still in his 20s and not only learning how to write. Just like Nick Adams, he was also learning the codes of living through his own discovery of the world – or his journey of the hero. For this reason, he yearned to write a sequence of sensations without overthinking the emotion that they could cause. For him, there was no need for a deeper reflection on what was being felt or seen.

For Philip Young, this concise form of writing shows an aspect of the author's life that is often overlooked. For the scholar, Hemingway used a controlled style to reflect the need to exorcise his own traumatic experiences of the war. Young argues that Hemingway's

writing had been strongly affected by an injury he suffered while serving in World War I when a grenade exploded in his leg. This statement caused the scholar to be in direct conflict with Hemingway himself, who tried at all costs to prevent Young from publishing his biography – a task in which he failed. In the book, Young goes as far as to say that Hemingway viewed "life as one long war" (193).

In order to function in this *modus operandi* of narrating in a direct fashion, the sentences in Hemingway's literature from the first phase are predominantly written in the active voice. The few moments when the passive voice comes to place are to evoke some sort of nostalgia. The first period is also marked by the use of coordinate sentences in simple present or past. Very rarely can we see any subordinate clauses, and when they do appear, they are generally introduced by *that* and hardly ever by *sinc*e or *although*. His favorite connector is *and*, which is sometimes used at exhaustion for both aesthetic and impact purposes.

The beginning of the book *A Farewell to Arms*, defined by scholar Anders Hallengren as "one of the most pregnant paragraphs in the history of the American Novel" (119), is an example of the skillful use of this connector for dramatic effect. In the 128-word paragraph, the word *and* is repeated 15 times. Here is how the tale starts:

> In the late summer of that year we lived in a house in a village that looked across the river *and* the plain to the mountains. In the bed of the river there were pebbles *and* boulders, dry *and* white in the sun, *and* the water was clear *and* swiftly moving *and* blue in the channels. Troops went by the house *and* down the road *and* the dust they raised powdered the leaves of the trees. The trunks of the trees too were dusty *and* the leaves fell early that year *and* we saw the troops marching along the road *and* the dust rising *and* leaves, stirred by

> the breeze, falling *and* the soldiers marching *and* afterward the road bare *and* white except for the leaves. (*A Farewell to Arms* 3)

The repetition of words is a common characteristic in Hemingway's texts in the first period. Joan Didion, in the article "Last Words: Those Hemingway wrote, and those he didn't," analyses the opening of *A Farewell to Arms.* She suggests that the "liturgical cadence" of repeating the word *and*, together with the absence of commas, casts a chill and a premonition on the story to come.

If Hemingway's paragraph were to be turned into a movie, the first scene would start with a wide-angle shot, and it would subsequently zoom in as the story develops. The troops marching along the road becomes the soldier. The field becomes the tree, and then the leaves of the trees. For Didion,

> the very grammar of a Hemingway sentence dictated, or was dictated by, a certain way of looking at the world, a way of looking but not joining, a way of moving through but not attaching, a kind of romantic individualism distinctly adapted to its time and source. If we bought into those sentences, we would see the troops marching along the road, but we would not necessarily march with them. We would report, but not join. (par. 4)

The intention of "reporting" but not "joining" is one clear example that Hemingway's style in literature was strongly influenced by journalism. Didion also highlights that there is little information about the place where the village was or the city in which the troops were marching. The summer of what year? The bed of what river? The troops from what army? The road leading where? This would be considered a flawed leading paragraph of any news story because it does not give any specific information about the event. However, as a fictional piece, the grammar and the choice of words imprint rhythm to the text while also showing

Hemingway's particular way of looking at the world – a way that he seems to have inherited from journalism.

3.3.1 Repetitions and trios

The repetition of *words* is one resource that Hemingway often used in the texts from the first phase. Another type of repetition that can be found in his early writing is the repetition of *ideas*. This resource, referred by the scholars as *trios,* is a sequence of three sentences that reiterate the same idea but wording them differently.

One example that illustrates this comes from the short story "Hills Like White Elephants." A couple is at a desert train station in a village in Spain and discusses whether they should carry out a procedure or not – it is supposedly an abortion, although this word is never mentioned in the text. When the man asks how the woman feels, she responds: "I feel fine. There is nothing wrong with me. I feel fine" (*The Short Stories* 278). The character repeats the same idea three times as if it was necessary to convince her partner and herself that everything was okay. Apparently, it was not. The repetition of the opposite idea emphasized that. For Donald Daiker, Hemingway's repetition is his "most powerful means of syntactic emphasis" (80).

Daiker's point of view is shared by Beach, who says that the intention of the repetition in Hemingway goes beyond transcribing an ordinary talk – after all, people repeat themselves. He says that the American author uses repetition to create momentum, often delivering an emotional effect and "deepening the sense of fear, of strain, of pathos" (104). Beach reminds that other authors who came before him also used this technique, but for different purposes. Henry James, who is considered one of the key figures in the transition between realism and modernism, also resourcefully employed repetition in his stories. Beach underscores:

> In both these writers there will be passages of a page or more in which the changes are hung on a simple phrase, exactly repeated by one character from another, or repeated with slight change, and then taken up by the original speaker in exactly the same words or with some slight, significant variation. The difference is that in James the effect is more intellectual and dialectic – carrying forward some subtle point of interpretation; while in Hemingway the effect is more often emotional, deepening the sense of fear, of strain, of pathos. (104)

Hemingway's obsession with repetition and its effects in the text served as an inspiration for many writers that came after him in different literary genres. In *Porch Talk with Ernest Gaines,* contemporary African-American writer Ernest Gaines reflects upon the craft of writing and Hemingway's influence in his work.[16] In the book, written by Marcia Gaudet and Carl Wooton in the format of an interview with the writer, Gaines says that he studied Hemingway's style very carefully and recognizes its influence on his writing. Gaines says that the structure of paragraphs, sentences, and dialogues were a reference for his work, focused on the African American experience in rural Louisiana. For Gaines, "Hemingway can repeat the lighting of a cigarette, the length or shortness of the cigarette, or the ash hanging, to show how time moves. He repeats little things throughout a scene to make you know the movement of time" (23).

Harry Levin also brings up Hemingway's repetition as a tool to express the idea of evolvement. The scholar likens the restatements of ideas to the dynamics of a movie where the repetition of single frames with slight changes gives the impression of movement. *The Sun*

[16] Born in Louisiana, Ernest Gaines is an American author known for his depictions of race, community, and culture in his state's countryside. Amongst his twelve published books is the acclaimed *A Lesson Before Dying*. Based on a true story, the novel depicts a black man sentenced to death twice in Louisiana.

Also Rises has plenty of corollary examples. One of the most evident appears at the end of the story when the narrator talks about the trains arriving in Madrid. "The Norte Station in Madrid is the end of the line. All trains finish here. They don't go on anywhere" (240). In the excerpt aforementioned, repetition produces the effect of a train slowing down when arriving at a station. Levin concludes: "As in the movies, the illusion of movement is produced by repeating the same shot with further modification every time. Whenever a new clause takes more than one step ahead, a subsequent clause repeats it in order to catch up" (603).

3.4 The Narrative Structure

While the use of language is one aspect to consider in the analysis of a writer's style, the structure of a story plays another vital part. The fiction works produced in the 1920s by Ernest Hemingway hold many similarities in terms of narrative, especially the two most important novels of this period, *The Sun Also Rises* and *A Farewell to Arms*. On the surface, the stories in both books do not seem to be even remotely linked. The former narrates a group of expatriates living in post-war Paris going to the fiestas of San Fermin in Spain. The latter is the account of the participation in the war and the finding of true love by an American lieutenant in Italy. However, if we take a more in-depth look beyond the apparent differences it is possible to see that the books share many similar features in their narrative structure and the description of specific scenes.

To produce his great novel on war, *A Farewell to Arms*, from 1929, Hemingway made use of the same structure of action that made his first novel, *The Sun Also Rises*, published three years before, highly successful. The first similarity is that he chose to write both novels in the first person. The use of this strategy allows little space for stories that the protagonist has not witnessed. It shows Hemingway's pursuit of only narrate what one has seen or lived. In *The Sun Also Rises*, the account of the story is given by Jake Barnes, a journalist in Paris that was wounded and emasculated in the war. In the second novel,

American lieutenant Frederic Henry retells his love affair with nurse Catherine Barkley in World War I.

Some details inside *The Sun Also Rises* and *A Farewell to Arms* are depicted analogously. In the article "*The Sun Also Rises*: The Source of *A Farewell to Arms*," William Adair offers some interesting parallels between the stories. At some point, Jake pulls into the town square to meet Montoya. Frederic pulls into the town square and meets the major. On his first night in Pamplona, Jake goes off with friends to check on the bulls. Frederic crosses the river to inspect the front lines. Jake explains the bulls. Frederic theorizes about the war.

In *The Sun Also Rises,* there are a few days of preparation for the fiesta. The morning when the fiesta starts, the city boils over with people, cars, and buses crowding into the town square. There is also a preparation in *A Farewell to Arm*s, but for the beginning of a retreat. This will lead to cars, trucks, and people marching into town. In *The Sun Also Rises,* the bulls cross the river and chase the crowds through Pamplona's muddy streets. In *A Farewell to Arms,* the Austrian army also crosses the river and goes after the people. Finally, *The Sun Also Rises* ends with the protagonist alone, just as Frederic in *A Farewell to Arms*. "More consciously than unconsciously," sustains Adair, by using the same structure of action, "Hemingway found a solution to organize his abundant war materials into novel-length forms" (25).

The similarities of scenes explained in detail by Adair novels are not the only repetitive elements. Both stories are organized in two parts. The first section starts with a similar sequence of events: a brief story, then a scene where the protagonist is planning a vacation trip. The scenes happen in the fall, followed by a winter hiatus, and resume in the spring. The first part in both books wraps up with the protagonist being wounded: Jake is hurt emotionally with Lady Brett going away with a lover, and Frederic is hurt physically in a battle.

After the episodes, each protagonist departs to a place of recuperation. Jake goes fishing with friends in Spain, while Frederic goes to a hospital in Milan where he meets Catherine Barkley. In *The Narrative Pattern in Ernest Hemingway's Fiction*, a book that offers a thorough analysis of the method used by Ernest Hemingway to tell stories, Chaman Nahal hypothesizes about the moments of respite in Hemingway's narrative structure. These moments happen very clearly in the novels from the first phase and in the short stories. In "Big Two-Hearted River," for example, Nick Adams reaches out for nature to heal his war trauma.

For Nahal, the fact that Hemingway's protagonists go to a place of retreat where the wounds – physical or emotional – can be healed shows that his narrative structure is not necessarily focused on the moments of action but the moments of passivity. Even though the war is the backdrop of both novels from the first phase and many of the short stories written in this period, battle scenes are almost absent. Nahal contends that physical action does not play a central role in any of Hemingway's narratives:

> If we try to isolate the moments of action in each of them, we shall see that such moments do not constitute the vital parts of the narrative. The strength of the story, rather, lies in those pages which take us beyond the physical action to a point of stillness. We should therefore say that Hemingway is as much concerned with passive action as with active action, and that he tries to present states of consciousness when active action comes to a complete end and passivity takes over. (22)

Passivity, however, does not mean non-action. Something *is* happening, but not in terms of what action is usually associated with. According to Nahal, Hemingway distinguishes the two types of emotion that an action triggers: the emotion generated by the timeliness of the action and the emotion that is valid through the years. The first has an element of *time* in it and is more closely associated with journalism. It is concerned with the physical action alone

and reporting this action accurately. The second emotion is the one that transcends the physical world. It is the moral tone that only happens once the character stops the action and has time to process the emotions that this activity has triggered. This is the first hint that explains how journalism and literature are different tasks in Hemingway's perspective. He was primarily interested in writing things that could remain forever – and knew that this could only be accomplished through literature.

The structure of the two most important novels from the first period will present another particular characteristic in common. In both books, the second part repeats some actions of the first: the protagonist is wounded a second time and leaves again for a place of recuperation. Jake Barns is wounded because Lady Brett falls in love with the Spanish bullfighter Pedro Romero and, therefore, he leaves for another fishing trip in San Sebastián. In *Farewell to Arms*, Frederic is wounded when he was betrayed by a man in his battalion and was almost executed. He flees with his lover to a place of recuperation in the woods of Switzerland. As observes Adair, "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" (25).

In the book *Hemingway's First War,* Michael Reynolds explains the making of a *Farewell to Arms.* He notes that Hemingway runs twice the scene of Frederic Henry deserting his group and leaving the war behind twice. However, "in the second run, the emphasis of the scene will have shifted slightly so that the reader is invited to make a comparison between the two scenes. The result of such a comparison is frequently irony" (245).

The repetition of events allows for a check on the characters' evolution – or as some scholars call it, the epiphany of the characters. They have gone through a process of change and, in the case of both novels, healing. Ellen Knodt calls attention to the fact that these

moments occur when the characters are immersed in nature. In her study *on The Sun Also Rise's* diving scenes, she recalls:

> A close reading of the two swimming scenes in *The Sun Also Rises* 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. The swimming and diving scenes at San Sebastian are evocative, affecting a reader beyond the mere meaning of their words. A reader senses Jake's pain and his attempts to heal himself through contact with the natural world. (28)

The structure of Hemingway's novels, coupled with the declarative, direct form of writing, made Hemingway's style a clear target for some critics from very early years. In a resounding article written in 1936, Wyndham Lewis calls Hemingway a "dumb ox," saying that "the sort of first-person singular that Hemingway invariably invokes is a dull-witted, bovine, monosyllabic simpleton" (302). Contemporary academics continue supporting this criticism. William Adair contends that Hemingway's concise style was only showing a lack of understanding of the use of the language, poor vocabulary, and lack of creativity. "To say that Hemingway's fiction of the 1920s is dominated by a single compelling situation or story-structure may only be a pretty way of saying that, as a novelist, he was a writer of limited imagination" (27).

3.4.1 The Iceberg Theory

In one of *The Sun Also Rises'* last scenes, Lady Brett tries to explain to Jake Barns how she was feeling about leaving her Spanish lover. For her, the relationship with the bullfighter had been an ecstatic, almost religious experience, and the fact that she had to leave him was the cause of great desolation. However, Jake did not want her feelings to be turned into words and suggested that she should not mouth what she was thinking. He says: "You'll

lose it if you talk about it" (*The Sun Also Rises* 128). Jake's postulate reveals something about Hemingway's literature. For Beach, this shows that Hemingway "cares more for actual states of the spirit than for their verbal equivalents." The reason is that "states of the spirit are fragile and tenuous affairs; and in general, we feel that the less is said about them, the better, lest they be cheapened and lost" (112).

The idea that one should not word too much about their feelings is deeply ingrained in the basis of Hemingway's literature: there is no pleasure if a writer gives out too much information about a character. This became known as the *theory of omission* or *iceberg theory*. It means that the words in the text are hiding more underneath. In the interview with George Plimpton for *The Paris Review* in 1958, Hemingway explains the theory himself:

> I always try to write on the principle of the iceberg. There is seven-eighths of it underwater for every part that shows. Anything you know you can be eliminated, and it only strengthens your iceberg. It is the part that does not show. If a writer omits something because he does not know it then there is a hole in the story. ("An Interview with Ernest Hemingway" 34)

Hemingway started putting this resource into practice during the first period of his literature. In "The Theory and Practice of Omission," Paul Smith clarifies that Hemingway continued using this principle in almost every literary text "until it became for him *the* theory of his fiction" (277). Therefore, no analysis of Hemingway's style could leave out the role of omission. Hemingway's real story can only be fully understood in all its nuances if we consider what is *not stated* in the text.

The strategy of leaving words out helps Hemingway create feelings of emotional tension, disappointment, and judgment while giving out information on the characters. The short story "A Canary for One" illustrates Hemingway's theory of omission at its best. On an overnight train journey to Paris, a middle-aged lady interacts with a younger couple. The three

of them are American, but the lady is the one that does most of the talking. The young wife participates vaguely in the conversation. Says the narrator of the story, who is the young husband: "The American lady did not hear. She was really quite deaf; she read lips, and I had not looked toward her. I had looked out of the window. She went on talking to my wife" (*Men Without Women* 69).

These small details are the only indication of a failed marriage. Until the last sentence of the story, Hemingway gives only very subtle hints that the couple is not doing well in the relationship. Since the narrative seems to be focused on the old lady's story, the lack of information on the American couple does not bother the reader. This is the reason why the last sentence comes as a surprise: "We were returning to Paris to set up separate residences" (*Men Without Women* 70). Only in the last line does the narrator provide direct information about the couple and their problematic marriage. The reader then understands that there is a story behind the story: the story of a soon-to-be-divorced couple.

In the manuscripts of the text, Hemingway altered some details to make the punchline smoother and more powerful. With the proper use of words and the choice to leave the dialogue play most of the critical moments in the scene, Hemingway gives an excellent example of how his carefully crafted and edited style creates a story in which the omission of information changes the meaning of the narrative. In the article "Preparing for the End: Hemingway's Revisions of 'A Canary for One'", Scott Donaldson reviews the changes made to the story. He asserts that Hemingway "ended his story at the right time and in the right way. To reveal the separation earlier would have deprived the reader of the retroactive enjoyment that derives from the sense of discovery" (237).

Another moment that shows the power of the theory of omission is in the short story "The End of Something," which depicts Nick Adams breaking up with his long-time girlfriend, Marjorie. In order to picture the end of the relationship, Hemingway uses

underlying features, describing the surroundings with crucial details that hint towards the mood of the characters. As Nick and Marjorie are fishing at an abandoned lumbering town, they row through the ruins of the mill and troll along the “channel-bank where the bottom dropped off suddenly from sandy shallows to twelve feet of dark water" (*The First 49 Stories* 105). The nature mirrors the relationship that once was blossoming and now begins to die.

The reader witnesses the end of it not because of confrontation but because of the lack of it. The friction and the uneasiness of the characters are felt through the unspoken words. The tension of the moment is created by what the characters silence or imply. Nick does not say he feels that love is finished, but that love “is not fun anymore.” After that, Marjorie’s reaction was not a very verbose one either. This is how the end develops:

> 'Isn't love any fun?' Marjorie said.
>
> 'No,' Nick said. Marjorie stood up. Nick sat there, his head in his hands.
>
> 'I'm going to take the boat,' Marjorie called to him. 'You can walk back around the point.'
>
> 'All right,' Nick said. I’ll push the boat off for you.'
>
> 'You don't need to,' she said. She was afloat in the boat on the water with the moonlight on it. Nick went back and lay down with his face in the blanket by the fire. He could hear Marjorie rowing on the water.
>
> (*The First 49 Stories* 109)

There is no heated argument, no signs of profuse emotions. However, Nick’s lying down with his face in the blanket or Marjorie’s refusal to get help to push the boat is an indication of how distressful, painful, and confusing the end of the relationship was for both of them.

The iceberg theory began almost by chance with an exchange of letters with Fitzgerald in 1925 regarding Hemingway’s upcoming first novel, *The Sun Also Rises*. Upon

reading the first version of the book, Fitzgerald suggested that Hemingway should eliminate the first two chapters – which he agreed to do. Frederic Svoboda devoted a whole book to trace back the origins of that novel using the manuscripts available in the Hemingway Collection at the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston. In his *Hemingway & The Sun Also Rises: The Crafting of a Style*, he focuses on the revision made to the first draft of the book, which is one of the few manuscripts available from the first period.

By comparing the earlier version of the novel with the one published, Svoboda unveils the material that was simply eliminated from the final version. The importance of Svoboda's research is that by comparing the original idea for the plot with the final version, we can see the theory of omission taking shape. We learn, for example, that what is *not* in the novel once *did* exit but was purposefully eliminated. Svoboda's work reveals at least some portion of the seventh part of the iceberg that is under the water because Hemingway carefully edited it out. For the scholar,

> The thing that is left out may be almost as important as that which is left in. . . In Hemingway's view, explanations may be eliminated or substantially reduced; explanation is never so truthful as direct presentation; and journalistic presentation is never so complete as the artist's invention from his knowledge of the world (11).

Unlike its final edition, the story in *The Sun Also Rises'* manuscript is told in the third person and does not begin with the chronological order of events. It starts near the climax, on the second day of San Fermin. It is known that Hemingway accepted Fitzgerald's suggestions to start the novel in chronological order. So, in the final version of the book, Hemingway eliminated almost two chapters from the original story. The opening sentence of *The Sun Also Rises*, for example, originally appeared in the middle of the second chapter: "Robert Cohn was middleweight boxing champion of Princeton" (11).

In the first draft of the book, Hemingway gave more information on the characters than he did in the final revision. He discloses, for example, that Lady Brett' had been mistreated by her first husband, who tried to tie her up in the kitchen. The story left out depicts a woman that was wounded but survived. It also shows her grace, style, and ability to deal with the negative experiences in her life. According to Linda Wagner, who wrote about women in Hemingway's early fiction, the excerpt eliminated from the story gives a much more positive account of a character that has otherwise been read as a spoiled, unlikeable person by both readers and scholars. In Wagner's analysis, because of the deletion, "rather than being acclaimed as a warm, believable, brave woman, Brett was frequently maligned as unnatural, bold, nymphomaniacal" (242).

3.5 Hemingway's hero and code

It would be impossible to talk about Hemingway's style without taking a more in-depth look at the principal character his literature brought to life: the Hemingway hero. More than one specific character, the hero in Hemingway's texts is an archetypical figure that will appear in his works under different names. The scholarship devoted to Ernest Hemingway's style seems to agree that there are two major archetypical heroes in Hemingway's work: *the code hero* and *Nick Adams hero*.

The *hero of the code* plays a preceptor's figure in Hemingway's stories and is usually a foreigner that takes on different names and roles. This instructor is often related to the father figure, a man that has already learned from the world and is now ready to pass on his knowledge. It is personified by the bullfighter Belmonte in *The Sun Also Rises*, the major in "In Another Country," and the Catholic priest who preaches what true love is in the novel *A Farewell to Arms*.

Nick Adams hero, on the other hand, is the archetypical character of the apprentice. The hero that is trying to learn the difficult task of being in the world. Although the character

named Nick Adams does exist, the hero Nick Adams could also be understood as a general idea of a character searching for the tools to live in a world of which he does not entirely have control. All the short stories in the books *In Our Time* and *Men Without Women* have male characters that need initiation. The archetypical Nick Adams hero is also the protagonist of both novels from the first period: Jake Barnes in *The Sun Also Rises* and Frederic Henry in *A Farewell to Arms*. This is how Earl Rovit, in the book *Ernest Hemingway,* explains the relationship between the two heroes:

> El aprendiz enfrentado con el enorme caos y la frustración (nada) inherentes a todo intento de vivir una vida sensorial activa, admira el apacible dominio de sí del preceptor (un hombre mucho más simple) que no parece asechado por dudas interiores. Por lo tanto, el aprendiz trata de modelar su comportamiento sobre el ideal que tiene ante los ojos (73).[17]

Hemingway's hero as an apprentice appears for the very first time in the book *In Our Time*. Nick Adams is introduced to the reader in the short story "Indian Camp," which tells the tale of a boy accompanying his father to a tribe in Michigan to help an indigenous woman give birth. Lying on the upper part of a bunk bed, the woman's husband could not bear the pain and slits his throat with a knife. The tale ends with the suicide of the father-to-be and with the screams of a mother giving birth. Nick Adams witness the horrific scene. This is the first metaphor used by Hemingway to symbolize the ancestral ceremony of initiation through which a boy becomes a man.

There are eleven short stories whose protagonist is Nick Adams in the first phase. If these stories are read together as a complement to one another, it is possible to see the process of maturity of the apprentice Nick Adams. The stories move chronologically through his youth

[17] Even though Earl Rovit wrote the biography in English, the book referenced in this thesis is the version of the original text translated into Spanish by Alicia McGaw and published by Fabril Editora.

years and early manhood until the years after World War I. In “The End of Something,” Nick faces his first breakup. In “Three-Day Blow,” he tries to reconnect with his ex-girlfriend, and in “The Battler,” Nick leaves his hometown to live an adventure while facing the hurdles of getting by on his own. In “A Soldier’s Home,” he is already coming back (supposedly from the war) and tries to find a place in his hometown, while in “Big Two-Hearted River,” Nick tries to overcome the nightmares of the war by being in touch with nature. The hero has paid its toll on his call for adventure and tries to make sure that he does not go mad after the war experience. “Now I lay me,” published in *Men Without Women,* casts a retrospective light on the previous fishing trip, which became the synonym of escaping from a nightmare. This shows that most of Hemingway’s stories are continued, in the sense that he has a habit of returning to the same themes, each time making them a little clearer.

By building up stories that develop into others that complement the previous ones, some scholars pointed out that Hemingway followed the steps of other authors, like James Joyce and Sherwood Anderson. James Joyce’s *Dubliner* also starts with a boy witnessing death, then charts the passage from youth to adolescence to married life. For John Beal, this is also what Hemingway seems to be doing with Nick Adams’s story:

> Hemingway’s collage of stories and chapters—jumping from Michigan to Fossalta to Padua to Oklahoma to Kansas City to Italy to Spain to Boston and France to Spain back to Italy and so on and finally to Greece— resembles the jarring movements around Dublin in the ‘Wandering Rocks’ chapter of Joyce’s Ulysses. Hemingway’s jarring transitions from place to place between the stories and the chapters is the result of a deliberate and careful ordering of his collection. (70)

The hero as an apprentice is also the focus of both novels from the first period. Daiker contends that the whole book *The Sun Also Rises* is about the learning process that Jake Barns

experiences, the Hemingway hero's journey. Throughout the book, he has been an apprentice: he learns about bullfighting by reading the newspapers, going to Pamplona every year, and being friends with the aficionados like Montoya. The ending of the book is a celebration of Jake's learning.

The final paragraphs show that he internalized the lessons he had learned from Pedro Romero. Following Romero's example, he is in control of things now. In the final scene where Jake and Brett leave the restaurant, it is Jake who tells the taxi driver where to head to – not Brett as in other moments in the book. Daiker summarizes: "In Paris Brett had made Jake cry and beg, in Pamplona she had made him act immorally, but in Madrid Brett no longer exerts control over Jake" (81). Jake has learned his lesson.

The hero Nick Adams, or the figure of the receptor, is an identity that corresponds to a projection of Hemingway himself, as many scholars sustain. Nevertheless, it seems that literature is not the only format through which he tackles the role of the apprentice. Hemingway decisively built stories around this archetype in journalism, too – sometimes taking on this role himself. We will see these connections in the next chapter, in which we attempt to examine how Hemingway's journalism and literature were so closely connected in his early years.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST PERIOD

In the preface of the book *Dateline: Toronto*, which collects all Ernest Hemingway's stories of his four years working for the Toronto Star group, editor Charles Scribner Jr. touches on an important point. As a long-time friend of Hemingway's and the main editor of his fiction for over three decades, the publisher reminds readers that Hemingway did not write news articles as works of literature. However, Scribner Jr. emphasizes, "he wrote so well that some of his journalistic pieces can stand on an equal footing with his literary work" (xxvii).

In his late years, Hemingway would feel infuriated if his dispatches were even slightly correlated to his novels and stories. In a letter written in 1951 to Charles Fenton, the writer reminisces about his apprenticeship in the news-making world with the following words, transcribed by Ronald Weber, in *Hemingway's Art of Non-Fiction*: "I never considered journalism as of any permanent value or in any way connected with my serious writing, except as an apprenticeship. It was a way to earn a living while I learned to write and, later, to make a living while I wrote" (8).

This statement shows that Hemingway was interested in writing in terms of permanent value – the opposite idea of journalism, for him a transitory occupation to make a living. Nevertheless, one clear indication of journalism's influence is that Hemingway himself transformed some of his reporting accounts into literature. The scholarship devoted to analyzing these connections found out that his early journalism assignments served as the base for some of his fiction. Charles Fenton asserts that the short stories "A Pursuit Race" and "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen" are heavily based on Hemingway's duties in his first job as a police reporter for *The Kansas City Star*.

Other parallels can be drawn between Hemingway's pieces for the *Toronto Star* and

his early short stories. The article “Plain and Fancy Killings, $400 Up,” which describes Chicago’s underground assassination business, pairs with one of Hemingway’s most riveting short stories, “The Killers.” Finally, the short story “On the Quay at Smyrna” is loosely based on Hemingway’s journalistic coverage of the Greco-Turkish war's aftermath, between October and November of 1922.

Therefore, despite the difference in nature of literary and journalistic writings, it is evident that the boundaries between fiction and journalism were more than once trespassed by Hemingway. Scholars seem to agree with Elizabeth Dewberry’s observation that “Hemingway tends to blur distinctions between fiction and literature” (16). In this chapter, we want to examine in greater detail how the connections between these two fields played out in his career. To accomplish that, we will analyze some of the stories written by Hemingway for newspapers in the decade of 1920 and contrast them with his production in fiction. Our aim is to compare the two sides of his life in the early years.

In literature, Hemingway’s first phase started in 1923, with the publication of the first fiction book, *in our time,* and continued throughout the decade of 1920. In journalism, this period started some years earlier. By the time his first fiction book came out, he had already been working for newspapers for around six years. So, if a timeline for Hemingway’s first phase in journalism is to be drawn, it would officially start in1917, the year when he landed in *The Kansas City Star*’s newsroom. However, the period was left out of the present discussion because Hemingway’s articles in the seven-month stint at the newspaper were not bylined. Only twelve of them were identified and published in the book *Ernest Hemingway, Cub Reporter,* edited by Matthew J. Bruccoli in 1970.

Our analysis will focus on Hemingway’s production for the Toronto group’s newspapers, the *Star Weekly* and the *Daily Star* between 1920 and 1924. When he started working for the Toronto group, Hemingway was completely unknown, but his constant

presence in the Canadian press soon made his name rise to prominence. In four years, the young reporter published 172 stories dispatched from Canada and Europe. These articles provide the journalistic material used for our analysis.

Hemingway's news stories as a reporter in his 20s ranged from funny sketches of ordinary life to first-hand accounts of a foreign correspondent in post-war Europe. Despite this intense and diversified production, some of the topics approached by him as a reporter are the same as those he used to write his literature. Therefore, to compare Hemingway's works, we will divide the analysis by resorting to the recurrent topics from his journalism and literature. We found four significant points of comparison: the importance of money, the Lost Generation, the connection with nature and fishing, and politics.

We will examine where these topics approached by Hemingway in journalism and literature during a similar timeframe share a path in common or are divergent. The mere fact that the subject of some news stories and fiction coincide is already a sign that Hemingway's paths in journalism and literature have always run in parallel, and at times intercepted each other.

4.1 The value of money

Happiness, joy, and ecstasy come with a price. Throughout his fiction, but especially in the first phase of his literary writing, Hemingway continuously – and not subtly – makes this statement. Nowhere else in his literature is this position more evident than in the book *The Sun Also Rises*. What apparently could be seen as a secondary topic is, in fact, central to the story. The relationship between the main character and other secondary or anonymous characters is heavily based on money. From the one franc that protagonist Jake Barnes gives a waiter to the 10,000 dollars that count Mippipopolous offers Lady Brett to spend a weekend with him in Biarritz, there are no less than thirty sequences where characters give money in exchange for having something done or receiving something in return.

Moreover, there are particular scenes in which the author makes references to the price of things. Filling two wine skin bottles during the fiesta of San Fermines? Eight pesetas (*The Sun Also Rises* 160).[18] The price of a taxi ride from San Sebastian to Bayonne? Two hundred pesetas (*SAS* 235). A room at an inn in the city of Burguete during the summer? Twelve pesetas. (*SAS* 115) Hemingway's decision to keep these details in the text after eliminating 40,000 words from the original version is a strong indication that finance plays an essential role in this particular story. In the insightful article "Hemingway's Morality of Compensation," Scott Donaldson argues that finance is a metaphor that "runs through the fabric of his first novel like a fine, essential thread" (400).

A more exhaustive analysis of the novel allows us to see that most characters are defined based on their attitude towards money – a word that appears 56 times throughout the 127-page book. Their descriptions are usually given along with their financial situation. Readers end up knowing that Robert Cohen has got "plenty of money" (*SAS* 18), that Lady Brett "has so much money now" (*SAS* 85), and that her mother "put all her money into French war bonds" (*SAS* 56). It is also stated that "Michael's people have loads of money" (*SAS* 70), that Bill "made a lot of money on his last book" (*SAS* 76), and that protagonist Jake at some point prayed that he would make a lot of money (*SAS* 103). In fact, Hemingway reveals more about his character's economic conditions than their appearance. This is the reason why Donaldson posits that

> the book would be far more useful to the loan officer of a bank than, say, to the missing person's bureau, which would have little more physical information to go on, concerning height, weight, hair, and eye color . . . When Hemingway cut 40,000 words out of the first draft of *The Sun Also Rises* but retained these

[18] For concision *The Sun Also Rises* will be abbreviated as *SAS* in the references in parenthesis.

> ubiquitous references to the cost of things, he must have kept them for some perceptible and important artistic purpose (402).

Hemingway's insistence that everybody needs to earn their money and pay for what they get is in no way a stance in favor of materialism. His comments on money are often accompanied by criticism and disgust towards the corrupting values of the commercial world. The merchants in Pamplona double their prices during the fiestas of San Fermin, the cafés in Paris are likened to "a battleship stripped for action, only interested in the tourists' money," (*SAS* 157) and nearly blind bullfighter Pedro Romero is forced to fight because the promoters who have paid him do not want to lose money.

The contempt and irony continue as the description of places, cities, and people include the relationship of those places with money. At some point, protagonist Jake Barns shows this feeling towards French people when he says: "Everything is on such a clear financial basis in France. It is the simplest country to live in. No one makes things complicated by becoming your friend for any obscure reason. If you want people to like you have only to spend a little money" (*SAS* 237).

While Hemingway states that everything is "on such a clear financial basis in France," it could also be possible to raise the question of why everything is on such a clear financial basis with his writing. It is interesting to see that money and the morals behind it are also the underlying subject of many journalistic stories from Hemingway's early career. From one of the first articles bylined for the *Daily Star*, where the reporter shows how to get a shave for free, the monetary value of things would be used profusely in Hemingway's journalism in the early 1920s.

There are 24 stories whose primary background is money and finance, such as the ones he wrote on the economic conjuncture in some European countries. One of such stories is "Germans Are Doggedly Sullen or Desperate Over the Mark," published on September 1, 1922,

and portrays the devaluation of the country's currency. This depreciation allowed many Canadians and Americans, such as the bohemian writers from the Lost Generation, to live in Europe with very little money. "Four of us stayed four days in a Freiburg hotel, and the bill amounted to 2,200 marks, or about 20 cents a day apiece. The terrific taxes that you read so much about totaled less than 15 cents on the entire stay. Tips are included," details the reporter giving a real example of how advantageous the exchange rate was (*Dateline* 195).

The price of services and products were introduced in no fewer than 93 of the 172 stories published for the *Toronto Star* group. In the story "A Canadian With One Thousand a Year Can Live Very Comfortably and Enjoyably in Paris," from February 4, 1922, he gives a detailed explanation of the cost of living in the French capital:

> Soup costs sixty centimes and a fish is 1.20 francs. The meals are roast beef, veal cutlet, lamb, mutton and thick steaks served with potatoes prepared as only the French can cook them. These cost 2.40 francs an order. Brussel sprouts in butter, creamed spinach, beans, sifted peas, and cauliflower vary in price from forty to eighty-five centimes. Salad is sixty centimes. Desserts are seventy-five centimes and sometimes as much as a franc. Red wine is sixty centimes a bottle and beer is forty centimes a glass. (*Dateline* 88)

Hemingway also devoted a whole chronicle about the importance of tipping right when you need to have a service done in Spain. The story "How'd You Like to Tip Postman Every Time?" has a light-hearted tone and starts with the punch line: "Tipping the postman is the only way to insure (sic) the arrival of your letters in certain parts of Spain" (Dateline 106). Then the reporter continues saying that if you tip the postmen a little more than expected, he will give you a second letter that he was hiding, intending only to deliver it the next day so he could be tipped again. He concludes: "If you have been in Spain long enough you will be able

to hang on to your temper. It is the climate that does it, they say. The climate is so soft and gentle that it makes it seem not worthwhile to kill the postman. Life is mellow in Spain" (106).

Tipping and bribing seemed to be essential in Hemingway's texts both as a reporter and as a writer. In *The Sun Also Rises,* there are several passages where Jake Barns is tipping people: he tips waiters, concierges, postmen. "Next morning, I tipped everyone a little too much at the hotel to make more friends and left on the morning train for San Sebastian. At the station, I did not tip the porter more than I should because I did not think I would ever see him again." (*SAS* 237).

Other stories from the literature in the first phase also depict characters giving money. In the novel *A Farewell to Arms,*[19] the examples abound in which Frederic Henry uses the monetary exchange to get something in return. Apparently, the standard tipping rate for him was ten *lire*: the sentence "I gave him a ten-lira note" is used three times in the book. He gave this amount of money to a porter to find him a place on a crowded train (*FTA* 143), to another porter to keep his mouth closed (*FTA* 213) and finally to another one who brought him an umbrella (*FTA* 237). On many other occasions, he appears giving or betting money.

A relevant point to note is that money is frequently used to create dramatic tension in *A Farewell to Arms*. It was a key element, for example, during Frederic and Catherine's fleeing from Italy to Switzerland. In their escape, Frederic felt he needed money to compensate his alibies for their help. The moral duty of rewarding good work also occupied Frederic Henry's mind after being hurt and hauled to a hospital in Milan. When he was taken into the emergency room, he could not move to reach out for his pocket. However, he was thoughtful enough to give clear instructions to reward the man who helped carry him to the hospital: "'There is money in my pocket,' I said to the porter. 'In the buttoned-down pocket.' The porter took out

[19] For concision *A Farewell to Arms* will be abbreviated as *FTA* in the references in parenthesis.

the money. The two stretcher-bearers stood beside the bed holding their caps. 'Give them five lire apiece and five lire for yourself'" (*FTA* 76).

The insistence on raising the topic of money so frequently in the first phase could be rooted in Hemingway's upbringing. In his 20s, the influence of his parents' education and his community were still very deeply etched in his personality. As Donaldson argues in "Morality of Compensation," it is reasonable to think that being brought up in a Christian neighborhood and in a Protestant family influenced this perspective on the financial value of things.

> Hemingway carried with him always an inheritance from the community where he grew up, a faith in the efficacy and staying power of certain moral values. Strongest among these was the axiom that you had to earn your happiness, though the price might come exceedingly high, with its corollary that easy money could ruin a man. (420)

Interestingly, the news articles that have money as a background sometimes contained a satirical tone that was not often seen in Hemingway's literary writing. In one of the Toronto stories, Hemingway depicts a reporter's life struggles with barely any money. He starts the story "No Danger of Commercial Tie-Up Because Men Carry Too Much Money" mentioning a study carried out by a car company stating that factory employees carried 28.50 dollars in their pockets on average. The reporter went on comparing the factory people with newspapermen. According to Hemingway's ironic estimate, reporters only carried 2.85 dollars – one-tenth of that amount. Except if newspaperman was a cub reporter: in that case, one would find nothing but an extensive collection of clippings. Hemingway ironically wraps up the story: "When the police find a body with a pocket full of clippings, they know it is either a reporter or an actor. As reporters never die, it is always an actor" (*Dateline* 61).

4.2 The Lost Generation

The first period of Hemingway's writing coincided with the general disillusion after World War I. One of the fiction works that most successfully expressed this discontent is the book *The Sun Also Rises*. The group of expatriate friends living in Paris, setting off on a journey to see the fiesta of San Fermin while trying to adapt to a world of peace, epitomizes that feeling.

The first draft of *The Sun Also Rises* had a completely different development from the story finally published. It was written in a week, after Hemingway himself attended the fiesta of San Fermin in 1925, and the memories were still fresh on his mind. Upon scrutinizing the manuscripts that were the genesis of the book, Frederic Svoboda says that the 32-page beginning that was later eliminated resembles something "very close to journalism, if not a completely journalistic account of Hemingway's 1925 trip to Spain" (8). Hemingway himself acknowledged the fact that real events inspired the plotline of the book. However, with his first novel, he wanted to pave his way in literature and knew that this would not be possible if the book had been written merely as a journalistic-like account of the situations.

Hemingway would work intensely editing the first draft and ended up leaving many parts out to make it more fictional. Scholars seem to agree that his editing was so intense that what was published as fiction, in the end, could not be compared to journalism. Svoboda writes: "If a certain trip to Pamplona helped to provide a framework for that fiction, that is all well and good. But the framework was altered and adapted as the novel took shape, and the fictional creation was thus distanced from the historical/journalistic fact" (10).

Still, many aspects of the novel are recognized as deriving from real life. *The Sun Also Rises* is a *román a la clef*, a type of romance in which real people or actual events appear under disguise. One of the best works that try to separate the facts from the fiction in *The Sun Also Rises* was carried out by professor Bertram D. Sarason back in the early 1970s. The five years spent tracing back and interviewing the still-living prototypes and analyzing long-forgotten

records resulted in the book *Hemingway and The Sun Set*. Sarason's work offers a list of the novel's characters and their real-life counterparts while shining light into Hemingway's writing technique.

The main character, Jake Barnes, is Hemingway's alter ego. Bill Gordon was modeled upon humorist Donald Ogden Stewart. Heroin Brett Ashley was inspired by British socialite Lady Duff Twysden and Robert Cohn by writer and magazine editor Harold Loeb. Pedro Romero was modeled after Cayetano Ordóñez, known as "Niño de la Palma." The relationship between the fictional characters and the real people would cause some trouble to Hemingway, as some situations in the book were quickly recognized by the ones involved in them. One of such examples is when Lady Duff Twysden and her lover, Pat Guthrie, did not have enough money to pay the hotel bill, and the humorist Donald Ogden Stwart had to pitch in – a scene that is described in the book.

Regardless of how much the book was slightly or heavily inspired by reality, the fact is that through Hemingway's ingenious creativity, this fictional novel was able to capture the essence of a whole era. *The Sun Also Rises* epitomizes the general sentiment of disillusionment that the post-war generation was experiencing. The depressing feeling of aimlessness and nothingness is present in the book through the never-ending partying routine of gambling and drinking, escaping and hiding, loving and hating. At one point, Jake Barns tries to explain the general sense of ailment that his friends and himself were feeling: "Going to another country doesn't make any difference. I've tried all that. You can't get away from yourself by moving from one place to another. There's nothing to that" (*SAS* 6). In another moment, in a cab, with her eyes closed, heroin Brett says: "Oh, darling, I've been so miserable" (*SAS* 13). However, neither of them ever explains what the real cause of their sorrow is.

The characters of *The Sun Also Rises* (or, better, Hemingway) express the resentment of a generation that was not only lost in the sense of not having direction but also in the sense

of experiencing its share of loss. Because of the war, that generation experienced the loss of the previous world order, the loss of people, the loss of the codes of life. When putting into words the deepest feelings of nothingness, Hemingway created characters that were the most realistic – and not the most caricatured – version of the people.

In the book *The Critical Reception of Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises*, Peter Hays reviews the six decades of criticism of the novel. The scholar says that there was a divide between

> those who were disgusted by what they saw as sleazy, immoral characters and those impressed by his prose in portraying those characters . . . Remarks about *The Sun Also Rises* were initially bundled with reviews of other books, with comments generally split between condemnation of content or praise for Hemingway's style, with the comments on content usually regarding the surface of the novel only. (9-13)

As decades passed, new layers of meanings were brought up with academic debates regarding the novel's psychoanalytical subtext, its fluid sexuality, its influences, and its racial and ethnic constructions. Regardless the approach, scholars have recognized that the bohemian Lost Generation depicted in the book redefined United States culture at home and abroad.

In Hemingway's journalism, the depiction of the Lost Generation and the expatriate life is not nearly as deep or thorough as in his literature. The impact of the post-world war on the people is poorly reduced to a handful of shallow pieces. If we were to understand the Lost Generation through Hemingway's journalistic account of Paris of the 1920s, we would fall short to find significant expressions of this generation's disillusionment. Most chronicles that addressed expatriates' situation in Paris merely expose some aspects of their lives, without giving out context or details.

In these articles we find, for example, the hurdles that an American expatriate faced by living in Paris, the costs of living in the capital of France, or the "boorishness" of Parisians, which could be best seen on a bus: "You rise in a bus to offer a lady your seat, and a walrus-mustached Frenchman plops into it, leaving you and the lady standing. If you say anything to him, he will roar something like this at you: 'Eject me if you dare'" (*Dateline* 136).[20] As compelling or entertaining as these stories might be, they do not seem to address a generational issue. They were written in the 1920s but could as well have been penned at any other given point of the 20th century.

"American Bohemians in Paris: a Weird Lot," published on March 25, 1922, is the only article that Hemingway very briefly touches upon the Lost Generation. The text gives a scathing picture of the crowd that attended get-togethers at the Café Rotonde, the artists' and foreigners' meeting point. "You can only see a certain number of individuals at the Rotonde on one night. When you have reached your quota you are quite aware that you must go," says Hemingway (*Dateline* 114). The reporter goes on and talks about the types of people that one could find at the Rotonde. As a journalist, Hemingway chooses to portray the people in the story in a caricatured, laughable fashion. This is how he describes this woman, supposedly an American painter who had arrived in Paris three years before with her husband.

> For the first dose of Rotonde individuals you might observe a short, dumpy woman with newly blond hair, cut Old-Dutch-Cleanser fashion, a face like a pink enameled ham and fat fingers that reach out for the long blue silk sleeves of a Chinese-looking smock. She is sitting hunched forward over the table, smoking a cigarette in a two-foot holder, and her face is absolutely devoid of any expression. (*Dateline* 115)

[20] The story "French Politeness" was published in the *Toronto Star Weekly* on April 15, 1922.

The reporter explains that her husband went back to the United States, and she remained in Paris, hanging around cafés and trying to do some painting. The woman (Hemingway never mentions her name) is sitting surrounded by three young men, who laugh whenever she does. When it is time to go, she is the one who picks up and pays the tab.

With these caricatured versions of Café Rotonde's habitués, Hemingway speaks up against the foreigners (like Hemingway himself) who came to Paris with a somewhat stable financial condition to become artists. He states that these wannabe artists are pretentiously trying to show something that they do not have.

> You can find anything you are looking for at the Rotonde – except serious artists. The trouble is that people who go on a tour of the Latin Quarter look in at the Rotonde and think they are seeing an assembly of the great artists of Paris. I want to correct that in a very public manner, for the artists of Paris who are turning out creditable work resent and loathe the Rotonde crowd . . . They are nearly all loafers expending the energy that an artist puts into his creative work in talking about what they are going to do and condemning the work of all artists who have gained any degree of recognition. By talking about art they obtain the same satisfaction that the real artist does in his work. That is very pleasant, of course, but they insist upon posing as artists (*Dateline* 115).

Hemingway wrote at least a dozen pieces from Paris and about the city's atmosphere while living in the country as a correspondent. While they do offer an instant snapshot of that time, they fail to picture the dissatisfaction and the aimlessness of the Lost Generation. If one of *The Sun Also Rises*'s most outstanding achievements was to describe the feeling of a generation in a realistic tone, Hemingway's reporting swerved towards a different direction. It gives a flat, one-dimensional perspective of 1920s' Paris and describes people in a caricatured form.

Fishkin argues that the reason for these nuances lies in the diverging natures of journalism, designed to be objective, and literature, focused on the complexity of the human experiences. The scholar posits:

> Where the formulaic newspaper story allowed the reader to distance himself from the people about whom he read, the poem or novel encouraged emotional intimacy with them . . . While the journalism implicitly reaffirmed the reader's familiar habits of thought and categories for understanding the world, the imaginative writing challenged those habits and categories and urged him to try on unfamiliar perspectives . . . While the journalist could hope, at best, to shape the reader's view of a specific phenomenon or event, the imaginative writer aspired to nothing less than transforming the reader's way of seeing. (9)

Depicting familiar archetypes like the rude Parisians on the bus or the wealthy wannabe American artist is a simple way of confirming the reader's views instead of transforming them, which is the power of literature.

Therefore, it can be said that Hemingway's texts were different from literature and journalism when transcribing the Lost Generation's feelings. He was far more successful in transmitting the zeitgeist, the spirit of the time, through his fictionalized characters than through journalism. Had Hemingway not become a famous writer, his pieces as a correspondent in Paris during such a decisive moment of the 20th century would have probably been forgotten and never recovered.

4.3 Nature and fishing

Hemingway's passion for activities that involved nature – such as fishing, camping, and hunting – is a well-known side of his character. Among all sports, fishing is the one that is most connected to his writing. Most of Hemingway's best fishing was not in rivers but in books. It is not an exaggeration to say that Hemingway's literary career begins and ends with stories

on fishing: “Big-Two Hearted River” was one of the first most influential short stories, and his last fictional novel, *The Old Man and the Sea,* is a fable of a fisherman. In a letter to his friend F. Scott Fitzgerald, Hemingway once told that his idea of heaven would be “a big bullring in which he owned two *barrera* seats, with a trout stream outside that no one else was allowed to fish” (*Selected Letters* 165).

In fact, the general rules of fishing are notably correlated with the principles that guide Hemingway’s writing: to catch a good fish and to write a good text, discipline, self-control, skill, and endurance are necessary. Gregory S. Sojka devoted an entire book to look into the connection between Hemingway’s writing and fishing. In *Ernest Hemingway: The Angler as Artist,* he asserts that the fictional episodes involving fishing “elevate fishing beyond a mere sport or leisure activity to an important exercise in ordering and reinforcing an entire philosophy and style of life” (xi).

The first phase of Hemingway’s literature is marked by one modality of the sport: trout fishing. This specific activity, which is lonelier and done in rivers, appears in three short stories from the first period, all of them involving the hero Nick Adams: “Now I Lay me,” and “Big-Two Hearted River,” parts I and II. Fishing also plays a fundamental role in the character’s search for meaning in the novel *The Sun Also Rises*. When Jake Barnes goes fishing, he is going after the necessary respite among nature that he had not been able to find in the lively Paris.

Going fishing and being in contact with nature plays a symbolic role in Hemingway’s early literature: it allows characters to heal their wounds or overcome, in the case of Nick Adams, their war trauma. After the 1920s, however, Hemingway barely wrote anything else about trout fishing. In 1928, he lived in Key West for the first time and would then start writing about sea fishing.

It is no surprise that some of Hemingway's early journalistic writing also touches upon river fishing. Between 1920 and 1923, he wrote eight articles on the topic, five of them from Canada and three of them from Europe, where he gives a first-hand account of how it is like to fish in places like the Rhône Canal and Spain. Since all these news pieces preceded his first short story on fishing, it can be said that the journalistic articles served as the base for the literature he would later write on fishing. It is possible to see that the first five fishing and camping experiences depicted in journalism are the genesis of some of the short stories produced in this period.

One of Hemingway's news writing, "When You Camp Out, Do It Right," published in the *Star Weekly* on June 26, 1920, offers foresight into the first section of "Big Two-Hearted River." The reportage is a manual on how to survive in the woods, and it is aimed at the readers who will "go into the bush this summer to cut the high cost of living" (*Dateline* 44). In both journalism and literature, Hemingway talks about the task of finding a spot to set up camp for the night. This is how he describes it in journalism:

> In a succession of one-night camps on a canoe trip all you need is level covers under you. Take twice as much cover as you think that you will need, and then put two-thirds of it under you. You will sleep warm and get your rest. When it is clear whether you don't need to pitch your tent if you are only stopping for the night. Drive four stakes at the head of your made-up bed and drape your mosquito bar over that, then you can sleep like a log and laugh at the mosquitoes. (*Dateline* 45).

In the short story "Big Two-Hearted River," however, there is less space devoted to finding a place to set up a tent: "Nick dropped his pack and rod-case and looked for a level piece of ground. He was very hungry and he wanted to make his camp before he cooked. Between two jack pines, the ground was quite level. He took the ax out of the pack and chopped

out two projecting roots. That leveled a piece of ground large enough to sleep on" (*The First Forty-Nine Stories* 191-192).

Cooking in the woods is another relevant part of the instructional script provided by journalist Hemingway to his readers. It makes up to almost two-thirds of the text. In the news article, he gives detailed instructions on how to best cook a trout. He continues teaching to make a good coffee, a pie and pancakes:

> With the prepared pancake flour you take a cupful of pancake flour and add a cup of water. Mix the water and flour as soon as the lumps are out and it is ready for cooking. Have the skillet hot and keep it well greased. Drop the batter in and as soon as it is done on one side loosen it in the skillet and flip it over. Apple butter, syrup or cinnamon and sugar go well with the cakes. (*Dateline* 46).

The instructional tone regarding cooking in the woods is also observed in the second part of "Big-Two Hearted River," in which some of the elements of the news article are also present. The story starts with Nick Adams waking up and preparing breakfast. He has a similar recipe for pancakes, and curiously he also prefers one of the toppings that Hemingway had recommended in the news story, the apple butter. In the fictional story, the importance of greasing the pan is also highlighted:

> Rapidly he mixed some buckwheat flour with water and stirred it smooth, one cup of flour, one cup of water. He put a handful of coffee in the pot and dipped a lump of grease out of a can and slid it sputtering across the hot skillet. On the smoking skillet he poured smoothly the buckwheat batter. It spread like lava, the grease spitting sharply. Around the edges the buckwheat cake began to firm, then brown, then crisp. The surface was bubbling slowly to porousness. Nick pushed under the browned under the surface with a fresh pine chip. He shook the skillet sideways and the cake was loose on the surface. I won't try and flop

> it, he thought. He slid the chip of clean wood all the way under the cake, and flopped it over on to its face. It sputtered in the pan.
>
> When it was cooked Nick regreased the skillet. He used all the batter. It made another flapjack and one smaller one. Nick ate a big flapjack and a smaller one, covered with apple butter. (*The First Forty-Nine Stories 199)*

Other details make Hemingway's reporting and fiction look similar. When Nick Adams goes fishing, for example, the temperature is very tangibly indicated through the character's immediate perception, as in the second part of "Big Two-Hearted River": "It was getting hot, the sun hot *on the back of his neck*" (*The First Forty-Nine Stories 205)*. In the story "There Are Great Fish in The Rhone Canal," written in the first person, the reporter states the temperature in a very similar way: "In the afternoon a breeze blows up the Rhone valley from Lake Geneva. Then you fish upstream with the breeze at your back, *the sun on the back of your neck...*" (*Dateline* 169).

While the stories about fishing in literature and journalism hold similitudes on the surface, there are quite a few aspects that make them very different. In the stories written for the newspapers, Hemingway had recently experienced a fishing trip, and the texts display his memories. Whereas in his fiction, Hemingway practices what Stephen Tanner calls "creative remembering." While remembering – which Hemingway used in his journalism – is a passive activity, the exertion of creative remembering is an "imaginative activity meant to be shared with others" (90). When distancing from journalism to produce fiction, Hemingway diverted from putting into the text what he *remembered* to put into words what he *created*. He moved from writing as a commercial purpose to writing with artistic aspirations. This demanded from him, in Tanner's view, a much "slower, deeper, imaginative remembering – remembering as searching, finding, synthesizing, and enhancing" (90).

The fishing trips described in Hemingway in literature were written with geographical and timely distance from the actual landscapes. The river that Nick Adams fishes is located in Midwestern America, but the text was written in Paris. Yet, due to Hemingway's ability to transform his memories and put his imagination into words, these texts ended up being more powerful, enduring, and well-thought than the pieces from the newspaper. Hemingway manages to picture such a real countryside that the readers feel like they are walking around it. Tanner sustains that, "Hemingway's trout fishing in Paris was a process of moving from having memories to creative remembering. This transition is the essential subject of *A Moveable Feast* and the energizing force propelling his shift from journalism to fiction" (90).

The two fictional short stories that have fishing trips as a background are acted out almost as healing rituals in which Nick Adams tries to expel the haunting nightmares of the war. In "Now I Lay Me," he dreams of a river, and in "Big Two-Hearted River," it is hard to distinguish whether the hero is walking in a real or dreamed forest. What we do know is that the fishing trip is the amicable background against which the process of healing takes place. A forest is a place where problems do not represent a burden, where obstacles can be overcome, and where he can enjoy the feeling of being alive again after the horrors of the war. As stated in the previous chapter, the moments of passivity and respite where the character brings the action to a halt represent a powerful characteristic of Hemingway's early literature.

This complex creative remembering results in various layers of meanings to the story that are unimaginable in news reporting. Due to journalism's nature and how journalistic information is consumed, it is hard to imagine the fishing trips described in journalism as having the same length of depth as in literature. Even though they were written in the first person, the newspaper articles focus on the fun or practical side of fishing, and it does not manage to create – though it never had the intention to – a momentum of stillness or a memorable narrative of a fishing trip. Says Fishkin about "Big Two-Hearted River": "While

many of the scenes in this story have their roots in Hemingway's earlier articles on trout fishing, nowhere in the earlier journalism are they etched with the sharpness and clarity they manifest here, and nowhere do they achieve the significance they have here" (155).

The journalistic articles, however, do show some characteristics that could also be found in Hemingway's literature. In some of the fishing stories, the reporter built the narrative using the archetypical figure of both the "code hero" and "Nick Adams hero" explored in his literature. This happens, for example, in "Trout Fishing All Across Europe," in which Hemingway recounts that he was spending many hours trying to get fish from a river unsuccessfully. An old Italian fisherman, "with a face like a leather waterbottle" (*Dateline* 366), was passing by and explained that Hemingway was not getting any fish because he did not know how to use worms. The man had been fishing in that river for 20 years and volunteered to show the reporter how to do it:

> 'Give me the rod,' he said.
>
> He took it from me, cleaned off the fine wriggly gob of trout food, and selected one medium-sized angleworm from my box. This he threaded a little way on the number ten hook, and let about three-fourths of the worm wave free. 'Now, that's a worm,' he said with satisfaction.
>
> He reeled the line up till there was only the six feed of leader out and dropped the free-swinging worm into a pool where the water swirled under the bank.
>
> There was nothing doing. He pulled it slowly out and dropped it in a little lower down. The tip of the rod twirled. He lowered it just a trifle. Then it shot down in a jerk, and he struck and horsed out a fifteen-inch trout and sent him back over his head in a telephone-pole swing. I fell on him while he was still flopping.
>
> The old Italian handed me the rod. 'There, young one. That is the way to use a worm'. (*Dateline* 367)

Through the descriptions in the story and his character's composition, the fisherman takes on the preceptor's role, or "hero of the code." Interestingly, Hemingway calls him *Papa* – the same nickname he was referred to in his late years. The old fisherman of the story represents a character who has already learned his job and is willing to pass his knowledge on to the others, which is made clear when he says, "There, young one. That is the way to use a worm." As a reporter, Hemingway puts himself in the apprentice's role, which would be the equivalent of Nick Adams's figure, the receptor of the lesson to be learned. It is often highlighted that Nick Adams is Ernest Hemingway's alter ego. This particular news story is an indication that this is very likely to be true.

4.4 The young Hemingway and politics

Most scholars have depicted Ernest Hemingway as a writer not especially interested in politics. Jeffrey Meyers, in *Hemingway: A Biography,* says Hemingway was basically "bored of politics" (296). In *The Young Hemingway*, Michael Reynolds contends that Hemingway was "one of the least overtly political writers of his generation" (194). In *The Politics of Hemingway*, Stephen Cooper defines the author as "pragmatic and stubbornly non-ideological" (19). In the same line, in the article "Hemingway and Politics," Keneth Kinnamon persuasively argues that Hemingway had a clear position when it comes to politics: he disliked all politicians regardless of their affiliation, and he disagreed on governmental control over individuals. However, Kinnamon also adds that "from the beginning to the end of his adult life, Hemingway had deep sympathies with the left, especially the revolutionary left" (159).

Kinnamon was mostly referring to the decade of the 1930s, the period when Hemingway became outspoken about his revolutionary sentiment on behalf of the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. During this period, his dispatches, magazines, fiction, and even his only public speech were more deeply connected to politics. The topic became more present and overt in Hemingway's work as his style (and Hemingway himself) matured through the

years. In the early productions of the 1920s, however, it is hard to say Hemingway was as outspoken about politics. Neither did he seem to bear any revolutionary feelings. Foley and Gardner observe that in the novel *A Farewell to Arms*, the protagonist makes a separate peace with the war, which shows that he is not engaged in it and that "he is hardly a bearer of revolutionary change" (20).

However, it would be misleading to say that politics was absent from Hemingway's literature altogether. The reason why most critics overlook Hemingway's political influences and understate Hemingway as a political writer is that he approached the topic either in a very subtle or indirect way. That is the case of the peasant in the short story "The Old Man at the Bridge," who at some point declares: "I am without politics" (*The First Forty-Nine Stories* 85). A person's choice to "have no politics" is a statement that indicates a political position itself.

The Paris edition of *in our time* could be considered Hemingway's most political book from the first phase: one-third of the 18 vignettes tackle politics. However, due to the iceberg theory, many of the underlying political meanings are submerged in what is not stated in the text. Furthermore, Hemingway's political points of view are hardly ever expressed. Even when politicians or people who hold positions of power are depicted in his literature, it is impossible to recognize them. Chapter 18, the last story of *in our time*, talks about a king. This is how the story goes:

> The king was working in the garden. He seemed very glad to see me. We walked through the garden. This is the queen, he said. She was clipping a rosebush. Oh, how do you do, she said. We sat down at a table under a big tree and the king ordered whiskey and soda. We have good whiskey anyway, he said. The revolutionary committee, he told me, would not allow him to go outside the palace grounds. (24)

A typical example of the iceberg theory, this vignette's real story lies beneath what the words express. The fact that the revolutionary committee does not let the king out of the palace, for instance, is a sign of tension or civic unrest. The image of a queen clipping the garden symbolizes alienation of the royal family or denial of reality. Although it is not unveiled what king the story was referring to, Hemingway finishes the story revealing his country: "It was very jolly. We talked for a long time. Like all Greeks he [the king] wanted to go America" (24).

Although the story does not reveal more about the royals, Hemingway's journalism from that period could provide more clues to explain who the inspiration for the character could have been. The fictional story holds significant similitude with one of the dispatches, "King Business in Europe Isn't What It Used to Be," published in the *Star Weekly* on September 15, 1923. In the news article, Hemingway describes a conversation with an "old pal," a movie operator called Shorty. The friend tells Hemingway about the day he met George, the king of Greece. The details told by Shorty and transcribed by Hemingway are remarkably similar to the vignette: "We went for a walk around the grounds and there was the queen clipping a rosebush. 'This is the queen' said George. 'How do you do?', she said" (*Dateline* 295).

The reporter continues transcribing his conversation with Shorty, who reveals more about the scenario of his rendezvous with the king. "'The king was glad to have someone to talk to. We had whiskey and soda at a table under a big tree. (...) They wouldn't let him go outside the grounds" (*Dateline* 296). The walk, the queen's clipping the rosebush, and the whiskey and soda go hand in hand with chapter 18 from *in our time.* Finally, Shorty's account finishes in the same way as the vignette: "When I left the king said: 'Well, maybe we'll meet in the States sometime.' Like all Greeks, he wants to get over to the United States" (*Dateline* 296).

The news story seems to bring to an end the debate of who this king could be. It was King George II of Greece, who was reigning the country between 1922 and 1924. It is also clear that the fiction story did not directly happen to Hemingway, although it was written in the first person. Therefore, it can be concluded that the legacy that journalism left in Hemingway's career as a fiction writer goes far beyond influencing only his writing style. It also provided him with the experiences, resources, and much of the raw material to create his fiction. Acknowledging what Hemingway wrote as a journalist allows us to grasp his literature in a wider variety of meanings and subtexts.

4.4.1 Benito Mussolini

Hemingway did not write much about politics in his early literary years. The only two exceptions of this rule could be found in the short stories "Che ti Dice la Patria" and "The Revolutionists." Joseph Flora considers the former as Hemingway's "most political short story" and the latter "a close second" (70). "Che ti Dice la Patria" records a ten-day journey marked by bad weather, unfortunate interactions with the locals, and terrible food. It brings a denunciation of Mussolini's Fascist Italy. Foley and Gardner contend that it depicts a nation "where fascist thugs run rampant and women are forced into prostitution" (5). "The Revolutionist" presents a young Hungarian communist rebel escaping from the two years of repressive violence by counter-revolutionary soldiers in Hungary. Still, in both cases, politics is not explicitly mentioned. The political conflict is only the background that brings tension to the story.

A completely different case could be made of Hemingway's journalism. It is impossible to state that Hemingway avoided politics in his early years if we analyze his production as a journalist. During the period working for the Toronto Star media group, almost half of his articles were political in nature. The presence of politics in Hemingway's journalistic texts was more visible when he was sent off to cover international summits like the Lausanne

Peace Conference or to report from places in conflict, such as the unrest in Ruhr because of the conditions of the Versailles Treaty.

Hemingway also wrote profiles on political figures such as Benito Mussolini, Georges Clemenceau, and Georgy Tchitcherin, while other important figures of that time, such as Lenin, Trotsky, Eamon de Valera, and various others are also mentioned. Kenneth Kinnamon assesses that "Torontonians who read his dispatches to the *Star* regularly received a good education in some of the issues and personalities of contemporary European politics" (151).

When writing about politics, Hemingway does not mention his political stands forthrightly. But he is fairly outspoken on the topic, which can sound surprising because of the neutrality journalists should have. Hemingway builds sentences that incentivize people to create a positive or negative attitude towards a political character. This is how he started the article on Raymond Poincaré's first steps as the prime minister of France in January 1922: "No matter what your political views may be, it is impossible not to admire the way ex-President Raymond Poincaré, newly appointed prime minister of France, is administering his government" (*Dateline* 107).[21] As we can see, the reporter's first statement leads the reader to create a positive image of the politician. Had he not want to make this point clear, he could have simply mentioned what the new president was doing and leave for readers to form their own opinions. Hemingway finishes the story implying that the new president could be the medicine that would bring a cure to France's illnesses.

Journalism – and not literature – was the media through which some of Hemingway's political points of view can be noticed. Five years before the fictional story "Che ti dice la Patria," where fascism is barely referenced, Hemingway wrote about Benito Mussolini for the press in a much less subtle fashion. When the world was watching closely Mussolini's capacity

[21] The article in question was "Poincaré Making Good on Election Promises," published in the *Daily Star* on March 11, 1922.

to rehabilitate postwar Italy, Hemingway wrote "Mussolini, Europe's Prize Bluffer," published in the *Toronto Daily Star* on January 27, 1923.

At the beginning of Mussolini's profile, it is easy to see that Hemingway's points of view were not particularly hidden. They were rather explicit and the satirical tone found in the dispatches he wrote while living in Toronto can be detected again. The story starts: "If Mussolini would have me taken out and shot tomorrow morning I would still regard him as a bluff. (*Dateline* 253)"

The amount of opinion and information underlined in the first sentence shows a bold vision of a reporter interested not only in reporting but also in making a point: for Hemingway, Mussolini was a bluff. Besides, the account of details in which he presented the situation makes the reader sure that the reporter was also a witness of the events: "I tip-toed over behind him to see what book he was reading with such avid interest. It was a French-English dictionary—held upside down" (*Dateline* 255). The ironic article goes on to explain how Mussolini could represent a danger to the world. Hemingway's play of words make him indirectly call Mussolini a coward:

> Get hold of a good photo of Signor Mussolini sometime and study it. You still see the weakness in his mouth which forces him to scowl the famous Mussolini scowl that is imitated by every 19-year-old Fascisto in Italy. Study his past record. Study the coalition that Fascismo is between capital and labor and consider the history of past coalitions. Study his genius for clothing small ideas in big words. Study his propensity for dueling. Really brave men do not have to fight duels, and many cowards duel constantly to make themselves believe they are brave. And then look at his black shirt and white spats. There is something wrong, even histrionically, with a man who wears white spats with a black shirt. (*Dateline* 255)

Hemingway finishes the story by emphasizing the dangers of Mussolini in charge of impoverished Italy. “Mussolini isn’t a fool and he is a great organizer. But it is a very dangerous thing to organize the patriotism of a nation if you are not sincere.” With all the examples shown above, it can be concluded that in the early years, Hemingway was much more politically engaged and outspoken in his journalism than in his literature. In the following chapters, we will see how this and other topics developed in the second phase of his style.

PART II - THE ADULT YEARS (1932 – 1940)
Lifestyle Writer and War Correspondent

CHAPTER 5: THE WRITER IS STILL A REPORTER

The crash of the stock market in the United States at the end of the 1920s brought about a dramatic change in the world order. The four-day collapse of the American bonds was followed by a period of scarcity worldwide, with unemployment rates skyrocketing and the standard of living plummeting in both rich and poor countries. While the world submerged in the longest and deepest depressions of the 20th century, which eventually led to World War II, Hemingway's life was going through a period of intense changes too. In the personal sphere, he divorced his first wife, Hadley Richardson, and married a second time. The new spouse, Pauline Pfeiffer, was a journalist from a well-off family that he met while living in Paris. However, no event caused so much turmoil in his personal life as the suicide of his father in 1928. According to his biographers, that impacted him to such an extent that it would strongly influence the literature he wrote in the following years.

Despite the turbulence in the personal arena, Hemingway's financial and professional situation seemed to be faring much better than the bleak economic scenario forecasted for the 1930s. After publishing two successful novels and several short stories that built his fame amongst the expatriate writers in Paris, Hemingway was not an anonymous, aspirational want-to-be writer any longer. The début as a fiction writer raised his name to prominence, and by the end of the 1920s, he was no longer financially dependent on his job as a journalist. In the article "La España de Hemingway," Guy Wood assertively summarizes: "Gracias a sus éxitos

literarios y a sus esposas adineradas, Hemingway disfrutaba de una vida de película mientras que su país sufría las consecuencias del crack de Wall Street" (105). In the summer of 1928, Hemingway returned to the United States and set foot in Key West, Florida. He decided that his career as a newspaper man was over.

The commissions of a fairly successful writer coupled with the help of his well-off wife enabled Hemingway to live comfortably without having to resort to the perils of a reporter's routine. Yet, Hemingway's contributions to the press did not disappear. On the contrary, it only grew stronger. In spite of Hemingway's critical stand against the craft of journalism, he continued writing for magazines and newspapers throughout most of the 1930s. By the middle of that decade, his byline was more present in the press than ever. In any given month of 1934, for example, Hemingway's work could be read in both *Cosmopolitan* and *Esquire*. In 1937, his byline was circulating in more than 50 newspapers that subscribed to the services of the *North American Newspaper Alliance*, that hired him to cover the Spanish Civil War. In tandem with what was happening to his literature, the 1930s can be considered the second phase of Ernest Hemingway's journalism.

On this new stage, Hemingway's relationship with journalism changed considerably if compared to the early incursions in the profession. Instead of the time-consuming, current-affair-focused reporter, he became a highly-paid, sought-after journalist that was invited to contribute on special projects. Magazines and newspapers were willing to pay a good deal of money to have anything written by Hemingway, as the author's byline was a sure guarantee of sales. As a result, he became more selective of the assignments he accepted to take on. Hemingway negotiated his contributions to the media companies under very different – and much better – conditions from the ones he did back in the 1920s.

The most important of these new arrangements was to only write about what interested him. This is why in the articles bylined in the decade of 1930s, we can find a more personal

tone than the reporting from the decade before. Moreover, Hemingway was present in the media not only to report events but also to carefully create and cultivate his public persona. His monthly columns in *Esquire's* pages, for example, were usually written in the first person. He portrayed himself as a bullfighting aficionado, with a passion for hunting and fishing, as well as less conventional forms of sports such as drinking and loving. The avid adventure-seeker reporter of the 1920s turned into a self-absorbed storyteller newsman who was often the center of his own stories. Guy Wood explains:

> Durante los años treinta, la personalidad de Hemingway cambia radicalmente. Consciente de su habilidad literaria, Hemingway se esfuerza en crear una imagen pública y publicitaria de sí mismo que le va a durar el resto de su vida De ser un humilde y sensible bruto simpático, se transforma en una figura pública que arrastra una fama de mujeriego, deportista, cazador y borrachín, y todo ello encerrado en un arrogante y jactancioso 'Viva yo'. (103)

Hemingway's main works as a journalist over the 1930s can be divided into two moments. The first one started in 1932 when he was invited to be a regular contributor in the soon-to-be-launched *Esquire*. From its very first issue, the magazine gave him a column called "Letters," which he wrote from Key West, Paris, Africa, or wherever he happened to be traveling. In *Esquire*'s articles, Hemingway used the resource of chronicled texts to narrate personal situations or express his opinion on a broad range of topics. In the same text, he could meander through subjects as varied as Mussolini and sea fishing. In the three years that he wrote for *Esquire*, Hemingway would publish a total of 26 articles, among which was one of his most famous short stories, "The Snows of Kilimanjaro." [22]

[22] Two years after the publication in the magazine, the story was included in the collection *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories*. In 1961, it was one of the ten stories chosen to be republished in the collection *The Snows of Kilimanjaro and Other Stories*. Finally, in 1987 it was also included in the book *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: The Finca Vigía Edition.*

Except for this time when he sent a fictional story instead of a column, Hemingway's journalism in *Esquire* mainly consisted of personal experiences, adventures, fishing trips, and traveling. While this is barely considered hard news reporting, his presence in the magazine tuned his writing with the audience of magazine readers. Hemingway's name in the pages of the glossy every month helped him establish a new connection with his readers, especially male readers. Kevin Maier, in "Hemingway, *Esquire,* and Mass Tourism," looks over the relationship between Hemingway and the image projected in the pages of *Esquire*. The scholar reminds us that the interwar years was the experimental period for traveling that would eventually fully develop after World War II – and Hemingway seemed to be profiting from this, according to Maier:

> Hemingway was intimately aware of these cultural shifts, and his work engages these changing realities of travel . . . As men increasingly turned to *Esquire* in order to answer questions of style, Hemingway shaped American ideas about the meaning of travel and the appropriate ways to encounter other places and cultures, while reflecting key tensions and problems inherent in these new cultural exchanges. (65)

Another hallmark in the second phase of Hemingway's journalism happened towards the middle of the 1930s when he was invited to cover the Spanish Civil War for the *North American Newspaper Alliance* (referred to henceforth as *NANA*).[23] Unlike his texts for *Esquire*, Hemingway's articles for the news agency were written in what is more similar to a journalistic hard news structure. His assignments to cover the Spanish Civil War took him to Spain four times between 1937 and 1938, which resulted in the production of 31 articles. One third of the

[23] Founded in 1922 and shut down in the 1980s, the *North American Newspaper Alliance* was a syndicate that gathered 50 of the most important newspapers in the United States and Canada. Hemingway's invitation to write for *NANA* came from his friend, John Wheeler, who was the company's executive vice-president.

articles penned on the Spanish Civil War were included in the book *By-Line: Selected Articles and Dispatches of Four Decades*. This is the book that will be used as reference for the stories mentioned in this chapter.

The first time that Hemingway arrived in Spain to cover the war was February 1937. By that time, he was not just another reporter on duty being sent to the battlefields; he was Ernest Hemingway. Before his fame as a journalist came a much stronger fame of the writer, bohemian and adventurous man. In the following pages, we will explore how the status of an established writer and celebrity influenced Hemingway's production as a journalist throughout the decade of the 1930s. As we will see, this is the period that, more often than not, the news being reported became less important than the reporter himself.

5.1 The Years at *Esquire*

Hemingway's criticism of the craft of journalism was well-known. In the famous interview given to George Plimpton, he said that the "journalistic work will not harm any young writer and can even help him," as long as the aspiring writer observed an essential condition: he needed to "get out of it in time." For Hemingway, the result of staying in the profession for too long is that a reporter ends up asking "old, tired questions" and receiving "old, tired answers" (25).

The opinion that journalism could not be a lifetime profession for any writer was triggered, amongst other people, by writer Gertrude Stein. Back in 1920, when Hemingway was still working as a full-time correspondent in Paris, Stein was one of the friends who most adamantly told him to get away from journalism before it used up all the juice he needed for his fiction. Scott Donaldson, in the book *Fitzgerald and Hemingway*, says:

> Most specifically, Stein warned that the reliance of newspaper writing upon sticking to the facts might weaken one's inventive skills and that its insistence upon timeliness might lead one to rely upon a false sense of immediacy.

> Hemingway was acutely conscious of both problems, particularly the second. The difference between 'good writing' and 'reporting,' he observed in an article, was that no one would remember the reporting. (247-48)

Hemingway was conscious of the problems this would pose to such an ambitious writer as himself and renounced journalism as a career at the end of the 1920s. However, his retirement did not last long. After having announced his withdrawal from the profession, Hemingway was finally convinced to go back to journalism at the dawn of the 1930s. This time around, he would venture into the world of the monthly publications in the pages of *Esquire*, a new magazine focused on men's fashion and lifestyle. The person responsible for this journalistic comeback was editor Arnold Gingrich, who co-founded the magazine with publishers David Smart and Henry Jackson.

In the book *Nothing but People*, Gingrich unveils the backstage of *Esquire*'s launching. The publisher recollects that he had been in correspondence with Hemingway for a few months, fantasizing about the idea of bringing him to the team of the magazine. The first time he met Hemingway in person was like a scene of a second-rated romantic comedy movie: he casually ran into Hemingway at Captain Cohn House of Books, a library in New York. Gingrich reminisces:

> Quite possibly I would have been able to get Hemingway to contribute to the new magazine anyway, but meeting him then and there, just as I was setting out on my rounds to try to get material for it, made a world of difference in the ease and success of my efforts during the subsequent weeks and months of working on the first issue. He quickly agreed, at least in principle, to my suggestion that he do us some kind of sporting letter covering his different outdoor activities in the course of his travels. (86)

It is possible to understand the main reasons why Hemingway accepted Gingrich's invitation to keep one foot in journalism. The first one was essentially financial. The editor's initial offer was to pay Hemingway as much as the magazine could at the start and increase that rate as the business started making more money. After hearing Gingrich's pitch, Hemingway made a counterproposal: he wanted to get paid double of the rest of the contributors' standard rate. As the magazine became more successful and increased the average standard rate, his salary would always be double, "right away, without making me sit up and beg for it," said Hemingway (86). Gingrich accepted immediately: and that "became and remained our only deal" (86).

What is not mentioned in Gingrich's memoir is that buying a boat to go deep-sea fishing was on the top of Hemingway's bucket list at the moment. It was having this purchase in mind that he negotiated the invitation to work for *Esquire*. In *Hemingway: The 1930s,* Michael Reynolds reveals that in exchange for the travel-oriented monthly column, Gingrich paid Hemingway a "sizeable cash advance that would enable him to purchase his beloved boat, *Pilar*" (169). What Gingrich *does* state is that the amount of money given in advance was so generous that no actual transmission of funds was involved when editors received Hemingway's first columns. The payment was only "academic," and "it simply meant making another mark against an advance" (271).

Hemingway knew that, regardless of how much – or how little – the magazine paid him, he could always get much more money by selling his fiction. This is where a second and more important factor came into play when he accepted the task of writing for *Esquire* and remained in journalism. Hemingway wanted to cultivate his public persona and found no better way to do this than having a monthly column where he could make his name deeply intertwined with the world of adventure and travels.

For authors like Kevin Maier, the magazine functioned as one of the main pillars that turned Hemingway into an international celebrity in the 1930s. The articles published in the column "Letters" helped him explore his side of an adventurous man, an image that Hemingway carefully constructed through the years both through his writings and lifestyle. Maier writes:

> During this period, Hemingway transformed his persona from expatriate artist into *Papa*, a figure who first emerges in *Esquire*. While a cosmopolitan ethos is central to both figures, Papa's cosmopolitanism, unlike the exiled artist's, is more closely linked to commercialism and travel. Hemingway's 1930s approach to travel blends the rugged tradition of exploration, adventure, and sport that flourished in the 1910s under 'See America First' with the 1920s ideal of expatriate intellectualism that privileges facility with language, cuisine, history, and local customs. (68)

Some scholars contend that the decision to keep appearing in the press regularly has to do with Hemingway's enduring struggle. He wanted to be recognized in the world of arts while reaching a broad audience through the mass media. As sustains Suzanne Del Gizzo, his goal was to remain a constant trend for the taste of both the literary world and the general audience. "Hemingway's career had largely been defined by his ability to straddle the high and low literary divide; his writing accessible enough for a large public, but artful enough to merit a serious literary reputation" (8).

Another author that has touched upon Hemingway's yearning to belong to both places was Richard Bradford. In his recently released biography *The Man Who Wasn't There: A Life of Ernest Hemingway*, the scholar posits that the writer was a sort of chameleon. He could seamlessly go from the figure of a self-cultivated hero, aesthetic radical, and existential non-conformist to the figure of a selfish, hypocrite, and narcissistic person. Richard Bradford asserts

that "in truth he had no clear sense of what he wanted to write or how he might evolve a style that was an authentic reflection of his temperament – this last was difficult task since his temperament was a fabric of masks and evasions" (94).

If Hemingway's fame grew stronger during the 1930s amongst the lowbrow literary world, it was highly due to the presence of his name in the press. His appearance was not restricted to the stories that he bylined. Hemingway used the press to showcase himself and his work, and he often became the subject of the articles. It was such the case that *Vanity Fair* featured him in the magazine's "Paper Doll" section, a special collection printed throughout 1934 that featured famous world personalities portrayed by the caricature artist Alajalov.[24] The edition of March was dedicated to Hemingway, and it showed a full page of the writer dressed up as a caveman and giving readers four other options of costumes to which they could attach his head: fisherman, bullfighter, soldier, and gentleman.

Hemingway kept no secret that he enjoyed being the center of attention. In an article written for the December issue of *Esquire* of 1934, he confessed that writing about himself was an aspirational job for him. He uses a touch of irony that would be developed to its full potential in the second phase of his journalism:

> Your correspondent is an old newspaper man. That makes us all just one big family. But the bad luck for the customers is that your correspondent was a working newspaper man and as such used to envy the way columnists were allowed to write about themselves. When the papers would come over your correspondent would read a long blob-blobs by his then favourite columnist on the columnist himself, his child, what he thought and how he thought it, while on the same day your correspondent's output would be something on this order:

[24] The list of personalities in other editions of the magazine included scientist Albert Einstein, banker J.P. Morgan, and Prince Edward of Wales.

> Kemal Inwards Unburned Smyrna Guilty Greeks, sending it at three dollars a word. (*By-Line* 183)

In the almost three years of contribution to *Esquire*, Hemingway had more than enough space and time to brag about himself. Nevertheless, he remained faithful to his paramount premise on writing: one should only write about what one sees and experiences. This is the motto that drove most of the letters written for the magazine in the early 30s, where he chronicles his adventures of his own journey of the hero.

5.1.2 The 'Letters'

The invitation to have Hemingway in *Esquire*'s team and allow him to become more famous while writing about his favorite activities was obviously not only an act of generosity from the side of the powerful Hearst Company, the publishing house responsible for the title. Arnold Gingrich recognized that bringing Hemingway in was part of the business strategy to launch the magazine. In an article written for the special edition celebrating the 1000th issue of *Esquire*, Stephen Marche quotes Gingrich's words on Hemingway's importance for the foundation of the magazine: "It is not too much to say that, at the very earliest point, he was our principal asset" (121).

Editors were aware that clothing and fashion – two of the magazine's main topics – were not of much interest for most men at that time. They hoped that Hemingway's essays on hunting, fishing, and bullfighting would help bring readers in, and so would the name of other famous figures invited to write for the magazine. In the book *Esky: The Early Years at Esquire*, Hugh Merrill recounts that the inclusion of bikini-clad pin-ups advertising women alongside the work of male literary heavyweights such as Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Pound, Dos Passos,

Dreiser, and Langston Hughes would attract men's interests.[25] Merrill says that "*Esquire* was a unique mixture of the high culture of literature and the low culture of bawdy jokes" (13).

The strategy worked. During the lowest point of the Great Depression, the magazine sold half a million copies a month. Gingrich recounts that *Esquire*'s circulation climbed from modest 100,000 copies in 1933 up to 555,000 by 1936. It ended up "reaching 675,000 by the end of 1937, the best year of the recovery period that followed the Depression" (115). Considering that an average of four people usually reads a magazine, Hemingway's *Esquire* contributions could have reached an audience of over two million people every month.

Readers loved Hemingway's first-hand accounts on fishing in the Cuban seas, shooting lions in safaris in Africa, or his impressions trotting around a crowded Paris almost a decade after living there. Kevin Maier says that by traveling to where readers could not, Hemingway was acting like a bridge between the world of adventure and luxury travel and the masses. When doing so, Hemingway took advantage to exploit his own image. Maier writes:

> Insofar as Hemingway was facing the particularly modernist dilemma of balancing the high and low in his own art and life, he used Gingrich and *Esquire* much as they used him. While instructing readers about how to hunt, fish, and, importantly for our purposes, travel, Hemingway's 'Letters' marketed a particular image of masculinity that blended the ideals of the worldly man of action and the worldly man of letters. (70)

From the very first column for the *Esquire*, published in September 1933, it is possible to see that the journalism Hemingway would develop in the early 1930s would be quite different from his practices of the 1920s. The first change worth noticing is that this time around, the articles were primarily written in the first person, rendering the texts more personal

[25] The magazine titles created in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century were mostly focused on the male audience. *Esquire*'s advancement in relation to other magazines was to exploit the advertisement specifically directed to male readers – as opposed to the whole family as others did.

and direct. Hemingway chooses to refer to the reader directly as "you," and to himself as "your correspondent," which creates a sense of intimacy as if he were dialoguing with the person reading the magazine. This strategy allows him to include the readers in the scene he is describing, such as the hunting and killing of a lion in "Shootism versus Sport":[26]

> You stand up to shoot, and the lioness turns. The lion stops and looks back. You see his great head swing toward you, his mouth wide open and his mane blowing in the wind. You hold on his shoulder, start to flinch, correct, hold your breath and squeeze off. You don't hear the gun go off but you hear a crack like the sound of a policeman's club on a rioter's head and the lion is down. (*By-Line* 167)

A second stark difference from the first period is that editors would not interfere in the choice of Hemingway's reporting. This contrasts with the early years of journalism, where he often needed to follow an editor's agenda and travel to cover international conferences or conflicts. This gives space to a much more personal type of traveling in which he was often the main character. In the article "Marlin Off the Morro: A Cuban Letter," in the first edition of the magazine, Hemingway devotes six pages to talk about going deep-sea fishing to catch a marlin. The article even includes pictures of him while "fighting a white marlin," as says the cutline, proving that the journalist had become the story. [27]

In the text, Hemingway describes his first attempt to get a marlin. The following excerpt shows moments of tension during the adventure, which would mark his travel-oriented articles for *Esquire*. These tensions usually depict a man – Hemingway most of the times – fighting with nature: "The 468-pounder was hooked in the roof of the mouth, was in no way

[26] The story was published in June, 1934.
[27] The pictures can be seen in the print version of the magazine, published in September 1933. A digitalized version of the paper magazine can be found on: https://classic.esquire.com/article/1933/9/1/marlin-off-the-morro

tangled in the leader, jumped eight times completely clear, towed the boat stern first when held tight, sounded four times, but was brought to gaff at the top of the water, fin and tail out, in sixty-five minutes" (*By-Line* 144).

Another aspect that calls our attention in most of the fishing articles is that the story describes a trip that few of the magazine's readers could afford at a time when the world was trying to recover from a deep recession. This is another difference from the first period of Hemingway's journalism. In the Toronto Star's newspapers, Hemingway often wrote about fishing and fishing trips that were affordable by the Canadian middle-class readers. They were also within reach, as the trips mostly involved a short commute from the city and did not require much money. In the *Esquire*, however, his fishing trips involved more expensive logistics. He described deep-sea adventures onboard boats that could cost thousands of dollars.

Despite all these differences, some characteristics in Hemingway's style from the first period are maintained in the second. One of such traits is the pedagogical tone of teaching how to do things. As a writer and journalist, Hemingway was obsessed with knowing the mechanics of how things worked and liked to share what he had learned with the readers. In the second phase of his journalism, this pedagogical tone remains. However, while in the first phase he would instruct readers on how to trout-fish with the perfect bait, here he talks about how to fish sharks, something that few readers would ever do in their lives. Therefore, while the style remains, his journalism is distanced from the readers' routine. Who, after all, would ever get to the point where they would *have* to shoot a shark?

> If you ever have to shoot a shark, shoot him anywhere along a straight line down the center of his head, flat, running from the top of his nose to a food behind his eyes. If you can, with your eye, intersect this line with a line running between his eyes and can hit that place it will kill him dead. A .22 will kill him as dead as a .45. (*By-Line* 204)

In Hemingway's articles for the *Esquire*, it can be noticed that he maintains another feature developed in the first phase of his writing: the use of repetition. This is the opening paragraph from the column in the edition of April 1934: "To write this sort of thing you need a typewriter. To describe, to narrate, to make funny cracks you need a typewriter. To fake along, to stall, to make lights reading, to write a good piece, you need luck, two or more drinks and a typewriter. Gentlemen, there is no typewriter" (*By-Line* 161). The repetition of the word typewriter in three consecutive sentences creates a rhythm to the text. In the last sentence, which he says "there is no typewriter," gives a break to the momentum and a twist to the development of the story.

It is interesting to see that even though Hemingway had complete freedom to choose the topic of his own stories, he often reminisced about his newspaper days. These memories are mostly written with a fondness and melancholic tone, which shows once again the love-hate relationship he had with journalism. Some "Letters" provided backstage details of the news coverage done in the past. "Your correspondent at that time was running a twenty-four-hour wire service for an afternoon and morning news service under two different names and was accustomed to file his last dispatch around three a.m." (*By-Line* 229).

As a columnist, Hemingway was never required – nor wanted – to step in the magazine's newsroom. He dispatched his articles directly to the editor. According to Gingrich, he never missed a deadline, except once. For the edition of August 1936, instead of sending one of the letters, he sent a fictional piece – and this is how the short story "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" first saw the light. That would be his last contribution to the *Esquire*. Due to the short story's success, Gingrich explains that Hemingway's collaboration with *Esquire* finished "not with a whimper but with a big bang" (287). The war in Spain had broken out in mid-July that year, and "from that moment on he could think of nothing but getting sent there," reminisces Gingrich (274). The next time Hemingway's byline appeared in the press again was

to depict a much grimmer travel experience: he would report from the trenches of the Spanish Civil war.

5.2 Hemingway goes back to the front: the Spanish Civil War

The first half of the 20th century witnessed events that profoundly impacted the geopolitical order and society. The decade of the 1930s was especially crucial because it was the period between the two wars that essentially redefined the world. World War I, which brought the era of great empires to an end, had proven that the world had become much more interdependent. The events that happened in one part of the globe were more relevant than ever in another part. This was when the role of the foreign correspondents gained a whole new dimension.

In *Journalism's Roving Eye: A History of American Foreign Reporting*, John Hamilton gives a historical context to the development of North American foreign reporting since the early 18th century, when the only colonial newspaper available was the *Boston News-Letter*. In the book, the author puts particular emphasis on the decade of 1930, which he considers to be the heyday for international reporting: "The years between the two world wars were a golden age for foreign correspondence. News was momentous. News outlets were plentiful. Living costs abroad were low. In no era have so many correspondents traveled so widely and so freely, many as highly independent freelancers" (194).

Hamilton highlights that during those years, the space in the newspaper devoted to foreign affairs increased substantially. That was the result of a more demanding general audience of readers who had become more interested in world affairs. The interwar years were marked by crisis after crisis in Europe and Asia. As a consequence, a larger number of experienced, independent journalists cruised around the globe in search of stories to this audience. It was in the middle of the "golden age" for foreign correspondents that Ernest

Hemingway received a call for another adventure. This time, his mission was to go back to the front lines as a reporter in Spain.

The new incursion into the Iberian country as a journalist differed significantly from when he visited Spain as a correspondent in the previous decade. In the 1920s, the aim of the trips (there were 15 in total) was mostly recreational to watch bullfights, fish in rivers, read and write. The articles about Spain bylined in the Toronto Star group's newspapers were chronicles of these experiences. In the 1930s, the trips Hemingway took to Spain were to report a country in the middle of the most devastating episode in its recent history, the Civil War.

The country that Hemingway found in 1936 held little resemblance with the one that he remembered leaving behind almost ten years before. Spain was the stage of one of the most gruesome conflicts of the 20th century. The civil war started on July 17, 1936, when a group of the most influential generals from the Spanish army led by General Francisco Franco tried to carry out a coup d'état. What was planned to last a couple of weeks ended up with the army finding resistance throughout the country and nosediving into a civil war that lasted three years. During this time, Spain was ideologically divided by two. On the left side was the Republican group, formed mainly by the Spanish government with unions, communists, anarchists, workers, and peasants. On the right side were the Nationalists, made up by the army, the bourgeoisie, the landlords, the upper classes, and the church. When the Spanish Civil War was over, in 1939, it had wiped out more than 500,000 lives.[28]

[28] Historians have been trying to come up with the precise number of casualties during the Spanish Civil War. Most of the studies, based on the head count of the deceased in combat and attacks, project the number to be 500,000. A more recent approach proposed by demographer Jair Silvestre and José Antonio Ortega, did a different calculation. They took into consideration the official population numbers provided by the INE (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística*) and compared it with the projection of population growth expected for the war years. They projected how many people were expected to be alive by 1939 following the pre-war population growth models and compared it with how many there were. They concluded that there was an excess of 540,000 deaths during the three years that the Civil War lasted.

Therefore, Hemingway's dispatches written in that period reflect a less idyllic scenario than those he reported in the 1920s. The calm waters of the Irati river depicted in the articles from the 1920s yielded to texts that described the devastation of the besieged Madrid. The witty, humorous articles of the 1920s, such as the Spanish mailman waiting to be tipped, gave way to texts that described the horrors of women and children looking for a refuge. As a reporter, Hemingway was interested in showing the impact of the war on regular people. David Sanders explains that Hemingway's dispatches "concentrate on the feats of individuals and smaller fighting units. He is concerned with the combatant rather than the political element of the war effort" (139).

The political and emotional impacts of the war in Spain were so intense that they transcended its borders. The episode gripped attention worldwide because, for the first time in the 20th century, the entire civil population of a country was immersed in brutal combat involving modern weapons, such as airstrikes and tanks. Besides, the conflict was considered the epitome of an ideological rampage that was taking place worldwide simultaneously, with opposite ideological sides vying for power: the church versus the state, the aristocracy versus the classless, fascism versus freedom, communism versus capitalism. For all the reasons mentioned above, the conflict in Spain garnered attention from all over the world, and media outlets started sending reporters into the country. Paul Preston dedicated one of his recent works to the journalists that covered the event. In *We Saw Spain Die: Foreign Correspondents in the Spanish Civil War*, he says that nearly one thousand correspondents went to Spain during the three years that the civil war lasted.[29]

[29] Preston discloses that the numbers are taken from José Mario Armero's book *España fue noticia. Corresponsales extranjeros en la guerra civil Española*. Armero provides a compilation of 948 names of men and women who were officially registered as correspondents in the Civil War. Although many names known to have been in Spain as correspondents are missing, the list gives an indication of the proportion of foreign journalists in the country during the period.

The *North American Newspaper Alliance* was among the companies which soon grasped the importance of the war being fought. Considering the war's relevance in terms of newsworthy material, they decided to send correspondents to cover the conflict. Besides choosing some of their most outstanding reporters, the editors also decided to send off a well-known name from the literary world. Richard Freedman highlights that the news service company deemed Hemingway to be the perfect combination to take up the task of chronicling the war. Firstly, he had already displayed in-depth knowledge of Spain in the novel *The Sun Also Rises* and his non-fiction book *Death in the Afternoon*. Secondly, Hemingway was also skillful in describing military actions and people's reactions under fire, as he proved in *A Farewell to Arms*. Finally, but no less importantly, underlines Freedman, "Hemingway had behind him a highly varied and successful career as a newspaperman" (172). The mix between his literary and newspaper skills made of Hemingway such a precious gem for *NANA* that they were willing to invest money in it.

The news service wanted from Hemingway a colorful, lively and human-focused account of the tragedy, and offered him a juicy rate. Hemingway agreed to receive 500 dollars for each cable sent and 1,000 euros for every in-depth dispatch that he mailed to the newsroom – roughly one dollar per word. Other correspondents cabling the same type of news were paid one-tenth of this amount. That fact alone placed Hemingway amongst the most highly paid international correspondents covering the Spanish Civil War. In a note to its affiliate newspapers, *NANA* explained that they were sending Hemingway to cover the Spanish Civil War to get, as reveals Freedman, "both from the bombed towns and bombed trenches the human side of the war, not just an account of the game being played by general staff with pins and a map" (171).

NANA invested a significant amount of money in Hemingway to face the competition against the other news agencies, especially the colossal and powerful Associated Press.

NANA's reporters – namely Hemingway – would send dispatches with background stories as opposed to the opaque, factual, cablese coverage of other news services. The editors from the office in New York specifically asked Hemingway to focus on stories that would emphasize color instead of hard news reporting.

In spite of having received explicit orders to do vibrant reporting, Hemingway only sometimes decided to follow them. His dispatches alternated between objective reporting of events and colorful, people-focused reportage. In one story, Hemingway could examine a single subject in depth, such as the personal portrait he wrote on the chauffeurs in Madrid. In another, he could write on the development of the war in a hard-news style, such as when he went to the mountains of Guadarrama to report from the trenches. However, he would never lose touch with the subject being reported and usually included how the facts impacted the citizens' lives. The mixture between these two forms of narratives characterizes Hemingway's reporting from the Spanish Civil War, as we will see in the following pages.

5.3 The articles for the *North American Newspaper Alliance*

Hemingway boarded the transatlantic *SS Paris* bound for Europe on February 27, 1937, seven months after the start of the Spanish Civil War. Upon arriving in Spain, he held court at the Hotel Florida, in the center of Madrid. With 200 en suite rooms and one of the few inns with hot water in the city, the establishment became the headquarters for the growing number of foreign correspondents. Journalists from all over the world kept flowing into the semi-besieged Madrid after December 1936, when the city unexpectedly held out against Franco's troops. Up to that episode, the war had not received much international attention from the press. But from that moment until the final stages of the war, the Spanish capital and its anti-fascist resistance attracted a continuous flow of reporters. During that period, Hugh Thomas explains, "the greatest names in world journalism were usually to be found south of the Pyrenees" (235).

Amongst the team of foreign correspondents that were in Madrid, Hemingway was especially popular. He used to be seen at bars in and around the hotel Florida talking to the wide range of people who used it as a meeting point. Hemingway would also move around the city in search of stories. Biographer Carlos Baker explains that his acquaintance with the military figures broadened rapidly as he frequently visited the Eleventh International Brigade, primarily composed of German communists. Hemingway also had a close relationship with members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which received over 3,000 individuals from the USA who came to Spain as volunteers.

Hemingway became such a well-known figure that the *Manchester Guardian* even featured an article on him, proving that his name had acquired such a significance that he himself was considered news. The article stated that "Hemingway, with his exuberant Douglas Fairbanks laughter, loves movement, action and human courage. He takes a boy-like joy in collecting all the bits of shell that have landed in the Florida, and labels them lovingly according to the number of the room which they have wrecked" ("In Republican Spain, Life in Madrid," *Manchester Guardian*). The article described Hemingway as a man in motion and connected to action. Whether it was exaggerated or not, it undoubtedly projected an image that Hemingway was happy to cultivate throughout his life.

5.3.1 Informing and reporting

Despite the special condition of being a celebrity, Hemingway's production as a journalist was not different from any sleeves-up, hands-on, unknown reporter covering the war. He penned in total 31 stories for *NANA*. Carlos Baker, in *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story*, recounts that while aboard the ship that would take him to Spain, Hemingway gave an interview to another journalist in which he shares his intentions. Baker explains:

> Ernest submitted to an interview in which he said it was his purpose to make Americans aware of the new kind of war now being waged by Franco and his

> foreign allies . . . He planned to visit all the nearby towns to find out what the war had done to the 'little people' – waiters, cab drivers, cobblers, shoeshine boys. After that he would also tour the front lines to see what the boys are doing with the new toys they've been given since the last war. (383)

The dispatches Hemingway wrote from the Spanish Civil War could provide an objective account of the war while offering his writer's look and giving a literary tone to the conflict. The article "Shelling of Madrid," dated April 11, 1937, one of the first dispatched from Spain, is an example of this mix. Hemingway reported the combats directly from the trenches of Casa de Campo. Republican authorities allowed him to go down there and do embedded reporting, a permission that was quite unusual for them to concede. The report from Hemingway was as objective and straightforward as possible. Meanwhile, Hemingway would zoom into chilling details of the impact of the bombings.

> But in the town, where all the streets were full of Sunday crowds, the shells came with the sudden flash that a short circuit makes and then the roaring crash of granite dust. During the morning, twenty-two shells came into Madrid. They killed an old woman returning home from market, dropping her in a huddled, black heap of clothing, with one leg suddenly detached whirling against the wall of an adjoining house. (*By-Line* 267)

The powerful imagery created by the description of the woman's leg whirling against the wall shows that Ernest Hemingway proved to be a resourceful journalist when depicting the reality around him. He was particularly keen to describe what he witnessed himself. There were massive bombings over cities and towns, and Hemingway was in Madrid when the bombarding happened. Many scholars such as Baker, Fishkin, and Donaldson agree that much of Hemingway's experiences as a reporter during the war were the basis of what would later inspire his literature. Both the successful novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and the short story

series "The Fifth Column" portray fictional stories based on the Spanish Civil War. The plotline of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* takes place in the Sierra of Guadarrama, in the northwest of Madrid, where Hemingway went a couple of times during the war.

In his memoir *Bullfighter from Brooklyn,* Sidney Franklin maintains that Hemingway saw the job as a reporter as an opportunity to gather resources for his literature. "Wars definitely were what he needed to keep his writing fresh" (215). Franklin was famously known to be the first American bullfighter and was a long-time friend of Hemingway's. The retired matador traveled with Hemingway to Spain during the Civil War to help him fight not the real, but the imaginary bulls to be found outside the bullrings. Franklin says that it was his job to try to keep Hemingway out of trouble while they "cornered all the Jonny Walker in Madrid" (231).

In the book, the matador also gives an overview of the working method that enabled Hemingway to produce his best pieces from the Civil War. Franklin and Hemingway would start the day early in the morning and go to different parts of the city where significant events were taking place. They would be back at the hotel by lunchtime, and Hemingway would then write the report in longhand. Franklin would type it. After his final approval, Franklin would take it to the censors and send it off on the cable.

Dispatches from the war were usually sent in what is called "cablese" writing. To save money on the telegraph, correspondents simply dropped punctuation, connectors, or linking words. The editors in the central newsroom had the task of deciphering the messages and re-write them in standard, journalistic English. Some correspondents, like Herbert L. Matthews, from *The New York Times*, wrote their drafts directly in cablese. Others, like Hemingway, preferred to write in full English to then cable it. The contrast between what was originally written, later cabled, and finally printed was sometimes stark.

Historian William Braasch Watson looked into the original texts written by Hemingway and compared them with the cable that his editors in New York received, and then

with the dispatches that were finally printed.[30] Published in an edition of *The Hemingway Review*, Watson's work makes it possible to trace back the text's transformation from the moment it was written until it was printed. A paragraph taken from the dispatch "The Flight of Refugees," cabled from Barcelona on April 3, 1938, exemplifies these differences. The following text is what arrived at the newsroom in the United States: "twas lovely false spring when we started for front smorning stop last night incoming barcelona tad been grey and foggy and dirty and sad but today twas bright and warm and the pink of almond blossoms coloured the grey hills and brightened the dusty green rows of olive trees stop." (Watson 106).

The editors transformed the cablese format into a standard journalistic text. It was finally published as the following: "It was a lovely false spring day when we started for the front this morning. Last night, coming to Barcelona, it had been grey, foggy, dirty and sad, but today it was bright and warm, and pink almond blossoms colored the gray hills and brightened the dusty green rows of olive trees" (106).

Comparing the text that was edited and distributed by *NANA* to its associate newspapers to the original version in full text, it can be said that the general meaning of the original text remains broadly the same in terms of information. However, the editor's version did not contemplate Hemingway's rhythm. Besides, the text that was finally printed did not repeat words, a characteristic for which the author was recognized. The original text, unveiled in Watson's article also shows a cadence in the sentences that more closely resembles Hemingway's style: "It was a lovely false spring day when we started for the front this morning. Last night coming into Barcelona it had been grey *and* foggy *and* dirty *and* sad," wrote Hemingway in the original version unveiled by Watson (96).

When the language of the final text is adapted to the journalistic format, it is hard to deny that the foreign correspondent loses control over their original productions. Furthermore,

[30] The original versions of Hemingway's texts are available at the John Kennedy Library, in Boston.

newspapers and news agencies were mostly interested in the correspondents' observations more than their literary skills. Some scholars like Phyllis Frus suggest that this is why Hemingway would not accept to continue being a journalist again. "He might have felt that it was no use composing a dispatch very carefully when by the time his cable arrived in New York dozens of changes had been introduced into his text by unknown hands" (66).

After the Spanish Civil War coverage, Hemingway would take another break from journalism. During this truce, he devoted his time to organizing the material he gathered during this intense journalistic production period to write fiction and even start in new formats of art, such as audiovisuals and theater. Journalism again proved to be a source of intriguing stories and information for Hemingway to use in fiction, as we will see in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6 – THE DEVELOPMENT OF A STYLE

Hemingway started the decade of the 1930s as a well-established writer. Thanks to the publication of successful fiction books in the previous years and the constant presence in the press both as a journalist and as a literary figure, his name attained celebrity status. It is under this new skin that the second period of his literary style starts. This ten-year phase, which goes from 1932 to 1942, shows Hemingway maturing as a writer, venturing into other forms of narratives, such as the audiovisuals, the theater, and the non-fiction.

The first book published in the period is an example of his attempt at experimenting. *Death in the Afternoon*, from 1932, marks the author's first incursion into the world of non-fiction. The book, which is a treatise about the centenary ceremony of bullfighting, was written using the observation skills and the acknowledgment Hemingway acquired in his more than two dozen trips to Spain, nine Sanfermines, and hundreds of hours of interactions with other aficionados. According to David Sanders, this is the book where Hemingway not only writes about bullfighting but also outspokenly declares his "personal identification with Spain" (137). Even though the connection with the country dates back to the 1920s, when Hemingway was living in Europe as a correspondent, it was in the works produced in the second period of his literature that the writer shows his full-blown admiration for the land and its people.

The non-fiction field would be explored again in the book *Green Hills of Africa*, from 1935. The narrative is a novelized saga of a safari that Hemingway joined in East Africa from December 8, 1933, to February 17, 1934. Hemingway's goal, in his own words written in the book's foreword, was "to write an absolutely true book to see whether the shape of a country and the pattern of a month's action can, if truly presented, compete with a work of the

imagination." In the three years between these two non-fiction books, Hemingway published the third short story collection of his portfolio, *Winner Take Nothing* (1933), where we can find one of his most acclaimed stories, "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place."

The second period was also marked by Hemingway's first and only foray into the world of theater. The play "The Fifth Column," inspired by the Spanish Civil War, has never been considered by critics or scholars the best of his works. It was published in 1938 in the book "The Fifth Column and the First 49 Stories," a compilation of all previously published short stories and two new ones, "The Capital of the World" and "The Old Man and the Bridge." The book also included two others that had previously only come out in the press, "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" and "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber."[31]

The first novel of the period, *To Have and Have Not*, appears in 1937. The story indicates that, in the second phase, Hemingway was prone to experiment in new scenarios: this is his first and only novel that is set in the United States. The second period finally wraps up with the publication of its most relevant novel, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, a fictionalized account of the Spanish Civil War.[32] The book achieved immediate success, and sales skyrocketed as soon as it reached the bookstores. It was published in 1940, and by the end of 1943, it had already sold the impressive figure of 785,000 copies in the United States and 100,000 in England. Kenneth Lynn writes that this made the book at that moment "the best-selling American fiction since *Gone with the Wind"* (484).

Biographer Richard Reynolds has done an interesting foray into the significant events in Hemingway's life to detail how Hemingway became Hemingway. He divided his work into

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[31] "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" first appeared in 1936, in the August edition of *Esquire*, and "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" first came out in the same year, in the September edition of *Cosmopolitan.*

[32] Barrio also includes in the second period the book *Men at War*, a collection of stories that was edited by Hemingway and published in 1942. It presents works written by various authors and that have the war as the main backdrop. Stories from Tolstoy, Lawrence of Arabia, William Faulkner and Winston Churchill are included. Hemingway merely edited the book and, therefore, we will not consider it for this dissertation.

four volumes, each devoted to a period of the author's life. In the volume *Hemingway: the 1930s,* the scholar highlights that these are the years in which we can see the author indulging himself like never before. In the 1930s, Hemingway's writing style gets more connected to his lifestyle and personality. He grows more narcissistic, absorbed by the pleasures of sport and self-aggrandizement, and his texts reflect this. Moreover, the writer starts displaying manic gestures and a deeply cracked personality, which led him to a meltdown a few years later. Reynold concludes: "Ernest's genetic inheritance of cyclical depression and insidious paranoia that led to his father's suicide was surfacing in his own life, most obviously in disturbing mood shifts" (221).

In the following pages, we will explore Hemingway's literary production from the second phase of his literature. We will start with an overview of the most important books from the period, divided between non-fiction and fiction. Then we will get a glimpse of the characteristics of his writing style in this period. While it is true that some of them are inherited from the first phase, like the use of comparisons and dialogues, it is also true that others went through a process of change. That was the case of Hemingway hero, who looks for companionship, and plays a more active role in the stories. Hemingway's main character was only mirroring what was happening to the author's own life: he had already learned some lessons and was willing to share – and especially show – others.

6.1 The world of non-fiction: *Death in the Afternoon*

The second phase in Hemingway's literary style starts in 1932 with a challenge that he had imposed on himself: to write a book in English about bulls. His goal was to convince the Puritan Anglo-Saxon, animal-friendly audience that a gruesome spectacle could be considered an object of study. The result is *Death in the Afternoon*, the first non-fiction work in Hemingway's career. The book is a slow-cooked text that took many years to see the light

and resulted from the knowledge of what Hemingway in the book refers to as the "art of bullfighting," acquired thanks to a decade of contact with the Spanish culture.

Hemingway had already flirted with the topic of bullfighting in the first phase of his literature. In all cases, the bullfighter's figure had an important allegoric representation, one that goes beyond the mere act of a man killing an animal. The short story "The Undefeated," published in the book *Men Without Women,* depicts the soon-to-be-retired bullfighter Manuel Garcia and his dignity facing the decline of his career and the courage with which he confronted a violent death. In *The Sun Also Rises,* bullfighter Pedro Romero, with whom the heroin Brett Ashley falls in love, personifies the ideals of courage, bravery, and manliness. *Death in the Afternoon* follows a different approach from its predecessors because it does not merely use bullfighting as a backdrop of a fictional plot. It goes one step further and places it as the book's central topic, intending to give readers a solid grasp of all aspects surrounding it.

Hemingway assumes that readers could be disgruntled with the idea of bullfighting and wants to explain it both emotionally and practically so they can create their own judgment on the topic. "The formal bullfight is a tragedy, not a sport," asserts Hemingway upfront in the second chapter (*Death in the Afternoon* 26). From the beginning of the book, Hemingway highlights the aesthetics side of bullfighting and puts forward the argument that it is connected to a set of values of the Spanish culture. He states that the enjoyment of the art of bullfighting evolves in the same way that a person develops an ear for music or a sensitive palate for wine. Hemingway also brings up the questions involving the morality of the sport. He says that people that thought that bullfights were barbaric identified psychologically with animals. People who were in favor of the sport identified themselves with the figure of the bullfighter.

Hemingway seemed to belong to the second group. It could be argued that the identification with the archetype of the bullfighter might stem from the fact that Hemingway himself had practiced individual and violent sports, such as boxing and hunting. However, in

no other sport or art is the sportsman or performer in imminent danger of death. A more reasonable explanation pointed out by scholars is that Hemingway's connection to the sport lies in the values it represents. For Maxwell Geismar, it is the bullfighter's dignity, courage, and discipline that bewitched Hemingway:

> As the matador gains his dignity by facing death, and in the end, in one form or another, sooner or later, almost inevitably succumbing to it, the bull, even more surely, has less chance to escape it, and so gains a greater sense of crisis and tragedy . . . The matador and the bull are united in the moment of fusion; they become one; the one who suffers and the one who makes suffer, the active and passive elements in Hemingway's fundamental thesis. (55)

Other scholars contend that Hemingway made of violent activities a channel through which he could continuously reaffirm his bravery and manhood. According to Guy Wood, the rivalry between man and nature represented in bullfighting shows the aggressive and selfish side of Hemingway's personality: "Para Hemingway, cada enfrentamiento entre el hombre y el toro era una especie de suprema competencia en que fracasar llevaba consigo, como mínimo, un abucheo del público y la humillación personal del torero, si no una cornada o la muerte. Por eso, el torero era un ser humano sobremanera fascinante" (104).

Nemi D'Agostino alleges that it is surprising to see that the same Hemingway who had a disillusioned eye for the horrors of the war had been carried away by the tragic masquerade of the bullfight. He criticizes Hemingway's "fascination at the sight of the indescribable whiteness of bone in the bullfighter's torn thigh" (153) and believes that enshrining such a barbaric sport is against the values of contemporary society. "[Hemingway] is at heart an intellectual driven to a renunciation of culture and of that conquest essential to human progress, the suppression of the blood instinct" (153).

D'Agostino echoes the voice of many scholars who, besides looking down on the topic

chosen by Hemingway, also minimize its literary significance. Some of them go as far as to say that *Death in the Afternoon* is not only one of Hemingway's weakest works, but it is also "the most absurd" of them all, as contends Maxwell Geismar (54). The scholar recognizes the book's positive aspects, such as its lighthearted, informative style, which made it achieve the status of the ultimate guide to tauromachy in English. However, he also asserts that Hemingway often falls into mannerisms, devoting too much space for a digression. "The tone of 'Death in the Afternoon' is hence often wrong, denying and accusing, wrangling and quibbling; yet again often rich and amusing, and including some of Hemingway's sharpest studies of the human constitution" (54).

One of *Death in the Afternoon's* main weak points raised by Geismar and seconded by other critics is that Hemingway uses the story to focus the attention on himself. The book begins, ends, and is continuously interspersed with thoughts about the act of writing. Michael Reynolds, in the article "A Brief Biography," sustains that this makes the narrative hard to classify:

> *Death in the Afternoon,* with its multiple voices, its stories within the narrative, and its factual framework, was a book before its time; unclassifiable, it was and remains largely ignored as a text by Hemingway critics but is pilfered freely for its pithy quotes. This non-fictive, natural history of the bullfight was, in fact, the sort of book that Hemingway's early interests in the natural world had prepared him to write. (32)

In the book, Hemingway also tells anecdotes and makes lengthy commentaries on other subjects, forging an autobiographical tone to the story. This is why the book has been a very personal confession of the writer's opinion on topics such as death, honor, bravery, and cowardice. Hemingway's comments offer an insightful perspective of his stance on many things in life, including the craft of fiction. For example, he confesses that he first became

interested in bullfighting because of the goal of using the activity (or the "tragedy," as he says) to improve his writing. He even compares the journalistic and literary production:

> In writing for a newspaper you told what happened and, with one trick and another, you communicated the emotion aided by the element of timeliness which gives a certain emotion to any account of something that has happened on that day; but the real thing, the sequence of motion and fact which made the emotion and which would be as valid in a year or in ten years or, with luck and if you stated purely enough, always, was beyond me and I was working very hard to get it. (*Death in the Afternoon* 10)

Despite the precious comments on his writing technique, the text shows an ego-trip that is alien to the book's central theme. It is the "Narcissus Principle," as Carlos Baker called it and other scholars like Edward Stanton reverberated. Stanton explains that the principle is the writers' presumption that sharing their lives would entice the readers' interests in the story. The scholar is amongst the few that contend that this does not necessarily happen for the worse in Hemingway.

> Although there is no doubt that the Narcissus principle is one of the major flaws in Hemingway's later novels, it might be argued that it contributes to the unique, idiosyncratic appeal of *Death in the Afternoon*, which after all is a nonfiction book where the personality and opinions of the writer need not be transformed into a work of fiction. It could also be argued that Hemingway's need to join his private and his public images, his life and his writing, was comparable to the recurrent tendency in Spanish culture called 'integralism.' (95) [33]

[33] Stanton offers some examples of Spanish artists whose separation between life and oeuvre are not clear, such as writers Miguel de Cervantes, and Lope de Vega, and painters Velázquez, Goya, and Picasso.

In his riveting book *Fame Became of Him: Hemingway as Public Writer*, John Raeburn gives some ideas to explain why this was happening. The author highlights that the 1930s was the decade in which the writer started having a distorted self-image. Hemingway's high self-esteem, boosted by fame, enticed him to enjoy being in the limelight not only in the journalism practiced at *Esquire* but also in his literature, more specifically in his non-fiction books. When debuting in the world of non-fiction, Hemingway got rid of a low-profile attitude to brag about himself explicitly.

It is well known that a significant part of the fiction from his early literature is highly autobiographical, in which characters represent Hemingway in disguise. However, in no other stories written previously he placed as much focus on himself as in the non-fiction. They became another instrument to build his personal fame. Raeburn points out that the book is a mosaic of personal sketches that highlight the different aspects of Hemingway's personality. He identified nine distinct roles that Hemingway created for himself through the text, such as the sportsman, the world traveler, *bon vivant*, or the war veteran. Raeburn concludes that *Death in the Afternoon* "was a portrait of the author as he wished to appear" (38).

6.1.1 A second immersion: Green Hills of Africa

In the same way that Hemingway made *Death in the Afternoon* a novel with much of himself in it, he would repeat this in *Green Hills of Africa* three years later. His second non-fiction work, published in 1935, is a personal account mixed with the fiction of a one-month safari he did in Africa in December 1933. It depicts Hemingway in a pursuing mode, as the book is divided into four chapters: "Pursuit and Conversation," "Pursuit Remembered," "Pursuit and Failure," and "Pursuit as Happiness." In each of them, Hemingway writes in a style that combines a report on hunters in a competitive game with a flurry of personal thoughts.

In terms of structure, there are some similarities between Hemingway's second non-fiction and the first. Earl Rovit contends that both *Death in the Afternoon* and *Green Hills of*

Africa share the same background: they intend to be a treatise on the pleasure of killing. However, the topic is approached differently. In the first case, there are detailed and graphic descriptions about the act of killing. It approaches death from the perspective of a *spectator*. In the second book, the narrative on death focuses on the point of view of the *killer*.

Most scholars have frowned upon the result that Hemingway achieved with *Green Hills of Africa*. They seem to agree that the book repeats some of the flaws from the previous works of non-fiction. Following the style already practiced in *Death in the Afternoon*, Hemingway devotes parts of the narration to offer his insights concerning writers and the art of writing. Some of the comments were unnecessarily generous about himself, as in the excerpt of the book where Pop asks Hemingway's wife who the greater writer in America was. She firmly replies: "My husband" (*Green Hills of Africa* 14). For Harry Levin, because of these digressions, the book "lacks in the way of social or psychological insights" (85).

Other authors who used Africa as the main stage for their non-fiction were more successful at it. André Gide's *Travels with the Congo*, for example, describes the French author's ten-month journey through the French colonies of Africa. Gide takes a stand against the behavior of business corporations in the Congo. The book became an energetic voice against the laws that conceded part of the colony to French companies, granting them the right to exploit the area's natural resources and its people. The narrative shows Gide's involvement and commitment to the country he was discovering. *Green Hills of Africa* is devoid of any social or situational engagement.

Green Hills of Africa tried to repeat its predecessor in the sense that it intended to be the portrait of a land as much as *Death in the Afternoon* was the portrait of Spain. However, it failed remarkably at this task. The main reason for this was that the connection between Hemingway and Africa has never come out as strong as the connection with Spain. Edward Stanton explains that, in Africa, Hemingway felt inspired by its landscapes, not by its people.

As a result, this book falls short in providing a deep connection or an accurate picture of East Africa. For critics like William Cain, however "praiseworthy as experiments in literary form" the book is "verbose, full of unmoored, expendable words and unmonitored sentences. There is little to no resistance to the narcissism in Hemingway's tone and point of view" ("Hemingway's Aesthetic" 84).

Emulating what was happening in his journalism, in the two non-fiction works from the second period, Hemingway was willing to become the author and the main character of his stories. While scholars acknowledge that this attempt gives his work an excessive personal tone, they also recognize that Hemingway had a bigger purpose in mind. For Cándido Pérez-Gallego, the attitude of including himself with so much intensity in the stories "era el intento de dar la temprana obra de Hemingway como incorporada a la de una generación, como parte de un todo" (146).

6.2 The world of fiction: the novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*

Hemingway's literary production in the second phase seems to be a prolific source for the Anglo-Saxon audience that would like to be informed about the Spanish culture. This stage starts with a book about Spain and wraps up with another. In 1940, six years after the publication of *Death in the Afternoon*, Hemingway put Spain in the focus of his literature again. This time he chose to write in the form of fiction, *For Whom the Bell Tolls,* a romanticized account of the Spanish Civil War. Hemingway's novel was strongly inspired by the experiences he had recently lived in Spain as a reporter.

Most of the literary canons inspired by the war were written with the necessary time distance. *War and Peace* (1869), by Leo Tolstoi, which chronicles the French invasion in Russia in 1812, was written fifty years after the episode. *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), by Stephen Crane, takes place in the American Civil War but was written thirty years after its end. Even Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* came out ten years after World War I. *For Whom*

the Bell Tolls is an exception in the world of war fiction. Hemingway started the book in the last weeks of the combat and finished 19 months later. Therefore, the narrative still keeps the resonance of the event fresh.

The story talks about Robert Jordan, an American professor and an expert in explosives who volunteers to fight in the Spanish Civil War for the Republican side. His mission is to blow up a fascist-controlled bridge, a tactic that was part of a more significant Republican offensive. The action takes place in the Guadarrama mountains around Madrid – the same place Hemingway visited as a reporter. In Guadarrama, Jordan resorts to the help of six other guerrilla fighters. In a camp set up around a cave, he meets a woman named Maria, with whom he falls in love.

Even though the Spanish Civil War is the book's backdrop, it does not constitute its main topic. Hemingway himself recognized in an interview years later that "it wasn't just the civil war I put into it. . . . It was everything I had learned about Spain for eighteen years" (qtd. in Josephs 238).[34] Many authors contend that *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is a complement to *Death in the Afternoon* when it comes to paying homage to Spain. In both books, Hemingway personifies the Spanish people, but in his fiction, he was able to put the characteristics of the Spaniards into play through fictional characters.

According to Barrio, the characters are intended to be archetypical figures of Spaniards. The *guerrillero* Pablo represents the astuteness, lack of scruple, and the so-called "mala leche." Anselmo, the old *luchador* from Barco de Ávila, with an impeccable and simple life, represents the other side of the spectrum. The strong-built woman Pilar, who reads the palm of the hands, stands for the superstitious Spain. As for Maria, she might be the most controversial character in the book. She falls in love with Robert Jordan and surrenders to his

[34] The quote appears in a profile written by Malcolm Cowley, published in *Life* magazine on January 10, 1949 and is mentioned in "Hemingway's Spanish Sensibility," a chapter written by Allen Josephs in the book *The Cambridge Companion to Hemingway*.

love opening her box of memories to narrate the day when a group of soldiers raped her. Trying to shed light on the character's complex personality, Charles Nolan argues that Maria has the attitude of someone who had post-traumatic stress disorder for being a victim of war atrocities. “Her response of intense fear, helplessness, or horror is reflected by her initial emotional paralysis and her difficulty recognizing herself in the mirror” (117).

Scholars criticize the depiction of stereotyped versions of the Spanish culture in the book. In a famous article written few years after the publication of the novel, Arturo Barea reasons that Maria was not a typical archetype of the peasants at the Sierra of Guadarrama. He calls attention to the unlikeness of her unchained sexuality in rural Spain as she went to bed with a foreigner on the first night she meets him. Barea also posits that Robert Jordan has a simplistic view of the Spanish culture. “Hemingway has understood the emotions which our people as a whole felt in the bull ring, but not those which it felt in the collective action of war and revolution. Some of the Castillan peasants Hemingway has created are real and alive, but others are artificial or out of place” (199).

Building on the fact that Robert Jordan was the only foreigner in the group, Miguel Rodríguez Alcázar analyzed his relationship with the other characters. In the article “Don Roberto y sus gitanos”, he suggests that Jordan appears in the book in a very artificial way, dignified to the extent that we could not find in Hemingway’s previous characters. For Alcázar, Jordan reaches the perfection of a cowboy from a *western* movie or novel, being described in the book as “tall and thin, sun-streaked fair hair” (*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 9) [35]

Allen Josephs joins this discussion in the article “Hemingway’s Spanish Sensibility.” In the text, he states that there is a stark contrast between this idealized version of a North American hero, represented by Jordan, and the rest of the group, who are almost “like Indians in TV and movie westerns” (7). Pablo, for example, is highlighted by his ugliness, with eyes

[35] *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is abbreviated in the references henceforth as *FWBT*.

"small and set too wide apart" (*FWBT* 19). He stands out as the aesthetic antithesis of the hero. The description of the rest of the group follows the same pattern, with Pilar being "like a model for a granite monument" (*FWBT* 50) and Primitivo "a flat-faced man" (*FWBT* 89). Maria is the only one that escapes hostile generalizations.

The Spanish *guerrilleros* are depicted as being alien to the most critical advances in the war, while Jordan is the expert: "Spaniards called anything a tank in those days," reflects Jordan at some point in the book, highlighting their insufficient knowledge of war strategies (*FWBT* 356). Jordan teaches the peasants practical tricks such as counting tanks, taking notes, shooting with a rifle, and throwing grenades. Alcázar concludes:

> Secciones como ésta servirán a Hemingway para resaltar la ignorancia de los españoles y la superior capacidad intelectual y el exquisito refinamiento del americano . . . Toda esta admiración hacia Jordan por parte de los españoles se hará patente en la manera que éstos tienen de tratarlo, la cual resulta excesivamente cortés para el lector por resultar muy diferente a las que guardan los españoles cuando hablan entre ellos. Así, los españoles se sitúan en un plano de servidumbre al llamar al americano 'Don Roberto' o 'Señor Roberto'. (244-245)

For Alcázar, establishing the difference between the American and the Spaniards was one of Hemingway's strategies to highlight Robert Jordan's heroic qualities. Following the tradition of Hemingway's heroes, Jordan is understood as a reflection of Hemingway himself.[36] By underscoring the heroic qualities of his protagonist, Hemingway was indirectly adulating

[36] Alcázar highlights some of the similitudes between Hemingway and his fictional hero Robert Jordan: both are Americans devoted to the world of literature (Jordan was a literature professor), they have a history of suicides in the family and both of them participated as foreigners during the Spanish Civil War.

his own figure. Therefore, the literary phase of writing was mirroring what happened in his journalism at this time, where his bravery was in the limelight.

6.3 The world of fiction: the short stories of *Winner Take Nothing*

The first work of fiction from the second period of Hemingway's literature is the short story book *Winner Take Nothing*, published in 1933. As the title may anticipate, the collection of fourteen stories is written from the winners' point of view, who also turn out to be the losers because, in the end, they receive nothing.[37] A bittersweet tone prevails throughout the narratives, none of which about love.

The concept of the word *nothing* takes a central place in the book: it is the worthless prize that winners receive, the disappointment after the effort. It implies that it does not really matter whether you win or lose: either way, you take nothing. This is a conceptual approach to life that is at the heart of Hemingway's existentialism. For Halliday, "it is not accidental that the French existentialists have shown a strong feeling for Hemingway's work. Like them, he has been poised in his hours of despair on the edge of nothingness, the abyss of no meaning which confronts most of the characters in the stories of *Winner Take Nothing*" (3).

José Antonio Gurpegui, in *Hemingway and Existentialism*, asserts that Hemingway's main characters are mostly existentialists. However, this does not have them paralyzed. On the contrary, it gives something to base their lives on:

> Something they have clear in their respective conclusions is that there are no absolute certainties, and insecurities is the only concrete truth, 'subjective is truth,' Kierkegaard asserted. The 'subjective principle' will lead Hemingway

[37] The short stories in the book are "After the Storm," "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place," "The Light of the World," "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen," "The Sea Change," "A Way You'll Never Be," "The Mother of a Queen," "One Reader Writes," "Homage to Switzerland," "A Day's Wait," "A Natural History of the Dead," "Wine of Wyoming," "The Gambler, the Nun, and the Radio," and "Fathers and Sons."

> until the end. The absence of 'objective truths,' which in this case would have universal value in themselves, implies that man must establish his own code of values according to those 'subjective truths' in which they are going to base their lives on. (46)

The correlation between existence and nothingness is explored in the story "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place." Showing once again Hemingway's connection with journalism, it was inspired by a newspaper article that Hemingway read about an older man who committed suicide. The story does not have one but two protagonists who contrast each other. One is the young waiter, whose wife is waiting for him at home. He is always in a hurry and is interested in sex and in making money. The other is an old waiter who has no hurry and has nobody waiting for him at home. He is the one who takes the most interest in other people. Finally, there is an adjacent character, a client sitting at the bar, who had traveled 70 kilometers to find a place with a "good atmosphere."

The hotel where he is having a drink and where the two waiters work represents this cozy place of good atmosphere. The "well-lighted place" contrasts with the darkness of the night outside, life contrasted with death or "nothing." These three characters show how Hemingway tries to represent the human condition. José Manuel Barrio reflects on the short story:

> Un algo llamado 'nada' planea desde el comienzo de la historia, una ida nihilista que invade el existencialismo de los personajes. Será el diálogo sordo entre la juventud y la vejez, entre los que miran para fuera y los que hacen hacia dentro; entre los que tienen un camino por recorrer y los que ya han recorrido en su mayor parte. Entre la ilusión por algo y la esperanza por nada. La obscuridad es la muerte, ni siquiera la esperanza de la religión tiene cabida en personas que se encuentran llenas de 'nada' y vacías de todo. (80)

The scene that best epitomizes the characters' hope for nothing is when the waiter plays with the words of the prayer "Our Father": "Our nada who art in nada, nada be thy name thy kingdom nada thy will be nada in nada as it is in nada. Give us this nada our daily nada and nada us our nada as we nada our nadas and nada us not into nada but deliver us from nada; pues nada" (*Winner Take Nothing* 17). The story is one of the most acclaimed in the book and arguably in Hemingway's career. *Nothing* also plays a decisive role in the stories "After the Storm," "A Natural History of the Dead," "The Mother of the Queen," and "God Rest you Merry, Gentleman."

Critics and scholars highlight the obsession with the topics of castration, sexuality, and gender roles that come up in the short stories of the second phase. It is interesting to note that while Hemingway had traditionally been associated with masculinity, he also profusely addresses the topic of homosexuality and gender roles in *Winner Take Nothing*. In four of the stories, "The Sea Change," "The Mother of a Queen," "The Light of the World," and "Mr. and Mrs. Elliot," homosexuality is either insinuated or the underlying subject. In "The Mother of a Queen," Roger blames his young friend's indifference and recent disloyalty on his sexuality, implying that a "queen" behaves with pride and condescension. There is a double meaning here: the word "queen" is a synonym for an elite aristocrat or a euphemism for homosexuality.

The story "The Light of the World" goes about an unnamed narrator (assumed to be Nick Adams) and his traveling companion Tom moving through the town of Michigan to enroll in the Army. They come to the warmth of waiting rooms, where they meet many people, including a homosexual cook, five prostitutes, and four Indians. For the two teenagers, it is a fascinating sexual initiation into the world of adulthood and the counterculture of homosexuality and prostitution. As we can see, the focus on nothingness and on the initiation of sexuality of the characters come up as two vital aspects in Hemingway's narrative from the second period. Besides, the Hemingway hero goes through a process of change in the second

phase, which we will explore in the following pages.

6.4 Style from the second period in literature: narrative

The second period of Hemingway's literature is marked by some characteristics that show that his style was not stagnant but evolving. This development, however, was not necessarily for the best. Some changes can be noticed in his writing as the years passed by, and one of the most noticeable in the second phase is highlighted by Barrio. The scholar states that, with the publication of *Death in the Afternoon*, Hemingway shows an evident change of code: the hero stops being the spectator and becomes the protagonist of his stories.

In the first phase, the protagonists of his two main novels, Jake Barns and Frederick Henry, are caught in a passive attitude regarding the misfortunes that happened to them. The former needed to heal the physical and psychological wounds of emasculation. The latter had to cope with the death of his wife. The characteristic of heroes paying their toll for being alive changes in the second phase.

In the novels and short stories written in the 1930s, we can notice that the characters become active participants of their existence. They lead their lives with a clear purpose that they set for themselves. Robert Jordan is in charge of the operation of blowing up a bridge. Francis Macomber had the purpose of proving to his wife that he was a man of courage. In "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," Harry fights against severe gangrene and struggles to stay alive while the other characters gear up with a lot of courage to face the situations they are immersed. In the article "Hemingway, The Corrida, and Spain," Keneth Kinnamon analyses the relationship between Spain and Hemingway's literature. The scholar contends that there is no doubt that the experience lived in many years in contact with Spain was one of the biggest influences in how Hemingway changed the aesthetic and morality of his characters in the second period:

> According to Spanish folklore, which Hemingway accepts in this respect,

> human courage resides in the *cojones.* In the explanatory glossary at the end of *Death in the Afternoon*, he says of cojones that 'a valorous bullfighter is said to be plentifully equipped with these.' The protagonists of each subsequent Hemingway novel are all plentifully equipped by the novelist with *cojones*. (55)

Because they are taking the reins of their own lives, the protagonists become more exposed to the dangers of the world and the possibility of becoming victims. Therefore, it is no coincidence that, for the first time, in the second phase, we see Hemingway's protagonists die: Robert Jordan passes away when he was in retreat; Francis Macomber gets shot by his wife, and Henry dies in his bed looking at the mountain of Kilimanjaro. The scholarship sees the killing of the protagonists as a sign of Hemingway's hero maturity.

However, a word of caution should be taken with the word "maturity." In the book article "Ernest Hemingway," Phillip Young explains the type of maturity that can be observed in Hemingway's hero, particularly in the second phase:

> Hemingway's world is one in which things do not grow and bear fruit, but explode, break, decompose, or are eaten away. Hemingway's characters do not 'mature' in the ordinary sense, do not become 'adults.' It is impossible to picture them in a family circle, going to the polls to vote, or making out their income tax return. It is a very narrow world. It is a world seen through a crack in the wall by a man pinned down by gunfire. (187)

Hemingway's hero matures on his own terms, and this maturity leads to a new relationship with the space in which this hero moves. In the first period, the protagonists roam through cities and wander around like drifters without a destination. It suffices to mention the long journeys taken by Jake Barnes from Paris to Pamplona to Madrid and then to Paris again. For Von Cannon, the need for movement through the notions of retreat, return, and circulation

is central to Jake's trauma. It shows that "nothing after the war would ever be the same; nor would anything, now, ever be different" (69).

In the second period, the protagonists' maturity makes them become less nomad. They move less and are inclined to circulate in a more restricted space. Such is the case that some of the short stories even include the geography in the title: "Up in Michigan," "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," "Wine of Wyoming," and "An Homage to Switzerland." The reasons why the hero is more constrained in space vary from story to story. In some cases, he is more static because of his commitment to a cause, such as Robert Jordan or Harry Morgan. In other times, he is suffering a crisis of values and morals, such as Francis Macomber, or is simply trapped trying to solve the unsolvable, as in the case of Harry in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro." As pointed out by Barrio, the spaces also gained a much more claustrophobic dimension, such as Sierra of Guadarrama's caves, Morgan's boat, or Francis Macomber's camping tent.

If we zoom into the war narratives, we can see that some characteristics in the second novel differ significantly from his first big novel on war. In *A Farewell to Arms*, Hemingway describes battles between two big armies involved in World War I. In *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, he talks about smaller battles between *guerrilla* troops – and not the army – involved in a civil war. While the first novel focuses on a collective level, with many scenes of Frederick interacting with other soldiers in different places, the second narrative zooms into the individuals whose lives happen around a cave and are limited by the slopes of Guadarrama. The timeline in *A Farewell to Arms* is more dilated, as the story spans over almost three years. In *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, the main action happens in only three days of the calendar time.

For Ricardo Marín Ruiz, this shows the novelist's attention to anonymous stories rather than to the ideological side of the war. Jordan's role of blowing up a bridge and being a part of a bigger plan to defeat the Fascist army make the character feel inserted once again as part of the world. Frederick Henry's separate peace in the previous phase is contrasted with the

new hero, Robert Jordan, who is connected with humanity. If in *A Farewell to Arms* Frederick Henry made a separate peace from the war and decided to live a claustrophobic relationship with Catherine, in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* there is a strong sense of human community in the group. This, therefore, had an impact on the development of the plot, as explains Marín Ruiz.

> Hemingway puts the image of the bridge in close relation to Robert Jordan, as his mission consists in destroying one of them in the mountains near Madrid. The author establishes this association between the bridge and the main character to emphasize two topics that are essential in his novel and in his vision of Spain: the close relationship between life and death and the interconnectedness among all existing things. (110)

Marín Ruiz contends that the book presents several subplots that circle the main story. Consequently, Hemingway builds a narrative structure that also shows one of the main points of his literature in the second phase: no man is an island.

6.5 Style from the second period: language

The change of perspective in how protagonists live their lives impacts the writing style that Hemingway develops in the second phase. The use of words should be slightly adapted to the new phase of his hero. Barrio explains that "un héroe dotado de actividad o violencia requiere una disposición narrativa distinta de otro dotado de pasividad" (77).

In terms of the use of the language, one of the noticeable changes are the long sentences popping up in the texts. Probably as a result of the subjectivity of the hero, the lines and paragraphs are longer. In some cases, the sentences are so extensive that they do not resemble the short and direct style that readers would be accustomed to find in Hemingway's texts in the first period. This is how he presents Nick Adams's memories about his father and his hometown in the short story "Fathers and Sons":

> His father came back to him in the fall of the year, or in the early spring when there had been jack-snipe on the prairie, or when he saw shocks of corn, or when he saw a lake, or if he ever saw a horse and buggy, or when he saw, or heard, wild geese, or in a duck blind; remembering the time an eagle dropped through the whirling snow to strike a canvas-covered decoy, rising, his wings beating, the talons caught in the canvas. (*Winner Take Nothing* 159)

The 430-character sentence in the excerpt above imposes a very different rhythm from the one created by short, direct sentences. While this resource is not used often, it is seen more frequently in the second phase of Hemingway's literature. Lengthy sentences are usually used in parts of the stories in which the character goes through a point of reflection. In the story shown above, the writing with no full stop is an effective resource to show the character's internal struggle. This is what has been called in literature *stream of consciousness*.

Traditionally, this resource, also known as "interior monologue," had been used by writers such as Henry James and James Joyce, whose name is famously associated with it. Hemingway experimented with the stream of consciousness in *A Farwell to Arms*. However, it is in the second phase that the writer consolidates this technique, especially in some short stories included in the collection *Winner Take Nothing*, such as "A Way You'll Never Be" and "Father and Sons." Even though the story is complete by itself, "A Way You Will Never Be" can also be understood as a sequel to a short story written in the first period, "Now I Lay Me." In the story, Nick Adams gets caught in a nightmare of the war, where he sees dead bodies scattered all over the place with their pockets out and surrounded by letters.

The stream of consciousness works as a hook to an internal monologue that often revives traumas from the war. "I can't sleep without a light of some sort," replies Nick when asked how he is feeling (*Winner Take Nothing* 52). The stream of consciousness appears again in the story "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" and in the novel *For whom the Bell Tolls*. In "The

Snows of Kilimanjaro," the resource is used in the last paragraphs (which are italicized) when Harry is dying. Through the stream of consciousness, it is possible to access the character's mind and see his fear of dying – a contrast to the external dialogue he has with his wife when he displays a brave attitude. This is why in the second phase, the verb "said" gives space to the verb "thought," sometimes in a sequence, as in this excerpt from *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. "One kind of Spanish, *he thought*. Remembering to bring the whiskey was one of the reasons you loved these people. Don't go romanticizing them, *he thought*" (*FWBT* 306).

The stream of consciousness is not the only trait that Hemingway brought from the first phase and refined it. Another characteristic inherited from his youth years is irony. According to Pérez-Gállego, "la ironía consiste en ir desconfiando a cada paso de lo que se dice, ir desmitificando con un doble lenguaje, bromeando sobre la seriedad de la guerra o el amor" (172). Scholars that have studied the topic in Hemingway's texts state that the most significant source of irony from the second period is *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. The book has many ironic passages. One example is Fernando, the only member of the group who felt offended by Jordan's talking about *cojones*. In the end, he is "shot through the groin" (*FWBT* 457). In another scene, Pilar apologizes to Maria for talking about her family, implying that it reminded her of how she was raped and assaulted. However, she uses the word "molest," a translation from the word "molestar" in Spanish, which in English implies assault. "Forgive me if I have molested you speaking of things of the family. I know that all have the same troubles and it is more valuable not to speak of them" (*FWBT* 209).

Nevertheless, one of the book's biggest ironies is highlighted by Peter Gajdusek. The scholar mentions the change in the character's perspective: Robert Jordan ends up connecting with the world when he was supposed to destroy it. This novel's main objective, the blowing up of a bridge, made him build other types of connections. For Gajdusek,

> the major irony of this novel – that has to do with each being part of the main, and no man being an island entire of itself – is that its central metaphor is the blowing of a bridge rather than the building of one. As an American who has crossed over to the other side to join others unlike himself, Robert Jordan is part of their cause and shares their lives. He could then be also considered a bridge builder, not a bridge destroyer. (25)

As if he himself were trying to be a bridge builder between cultures, Hemingway intensifies the use of different languages in the second phase. Characters are polyglots and tend to use different languages to talk between themselves, such as in "Homage to Switzerland":

> Johnson walked over with the wine list to the table where the three porters sat. They looked up at him. They were old men.
>
> 'Wollen Sie trinken' he asked. One of them nodded and smiled.
>
> 'Oui, monsieur.'
>
> 'You speak French?'
>
> 'Non, monsieur.'
>
> 'Faut les connaitre,' said Johnson. 'Fräulein,' he called the waitress.
>
> 'Which champagne would you prefer, sir?'
>
> 'The best,' said Johnson. 'L'aquelle est le best?' he asked the porters.
>
> 'Le meillieur?' asked the porter who had spoken first.
>
> (*Winner Take Nothing* 40)

While it is true that this also happened in some stories from the first period (such as Rinaldi and the priest talking in Italian in *A Farewell to Arms*), Hemingway reached a new level in one of the works from the second period. In *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Hemingway plays with the syntax and vocabulary of English and Spanish to give the impression that the characters are speaking Spanish at all times. To recreate the Spanish informal second-person

singular spoken by Castillan people, for example, Hemingway resorts to forms of outdated English, such as the pronouns *Thou*, *Thee*, and *Thy*. "Mother rapers. Eaters of the milk of *thy* fathers," swears an officer (*FWBT 462*). "Wilt *thou* show me about the pistol?" asks Maria (*FWBT* 256). Milton Azevedo asserts that such anomalous usage reminds us "that the characters speak an alien tongue that distinguishes between intimate and deferential address" (34).

Some expressions, idioms, and cursing words used in spoken Spanish that lose their force if translated were simply kept in the original language. "'Intelligent, yes,'Agustín said. 'But *sin picardía*'" (*FWBT* 144). Sometimes a translation into English comes after the sentence in Spanish, so the reader does not need to know the language to understand the text. "No me gusta estar solo, Pablo went on explaining to Pilar as though the others were not there. '*I do not like to be alon*e'" (*FWBT 574*). In some cases, Hemingway builds sentences in English that are a direct translation from Spanish, such as "What a barbarity," which comes from "¡Qué barbaridad!" (*FWBT* 72). Even though expressions like this are clearly understood, they do not sound like a sentence an English speaker would say.

The most curious feature in the language Hemingway invented is arguably his own censorship towards the cursing words. Azevedo explains that to get around the risk of legal prosecutions, Hemingway found strategies to express the character's blasphemy or harsh words. One of them was to change the vulgar terms with ones that lacked profane connotations, such as "The *fornicator* ducked back" (*FWBT* 457). Another strategy was to use euphemistic words that leave the meaning for the imagination of the reader. "'Go to the *unprintable,'* Agustín said. 'And *unprint* tyself'" (*FWBT 72*).

For Azevedo, these linguistic methods used to characterize the Spanish language only strengthen the story. It is a tool that helps create the idea of bonding and mingling between characters. Besides, it gives a robust stylistic mark to the text. According to the scholar,

"Hemingway's key linguistic resource consists of manipulating English morphology, syntax, and vocabulary to create a unique Spanish-in-English diction that mimes spoken Spanish and gives the novel its flavor" (32).

However, there is also another group of academics that do not see this use of language with such enthusiasm. Arturo Barea's main complaint concerning the use of language in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is that the Spanish spirit Hemingway tries to translate gets completely lost because the language he invents is too artificial. In the same critical approach, Bruce Fleming asserts that the language that the characters speak in the book is pidgin English, full of incorrectness, which "makes these people seem strange" (267).[38]

Despite all the different opinions to the book, it is sure that Spain and the Spanish people represented a significant part of the production of the 1930s, both in Hemingway's fiction and in his journalism. We will explore more of this in the next chapter by exposing the differences and similitudes between different aspects of Hemingway's writing in the second period of his career.

[38] Allen Josephs is one of the authors that pinpoints Hemingway's carelessness with the Spanish language. In "Hemingway's poor Spanish," he reveals that there were over sixty mistakes in the Spanish words written in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, ranging from typos to accents.

CHAPTER 7 – JOURNALISM AND LITERATURE OF THE THIRTIES

The literature and journalism written by Ernest Hemingway during the period that corresponds to the 1930s is the focus of the present chapter. This analysis aims to assess what was written during the second period of Hemingway's literature, and put it into perspective with his journalistic texts. The scholarship on Hemingway considers the 1930s to be the decade when he transitions from a writer of the Lost Generation to become a name associated with the world of traveling, sports, and adventure. Hemingway's transformation from a cult figure to an icon did not happen by chance. It was a carefully cultivated image that the writer managed to project of himself through journalism.

To accomplish the goal of better understanding this process, we will divide our analysis into five sections, each devoted to one aspect of Hemingway's writing. The first two sections will be dedicated to the writing centered on two leisure activities: fishing and hunting. They both serve as the background to many of his journalistic contributions from the second phase, although only hunting was present in his literature too.

The third part of the analysis is devoted to politics, a subject that had been mostly absent from young Hemingway's production, but that sprouts profusely in his writing of the 1930s, with the publication of one of his most political novels, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. A byproduct of Hemingway's involvement in the Spanish Civil War as a correspondent, the fictional piece provides an excellent example of how journalism and fiction have always gone hand in hand in Hemingway's life.

The fourth aspect is related to one of the most controversial topics in Hemingway's career – his treatment of women. Academics have long debated over the feminine figures in

his literature. Nevertheless, little has been said about the women depicted in his newspaper articles as far as the debate goes. This section will establish a parallel between the female figures of his literature and their presence – or better said, their *absence* – in the news articles.

The chapter wraps up with an overview of the geographic spaces that encompass Hemingway's life and writing. While in the 1920s he had a strong connection to France thanks to the years living in Paris as a correspondent, the 1930s is marked by Hemingway's return to the American continent. He first sets foot in Key West and later Cuba, with many trips in between. Therefore, the geographical axis of Hemingway's life in the 1930s broadens, and the setting of his writings now includes new places, such as the African continent. Nevertheless, the most important literary and journalistic pieces written from this period are still centered in an old and familiar territory: Spain. Hemingway's connection to the country and its people is what we address in the last section.

The analysis will be carried out using Hemingway's most significant literary productions of the 1930s: the novels *For Whom the Bell Tolls,* the non-fiction novel *Death in the Afternoon,* and the short stories collected in the book *Winner Take Nothing*. These works will be put in perspective with the output of Hemingway's two most important gigs during the 1930s as a journalist. The first one was at *Esquire*, a magazine to which he wrote 26 stories from 1933 to 1936. The second was his contributions as a correspondent in the Spanish Civil War for the *North American Newspaper Alliance* between 1937 and 1938.

It is known that during the Spanish Civil War, Hemingway also contributed to the short-lived, left-wing political magazine *Ken.* However, the scholarship devoted to his work does not consider these articles journalistic pieces. As explains Sanders, "Much more than anything he had written, the *Ken* articles were propaganda pieces. Some were direct calls for American intervention, while others defended the Republic against charges of atrocities and defeatism" (139). Since the magazine's scope was to present opinions on political issues and

Hemingway's texts resembled more a pamphlet than journalism, we will only briefly mention these texts in the subchapter devoted to politics.

The task of comparing Hemingway's reporting from the 1930s with his works in literature and journalism has already been undertaken by some scholars such as Baker, Reynolds, Fenton, and Freedman. Freedman, for example, notes that an evocative, figurative image used in one of the dispatches from the Spanish Civil War had already been used fifteen years before in an article for *The Toronto Star Weekly*. In the dispatch from the Civil War, Hemingway writes: "a brown range of hills that slid down into the sea like a dinosaur come to drink" (qtd. in Freedman 178).[39] A similar sentence comparing the mountains with dinosaurs was written for the Canadian newspaper sixteen years before: "Sun-baked brown mountains slump down to the sea like tired old dinosaurs" (*Dateline* 92).[40]

Freedman and the authors aforementioned offer a few insights into specific moments in which Hemingway's use of words coincide. However, they do not necessarily provide a holistic view of these articles. Our analysis aims to go beyond the details and offer a broader, more comprehensive context in which Hemingway wrote these texts and how they are connected. Our goal is to see how he approached the same topics under his two different hats: the writer's and the journalist's.

7.1 Fishing

One of the recurrent subjects that appears throughout Hemingway's literature is fishing. The sport was present in many short stories from the first period and was also the motif of some of his early journalistic articles. Upon reading these early fictional stories, writer Gertrude Stein allegedly said that "all this fish business is a hideous pose" (qtd. in Sojka 9).

[39] The news article quoted by Freedman was dispatched from Castellon on May 8, 1938, and was not included in the book *By-line* that republished Hemingway's main journalistic stories.
[40] The story was published on February 18, 1922, with the title "At Vigo, in Spain, Is Where You Catch the Silver and Blue Tuna, the King of All Fish."

However, she was proven wrong. Fishing became such a central topic to Hemingway's fiction that academics have written works specifically devoted to analyzing the different layers of meanings behind it. Gregory Sojka asserts that Hemingway's devotion to fishing, expressed through his characters' involvement with the activity, is highly due to the values associated with it, such as "discipline, self-control, skill, intelligence, endurance, and respect" (6). These principles guide both Hemingway's writing and his character's lives.

Hemingway's early stories on fishing, namely the first Nick Adams stories and the fishing trips that Jake Barns takes in the novel *The Sun Also Rises,* are focused on a specific modality: trout fishing. This activity is mainly performed in rivers and streams, where the force of nature – represented by green forests, clear water, and abundant vegetation – plays an essential role in constructing the characters and developing the plot. Trout fishing invites for isolation and silence, allowing Nick Adams or Jake Barns to overcome their fears, reflect on their past, and heal from their physical and psychological wounds. For Stephen Tanner, Hemingway's early fishing is "highly significant both as narrative art and as revelation of Hemingway's emerging artistic version, of the way he began to answer the primary questions of how to transform life into art and, more specifically, of how place should function in literary art" (79). During the 1920s, Hemingway also wrote newspaper articles on trout fishing for the Toronto Star's newspapers.

In the second period, we can notice a change of interest in terms of fishing. The sport was almost absent in Hemingway's literature from the 1930s, except for a small passage in the short story "The Snows of Kilimanjaro." Even though the main action of some stories *does* happen around a river, no fishing is involved.[41] In fiction, Hemingway would only go back to fishing in the third phase, when he diverts to another category of the sport: deep-sea fishing,

[41] This is the case of the book *For Whom the Bell Tolls*: the action happens around a bridge that was going to be blown up. However, the activity of fishing does not happen at all.

performed in the ocean. This is epitomized by one of the most Hemingwayan characters, the fisherman Santiago, in *The Old Man and the Sea*. However, years before Santiago came to light in fiction, Hemingway explored deep-sea fishing at length in the pages of *Esquire*: in the 1930s, he wrote a total of eight extensive pieces for the magazine talking about the topic.

In view of that, it makes sense to ask why there was such a sudden change in the type of fishing that Hemingway wrote about during that decade. One of the possible explanations provided by Tanner is to be found in Hemingway's life. Since his moving to Key West in 1928, Hemingway's personal experiences – including fishing – happened close to the sea and not rivers. The scholar explains that "he had fewer trout fishing experiences and his subjects changed with his changing experiences" (81). Another explanation lies in the very nature of each type of fishing. Trout fishing, which came into Hemingway's life *before* he was famous, is more individualistic and solitary. Gulf Stream fishing, asserts Tanner, is more competitive and only came along *after* he became a celebrity.

This modality of fishing performed in the sea was more consistent with the type of celebrity-sportsman personality that Hemingway wanted to project. In most of the articles about sea-fishing, Hemingway goes well beyond merely depicting the act of fishing. He takes advantage of the sport's adventurous and competitive nature – as opposed to the more intimate nature of trout fishing – to build up an aura of a man linked to adventure, bravery, and manliness**.** This type of sport goes in accordance with his new style of life. "Hemingway's obsession with competition in angling grew like a cancer in the transition from trout stream to gulf stream as he fashioned for himself a celebrity sportsman image" (Tanner 81).

Narrating the ups and downs of his fishing trips in the pages of *Esquire* was almost like writing an adventurous short story, except that in the magazine articles, the main character was Hemingway himself – or "your correspondent," which is how he calls himself in the texts. In "On Being Shot Again: A Gulf Stream Letter," we can notice an example of how

Hemingway projects this image skillfully. He narrates the perils of shooting a shark, an adventure that ended up with the bullet ricocheting and hitting Hemingway's left leg's calf. "Your correspondent" conveys the imminent danger of the seas and shows how he bravely faced the mishap:

> There was no pain and no discomfort; only a small hole about three inches below the knee-cap, another ragged hole bigger than your thumb, and a number of small lacerations on the calves of both legs. Your correspondent went over and sat down . . . We boiled some water, scrubbed with an antiseptic soap, poured the holes all full of iodine while running into Key West. Your correspondent has to report that he made an equally skillful shot on his lunch into a bucket while running in, that Doctor Warren in Key West removed the fragments, probed, had an X-ray made, decided not to remove the large piece of bullet. (*By-Line* 207-208)

While the type of fishing performed in the sea became more suitable to the Hemingway that emerged during the 1930s, some aspects of his writing style also went through a mutation period. As previously seen in the chapter devoted to analyzing the first period, the noun was the absolute king in Hemingway's sentences. Adjectives were used with discretion. While this golden rule learned in the early years as a reporter continues to be true for most of the second phase, Hemingway seems to have become more flexible with the use of adjectives. In the journalism of the 1930s, the reporter *does* find them to be good helpers in the task of describing things that he sees. In the article "Out in the Stream: A Cuban Letter," from August 1934, he uses eleven adjectives to differentiate the types of fish – and the adjective "ugly," which holds the strongest personal judgmental opinion of them all, appears twice:

> But what is the intermediate stage in the development of the female of white marlin from the *handsome, gleaming, well-proportionated* though rather *large-*

> *headed* fish that it is as we know it at a hundred pounds, before it becomes the *huge, ugly-headed, thick-billed, bulky, dark purple, coarse-fleshed,* comparatively *ugly* fish that has been called the black marlin? (*By-Line* 180)

In the magazine articles on fishing, Hemingway also seems to have left behind the golden rule of writing short sentences. In place of the precise and sharp language, another type of sentence-building appeared in his journalism: the long, exhausting, and explanatory sentences. Although commas are used, they seem to be ornaments that do not diminish the difficulty of understanding a long sentence. In the following example, Hemingway gives an 87-word explanation of the movement of the Marlins in the Gulf Stream:

> But the prevailing wind is the northeast trade, and when this blows the marling come to the top and cruise with the wind, the scythe tail, a light, steely lavender, cutting with the swells as it projects and goes under; the big fish, yellow looking in the water, swimming two or three feet under the surface, the huge pectoral fins tucked close to the flanks, the dorsal fin down, the fish looking around, fast-moving log in the water except for the erect curve of hat slicing tail. (*By-Line* 141)

The longer sentences make it harder for the reader to follow the ideas. Nevertheless, they seem a better match to the adventures lived in the sea. Moreover, they match the style of Hemingway's literature's second phase. In Barrios's study on Hemingway's literary phases, which guides our work, the scholar explains that paragraphs become more extensive due to the subjectivity that starts having a more decisive role in the 1930s. For Barrio, Hemingway's protagonists go from merely *describing* what they had seen to *reflecting* upon it. This is the result of his internal changes. Barrio writes that "después de un primer periodo de espectador, [Hemingway] pasa a un segundo periodo de protagonista, cambiando la pasividad por la

acción" (73). Even though Barrio was referring to Hemingway's literature, the examples aforementioned show that this is also true for his journalism.

7.2 Hunting

Fishing in Hemingway's texts is an example of how he used the activity to project an idealized image of himself. But he did not restrict his resources to deep-sea fishing. In his journalism of the 1930s, Hemingway inserts a new activity in the corpus of his writing: hunting. The topic was present in no less than a third of the *Esquire* articles of the 1930s and, unlike fishing, it was also present in his literary texts. The killing of an animal is the central action of the short story "The Short and Happy Life of Francis Macomber," and the main argument of two books, *Death in the Afternoon* and *Green Hills of Africa*. To better understand how hunting and killing played an essential function in constructing Hemingway's image through the pages of the magazine, we will first concentrate our analysis on *Esquire*'s texts.

In the articles written for the magazine, the masculine nature of hunting is made evident. The fact that the texts are written in the first person helps Hemingway show himself in action and hints that he was trying to put forward the image of a courageous sportsman. "The Second Tankanyika Letter" provides a good example of that. The story chronicles Hemingway's adventure on a safari in Africa with an expert guide. Through nuances and subtexts, Hemingway depicts himself as a "legitimate" hunter, a man who is brave enough to get out of the jeep in the middle of the savannah and face a lion on the ground. He opposes this condition to the tourists who go to Africa only to shoot lions from inside the jeeps without exposing themselves to the risks of hunting. "Tourists who shoot in Africa are called shootists to distinguish them from sportsmen" (*By-Line* 165), states Hemingway, setting himself aside from the group of shootists.

For Hemingway, tourists who go on a safari under these circumstances are placed at the lowest echelon in the bravery hierarchy. "For a man to shoot at a lion from the protection

of a motor car, where the lion cannot even see what it is that is attacking him, is not only illegal but is a cowardly way to assassinate one of the finest of all game animals" (*By-Line* 166). He then goes on telling his own experience of shooting a lion – which was different from tourists since he considered himself a "sportsman."

Hemingway explains in the news story that once they arrive at the savanna, he gets out of the jeep, the vehicle drives off, and he is left on the ground facing the lion a few meters away. He is accompanied by his "white hunter," a non-native guide that always goes with the shooters to help them out. Even though the man (whose name is never mentioned) is the real expert in killing a lion, he only has a supporting role in the story. He has Hemingway's back, teaches him the tricks of how to hunt the animal, and praises his apprentice's moves. When Hemingway shoots the lion, the white hunter praises him: "'You got him in the neck,' the white hunter says. 'Damned good shooting'" (*By-Line* 168).

By putting the words "damned good shooting" in the mouth of the hunter, Hemingway camouflages the fact that he is, in fact, bragging about himself. In the end, he is only telling how good of a hunter he is. Upon receiving this compliment, he continues the text in a way that sounds like arrogance disguised as humbleness. He replies to the hunter: "It was a lucky one" (168).

The letter written from the savannas to *Esquire* resembles the argument of "The Short and Happy Life of Francis Macomber," in which a wealthy American couple goes on a safari for the first time and is assisted by the local guide Wilson (in the fictional text, the character has a name, as opposed to the magazine article). If we compare the texts written for the press and this fictional narrative, we can see that the stories chronicle a similar event. However, it is interesting to note that the killing in fiction was not used to extoll the character's bravery, but rather the contrary. At the beginning of the story, Macomber is depicted as a coward, betrayed

husband who is jealous of the white hunter. When he is left stranded with the lion, he bolts and flees from the animal.

Macomber's running away from a lion only increases the contempt from his wife, who despises his cowardice. In the meantime, she gets attracted by the white hunter's bravery and slips off with him one night. Wilson's experience and courage are contrasted with Macomber's naïveté. In the description that Hemingway makes of the American, it is mentioned that even Macomber's clothes were brand new, indicating that he was a character that needed initiation. "He was dressed in the same sort of safari clothes that Wilson wore except that his were new, he was thirty-five years old, kept himself very fit, was good at court games, had a number of big-game fishing records, and had just shown himself, very publicly, to be a coward" (*The Complete Short Stories* 6).

On the surface, the magazine article and the fictional story hold many resemblances. However, they have significant structural differences underneath. The whole fictional story is a tale about Macomber's process of turning his cowardice into bravery. In order to show the development of a character, Hemingway applies some of the resources he had previously used in the first phase. One example is the repetition of scenes. Macomber goes shooting twice. The first failed attempt is when he is shown as a man who flees away from danger. In the second one, when he manages to shoot the animal, he becomes a different man, as he is no longer scared.

> 'You know I don't think I'd ever be afraid of anything again,' Macomber said to Wilson. 'Something happened in me after we first saw the buff and started after him. Like a dam bursting. It was pure excitement.'
>
> 'Cleans out your liver,' said Wilson. 'Damn funny things happen to people.'
>
> Macomber's face was shining. "You know something did happen to me," he said. 'I feel absolutely different.' (*The Complete Short Stories* 25)

Macomber's transformation process is similar to Jake Barns' two sea diving trips in *The Sun Also Rises*. By putting both moments in parallel, Hemingway is able to narrate the journey of a man's self-discovery, the coming of age of someone who is experiencing the dangers of life at the cost of his own: Macomber is killed in the end by a shot triggered by his wife. It is the first time that Hemingway's hero dies.

If we compare the fictional piece with the journalistic one, we can see that the latter is much more superficial. The main character of the story – Hemingway himself – obviously does not die, but most importantly, he does not go through a process of change. Hemingway learns how to shoot a lion, tells readers about it, and finishes the story in the same way he started. Although he does learn something new, he does not seem to evolve as a person with that new knowledge. Nor does the act of shooting represent anything else than this: the killing of an animal.

Robert Stephens states that the articles on hunting that appear in the magazine were written upon returning from a safari. Therefore, they contain his fresh personal impressions of Africa and hunting. The short story that appeared in his fiction had a different purpose:

> In fiction, these articles were important for their understanding and presentation of the hunter's code – that ethic so briefly and expensively learned by Francis Macomber. In 'Shootism versus Sport' Hemingway sketches the exigencies of lion hunting much as Macomber learns them on his first lion hunt, but the *Esquire* account was generalized and didactic, the fictional account a specific and dramatic event. The *Esquire* account made explicit the code assumed by Robert Wilson and gradually recognized by Macomber. (269)

Hunting is also the central argument of a whole book, *Death in the Afternoon*. Here, Hemingway chooses to narrate the prose related to the killing in a different, more technical fashion. The part of the book devoted to the killing of the bull and the ceremony of bullfighting

was written in a journalistic style – except for the more personal tone used when Hemingway digresses about the act of writing. Redman summarizes the dimension that the text reaches by mixing the scientific descriptions with a long-lasting devotion towards bullfighting. “His knowledge of the art has grown to match his instinctive love of it; and he has written a book in which technical explanations burn with emotions because of the passion that is mated with the science” (121).

The book is an acclamation to the figure of the *torero,* the bullfighter who dares to face the bull in a fight from which only one will leave alive. Hemingway’s admiration of the figure of the bullfighter is one of the central topics of the book. While it is not considered the best of Hemingway’s style, the narration clearly shows the writer's admiration of the killing ritual.

The non-fiction work could be considered one of the pillars of the second phase of Hemingway’s literature on the topic of death and courage. It is the courage of the bullfighter that Hemingway envies, and it is also the same courage that he allegedly possesses when he faces a lion without the protection of the car in the first-person article he wrote for *Esquire*. Curiously, it is the same courage that Macomber lacks but develops throughout the fictional story. Therefore, the three stories – the journalistic, the non-fiction, and the fiction – can be considered different pieces of Hemingway’s cubistic symbols and morals. They form the picture in which Hemingway sometimes is the main actor or sometimes only the observer of a story that shows his admiration of death’s rituals and the necessary courage to face it.

7.3 Hemingway without women

The construction of female characters is one of the most controversial topics in Hemingway’s fiction. As seen in the chapter devoted to his literature from the second period, most of the controversy stems from the fact that Hemingway’s treatment of his female characters is ambiguous. Moreover, we can notice some changes in the way women are

represented in his literature from one phase to another. In the first period, the most prominent female character, Lady Brett, acts as a mother figure to most of the male characters around her. In the analysis exposed in the article "The Sun Also Rises: Mother Brett," William Adair explains that "if we stand back from the story, see the canvas at a distance, she comes across as a strong woman surrounded by 'boys' – or men who act in many ways like boys around her – and she deals with them much as would a mother with children" (190).

The same could be argued for Catherine Barkley, from *A Farewell to Arms*, who also serves as a mother figure in her relationship with Frederik Henry. It suffices to say that they met while she was taking care of his wounds at a hospital. Her protecting presence is central to the creation of an idealized version of a woman. As Ernest Milton Halliday states, "we find Catherine Barkley's naive simplicity and warmth the right epitome for the idea and ideal of normal civilian home life to which Frederic Henry deserts" (57)**.**

This changes considerably in the texts from the 1930s. There are barely any women the only short story book from the second period, *Winner Take Nothing*. As for the novel, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, the romantic heroine Maria is almost a secondary subject and serves as a catapult to extol her lover Robert Johnson's qualities. Scholars devoted to feminist studies, like Leslie Fiedler, see her role in the novel as too submissive. Maria is depicted in such a stereotypical way that even her sexual encounter with Jordan can barely be seen as credible. "In his earlier fictions, Hemingway's descriptions of the sexual encounter are intentionally brutal, in his later ones unintentionally comic; for in no case, can he quite succeed in making his females human" (316).

One explanation for the change in how women are depicted in Hemingway's literature is offered by Linda Wagner-Martin, who maintains that "in his early fiction, Hemingway's attention was on women themselves. In the later novels and stories, because his attention had been usurped by the deaths of his father and other men, women characters exist primarily to

give the Hemingway character another dimension" (246). This is the case, for example, of Francis Macomber's wife, Margot, one of the few feminine presences in the short stories in the second phase. She is used in the story to expose the main character's flaws and weaknesses: it is through his wife's contempt that Macomber is best characterized as a coward and a loser.

As a fiction writer, Hemingway tends to depict women as a degrading companionship to a man. Macomber's wife kills him at the end of the story but, following Hemingway's iceberg theory, this is only implied. Wilson's words to describe American women could be considered a generalized thought of how Hemingway saw the opposite sex. "They [American women] are, he thought, the hardest in the world; the hardest, the cruelest, the most predatory and the most attractive and their men have softened or gone to pieces nervously as they have hardened" (*The Complete Short Stories* 9).

It is possible to trace a parallel between Hemingway's treatment of women in his fiction and the women featured in his journalistic articles. The first point worth noting is that in Hemingway's journalism of the 1930s, women are almost completely absent too. In the world of sportsmen, fishermen, and globe trotters of *Esquire,* there was barely any room for feminine characters, and there is almost no interaction between men and women. When female names do appear, it is often very briefly or to indulge Hemingway's ego.

Some of Hemingway's traveling experiences narrated in the section "Letters" were taken with the companionship of his wife, Pauline. Since Hemingway chose to tell his adventures in the first person, Pauline appears briefly in the stories. She is tactically inserted in the narrative to make comments that serve to enshrine Hemingway's ego. At the same time, she is also depicted as an absent-minded woman that does not pay attention to her husband.

One case that illustrates this is the article "Old Newsman Writes: A Letter from Cuba," published in December 1934. Hemingway digresses about the importance of writing and how a writer should be proud of what he has written if he had written truthfully about what he

knows. When the writer experiences writer's block, it is good to resort to his previously published books. The wife here is inserted in the story to confirm how good his work is.

> When you can't work and feel like hell you will pick up the book and look in it and start to read and go on and in a little while say to your wife, 'Why this stuff is bloody marvelous.' And she says, 'Darling, I always told you it was.' Or maybe she doesn't hear you and says 'What did you say?' and you do not repeat the remark. (*By-Line* 189)

Hemingway's depiction of his wife is a reflection of his relationship with the opposite gender in general. As Michael Reynolds explains, in *Hemingway: The 1930s Through the Final Years,* "Hemingway traditionally favored women who were less worldly than he was and were willing to be subordinate to him" (244).

In the articles dispatched from Spain during the Civil War, women appear even more scarcely, and they do not have faces, names, or surnames. They are primarily present in the description of a retreating peasant, an anonymous worker, or a nosy waitress. Even in cases in which women could have been given voice and space in the stories, their husbands are the ones who speak for them. This is the case of the story "The Flight of Refugees":

> On a mule piled high with bedding rode a woman holding a still freshly red-faced baby that could not have been two days old the mother's head swung steadily up and down with the motion of the beast she rode, and the baby's jet-black hair was drifted grey with the dust. A man led the mule forward, looking back over his shoulder and then looking forward at the road.
>
> 'When was the baby born?' I asked him, as our car swung alongside.
>
> 'Yesterday,' he said proudly, and the car was past. (*By-Line* 290)

The woman in question has no name, and it is the husband who speaks on her behalf. The story above makes the case that in the few cases in which women appear in Hemingway's

journalism, they are always given a secondary role. Hemingway was repeating in his journalism what he also did in his literature from the second phase.

7.4 Political activism and the Spanish Civil War

The relationship between Hemingway and politics has received different approaches from scholars. Some points of contention guide the debate amongst them. Did Hemingway believe in politics? What was his stance on government? What were his political views? The answers to these questions are addressed by scholars under a diverse spectrum of perspectives, as discussed in chapter 4. Nevertheless, if we only consider what Hemingway published, it can be argued that the expression of politics in his writing developed over time.

In the early years, Hemingway dodged the topic in his literature altogether, while in journalism, it was only present in the stories he produced under assignments. In the article "Ernest Hemingway and His Growth as a Political Activist in the 1930s", Anders Greenspan states that during the 1920s, Hemingway "was commonly seen as a writer with little or no interest in politics, a notion which Hemingway himself helped to perpetuate publicly" (1). This position, however, takes a different direction in the 1930s. Greenspan explains that Hemingway perceived the advance of the fascist ideology in the European continent as a threat to democracy. Therefore, politics stops being the underlying subject of only a handful of news stories and is brought to the forefront of many of his texts. These articles, sustains Greenspan, "demonstrated his transformation from a neutral observer to a political activist" (2).

In the columns written for *Esquire*, Hemingway had the freedom to express his opinions openly, so he started to blatantly disclose his points of view on politics, mainly European affairs. In the piece "A Paris Letter," from February 1934, he stands up against the political strategy that was about to lead countries to the carnage of World War II.

> What makes you feel bad is the perfectly calm way everyone speaks about the next war. It is accepted and taken for granted. All right. Europe has always had

> wars. But we can keep out of this next one. And the only way to keep out of it is not to go in it; not for any reason. There will be plenty of good reasons. But *we must keep out of it*. If kids want to go to see what war is like, or for the love of any nation, let them go as individuals. Anyone has a right to go who wants to. But we, as a country, have no business in it and we must keep out. (*By-Line* 160)

The article above shows that Hemingway possessed an acute sense of the world's geopolitical context. In the story "A Friend of Spain," published one month before, he even foreshadowed the upcoming events that led to the Spanish Civil War. "Spain is a big country and it is now inhabited by too many politicians for any man to be a friend to all of it with impunity. The spectacle of its governing is at present more comic than tragic; but the tragedy is very close" (*By-Line* 148). When the tragedy finally became real, and Hemingway traveled to Spain to cover the conflict for the *NANA*, politics became central to most of the dispatches.

At the start of the Spanish Civil War, flocks of journalists – amongst whom Hemingway – fled into Spain, but few of them took sides. According to Paul Preston, the few that did take sides portrayed the Republicans as the villains or propagated the idea of a "Red terror." That was the case of the early dispatches sent from *Reuters's* and *The Daily Express's* correspondents, who were the first to arrive in the country. They bylined headlines such as "Priest Die Praying," or "Armed Reds Bar Way to City of Terror." The reason for this, argues Preston in *The Last Days of the Spanish Republic*, is that their reporting was written from Madrid and Barcelona, where "the uprising was defeated by the spontaneous action of the working-class organizations" (20).

Hemingway's first accounts of the war showed a country that did not seem to be immersed in deep trouble. In the first dispatch to *NANA*, "The First Glimpses of War," from March 18, 1937, he describes a momentary quietness in the air. "Flying low down the coast

toward Alicante, along white beaches, past grey-castled towns, or with the sea curling against rocky headlands, there was no sign of war. Trains were moving, cattle were ploughing the fields, fishing boats were setting out, and factory chimneys were belching smoke" (*By-Line* 265).

A few weeks later, however, the situation escalated. The resistance was crushed in the southern region, and in a matter of a few days, the country was divided into two war zones. Reporters soon started showing the violence perpetrated by both sides of the conflict. Even though few journalists arrived in Spain particularly committed to the cause either to the left or to the right side, this changed as they witnessed the war's brutality. Paul Preston, in "Foreign Correspondents in the Spanish Civil War," writes the following about the international correspondents:

> Some went as leftists, rather fewer as rightists and plenty of those who spent brief periods in Spain were simply jobbing newspapermen. However, as a result of what they saw, even some of those who arrived without commitment came to embrace the cause of the beleaguered Republic. Underlying their conversion was a deep admiration for the stoicism with which the Republican population resisted. (232)

Preston adds that observation slowly turned into indignation, and sympathy became partisanship. He weighs, however, that partisanship did not result in a lack of accuracy or honesty on the reporters' side. In most cases, the reporting from the Spanish Civil War was balanced and accurate. However, from a personal point of view, the journalists – including Hemingway – felt compelled to take sides with the left. Preston continues:

> Many of the correspondents who experienced the horrors of the siege of Madrid and the inspiring popular spirit of resistance became convinced of the justice of the Republican cause. In some cases, such as Ernest Hemingway, Martha

> Gellhorn and Louis Fischer, they became absolute partisans, to the extent of activism yet not to the detriment of the accuracy or honesty of their reporting. Indeed, some of the most committed correspondents produced some of the most accurate and lasting reportage of the war. (233)

Despite his involvement with the Republican side of the war, Hemingway's dispatches for *NANA* were mostly balanced. If we analyze them, we can see that they described a country in ebullition. Nevertheless, most of the time he does not show partisanship. He stuck to the facts that he had witnessed, so verbs such as "watch" and "see" abound, like in this excerpt from "The Fall of Teruel," written in December 1937: "We sat behind trees, comfortable thick trees, and *saw* twigs clipped from their drooping lower branches. We *watched* the Fascist planes head for us and hunted shelter in a soil-eroded gulch only to *watch* them turn and circle to bomb the government lines near Concud" (*By-Line* 287). In the articles sent from the front, Hemingway talks about the war but does not comment on the politics behind it. David Sanders writes that Hemingway was "concerned with the combatant rather than the political element of the war effort" (139).

Hemingway's political standpoint was far more forthright in the articles bylined on the pages of the bi-weekly magazine *Ken*.[42] Since this was a politically oriented and journalistically dubious magazine, we will not dwell on the analysis of its articles. However, it might be interesting to highlight the article "A Programme for U.S. Realism." Published in *Ken* on August 11, 1938, Hemingway urges the United States to stay out of the war. "There is going to be a war in Europe. What are we going to do about it as realists? First, we want to stay out of it. We have nothing to gain in a European war except the temporary prosperity it will bring. One way to stay out is to have nothing to do with it, not sell war materials to either side" (*By-*

[42] The title was created in March 1938 and had a short life: it lasted until August 1939. Hemingway contributed with texts to fourteen editions.

Line 300).

The text's content was similar to the article "A Paris Letter", which he had written for *Esquire* years before, as seen previously. This shows that Hemingway's points of view had not been restricted to the more specialized news outlet, but it was also in the mainstream media texts.

Michael Reynolds, in *Hemingway: The 1930s Through the Final Years,* asserts that, as a Spanish Civil War correspondent, Hemingway had the privileged position of witnessing the conflict as few journalists and writers of his time did. As a result of this immersion, no other previous journalistic experience had such a direct impact on Hemingway's literature as the Spanish Civil War. After returning from the front, he secluded himself in his Key West house to write a book about the event. This allowed him, according to Reynolds, to venture into politics in his literature too, with *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. In the novel, he revealed his political sentiments more openly than before. Reynolds contends that, during the 1930s, "no longer could Hemingway claim to the disinterested novelist who just happened to go to Spain – it was now clear that Hemingway had deep political views, no matter how hard he had previously struggled to hide them (253).

The book's hero Robert Jordan considers himself an anti-fascist with values to defend. For David Sanders, "Jordan's anti-fascism had the precise quality and intensity of Hemingway's as articulated in the war dispatches for *NANA* and *Ken*" (141). However, since the book had a different purpose from the reporting, the story was built using the war as a motif but extrapolating the limits of the conflict. Sander concludes: "Hemingway wanted to present continuing, immutable truths about Spain and felt it necessary to go beyond Madrid and the political sphere of the war" (140).

7.4.1 Real characters

In his job as a correspondent, Hemingway would often want to give a sense of closeness to the North American readers, showing that what was happening on the other side of the Atlantic should matter. In one of the dispatches, he attempts to connect with the readers by writing a story about Raven, an American volunteer wounded in the war. The man wrote Hemingway a letter asking to meet him in person. Raven wanted to pursue a career in writing and was hopeful to be introduced to Hemingway and other writers, such as Steinberg, who was also in Spain as a correspondent.

Hemingway goes to the hospital and narrates this encounter with the American volunteer giving a very graphic image of what the Civil War was becoming. This is how he describes his first glimpse at Raven, lying on a bed: "The voice came from a high mound covered by a shoddy grey blanket. There were two arms crossed on the top of the mound and at one end there was something that had been a face, but now was a yellow scabby area with a bandage cross where the eyes had been" (*By-Line* 272).

Two traits of Hemingway's literary style can be noticed in the story. The first one is the use of dialogues. Hemingway transcribes some moments of conversation as if it were a question and answer interview. The dialogue is interrupted by very personal comments from the reporter. In the excerpt below, Hemingway brings up his memories of being at war:

> 'Where did you come from?' I asked.
>
> 'From Pittsburgh. I went to the University there.'
>
> 'What did you do before you joined up here?'
>
> 'I was a social worker,' he said.
>
> Then I knew it couldn't be true and I wondered how he had really been so frightfully wounded and I didn't care. In the war that I had known, men often lied about the manner of their wounding. (*By-Line* 273)

Another typical resource of Hemingway's fiction that can also be noticed in his journalism of the second phase is the repetition of ideas. He gets to the point of repeating the same information three times as he does in his literature to highlight an idea. In the following dialogue, Hemingway resorts to this type of repetition to emphasize that he would be able to bring acclaimed writers to see the man convalescing. Although less blatantly than in his stories to *Esquire,* the resource here is being used to show – in a subtler way – that he is not there like just another reporter. He is there as the American writer, who knows other American writers. All the dialogues are interspersed with Hemingway's favorite verb for dialogues, "to say." Hemingway repeats the information "I will bring them" three times:

> 'They tell me Dos Passos and Sinclair Lewis are coming over, too,' he said.
>
> 'Yes,' I said. 'And when they come *I'll bring them up to* see you.'
>
> 'Gee, that will be great,' he said. 'You don't know what that will mean to me.'
>
> '*I'll bring them*,' I said.
>
> 'Will they be here pretty soon?'
>
> 'Just as soon as they come *I'll bring them*.' (*By-Line* 274)

Nevertheless, Hemingway falls short in providing clues as to why Raven was involved in the war. He does not reflect on the character's motivation or the reasons that led him there. His purpose was to unveil the harsh truth about the war and its effects on the people involved. No further comments or political contexts were given, proving that the literary resource of the iceberg theory was still in full function in the 1930s, not only in Hemingway's literature but also in his journalism.

7.5 Geography and culture

One of the recurring features in Hemingway's biography was that he continuously wandered around different landscapes. From the age of 17, he was compelled to leave his hometown in the United States and ended up living most of his adult life abroad because his

country represented for him, as states Marín Ruiz, "unpleasant family recollections – such as the suicide of his father – and a way of life with which he did not feel identified" (106). Italy, France, Cuba, and Kenya were amongst the many territories that Hemingway would explore in his lifetime, and some of them also became home for him, such as Paris, Key West, and Havana. Mark Cirino and Mark Ott, in the book *Ernest Hemingway and the Geography of Memory*, argue that traveling for Hemingway was "the engine of his creative life, as the continual contrast between spaces provided him evidence of his emerging identity as a writer, here and there, of what he once was and what he now has become" (x-xi).

One of the most fruitful and enduring geographical connections that Hemingway had was with Europe. His first incursions in the continent at the age of 17 as an ambulance driver during World War I, followed by his life as an expatriate in the 1920s and later his constant trips to the continent during the 1930s and 1940s, are all reflected in his writing. In the first phase, three European countries served as the main scenarios for Hemingway's fiction: France, Italy, and Spain. In the second phase, it was Spain that received most of his attention and became the country most closely linked to his persona. In the book "The Influence of the European Culture on Hemingway's fiction", Silvia Ammary says that just like the characters represented in his books, "Hemingway made every attempt to integrate himself to the foreign culture and not to act out of a narrow-minded Americanism" (3).

Why did the Spanish character and landscape have much more appeal to Hemingway than any other country? One explanation for this attraction is provided by Malcolm Cowley, who asserts that Spain proved to be a fertile ground where most of Hemingway's symbolism could spring. In "Nightmare and Ritual in Hemingway," the scholar says that Hemingway found the symbols and rituals lived by Spaniards inside the Catholic church to be full of synergy and meaning. The tragic sense of death and life that Hemingway found in Spain was of great allure for him. For Cowley, this is why Hemingway feels a great kinship with Spain and its

people. Spaniards "retain a primitive dignity in giving and accepting death. Even when their dignity is transformed into a blind lust of killing, as sometimes happened during the civil war, they continue to hold respect" (49).

Edward Stanton follows the same argumentation line and adds that for a writer that developed most of his writing seeking the real truth, the pre-capitalist, rural Spain was the perfect match. It was the country where the old truths still remained. In *Hemingway and Spain: A Pursuit*, the scholar says that in Spain, Hemingway found that love, friendship, and success still mostly depended on people's interactions and relationships. One of the characters in Hemingway's fiction that might best represent these values is Anselmo, the old *luchador* in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. For Stanton,

> Anselmo is the most impeccable character in the novel, a man with the natural nobility of the Castillan peasant. Both the old man and Robert Jordan are dressed in peasant trousers and rope-soled shoes; from the beginning, they are a pair in harmony despite their obvious differences – old and young, illiterate and educated, peasant and teacher, Spaniard and American. They are bound together by their dedication to the Republic, their sense of self-sacrifice for the good of the cause, their unwavering sense of loyalty. (154)

The scholar highlights that it is possible to find the resonance of the old Anselmo in one of Hemingway's dispatches from the Civil War, "Chauffeurs of Madrid." The article, from May 22, 1937, is a light-hearted description of four different car drivers working for Hemingway during the war. Each of the chauffeurs in the story characterizes a Spanish archetype.

Tomas, the first one, looked like "a particularly unattractive, very mature dwarf out of Velázquez put into a suit of blue dungarees" (*By-Line* 276). But he was also highly inefficient and, therefore, was dismissed. The second chauffeur was a sketchy man that ran away with the

car after they filled it up with forty liters of petrol, which was "harder to obtain than Chanel's and Molyneux's perfumes or Bols gin" (*By-Line* 277). The third chauffeur was a young man named David, who "used the language that was so utterly and inconceivably foul that half of the time you could not believe what your ears were hearing" (*By-Line* 278). There was a fourth chauffeur who was so useless that Hemingway says there was no point in getting into details.

Finally, a fifth chauffeur named Hipolito comes to the scene. He was "as solid as the rock be looked to be cut from, as sound as a good bell and as regular and accurate and a railway man's watch" (*By-Line* 280). The journalist says that it was due to men like Hipolito that Franco did not take control of Madrid.

> Hipolito and others like him would have fought from street to street, and house to house, as long as any one of them was left alive; and the last ones left would have burned the town. They are tough and they are efficient. They are the Spaniards that once conquered the Western World. They are not romantic like the anarchists and they are not afraid to die. Only they never mention it. The Anarchists talk a little bit too much about it, the way Italians do. (*By-Line* 280)

The story "Chauffeurs of Madrid" shows that some of Hemingway's war reporting was also an attempt to interpret and describe the Spanish characters and culture. Due to time and space restrictions, Hemingway would only fully develop this in fiction three years later, when he sat down to write *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. In the fictional story, Hemingway was able to portray the different layers of the Spanish culture in-depth. Due to the reasons above, the novel can be considered a complement from the war reporting and the non-fiction book *Death in the Afternoon*. The Spanish characters in the book resound and amplify the traits mentioned in *Death in the Afternoon* and his war reporting.

Hemingway thought of himself as being closely attached to the Spanish culture. In a letter written to Harvey Breit in 1959, he stated: "I am considered a Spanish author who

happened to be in America" (*Selected Letters* 873). Despite his highly-qualified knowledge of Spain, however, it is debatable whether he could have gone so far as to be considered a "Spanish author." In fact, recent scholarship on the topic brought up the flaws that Hemingway had regarding Spanish culture.

In the provoking article "He Was Sort of a Joke," Jeffrey Herlihy-Mera writes that Hemingway was ridiculed by "his pretensions of insider status with bullfighting circles and what some perceived as his poor ability to speak Spanish" (84).[43] However, no matter how the critics decide to assess Hemingway's relation to Spain, it is hard to deny that the country portrayed both in his journalism and literature resulted from his personal real experiences and interactions with the country and its people.

After the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, Hemingway would not set foot in the country again for almost fifteen years. Franco's newly formed regime censored his works, and he was considered an enemy of the state. The years that followed his non-interaction with his country of devotion were also the years in which his interests in sports and adventures were diminishing. The times that followed the Spanish Civil War would turn Hemingway into an older man that drank excessively and had little discipline. The following chapter will lead us through the third phase of Hemingway's life, which is when he starts experiencing a descending curve while – ironically – at the same time, he was being awarded for his lifetime achievements as a writer.

[43] The article's title refers to a sentence in José Luis Castillo-Puche's work, *Hemingway in Spain*. In the book, Castillo-Puche writes that "Hemingway was no longer a fascinating figure to people in Spain; he had become a sort of joke" (20).

PART III - THE LATE YEARS (1941-1961)
Papa Hemingway's Return to the Battlefields and the Bullrings

CHAPTER 8 – THE OLD NEWSMAN GOES BACK TO THE FRONT

Journalism had been a constant in Hemingway's early adult life. As time passed by and he became a well-known writer, it was to be assumed that he could eventually be derailed from this craft. However, that was not the case. Hemingway remained connected to the media world. As he grew old, journalism would become less of a breadwinning profession and more of an activity linked to his personal tastes and obsessions.

In the last decades of his life, all journalistic assignments were driven by two of his most potent interests: the war and the bullfighting. In the following pages, we will explore Hemingway's journalistic work from the 1940s until the end of his life in 1961. We will consider this period to be the third phase of his journalism because it followed the publication of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, which wraps up the second literary period in 1940.

In the ten-year interval that ensued *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, no literature would come out of Hemingway's pen.[44] The only texts that he published in the 1940s appeared in the press. There had always seemed to be someone who pushed Hemingway back into the news world. This time, the person was Martha Gellhorn, a journalist with a consolidated career with whom

[44] Hemingway was the editor and wrote the preface of *Men at War*. Published in 1942, the book is a collection of other writers' pieces on the topic and not his own production.

he got married on November 21, 1940. Gellhorn's profile was very different from Hemingway's second wife and also journalist, Pauline Pfeiffer. Pfeiffer came from a wealthy family and quit her job to tag along (and financially support) Hemingway. Gellhorn, on the other hand, was adamant about continuing her job as a correspondent and short story writer. She did not wish to become a trophy wife after marrying Hemingway. On the contrary, Gellhorn was the one that insisted that the couple signed up for something far less tranquil than settling down in Cuba after the wedding.

She was the main propeller to convince him to embark to China and cover the Second Sino-Japanese War only two months after they tied the knots. The conflict started in 1937 and escalated to such an extent that at the end of 1941, it would merge into one of the greatest battles of World War II. Gellhorn traveled as the special correspondent for the magazine *Collier's*. Hemingway did the same for the daily newspaper *PM*.[45] The couple traveled in January 1941 and spent a total of one hundred days in the Far East.

Hemingway's next journalistic assignment would come up towards the middle of the decade. In 1944, he returned to Europe to cover World War II. This time it was he – not his wife – that would do the job for the magazine *Collier's*. Charles Whiting, who wrote *Papa Goes to War*, one of the few books specifically devoted to this period of his life, says that Hemingway negotiated a coverage with the magazine editors on Gellhorn's back to infuriate her. In a sign that the marriage was not going very well, Hemingway flew across the ocean three days before D-Day, while Martha "followed him to England in a slow cargo boat, laden

[45] The liberal-leaning newspaper *PM* only lasted eight years, from June 1940 to June 1948. In spite of its short life, it represented a big innovation in the media industry at the time: in an attempt to be free from the pressure of business interests, it did not accept advertising. Besides, it was also innovative in its content, with a dash of colour on page one, big photographs and reporting on labour, social and consumer issues. *PM* was a product created and financed by publisher Ralph Ingersoll, who had previously managed other media outlets, such as the magazines *Fortune* and *Time*.

with dynamite" (7). Whiting writes that despite his personal effort to participate in the war, in that period of his life,

> Hemingway was more concerned with living than writing. *Collier's* was simply the means to justify his stay in wartime Britain. Just as he had wasted the previous three years as a writer, penning material he would never publish, living off his reputation, now he was producing mediocre journalism which featured Ernest Hemingway, the great novelist. (60-61)

After World War II, Hemingway returned to his house in Cuba and devoted the rest of the decade and the 1950s to fiction writing. Little was done in terms of journalism, except for some opinion articles featured in the magazine *Look*. Towards the end of the 1950s, he would embark on what would be his last big assignment. In 1959, *Life* magazine invited him to write an extended article on bullfighting. He accepted to travel to Spain during the summer of that year to follow the duel between the aging and tired bullfighter Luis Miguel Dominguín and his younger, energetic and talented brother-in-law Antonio Ordóñez.[46] This drama appeared in three editions of *Life* in September 1960s and will be discussed in the pages below. Before this, however, we will dedicate a session to explore the last wars that Hemingway would experience in his life.

8.1 Hemingway's two wars and the discovery of new geographies

Hemingway had shown his fascination with the war from a very early age. He expressed this by making all the efforts to get involved in some of the most critical military actions of the 20th century. As his second son, Patrick, puts it in the foreword of the book *Hemingway on War*, "as a fortunate American he chose to go to war rather than, as an unlucky Spaniard or an even unluckier Pole, have it inevitably come to him" (xi).

[46] Antonio Ordóñez was the son of Cayetano Ordóñez, who was Hemingway's friend in the 1920s. Cayetano served as inspiration for the character Pedro Romero in the book *The Sun Also Rises*.

Except for World War I, in which Hemingway participated as an ambulance driver, all the armed conflicts that he witnessed throughout his life were due to journalism. The three decades of participation in the war resulted first in journalistic articles and then an almost immediate counterpart work in fiction. In the period that corresponds to the first phase of Hemingway's literary style, he covered the Greco-Turkish wars as a journalist. From this experience, together with his previous participation in the Italian front, came out some of the most important short stories of the character Nick Adams, such as "Big Two-Hearted River," and "As I Lay Me," as well as the inspiration for the books *In Our Time* and *The Sun Also Rises*.

In the 1930s, which encompasses the second phase, it was time to report from the trenches of the Spanish Civil War. A few years after his participation, Hemingway gave his literary version to the conflict with *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. In the 1940s, it was time to face other wars, firstly in Asia covering the Second Sino-Japanese War, then in Europe reporting on World War II. The last novel of his career, *Across the River and Into the Trees,* derives from this experience. In a famous profile written by Lilian Ross for *The New Yorker* magazine in 1950, titled, "How do you like it now, Gentleman?" Hemingway said: "The wound combat makes in you, as a writer, is a very slow-healing one" (par. 34). Hemingway's participation in the last wars of his life as a journalist, how it is different from the previous experiences, and how it would evolve in the following stage of his literature will be the discussion presented in the following pages.

8.1.1 The Sino-Japanese War

During his early years, the number of travels undertaken by Hemingway, both professionally and for leisure, led him to discover many foreign geographies. However, it was not until 1941 that he set foot in Far East Asia for the first time. Neither his professional

assignments nor his personal interests had taken him to explore that corner of the world thus far. As a result, Asia was never present in his literature or journalism.[47]

In a letter written to his editor Charles Scribner on October 21, 1940, Hemingway gives a hint that Asia did not particularly move him. He mentions that after his marriage to Martha Gellhorn, the couple would be heading off to China. Traveling around China was, apparently, an idea of fun for Gellhorn, but not for him. In the correspondence, Hemingway states: "All matters are being fixed up so Martha and I can get married in November. Her idea of fun after that is to go to the Burma Road" (*Selected Letters* 520).

With the underlying reason of following Martha, Hemingway closed a deal with the newspaper *PM* to travel to Asia to write on the Second Sino-Japanese War. As early as August 1940, he had been talking to the founder of the newspaper and a friend of his, Ralph Ingersoll, about some form of war correspondence. Knowing that his future wife would sooner or later end up looking for assignments abroad, Hemingway tried to find a way to make his marriage work through journalism.

The arrangement, which finally materialized in December 1940, was different from his mission covering the Spanish Civil War six years before. Back then, he was asked to report from the trenches in a hard news style. As a correspondent for the *North American Newspaper Alliance*, Hemingway narrated what was happening in the front of the Spanish Civil War by telegraphing stories regularly. Even his more personal and observational articles were published in the heat of the moment. For the newspaper *PM,* he did not have this commitment with timing.

Hemingway's deal with *PM*'s editors was that he would only telegraph any stories if a new battle broke out. If that were not the case, he would only take notes during the trip and

[47] The only exception to this was a brief first-person account of the earthquake that struck Yokohama, in Japan, in 1923. The text was written for *The Toronto Daily Star* based on an interview with a survivor of the disaster.

publish his articles upon returning to the West. This is what explains Ralph Ingersoll *PM*'s director and founder in the article "Interview with Hemingway."[48] Ingersoll clarifies that the reason for such a gap between the trip and the publication is that Hemingway should have had "the time and the perspective to analyze everything he had seen and heard, and render a report of more lasting value than day-to-day correspondence" (*By-Line* 310).

According to Ingersoll's article, *PM* gave Hemingway a roster of questions to guide his trip in Asia: Was China in danger of a civil war? What effect would the soon-to-be-signed Russian-Japanese have? Most importantly, what was North America's position in terms of the war being fought? Ingersoll lays out the reasons for the decision to invite Hemingway to write on the war:

> Long before he was a novelist, Ernest Hemingway was a noted war correspondent. He covered the fighting in the Mediterranean in the last war, the whole of the Spanish war – in which the present war was fought in miniature.
>
> Of sufficient stature to be distinct from his reputation as a war correspondent was his reputation as a military expert. He is a student of war in its totality – everything about war, from machine gun emplacements to tactics and maneuvers to civilian morale and industrial organization for war. These things he has studied for 20 years. (*By-Line* 310)

Ingersoll's flattering words overvalues Hemingway's expertise in the craft of war. This indicates that the cult surrounding Hemingway's persona was still strong in the 1940s. Ingersoll gives a detailed map of Hemingway's stay in China during the conflict, which helps build the impression that he was a man of extraordinary skills – even though these would be the expected movements of any good reporter during war times. Hemingway spent a month in

[48] Ralph Ingersoll's article, published in *PM* on June 9, 1941 and re-published in the book *By-Line*, introduces the series of reports written by Hemingway about his incursion in Asia. Hemingway's articles were published between June 10, and June 18, 1941.

Hong Kong, then flew over to the Japanese lines and spent a month living with the Kuomintang army troops.[49] Finally, he made his way to Chungking, where he interviewed the Chinese president Chiang Kai-shek. The editor proudly says:

> Hemingway spent a month at the front, living with the troops, going everywhere with them. He traveled down the river by sampan first, then on horseback, and finally on foot. There were 12 days during a wet spell when he and Mrs. Hemingway never had dry clothes to put on. (*By-Line* 313)

On the other side of the world, Hemingway's fame did not run scarcely either. In a study devoted to exploring Hemingway's experience in China, Peter Moreira reconstructed Hemingway's stay in the continent in great detail. In the book *Hemingway on the China Front*, he says that weeks before Gellhorn and himself set foot in their first destination, Hong Kong, the local newspapers reported their arrival. The *South China Morning Post* was following the trip as they were advancing through Manila on board the aircraft *Clipper*. Upon arriving in Hong Kong, the couple was received by a group of reporters, and Hemingway posed for photos with the captain of the plane.

Moreira recognizes that the basis for the construction of Hemingway's persona rested on the image of an American immersed in European cultures during the early years. His legend grew during the 1930s as an African and Caribbean sportsman. However, asserts the scholar, after 1941, Hemingway could also include in his repertoire some anecdotes about his travels in Asia:

> In Hong Kong he was able to do many of the things that he loved: drink, hunt, box, bet on horses, learn about a new culture, and swap stories with other

[49] Kuomitang (KMT) is also referred to in English as Chinese Nationalist Party (CNP). It was the predominant ruling party in China from 1928 to 1949. It is one of the two main political parties in contemporary China, the other one being the Chinese Communist Party, which has been in power since 1949.

> soldiers – all in a remarkable city undergoing a fascinating change because of the nearby war. In the hundred days he spent off continental American soil during the trip, Hemingway spent forty of them in Hong Kong – more than five times as long as any other stop. (27)

One of the things that became apparent was the luxury Hemingway and Gellhorn were traveling. At the time, most visitors would arrive in Asia crossing the Pacific by ship. The couple, however, traveled by plane, stayed at the most expensive hotels, and dined at the finest restaurants. Moreira recounts that during their five weeks in the former British colony, Hemingway had a "crazy life," in which "Gellhorn worked while Hemingway drank" (34).

It is no surprise that the articles published from this experience, three months after Hemingway's return, were far from memorable. Hemingway seems to be conscious of the country's situation and aware of the danger of an imminent war. At moments, he gives context to readers, trying to make things matter to them. That was the case of the article "Ruber Supplies in Dutch East Indies," published on June 11, 1941. In the story, Hemingway explains:

> If we fight Japan the pretext for fighting will be that Japan has attacked the Philippines, or the Dutch East Indies or British Malaya.
>
> But the real reason for fighting Japan will be that if she moves south in the Pacific she will be attacking the control of the world supply of rubber . . . No American who drives a car, talks on a telephone, plays golf, or rides a plane, or a train, or a bus can continue to do these things for long if our supply of rubber is cut off. (*By-Line* 326)

The opinion article establishes the implications of the likely war between Japan and the United States. By giving real examples of the impact of the rubber supply on the North Americans in the case of a war, Hemingway tries to make his article relevant to the reader. The text shows that he had done his homework of reading and understanding the main drivers of

the Asian turmoil. However, there was barely any indication that Hemingway had spent a month living among the troops, traveled with soldiers, or even that he had been to China. Most of the texts were opinion columns that could have been easily written by a commentator anywhere and not necessarily by someone who was in Asia.

The articles that came from this period were usually poor and self-referential, such as the story "China's Air Needs," from June 17, 1941, which opens with an emphasis of his whereabouts: "There is much difference of opinion about the Chinese air force. I have seen them fly, visited their training schools and talked with the Americans and Russians who have taught them. Some say they are fine. Some say they are terrible" (*By-Line* 338). However, there is no further indication of what he witnessed in the training schools. There are not any quotes from the Americans and Russians that he had talked to either. In fact, six out of eight of Hemingway's articles from China did not have any quotes at all.

The only exception to this is the first story, "Russo-Japanese Pact," from June 10, 1941, when the neutrality pact between Japan and Russia was signed. The story reproduces a dialogue between the Soviet Ambassador in China, Mr. Aleksandr Paniushkin, and the Chinese Prime Minister, Kung Hsiang-his.[50] It was the only article that included dialogues, a typical characteristic of Hemingway style.

> 'We hear that a pact is going to be signed,' the Chinese statesman said.
>
> 'Yes,' the Soviet Ambassador answered. 'That is true.'
>
> 'What will be the effect of such a pact on Russian aid to China?'
>
> 'None,' answered the Soviet Ambassador.
>
> 'Will you withdraw any troops from the Manchukuo frontier?'

[50] Kung Hsiang-his was referred throughout the article as Dr. H.H. Kun, which was how he was commonly called while in power.

> ‘We will reinforce our divisions there,’ the Soviet Ambassador said, and the head of the Soviet military advisers in China, a Lieutenant General, nodded agreement. (*By-Line* 321)

It is no coincidence that the scholarship on Hemingway has devoted very little attention to the one hundred days he spent in Asia, except for a few pages included in some of his most important biographies, such as the ones written by Baker, Meyers, and Reynolds. One explanation offered by Moreira is that nobody thinks of China or Japan as one of Hemingway’s countries. Many locales that Hemingway traveled to or spent some time in were reflected in the corpus of his journalistic and literary writings, such as Italy, Spain, France, Cuba, or Kenya. That is not the case with Asia.

A journey to the Far East served as a motif to some of the most influential writers of the Western world. The clash of cultures coupled with various aspects of Oriental life such as philosophy, religion, and social structure found resonance in some of the most important literary figures, like Ezra Pound or Thomas Eliot. [51] However, unlike his contemporary fellows, Hemingway never made any efforts to integrate the oriental culture or religion into his art. One of the most important legacies from the trip to China might not have been literary or journalistic. Moreira explains the collateral consequences of this experience:

> Though it had a negligible impact on his writing, the Asian trip is useful in understanding Hemingway because it shows his fascination with other cultures, as well as his eagerness to understand them. It’s also a key to understanding how

[51] As early as 1909, Ezra Pound developed an interest in haiku, a short form of poetry written in three phrases. His interests grew with the development of imagism, which derives from the classical Japanese and Chinese poetry and stresses clarity, precision, concision, and economy of language. T.S. Eliot studied Sanskrit and oriental religions as an undergraduate at the University of Harvard. These influences found resonance in the writing of some of his most praised works, such as *The Waste Land* and *Four Quartets*.

> Hemingway fell in love with espionage and paramilitary work, which became obsessions of his as America entered the Second World War. (xvii)

The trip to Asia triggered Hemingway's craving for being at war again. Some years later, he would take part in another conflict as a journalist, World War II.

8.1.2 World War II

London was the first stop in Hemingway's journey to cover World War II. He first arrived in the city on May 17, 1944, and stayed there for a month before boarding a ship towards France with a journalist credential. Despite being the country of his ancestors, it was the first time that he visited the United Kingdom. During Hemingway's first days in London, he met the woman who would become his fourth wife, Mary Walsh. Mary was also a journalist covering the war for *Time* magazine.

In *Papa Goes to War*, Charles Whiting recounts that during his first dinner with Mary, Hemingway found himself immersed in a conversation about the war that he could not follow properly, getting lost with the topic. She recommended some books to catch up on, but he did not seem interested in them. In the words of Whiting, what Hemingway *did* seem to be interested was in "action, amusement and, of course, alcohol" (13). This would help explain why Hemingway's coverage of the World War II resulted in only six articles even though he had spent more than three months in Europe. These stories were published in *Collier's* between July 22 and November 18, 1944.

Hemingway's thirst for adventure – and alcohol – was quenched amongst the community of Americans. During that time, around one million of them were based in the United Kingdom. Whiting claims that Hemingway preferred to merge with artists, would-be artists, and the people from the American army. Interestingly, it was the same type of people he had mixed with during the 1920s in post-war Europe, except that this time he also included

the people in uniform. More than twenty years on, Hemingway was once again an expatriate in Europe. Whiting writes:

> These were American expatriates of artistic leanings, finding their pleasures within their own tight circle, separated from the 'natives' all about them by their money and their very Americanism. For however sophisticated they appeared to be, and however much they disliked the provincialism of the country they had left behind them, they remained essentially and unmistakably American. (13)

Mingling among the crowd was not hard for Hemingway. By that time, he was still holding on to his fame as a celebrity. There was no question that he was the most famous personality covering World War II. In terms of personal relations and contacts, that resulted in a double-sided knife as he was often the target of resentments from other reporters, including his wife, Martha Gellhorn. In terms of professional performance, the advantages of his notoriety outweighed the disadvantages. As a well-known person, and through his contacts with the military people, Hemingway was granted access to exclusive places to witness the war rubbing shoulders with other soldiers – access that anonymous reporters did not have.

A few scholars recognize that his exclusive access to places, aligned with the observations of a writer, enabled Hemingway to produce some praiseworthy articles. Unlike his reporting from China, in which quotes and people were almost absent, in the stories from World War II, Hemingway uses them. Linda Wagner-Martin, in *Hemingway's Wars: Public and Private Battles*, contends that Hemingway "consistently relied on numbers and facts drawn from verifiable data, giving his readers the means to draw their own useful, and hopefully accurate, conclusions" (15-16).

Wagner-Martin also talks of the rich combination of dialogues, interspersed with scenes of horror and suspense present in most of these articles from the war. Full of dialogues, the story "Voyage to Victory," from July 22, 1944, recreates this sense of thrill and adventure.

Towards the end of the story, it resonates a triumphant tone. "We had six crafts missing, finally, out of the twenty-four LCV(P)s that went in . . . No boat was lost through bad seamanship. All that were lost were lost by enemy action. And we had taken the beach" (*By-Line* 361).

Despite a handful of qualities of Hemingway's reporting during World War II for *Collier's*, most scholars argue that they were not exactly outstanding, neither journalistically nor stylistically. Whiting reminds us that Hemingway always had made a distinction between journalism and serious writing. However, in some of the dispatches produced during World War II, "Hemingway couldn't even produce decent journalism . . . If someone else other than Hemingway had written such garrulous, inaccurate, egocentric stuff, it would surely never have been published!" (45).

One of the arguments brought up by Whiting is that Hemingway made elementary journalistic mistakes. In the story "London Fight the Robots," from August 19, 1944, for example, Hemingway writes an extensive essay about the wonders of an aircraft being used in one of the Royal Air Force's attacks. However, he confuses the name of the airplane. He called *Tempest* when, in fact, he was talking about the model *Typhoon*. Moreover, Hemingway spends most of the story talking about his experience flying the model, showing off his knowledge about aircrafts and the importance it had for him:

> You love a lot of things if you live around them, but there isn't any woman and there isn't any horse, nor any before nor any after, that is as lovely as a great aeroplane, and men who love them are faithful to them even though they leave them for others. A man has only one virginity to lose in fighters, and if it is a lovely plane he loses to, there his heart will ever be. And a P-51 can do something to a man's heart. (*By-Line* 363)

While people around him were suffering the immediate consequences of this new and deadly phase of the war, the most relevant information presented to the North American readers

is his tastes and experiences. Therefore, in terms of journalistic relevance, the article falls short in providing a more accurate picture of what was happening in Europe. There is too much unnecessary information that does not bring a new view or a backstage of the war, but mostly self-promotion. In the words of Whiting, "if anything at all emerged from this confused account of his first period with the 2nd Tactical Air Force, it was simply that Hemingway had flown with the Royal Air Force and that once again he had been in the forefront of the action" (44).

Hemingway's trying to show some prominence in the story was not an exception in the six articles he wrote on World War II. There are many other examples where he wants to display his participation in the military operations, even implying that he was responsible for some of the troops' actions. It is the case of the first story bylined from the war, "Voyage to Victory," also mentioned previously. The premise of the story is to render an account of the LCV(P), an amphibious boat that approached the coast of France during the Allied invasion of Normandy, also known as the D-Day.[52]

The article was published over forty days after the date and is supposed to give inside information of what happened from the perspective of someone participating in the operation. Hemingway "sells" this idea of being a co-protagonist because he was in the scene of the action. In the article, he says: "If you want to know how it was in an LCV(P) on D-Day when we took Fox Green beach and Easy Red beach on June 6, 1944, then this is as near as I can come to it" (*By-Line* 362).

Readers could have expected an interesting backstage story, as Hemingway was allowed to travel with the troops on the LCV(P) indeed. While his account of it does show the tension during the boat's approach to the coast, a significant part of the story is centered on Hemingway. Some excerpts in "Voyage to Victory" give the impression that had it not been

[52] LCV(P) stands for landing craft, vehicle, personnel. The boat was a landing craft used extensively in amphibious landings in World War II.

for Hemingway's help, the crew would not have been able to locate the correct beach to land the troops. After all, according to Hemingway himself, he "had studied this map and memorized most of it" (*By-Line* 349). It is also implied that the author had gone ashore with the troops, which never happened. Journalist Hemingway includes a dialogue between lieutenant Andrew, responsible for the route of the craft, and himself. He seemed confused and asked Hemingway for help.

> 'What beach do you think we are opposite?'
>
> 'There's the church tower that looks like Colleville,' I said. 'That ought to be on Fox Green. Then there is a house like the one marked on Fox Geen and the timber that runs down to him in a straight line, like on Easy Red'. (*By-Line* 350)

Hemingway's use of repetition was common in his literature to emphasize an idea or to show tension. In this story, he also uses this stylistic resource to show off his tactical skills. Some hundreds of characters later, he says again: "'This has got to be Fox Green,' I said to Andy. 'I recognize where the cliff stops. That's all Fox Green to the right. There is the Colleville church. There's the house on the beach. There's the Ruquet Valley on Easy Red to the right. This is Fox Green absolutely.'" (*By-Line* 351). The story goes on narrating that Hemingway's observational skills turned out to be correct, and it is implied that they played a vital role in the disembarking of the troops in France.

It is hard to disagree with scholars like Kenneth Lynn, who says that stories like "Voyage to Victory" show that Hemingway used journalism as a form of self-promotion. For Lynn, the World War II "was going to be another vehicle for the Hemingway's myth - and as had been the case a quarter of a century before, even the tallest of the tales that Hemingway dreamed up would be eagerly disseminated by ingenuous admirers" (510).

Hemingway's using the press to help create his myth is a characteristic of his journalism at *Esquire* in the 1930s. But this attitude is considerably different from the previous

experience covering the Spanish Civil War for the *NANA*. At that time, with attentive eyes, he tried to be an observer of the people around him. Following this premise, he was able to write gems like the profile about the chauffeurs of Madrid, in which he identifies different Spanish archetypes.

During World War II, Hemingway was not even remotely close to producing texts with such depth and richness. Hemingway had been so immersed in his own digressions that he failed to recognize the world around him. By the time he arrived in London, around 60,000 British civilians had been killed. But none of his dispatches, letters, or diaries ever mentioned this or any other impact of the war on civilians. Therefore, another of the flaws that can be pointed out in Hemingway's coverage of World War II is the indifference and aloofness that he treated the casualties. Whiting assertively concludes: "It was as if Hemingway was living in a vacuum" (43).

It could be argued that the poor quality of the journalistic texts during this time is because the author was keeping the best of his experiences to publish in fiction. That could be true if we consider that his original idea was to write a definitive book about war, divided into three volumes. But in the end, it became an endeavor that Hemingway never finished. The only book he would write again on war would be *Across the River and Into the Trees*, which was published in 1950 and opened the third literary phase.

In the almost 25 years after the coverage of World War II, Hemingway would not work as a journalist again. That battle represented for him his own farewell to arms. It was almost a farewell to the press, to which he would not return. The only time he made an exception was an assignment received by *Life* magazine in 1959, which would become the last of his life.

8.2 *The Dangerous Summer* as journalism

During the 1930s and the 1940s, Hemingway became a personality commonly associated with the ideals of sports, travels, and drinking. His participation in World War II did nothing but reaffirm this fame. However, another less known and darker side of this story is that such an adventurous life started paying a toll.

In the middle of the 1940s, when his assignment in the war was over, he returned to his house in Cuba and expected to receive his new partner, Mary. She was visiting her family in the United States after being away for two years. Through a letter written to his old friend Colonel Charles Lanham on April 20, 1945, Hemingway recognized the struggle to quit alcohol. In the letter, he wrote:

> I wrote you I'd cut out all drinking when wake in the night and all morning drinking have cut down about 90 percent. Also have been absolutely faithful. The latter is easy when you really love somebody. But not drinking is a goddamned bore. But since it is all I can do for the girl at the moment is what I am doing. Love her very much want to be good guy for her. (*Selected Letters* 589)

After so many attempts of recovering and relapsing, by 1950 Hemingway was not a healthy man anymore, neither physically nor mentally. Due to alcoholism, he had an inflamed liver, and his blood pressure and cholesterol levels were way beyond normal limits. He was also a confirmed hypochondriac, taking pills for all sorts of pains and, at some point, started experiencing mental issues. Hemingway had frequent waves of paranoia, assuming that the FBI was after him. During the last decade of his life, most of the discipline that he had possessed for writing was lost. The mind and the body of the adventurous man turned into a scruffy depressed version of himself. Hemingway would finally consolidate the father figure and the nickname he would become known for the rest of his life: *Papa Hemingway*.

In spite of his deteriorating physical and mental health, Hemingway's byline was still a valuable asset in a media publication. At the end of 1950, *Life* magazine's editors heard of Hemingway's intention to write an epilogue to the new edition of his book *Death in the Afternoon* and contacted him to propose something more ambitious. They suggested sending Hemingway back to Spain to write a special article on bullfighting. The magazine aimed to repeat the extraordinary success of the publication of his novella, *The Old Man and The Sea*, in 1952.

Hemingway accepted the offer and traveled to Spain in the summer of 1959 for three months to cover the bullfighting season. The duty received from *Life* magazine was to explain the rivalry between the two most famous bullfighters of that time, Luiz Miguel Dominguín and Antonio Ordóñez. They would be having a duel that year, and rumors had it that one of them was likely to end up being killed (though neither of them in the end was).

Hemingway had the privilege to have almost one year to write and edit his manuscripts, a deadline that is not typical in journalism, not even in magazines. The complete story came out in the following year in three parts. The first of the installments, called "The Dangerous Summer," appeared in the edition of September 5, 1960, featuring a full-blown picture of a grey-haired, grey-bearded Hemingway on the cover. The other two articles that compose the whole text appeared in the subsequent editions, on September 12 and 19, under the titles "Part II: The Pride of the Devil" and "Part III: An Appointment with Disaster."[53]

The fact that Hemingway was featured on the cover of the magazine indicates two main things. First, his name and figure still exerted some appeal to mass media's readers, and his picture on the cover would probably help boost sales. Secondly, it shows that the fame

[53] *Life en español*, the Spanish edition of the magazine, would re-publish the texts on October 31, November 14 and November 28, 1960. The text in English was translated into Spanish and edited to be adapted to an audience that was more familiar with the topic of bullfighting. Therefore, it included more specific details and omitted others from the original piece, intended to be read by a more novice audience.

surrounding Hemingway's name was going hand in hand with the profile of writer and journalist. Inside the magazine, the subtitle reads: "The Editors of *Life* Present a Major New Work by Ernest Hemingway, *The Dangerous Summer*." The largest letters on the double page were those of his name. Therefore, while Hemingway was a journalist writing those pages, he was also the grabber of readers' attention through his fame as a writer.

Life magazine, which ran weekly from 1936 to 1972 and monthly from 1978 until 2000, was a colossal success partially due to its format of offering in-depth stories accompanied by a photographic shooting. Hemingway's text spreads over thirty pages and is interspersed with full-page colored pictures from Spain. Among the photos of olive trees and farms, Malaga's bullring, and Dominguín petting a bull in his ranch was Hemingway's personal pictures. One of the pages displays a full photo of him talking to the bullfighter Antonio Ordóñez; another exhibits a handwritten manuscript of the story. The picture's footnote explains: "The original manuscript of *The Dangerous Summer* was handwritten by Hemingway in neat columns" (*Life* 88). The editors' choice to publish the manuscript shows how much the bullfighters' story also became, to a certain extent, Hemingway's story.

Hemingway wrote the article using secondary sources from the world of bullfighting (which gives the text a journalistic tone) and resorting to his own memories (which adds a more biographical voice to the article).[54] The article starts with a reminiscence of his trip to Spain in the summer of 1953, his first incursion after the civil war:

> It was strange going back to Spain again. I had never expected to be allowed to return to the country that I loved more than any other except my own and I would not return so long as any of my friends there were in jail. But in the spring of 1953 in Cuba I talked with good friends, who had fought on opposite sides in

[54] We will consider the three articles to be only one, and refer to them hereby in singular.

> the Spanish Civil War, about stopping in Spain on our way to Africa and they agreed that I might honorably return to Spain if I did not recant anything that I had written and kept my mouth shut on politics. (*Life* 78)

Hemingway continues narrating the memories of that visit to see the feria of Pamplona accompanied by his wife, Mary. The text is full of lighthearted moments and with sentences that show Hemingway's gaiety and observational skills, such as the description of their driver: "He was deeply devoted to us and to womankind as well" (*Life* 85). He explains then some of what he calls "abuses" after years of the predominance of Manolete in the bullrings. Hemingway unveils some of the tricks played in the bullfighting business at the moment, such as shaving the bull's horns to make them less dangerous and lethal. He says: "A bull whose horns have been altered is at least ten times safer to work and kill than a bull with his horns intact" (*Life* 85).

The text then jumps into 1959, and Hemingway mixes his memories with the narration of the rivalry between the two bullfighters during that summer of 1959. The chronicle has a humoristic and colloquial tone, similar to the one found in the *Esquire* articles almost twenty-five years before. He includes in the story a characterization of the bullfighter Antonio Ordóñez and his family. In one of the pictures, for example, Ordóñez's wife appears playing with their daughter in their home garden. Hemingway intersperses the text with his personal opinion and outspoken admiration of Antonios' father, Cayetano Ordóñez.

> I had known his father Cayetano years before and had written a portrait of him and an account of his fighting in a book called The Sun Also Rises . . . Watching Antonio with the bull I saw that he had everything his father had in his great days. Cayetano, his father, had absolute technical perfection. He could direct his subalterns, the picadors and the *banderilleros*, so that the entire handling of the bull, the three states that lead to his death, was ordered and reasoned. (*Life* 86)

One of the criticisms of this work is brought forward by Toni Castro. In his recent biography, *Looking for Hemingway and the Lost Generation*, he contends that Hemingway exaggerated the dramatic effects to make the journalistic piece more appealing. For the scholar, Hemingway embarked on the task of rendering the fight between Dominguín and Ordóñez a bigger drama than it was. Castro writes that "it was difficult to believe they were bitter enemies simply because each wanted to be recognized as the world's greatest bullfighter, when, in fact, they each had been recognized as such in their own time, about a decade apart" (208).

In fact, this is the reason why the articles ended up turning into a book. Hemingway's friend Aaron Edward Hotchner, in his biography *Hemingway: A Personal Memoir*, recounts Hemingway's struggle to get the story straight. Hotchner reproduces Hemingway's words from a phone conversation they had:

> As you may remember, when I was hired to write the piece it looked like one or the other of the men might be killed and *Life* wanted coverage of it. Instead, it turned out to be the gradual destruction of one person by another with all the things that led up to it and made it. I had to establish the personality and the art and the basic differences between the two great artists and then show what happened, and you can't do that in four thousand words. (237)

The number of words refers to the original deal for the size of Hemingway's text, which turned out to be eight times bigger than expected: the original manuscripts took up 688 pages and 108,746 words. Hotchner helped Hemingway cut the raw material down to almost 30,000 words and make it into the three-installment story.[55] It represents the last material that Hemingway wrote. Less than two years after that summer of 1959, Hemingway decided to return to the place of departure, the United States.

[55] Hemingway was struggling so much to edit the text that he invited Hotchner to fly over to Cuba, where he was living, and help him with the editing. *Life* had offered to cut the original manuscript for him, but Hemingway did not trust them.

After living in Cuba for almost two decades, Hemingway went back to his ranch in Ketchum, Idaho, in 1961. On July 2 that year, he took his own life with a shot in the mouth. For a writer that had spent most of his life living abroad and had built an ethos of literature and journalism with stories that take place overseas, his going back to the United States to commit suicide only gives a sense of closure to Hemingway's own journey of the hero.

CHAPTER 9 - A WRITER IS A WRITER IS A WRITER

The third and last phase of Hemingway's fiction writing encompasses the novels written from the 1950s until the end of his life in 1961. The period has been considered his least memorable and most infertile one, in which only three fiction books were published. The first, *Across the River and into the Trees*, came to light in 1950, after an almost ten-year void of any literary output. The text of the last one, *The Dangerous Summer*, debuted in 1960, one year before Hemingway's death.[56]

Neither of the two stories that open and end the new phase of Hemingway's literature was particularly celebrated. Critics consider them almost a second-rate product from a writer whose fresh style seemed to have been left in the past. Paradoxically, in between these unimpressive works, Hemingway published one of his most acclaimed stories, *The Old Man and the Sea*. The book depicts Hemingway's greatest hero from this phase, fisherman Santiago, in a struggle to capture the biggest fish he has ever seen but ends up with nothing. The character has been considered an allegory that represents Hemingway's pinnacle of a lifetime of learning. William Cain, in the article "Re-Reading *The Old Man and the Sea*," says that Santiago is the climax of his career, "the point at which his journey as a published writer ended" (113).

Hemingway's journey as a writer did end, but not entirely. After Hemingway's death, his widower, Mary Welsh, found the manuscripts of three unpublished works. They were edited and later transformed into posthumous books. *A Moveable Feast* came out only one year after Hemingway's death. It is a memoir of the period he was living in Paris conciliating the job of

[56] As explained in the previous chapter, *The Dangerous Summer* was originally published in three instalments in the magazine *Life* in 1960, while Hemingway was still alive. It was only in 1985 that the text was edited and published in a posthumous book.

a correspondent with finding a spot in the expatriates' literary scene. *Islands in the Stream,* published in 1970, is a saga of a man in three stages of his life. Rose Marie Burwell, in *Hemingway: The Postwar Years and the Posthumous Novels,* explains that "the book has its genesis in a ur-text that Hemingway wrote to revere his experiences as a correspondent during the Second World War" (51). In 1983, twenty years after Hemingway's death, *The Garden of Eden* came to light. The narrative is focused on David Bourne, a young American writer, his glamorous wife, Catherine, and the erotic game they play when they fall in love with the same woman. Finally, in the centennial of Hemingway's birth, *True at First Light* was brought out. The book was a blend between fiction and memories of his second safari in East Africa between 1953 and 1954.[57]

Despite the novelty of presenting narratives that had not been previously unveiled to the public, the posthumous books did not fall to the likes of either the critics or readers. Even though they were written in the same timeframe that corresponds to the third phase, these texts were heavily edited. Therefore, it is questionable how much of the style of the author would still be there. Barrio leaves these works out of the scope of his analysis of Hemingway's writing, and so do we.

Hemingway worked on most of the posthumous texts while convalescing from the two plane crashes he was involved in Uganda during a safari in the middle of the 1950s. Even though he survived these fatalities, his body and mind were not left unscathed. Some consider the accidents to be one of the crucial factors that accelerated Hemingway's decadence that had started during the 1940s. As the 50s developed, he left behind his movie star look of the 1920s, his adventurous persona depicted in *Esquire* during the 1930s to become a self-neglected and careless man. Jobst Knigge writes that Hemingway "had gained weight, had a bulging stomach

[57] The narrative of Hemingway's second African safari was first published in an abridged form in *True at First Light* (1999) and years later in complete form in *Under Kilimanjaro* (2005).

and tried to hide his balding by combing his white hair to the front. His scruffy beard covered up his scaly skin that had too much Caribbean sunburn. He did not care to dress up. And he had a big alcohol problem" (3).

Hemingway's literary legacy came to an abrupt closure on July 2, when the writer took his life with a shot in his head. In the following pages, we will tackle the style that corresponds to the last phase of Hemingway's literary career. We will look into the two most relevant productions from the period, *The Old Man and the Sea* and *Across the River and Into the Trees,* to talk about the characteristics of style that stand out in the third phase. We aim to show how the hero that started as an apprentice in Hemingway's early literature became the hero that has a life to look back on and a lesson to teach.

9.1 *Across the River and Into the Trees*

In 1950, after a 10-year hiatus in which there was no fiction coming out of Hemingway's pen, *Across the River and into the Tress* finally materialized.[58] The book was written between 1948 and 1949, when Hemingway spent a significant amount of time in Europe, especially in the Northeastern region of Italy, Veneto. In "Reading Hemingway's *Across the River and Into the Trees,"* David Wyatt details that Hemingway "wrote in the mornings and went bird hunting in the afternoons. A few months later, in the early spring, he began composing the last full-length novel published in his lifetime" (39).[59]

The plot recounts the last three days in the life of 50-year-old Colonel Richard Cantwell, who suffers from heart disease. The book begins and ends with a scene of the man going duck hunting in Venice's surroundings. In the first scene, he is captured moving towards

[58] The novel *Across the River and into the Trees* first appeared in American bookstores on September 7, 1950. However, it had first been published as a serialized fiction that appeared in *Cosmopolitan* between February and June of the same year.

[59] Wyatt, as most scholars, consider *Across the River and into the Tress* the last full-length fictional novel. The two books that succeed it were not: *The Old Man and the Sea* is a novella, while *The Dangerous Summer* is a non-fiction book.

a submerged "oaken-staved hogshead sunk in the bottom of the lagoon" (*Across the River and into the Tress* 4).[60] The last one happens two days later and describes Cantwell shooting one last flight of pintails, "in the bright sunlight, with the snow mountains to the north, and the line of the sedge that marked the canal ahead of them." (*ARIT* 199). All the stories told between these two scenes are mostly Cantwell's memories coming at play in a long flashback. First, he reminisces about the recent romantic moments spent with his mistress Renata a few weeks before, then about the time in World War I as a one-star general.

The fact that Colonel Cantwell spends most of the time thinking about the past– either distant or recent – shows a new trend. Hemingway introduces in his literature a hero that recollects. Cantwell conveys a feeling of nostalgia through an interior monologue that acts as a bridge between the present, the past, and the future. According to Barrio, due to Cantwell's age and to the fact that he dwells on his memories, he represents one of the axes of the novel, the past:

> Las voces se encuentran situadas entre la introspección superficial y el diálogo de relación, que no es suficientemente fuerte como para afrontar el presente, de ahí su constante recurrencia temático-expresiva . . . El personaje central, Richard Cantwell, va a utilizar a los personajes secundarios de la novela como mera catapulta para proyectar sus recuerdos sobre ellos, no importan realmente sus nombres, sólo es imprescindible que sus voces se conjuguen de acuerdo a la del coronel. (111)

The counterbalance is given by his much younger lover Renata. She is the character that represents the present, the other axis of the novel. Critics of the novel have said that the relationship between the Colonel and the Italian countess is central in understanding the

[60] *Across the River and Into the Trees* will be abbreviated as *ARIT* henceforth in the references in parenthesis.

evolution of Hemingway's characters. Peter Lisca, in his thorough analysis published in "The Structure of Hemingway's *Across the River and Into the Trees,*" contends that Hemingway leaves behind the patterns from the previous romantic couples, such as Henry and Barkley or Jordan and Maria, for "a much more complex relationship" (236).

Susan Vandagriff joins Lisca in noticing the unique nature of Cantwell and Renata's relationship. She underlines the unconventionality of their love story as the lovers take on the roles of daughter and father. The scholar also draws attention to the ritualistic essence of *Across the River and Into the Trees*, with Renata often spilling out sentences such as "You always say that" (*ARIT* 80) or "I remember that from before" (*ARIT* 81).[61] This game, asserts Vandagriff, associates their love with incest:

> These patterns, rules, and traditions create an idea of exclusivity, allowing Renata, Cantwell, and their friends belong to their own society within Venice. Through rituals, the relationships and level of intimacy between these characters can be established and displayed to others, but as these ceremonies create exclusivity, they are threatened by another's attempt to partake in them. (102)

But despite the qualities that the book might have, these might get lost in the micro-cosmos of the claustrophobic relationship between Cantwell and Renata. For Vandagriff, the narrative's main problem is Cantwell's digressive story-telling style, and the characters "governed by a social code of inside jokes, elitist interests, and inane rituals; and needless violence, verbal and physical" (109).

9.1.2 Hemingway's repetition of himself

Different academics have pointed out the resemblance between the first fiction work from the third phase and Hemingway's previous books. It did not evade the critic's eyes that

[61] She says "You always say that" is Renata's response to when Cantwell says he loves her. "I remember that" is announced when Cantwell explains how he wants them to make a toast.

Colonel Cantwell's memories incorporate the adventures of Hemingway's previous heroes. According to Lisca, this is one of the reasons why the book became an easy target for criticism. The story made it "extremely difficult for critics to approach the novel with that freshness, that innocence, with which each new work of art must first be understood" (233).

Following the same reasoning, Barrio maintains that in the third phase Hemingway was trying to imitate himself. *Across the River and Into the Trees* is a collage of different strategies that worked for Hemingway in the past. For the scholar, the book that opens the third period in Hemingway's fiction tries to recover the instinct from the first period, the rhetoric from the second, and mingle them with the individuality, which is a characteristic of the third period. An attentive reading of *Across the River and into the Trees* shows many examples that confirm this assertion, and some scholarly works have been devoted to unveiling these characteristics.

One such analysis is provided by William Adair in the article "A Memory of a War." The scholar brings up the analogous scenarios described when Hemingway mentions the war. Colonel Cantwell recollects looking "across the river to the rebuilt white house that had once been rubble" (*ARIT* 14). Interestingly, it is very similar to what appears in *A Farewell to Arms*, where Frederic observes "across, under a hill beyond the river, the broken houses of the town that was to be taken" (*FTA* 45). In *The Sun Also Rises*, Jake Barns sees across the river in Montparnasse, "were the broken walls of old houses that were being torn down" (*SAR* 82).

Pieces of evidence like these flag that Hemingway has repeated not only the thematic of his texts but also some scenes. The origin of these repeated landscapes appears to be a newspaper article for *The Toronto Daily Star*, "A Veteran Visits the Old Front," from July 22, 1922. In the text, Hemingway returns to the villages he had been to during the war. These cities were then rebuilt and resembled little the war-torn landscapes he had seen five years before. The reporter compares: "Across the river there were two new houses where the two rubble

reaps had been just inside the Austrian lines" (*By-Line* 179). That is an indication that Hemingway's imagination was influenced by what he had already written as a journalist to a certain extent. It seems that the mind of the writer does not always distinguish the boundaries between the two. Adair concludes:

> The most situations in Hemingway's imagination of war derived not only from his experience in Italy in 1918 but also from secondary sources after the war – and that many of them can be found in Hemingway's 1922 article based on his trip to the place of his wounding and other famous battle sites in Italy (74).

Peter Lisca's comparison of *Across the River* and *A Farewell to Arms* focuses on their similarities in terms of narrative structure. Both novels are first-person accounts of events that took place in the main character's life. Therefore, the only important information that the readers have about the story is given by the own narrator. "The result is that we know the Colonel only as he knows himself, but with the authority and effect which accrues to the interior monologue by virtue of its disguise as omniscient third-person narration" (236).

The scholar also underscores the symbols that appear in the novel. He brings attention to the wind, which occurs in no less than thirty passages and is the equivalent of the rain in the book *A Farewell to Arms*. The natural phenomena in both books are associated with cold, late afternoon light, and death. In *Across the River*, the wind causes a high tide that coincides with Colonel and Renata's climatic gondola ride and the next day's flood in St Mark's square. The Colonel even seems to have an unusual sensitivity to the wind and opens the windows so he can feel it. In *A Farwell to Arms,* the rain was the backdrop in crucial scenes, such as Catherine's death. However, weighs Lisca, in *Across the River and into the Trees*, "Hemingway manages the wind much more subtly despite its more frequent appearance and does not allow the narrator to explain the symbolism as he does with Catherine Barkley" (240).

In *The Writer as Artist*, Baker devotes a whole chapter to analyze the book and gives a cautious appreciation of the work. While he admits that the novel is not as effective in the conversion of readers as the previous books and "lacked some of the vernal freshness" of his early works, he also recognizes that "the book was a genuine contribution to the Hemingway canon. Its intrinsic form was that of a prose poem, with a remarkably complex emotional structure" (264). Baker is one of the few voices that diverged from the negative criticism that the book encountered. *Across the River and Into the Trees* was published after a vacuum of ten years. Therefore, it was received with much anticipation by critics and readers and expected to be a tremendous success. However, that success never came to be.

The novel's main criticism comes from the fact that Hemingway's style seemed to have crumbled. In the previous novels, Hemingway's presented the one-eighth of the story, leaving the rest for readers' interpretation. The technique was one of Hemingway's most significant innovations that drew the appreciation of readers and critics alike and it was vital for his style to be considered a breakthrough in the literary canon. However, *Across the River and into the Trees* fell short in providing the story with riveting subtexts. Wyatt writes that "it is a novel of expressed emotion, one in which Hemingway, however awkwardly, attempts to put things in instead of leaving them out" (44).

Lisca joins Wyatt's criticism saying that the plot is different from the acclaimed Hemingway style. For him, *Across the River and Into the Trees* presents above the surface "an aspect not only unattractive but even repelling: a long monologue consisting of petulant or brutal personal attacks on specific, contemporary, public figures" (234). The scholar adds that, in the previous works, the scenarios and stories had been more carefully crafted to express an idea. In *Across the River*, the story takes place almost entirely in a hotel and "depicts no heroic action or youthful initiates into violence, or lost generations – in short, a novel lacking all of the more public Hemingway qualities" (234).

9.2 *The Old Man and The Sea*

After the negative response to *Across the River and Into the Trees*, Hemingway tried to make a spectacular comeback with *The Old Man and the Sea*.[62] In fact, he was successful in the endeavor. The last major fiction work that the author published in his lifetime is touted by some scholars as the coronation of Hemingway's style. Santiago, the main character, has been said to represent the pinnacle of Hemingway heroes' evolution. Wirt Williams, in "*The Old Man and the Sea*: The Culmination," says that no other character before Santiago is "more powerful as an expression of the tragic, and none should define him [Hemingway] so finally as one of fiction's most powerful, and subtle, prophets of the tragic vision" (49).

The story was first published in the edition of *Life* magazine on September 1, 1952, and sold 5.3 million copies. William Cain explains that the book became available one week later and "soon was being taught in middle schools and high schools, and it became a favorite outside the classroom as well" (112). Two years after the publication, Hemingway was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature, a recognition that made him officially acclaimed as one of the most relevant writers of his time.

The novella – considered as such due to its size – narrates fisherman Santiago's epic struggle to catch the largest fish of his life after spending eighty-four days coming back from the sea empty-handed. Despite the terrible bad luck, Santiago relies on faith and is confident that the bare phase would eventually finish. The fact that he is a *salao*[63] does not impact his hope to become a lucky fisherman again. His mind believes in a better fate and this would come as a result of his effort.

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[62] Hemingway's original idea was to write a book about the sea in four parts. However, when he finished the first part, he found that it as a complete work and published it as *The Old Man and The Sea*.

[63] Santiago refers to his own fate using this word, *salao*, which is a Cuban slang for "unlucky." According to Ryan Hediger, throughout the book Hemingway writes twenty-one expressions only used in the variety of Spanish spoken in Cuba. These words, according to Hediger, "recalls the particular, local conditions of his Cuban setting" (47-48).

During this period of scarcity, he needs to bear the scorn of other fishermen who make fun of him. The only person who has unconditional faith in the old man is his assistant, Manolin. The young apprentice takes care of him each night after the fisherman comes back from the sea. Manolín makes sure he has food and talks to Santiago about baseball to get his mind off the bad luck. For Gregory Stephens and Janice Cools, Santiago's relationship with his apprentice "has gone beyond mentoring, and even mutual respect, to a form of dependence." The authors attest that this dependency is essential in the story because Hemingway wants to "introduce us to the idea of humility as an essential component of mature masculine grace" (80).

One day Santiago feels a "call" to sail out farther than usual with the objective of doing the fishing of his life before returning to the shore. The story, therefore, follows the classic saga of the hero's journey: the departure, the adventure, and the return. Out in the ocean, Santiago finds the biggest marlin he has ever seen and struggles to catch it, in a battle between the forces of nature (represented by the fish) and the force of a man (impersonated in Santiago).

The fisherman is able to hook the marlin, and when the fish starts dragging the boat in circles, Santiago kills it with a harpoon. However, the fisherman is betrayed by a sleight of hand: the sharks attack the fish and devour it. What is left of the marlin is only the skeleton, the head, and the tail. Santiago finally returns to the shore empty-handed over again. He is so tired that he falls asleep on the sand and dreams about lions, and this is how the book ends.

9.2.1 Symbolic meanings

The first aspect worth highlighting about Santiago's story is the main action that he executes. Fishing, which had been markedly present in the first phase of Hemingway's literature, comes up again in the last. Hemingway's hero goes back to fishing after a gap during the 1930s when no such activity was performed in fiction. In his analysis of the novella, Christian Messenger writes that through the blistered hands of Santiago, Hemingway

epitomizes fishing as his "cleanest and most functional sporting action," one that bestows a sense of dignity upon his characters (294).

While the topic is the same, some changes can be noticed in the fishing of the 1950s. Unlike the early stories on angling, in which young characters were the protagonists, *The Old man and the Sea* depicts an old, experienced man going fishing. For him, the activity is not only a sport or a pastime but his craft and purpose in life. Therefore, the objective of fishing changes considerably between the first and the last phase. In the article "Hemingway, a Defense," Philip Young compares the difference in Hemingway's early and late narratives on fishing:

> In the earlier books, he was saying things especially about life in that time; he wrote about people who drank and fished and watched bullfights. But the point was that they did these things because in the famous collapse of values that followed the First War they did not know what else to do. In a later book a man again goes fishing, and *his* story is a means of saying things about life in any time – true and rather stirring things. (173)

Young sheds light on the fact that Santiago – unlike Jake Barnes – does not go fishing because his life was meaningless. He does it because he felt that it was his duty to do it: "That was the thing that I was born for," says the fisherman (*The Old Man and the Sea* 42). Being something that Santiago was cut out for, his fishing is performed with effort and technique. Santiago applies all his skills to catch the fish. Even though he ended up being defeated by the sharks, the fisherman shows what scholarship calls *grace under pressure*. For Cain, Santiago's dignity with which he faces defeat expresses "the majesty and the pointlessness of human effort" (117). Sabah Shakury joins the debate, corroborating that Santiago is, in fact, the personification of the code of human effort:

> He [Santiago] does all that within his power to prove himself once again, which

> for him, would be to catch a large fish and no longer be *salao*. He shows remarkable effort that he will again be blessed with a good catch. However, the presence of the sharks does not negate the fact that Santiago has actively maintained his faith in his effort. The sharks cannot erase the fact that he has caught the marlin that has helped to restore his character. (35)

The simple plotline of a man going fishing has received mostly positive attention from critics. Most academics give a heavily symbolic interpretation of Hemingway's work and claim that the story's strength relies on its subtext. Since the first edition of the book, several scholarly works have been devoted to codifying and understanding the different layers and meanings of Santiago's journey. The most recent approaches to the book include contemporary perspectives that had been overlooked in the past, such as an eco-critical standpoint (provided by Susan Beegel, Ryan Hediger, or Glen Love) or the feminist analysis (that can be found in the works of scholars such as Lawrence Broer and Gloria Holland). There has also been a new branch of scholarship that reads Santiago's struggle under the perspective of Afro-Cuban religions (such as Philip Melling and Larry Grimes) or Taoism (as provided by Eric Waggoner).

The new approaches to the book are welcome because they add more variety to the already rich scope of analysis of one of Hemingway's most studied novels. But the most recurring association is between Santiago's saga and Christianity. Many scholars, including Wirt Williams, Philip Young, Joseph Waldemir, and Earl Rovit, identified and deciphered many religious symbols in *The Old Man and the Sea*. Williams, for example, points out that the allusions to the bible are numerous. The scholar mentions the agony of Santiago's back against the line (a reference to Jesus's back against the cross); his bleeding hands (representing the nails wounds); and finally, the hunger and thirst the fisherman feels and his human need to eat and drink to continue his job. Williams explains:

> Santiago knows his ordeal has begun the moment the fish demonstrated that he, not Santiago, is in control: a continuing element in Santiago's heroism is his knowledge that he is up against a force far more powerful than himself, and his attendant resolution to fight it anyway, and to the death – his own or his adversary's. But pain by pain his sufferings mount, and they bring the naturalistic tragedy ever closer to the Christian fable. (35)

Earl Rovit also reasons that it is hard to deny the occurrence of many New Testament symbols. To begin with, the name chosen by Hemingway to his protagonist comes from one of the disciples of Christ. Another point brought up by Rovit is that the fisherman's burden of carrying the mast from the beach to his hut resembles the Christ with the cross. Later, another reference to the Bible: Santiago rests on his bed with "his arms out straight and the palms of his hands up" (*The Old Man and the Sea* 105). In spite of all these similarities, Rovit does not consider these symbols significant enough to make the story an allegory of religion. "Dudo seriamente de que las ideas teológicas hubieran mellado la conciencia creadora de Hemingway más profundamente que los conflictos sociales o políticos" (123).

Other scholars also supported the symbolic nature of Hemingway's last fiction book. Kathleen Morgan and Luis Losada suggest that the last big hero in Hemingway's fiction can be read under the light of the Homeric hero. According to the authors, Hemingway's story follows the three most important characteristics of Homer's hero at Troy. The first point is that they are born to a destiny; secondly, they have free will to respond to the call; and third, they are always the best in their craft. These characteristics that apply to Santiago, suggest the scholars, "are not only specific to but fundamental in the definition of the Homeric Hero" (35).

Another reference to classical Greece is brought by Dwight Eddins, who resorts to mythology to interpret the story. The scholar compares Santiago's struggle to the myth of

Sisyphus.[64] One of the narrative's strongest points, states Eddins, is that it is reduced to its essentials, focusing on the struggle of a lone man who is fighting a lost cause. Like Sisyphus, the fisherman is "engaged in an isolated, repetitive struggle that must end in defeat, but who refuses the escape of some ultimate religious consolation" (70).

The Old Man and the Sea's positive criticism notably outnumbers the negative. However, that does not mean the book was spared from them. Some important names in the scholarship on Hemingway have unfavorable opinions on the story. The main arguments often raised by its critics is that the story lacks significant meanings and has an excess of sentimentalism. Robert Weeks, in "Fakery in the Old Man," dedicated the whole article to bring up these flaws. He finds it an exaggeration, for example, that Santiago perceived immediately that the marlin is a male. Weeks claims that

> *The Old Man and the Sea* is pieced out with an extraordinary quantity of fakery, extraordinary because one would expect to find no inexactness, no romanticizing of natural object in a writer who loathed W. H. Hudson, could not read Thoreau, deplored Melville's rhetoric in Moby Dick, and who was himself criticized by other writers, notably Faulkner, for his devotion to the facts and his unwillingness to invent. (188)

In his "Hemingway and the Aesthetic of Failure," James Justus adds another point of criticism to *The Old Man and the Sea*. He highlights that the story of a simple, old and unlucky fisherman who insists on exercising his skills is too sentimental. For the scholar, the story contains "a ready-made, built-in poignancy not unlike that found in the pages of *The Reader's Digest* or *Guideposts*: in short, the inspirational value – the human spirit triumphing over

[64] According to Greek mythology, the gods condemned Sisyphus to roll a boulder up a hill. The boulder would roll down again and Sisyphus needed to continue this pointless action of rolling it up again for eternity. The myth was made famous in the book *The Myth of Sisyphus*, by Albert Camus. The philosopher used the story as an example of his philosophy of the absurd, according to which the human life is devoid of meaning.

adversity – is inherent in the very subject itself" (55).

As a response to the many exploratory roads provided by critics and scholars, Hemingway once dismissed the story's complex significances. For him, there was an excess of imagery and symbolic representations being drawn from it. In a letter to historian Bernard Berenson on September 19, 1952, he stated: [65]

> There isn't any symbolism. The sea is the sea. The old man is an old man. The boy is a boy, and the fish is a fish. The sharks are all sharks no better and no worse. All the symbolism that people say is shit. What goes beyond is what you see beyond when you know. A writer should know too much. (*Selected Letters* 780).

It seems that Hemingway was echoing Gertrude Stein's famous quote: "a rose is a rose is a rose."[66] In other words, a word should define the object that it is supposed to represent and nothing else. However, two years later, Hemingway seemed to have changed his mind. In an interview for *Time* magazine in December 1954, after receiving the Nobel Prize, Hemingway stated: "I tried to make a real old man, a real boy, a real sea and a real fish and real sharks. But if I made them good and true enough, they would mean many things" ("An American Storyteller" 5).

For Malcolm Cowley, it is precisely Hemingway's instinct for symbols, legends, sacraments, and rituals that "helps to explain the power of Hemingway's work and his vast superiority over his imitators" (50). The scholar contends that other authors who have learned

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[65] The American art historian Bernard Berenson and Ernest Hemingway kept an eight-year-long correspondence from 1949 to 1957. The letters flew from Tuscany, where Berenson lived, and Havana, where Hemingway was living. The unlike long-distance friendship that arose from this letter exchange resulted in a book called *Ernest Hemingway and Bernard Berenson: A Strange Friendship*. The relationship calls the attention due to the polar opposites the two men represented: Berenson was in his 80s and belonged to a family of intellectuals and Hemingway, was then in his 50s and was an anti-academic.

[66] The line is from Gertrude Stein's poem *Sacred Emily,* written in 1913 and published in 1922, in *Geography and Plays.*

Hemingway's mannerisms as a writer can tell a story even better than Hemingway. However, "they tell only the story; they communicate with the reader on only one level of experience. Hemingway does much more than that . . . He reminds us unconsciously of the hidden worlds in which we live" (50).

9.3 Observations on the third period

Scholars have long noted that each phase of Hemingway's writing directly relates to the author's life and art. Barrio provides some parallels between these two sides. The scholar explains that, in the first period, Hemingway was an expatriate journalist traveling around Europe in search of stories. As a result, his fictional characters are restless nomads who are constantly moving. In the early 1930s, Hemingway finds himself submerged in the world of hunting and fishing and later experienced the coverage of a war. Therefore, the second phase of his literature is marked by blood and violence: his hero searches for a cause and a reason for living but ends up dying.

Finally, the third and last phase of Hemingway's literature is produced when the writer was already starting a downturn in his career. The physical scars in the body (a consequence of alcohol abuse) and the mind (result from his isolation) started taking their toll. The characters reflect this moment by becoming more meditative and introverted. The heroes' inward looking in the third phase mark a rite of passage: the protagonists evolve from heroes of action to heroes of introspection.

The first characteristic that we can notice in the composition of this "hero of introspection" is that he grew old. The two main characters from this period, Santiago and Cantwell, are aged men – like Hemingway himself. The writer had not yet reached 50 when he started working on these books, so he was biologically far from being aged. Nevertheless, James Justus points out that he was a man that was prematurely aging. Consequently,

> One sign in the fiction is the prominence of nostalgia, the recurrence of dreams,

> the bouts of reassessments, and the impulse to reshape old mistakes into more acceptable forms. All three heroes are manifestations of a battered lifetime of constant threats, tests, and disappointments, and a few victories that are memorially rehearsed to help shore up defenses against a larger defeat to come. (57)

Justus references three – and not two – heroes because he also includes here the protagonist of the posthumous novel *Island in the Stream*. It is interesting to note that, unlike the second phase, in which protagonists end up dying, the heroes from the last phase do not. However, it is implied that their end is coming very soon, which is the "larger defeat" mentioned in the excerpt above. As a result, the characters of the third phase have moved from the moral question of how a man should *live* to how a man should *die*. Cantwell does it more explicitly by talking openly about it. When Renata says that she wishes he were not going to die, the Colonel replies, "So do I, but I am getting out of the business" (*ARIT* 176). Santiago does it too, but in his own way, as a simpler man who does not have a knack for elaborate meditations. But the fable is of a simple-minded older man's articulations on life and death.

To reflect this new moral question, the texts contain excerpts charged with nostalgia and dreams. The scrutiny of the protagonists' previous actions comes up often, with both Cantwell and Santiago remembering the past. The former would recollect the years fighting in the war. The latter reminisces about baseball as a teenager. Both stories are full of quotes, but these often come in the form of thoughts to oneself. Since the plots are centered in the *recuerdo,* the stories require a new verb. If in the previous phases the characters used to *say* things, in the third phase they *think*, making the verb a new constant in Hemingway's writing, as notes Barrio. In the following paragraph, the word appears five times, indicating that Santiago's brain was in intense work.

> The wind is our friend, anyway, he *thought*. Then he added, sometimes. And the great sea with our friends and our enemies. And bed, he *thought*. Bed is my friend. Just bed, he *thought*. Bed will be a great thing. It is easy when you are beaten, he *thought*. I never knew how easy it was. And what beat you, he *thought*. (*The Old Man and the Sea* 104).

The hero of introspection requires silence and isolation, and this is why the novels from this phase are marked by one main voice and very few secondary characters. This is strikingly different from the previous phases in which there is always a group of people, such as the Lost Generation of *The Sun Also Rises* or Pablo and Pilar's gang in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

The supporting characters in the third phase have the role of highlighting the protagonists' voices and ideas. Santiago's only interaction with humans, for example, is with Manolín. It is the boy who serves as a bridge in the communication between the fisherman and his peers. Except from Manolín, Santiago only talks aloud to objects and animals surrounding him in a dialogue dynamic that works almost as a monologue. Hediger stresses that "this approach humbles the position of humanity while elevating the value of nonhuman nature" (50). In *Across the River and into the Trees*, Hemingway intensifies the relevance of objects in the dialogue dynamics and even gives voice to one of them. This is the case of Renata's picture, which "talks" to Cantwell. It is the first and only time that Hemingway uses this resource in his literature.

Despite the specific traits developed in the third period, some characteristics of the previous phase endured throughout the years are still present here. Barrio asserts that one of the features that remained a constant in all phases in terms of style is the use of prepositions and the verb *to be* at length.

> En occasiones también se aprecia una gramática no muy cuidada, un uso no muy

> acertado de los pronombres, que crea cierta confusión en el lector, fallos en el sistema de puntuación y una disposición poco marcada de las voces en los diálogos, que provoca cierta ambigüedad.
>
> En común existen también una casta de personajes, hombres sin mujeres, perdedores olvidados, enmarcados todos ellos en la filosofía nihilista del 'winner take nothing'. (145)

Justus brings up another aspect perpetuated in Hemingway's literary writing: all his heroes experienced loss and pain to some extent. All Nick Adams's stories revolve around the loss of something or someone. Jake Barns loses his masculinity. Frederick Henry loses Catherine, while Robert Jordan loses his own life. Santiago, his last hero, is no exception: he loses the biggest fish and the biggest challenge of his life. Justus summarizes:

> There is not a single Hemingway protagonist who is not wounded, sometimes physically so, always psychically. Because loss is their permanent condition, these protagonists are prey to nostalgia and fantasy and reconstituted versions of the self, dodges and substitutionary acts that somehow function as temporary comfort and assurance. (53)

A retrospect of Hemingway's protagonists shows a lineage of men who suffered a loss. Overcoming it or dealing with it would become one of the central struggles in his hero's journey.

9.3.1 The similarities of Hemingway's hero

Fisherman Santiago can be considered the last of Hemingway's hero and the most relevant character of the last period. He is often referred to as being unlike any other of Hemingway's previous protagonists. His uniqueness comes from the fact that he is a merger of the previous protagonists into one. In the fiction that preceded this book, the protagonists were American men put in contrast with the natives and foreigners, who taught the hero how to act.

One can recall, for example, Jake Barnes and Pedro Romero in *The Sun Also Rises*, or Robert Jordan and Anselmo or Pilar in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. But Edward Stanton notes that, as Hemingway advanced in his writings, the contrast between the North Americans and the foreigners wanes. Santiago was born on the Canary Islands, which are closer to the African continent than to Europe. He emigrated to Cuba during his childhood, linking both sides of the Atlantic.[67]

Since the fisherman represents the unification of different Hemingway's characters, some parallels can be drawn between Hemingway's last hero and previous appearances. One of the parallels often brought up is between Santiago and Anselmo. Stanton observes that neither of them wants to kill others. Anselmo refused to kill a soldier, and Santiago does not want to kill the fish. They have a strong code of conduct and sense of ethics, but they are not religious. In Stanton's observation, they are "hombres simples, incultos, pero capaces de una gran dignidad y heroismo" (285).

Phillip Young suggests that if we trace back the genesis of Hemingway's last hero, we notice that the fisherman is the evolution of the same character. In the article "Ernest Hemingway," published in the book *Seven American Novelists*, Young charts this chronological evolution. Santiago started his hero's journey as a young Nick Adams in Michigan in the short story "Indian Camp," where he witnessed an Indian man killing himself. This character evolves to the hopeless Jack Barnes in post-war Europe and later turns into Robert Jordan, who found a reason for living in the Spanish Civil War. All these heroes reach a climax with Santiago.

[67] In Jeffrey Herlihy's *Paris or Paname*, which examines Santiago's foreignness, the scholar says that most critics have overlooked the Spanish origins of the fisherman. Most of the times Santiago is referred to as a Cuban man, when in fact he was born in the Spanish territory of the Canary Islands. Even though Hemingway omits the amount of time that Santiago lived there, Herlihy's analysis of the old man's life shows that "he lived in the Canary Islands for a sufficient period of time to forge [Spanish] national sentiments" (156).

Therefore, Hemingway's hero can be considered the same archetype in different phases of his life.

Young stresses that a similar point could be made about Hemingway's heroine. Whether we talk about Catherine, Maria, or the Italian countess Renata, they seem to be the same archetype. Nevertheless, instead of growing older, they rejuvenate. "They are all pretty much the same girl, though for some reason their nationality keeps changing, as the hero's never does, and they grow younger as the hero ages" (167).

Emulating what happened with the protagonists of the previous stories, Santiago has often been interpreted as a reference to Hemingway himself. Williams finds enough evidence to conclude that Santiago's struggle is, in fact, representing the battle of a writer. The scholar makes a stark parallel between the two. Santiago is going through a period of bad luck, while Hemingway was going through a moment of low appraisal for his most recent work, *Across the River and Into the Trees*. According to Williams, the sharks would represent the critics that were ruthless with his previous book. Santiago's attempt to triumphantly come up with the biggest fish after a period of scarcity reflects Hemingway's attempt to be successful with the new book after a fiasco. Williams summarizes: "Santiago is thus Hemingway as artist – and champion – as well as the universal artist" (43).

In the acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize received two years after the publication, Hemingway gave a hint that this interpretation of the work might be correct. The text written by him and delivered by John C. Cabot, the American Ambassador in Sweden, he stated:

> For a true writer, each book should be a new beginning where he tries again for something that is beyond attainment. He should always try for something that has never been done or that others have tried and failed . . . A writer is driven far out past where he can go, out to where no one can help him. (qtd. in Baker, *The Writer as Artist* 339)

Although there is no mention of *The Old Man and the Sea* in Hemingway's speech, the correlation with the fisherman's story is evident. In the book, Santiago also goes too far to fish and faces the struggle of doing something that no other man had ventured to do. As observes Cain, "in *The Old Man and the Sea*, Hemingway gave life to the character that was always waiting for him, the person whom in a sense he always was, even when he was a handsome young man in his twenties, full of promise in Paris" (117-118).

Santiago's tale is a mirror of Hemingway himself, in the same way that his counterpart from the same period, Colonel Cantwell, and all the other protagonists from the previous phase also are. Hemingway morphed into his characters. In Hemingway's last journalistic piece from the last phase, *The Dangerous Summer*, he is also the protagonist of the story, written in the first person. In the following chapter, we will compare Hemingway's writing from this phase and put it into perspective with others.

CHAPTER 10 – THE JOURNEY'S END: THE LAST WRITINGS COMPARED

The third and last phase of Hemingway's style is characterized by being the most extensive: it stretches over two decades, from the early 1940s until his death in 1961. It is twice as long as the two other periods of his writing, and yet it is the less prolific one: only three books came out of his pen during this period. Another characteristic that immediately stands out from this phase is the separation between journalistic writing and fiction production. In the previous phases, Hemingway's literary work was enmeshed with his journalism and was written almost simultaneously with the newspaper and magazine dispatches. *In our Time* was composed while he was working as a correspondent in Europe, and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* came out three years after his return from the battlefields in Spain.

In the third phase of his life, both paths were apart for most of the two decades. In the 1940s, Hemingway's only published words came out in the press. First, there was the coverage of the Sino-Japanese wars, followed by the dispatches written from World War II. While some fiction was in progress during the 1940s, it was only in the 1950s that any literary work was finally released again. The decade of the 1950s was almost exclusively devoted to literature, and each of the three books that came out during that period serves a different category of writing. *Across the River and Into the Trees* is a novel, *The Old Man and The Sea* a novella, and *The Dangerous Summer*, a non-fiction book.

In spite of the separation between journalism and fiction, the two sides of his life would finally meet again in the very last published words. The story in *The Dangerous Summer* was initially published as a journalistic piece in *Life* magazine and was later turned into a book with the insertion of excerpts left out of the original journalistic article. The last of

Hemingway's books, therefore, represents the pinnacle of the author's "dual" life: it unifies four decades of journalism and literary writing, unveiling in one piece of work the two roads that had always run in parallel.

After becoming a well-known and best-selling writer, Hemingway saw in journalism a tool through which he could be in contact with and write about his favorite pastime. In the last pieces of journalistic writing conceived in his life, Hemingway centered on two topics that he cherished the most. First, he would submerge in the world of war, with the coverage of the Sino-Japanese War and World War II for *PM* newspaper and *Collier's* magazine, respectively. Then, in 1958 he would return to Spain to write about the bullfighting season for magazine *Life.* His article focused on the art of traveling and using bullfighting, another of his passions, as the excuse for it. The same thing could be argued about his last fictional works. The first piece from the third period talks about war through Colonel Cantwell's memories; the second, with traveling and sports, narrating Santiago's epic journey to catch his biggest fish.

The present chapter will be dedicated to analyzing the production from this last phase of Hemingway's writings. We aim to unveil the nuances of how these topics – war and traveling – were approached by Hemingway as a writer and a reporter. To achieve this goal, we will compare the journalistic output from the third phase with the literary writing from this period.

Moreover, we find it suitable that these texts be compared with previous approaches on the same topics in the early years. The choice of putting into perspective Hemingway's last phase of writing with the previous ones will allow us to better understand his path as a journalist and writer. The two topics highlighted in the last phase had been extensively scrutinized in the early stages too. Therefore, the fashion with which Hemingway approaches these themes from one phase to another indicates his development as a professional and a human being. Hemingway's last works do not fail in proving again that writing had always been the best mirror of his troubled and multi-faceted personality.

10.1 War writing

The wide array of feelings that war provoked in an individual was one of the key elements that had always attracted Hemingway to the warship. For a writer so closely linked to the premise of creating from experience, the times of war allowed him a unique opportunity to witness all sorts of combinations of human conditions such as fear, friendship, violence, or death. Carlos Baker reminds in *A Life Story* that Hemingway himself recognized the importance of the war for his inspirational vein as a fictional author.

> War, he said, was the best subject of all. It offered maximum material combined with maximum action. Everything was speeded up and the writer who had participated in a war gained such as mass of experience as he would normally have to wait a lifetime to get. (209)

It is hard to find a prominent writer that had been more intrinsically involved with the most decisive war episodes of the 20th century than Hemingway. Alex Vernon, who researched the literary impact of armed conflicts on war veteran writers, concludes that Hemingway was influenced by the war more than any other writer of his generation. In fact, says the scholar, "every post-Hemingway American war veteran who has attempted to write serious fiction about war and the military has had to contend with Hemingway's looming shadow" (230). For Vernon, the war had impacted Hemingway to such an extent that all his stories somewhat reflect combat experiences, even when the story is about another subject.

Every time that Hemingway managed to be involved in a war event – either as a volunteer or as a reporter – was a result of his restless character. From the moment that he enlisted to be an ambulance driver in World War I to the instant he signed a deal to cover World War II as an experienced war reporter for *Collier's*, every armed conflict that Hemingway

participated in was a choice of his – a choice that left indelible scars in his personality, his ways of looking at life and, consequently, his writing.

In each of Hemingway's literary phases, there is a fictional book that is a direct account of the wars in which he participated. From the first phase, *A Farewell to Arms* is his big novel of World War I. The conflict is the point that circumvents all the actions and fate of the characters. *For Whom the Bell Tolls,* from the second period, does the same to the Spanish Civil War. In the third period, *Across the River and Into the Trees* was the fiction intended to be the cathartic tool with which he deals with World War II experiences, witnessed first-hand as a reporter. But the experience of war at the age of 45 was undoubtedly lived and narrated differently from decades before. Hemingway had matured, and the writing about the war in his late years shows this transformation. To better understand these changes, we will divide the analysis between the literary and journalistic writings of the war.

10.1.1 Fictional battles

If we were to draw a chronological timeline to display Hemingway's war fiction development, it would show an evident change of pattern. A detailed analysis of the three novels mentioned above demonstrates that the stories related to war zoom out from a micro to a macro level. In the first book, Hemingway details the impacts of the conflict from a personal point of view; then he moves on to narrate conflict as a tool that connects individuals and finally reaches a reminiscing tone that shows how a man survives the scars that war leaves.

In *A Farewell to Arms,* the main work on war from the first period, the story's central drama surrounds Frederic Henry and his relation to Catherine Barkley. The warfare serves as a backdrop against which the two develop a closed-knit, if not claustrophobic, relationship. In *For whom the Bell Tolls,* the war novel from the second period, the geographic spaces and the array of characters expand. While Robert Jordan was devoted to exploding a bridge in the Guadarrama mountains in Spain, he finds himself pertaining to a group of other people, the

guerrilla band that would help him reach his endeavor. Both the conflict's background (the Spanish Civil War) and the main character's drama (his task of blowing up a bridge) are understood as a specific account of a wartime battle. When dealing with this, Robert Jordan finds himself going through a period of transformation. The character understands that he is part of a bigger scenario, that he belongs to a collective self.

Across the River and into the Trees, the last book on the topic differs significantly from the previous focuses. World War II is brought to the forefront of the story, but it is displayed in less specific terms. The book shows Colonel Cantwell going back to the Veneto region, where he was first wounded. On the one hand, the character makes a profound examination of his past and the wartime wounds; on the other hand, his memories are broader, and the war is treated more conceptually than in the previous books. Wagner-Martin, in her *Hemingway's Wars: Public and Private Battles*, explains:

> His focus was no longer on a single battle of a single war (that of Jordan's blowing the bridge during the Spanish Civil War): rather, here, his emphasis had shifted to the human qualities of the 'successful' soldier, the traits of the war-damaged Colonel, whose physical survival was the immediate focus of the narrative. Hemingway's canvas was intentionally large. (171)

Since the fictional characters have often been understood as Hemingway's alter ego, the way that war is portrayed speaks much about the person he became. After being involved in so many wars – including very serious personal ones – and accumulating numerous haunted memories, Hemingway also was trying to learn how to survive.

Nevertheless, in an interview with Harvey Breit, published in the *New York Times* on September 17, 1950, Hemingway gives a more mundane explanation for the change. He admits that the canvas in his fictional war of the 1940s was intentionally larger than in the previous fiction and justifies this change by saying that he did not want to repeat himself.

> Should I repeat myself? I don't think so. You have to repeat yourself again and again as a man but you should not do so as a writer. In writing I have moved through arithmetic, through plane geometry and algebra, and now I am in calculus. If they don't understand that, to hell with them. I won't be sad and I will not read what they say. ("Talk With Mr. Hemingway" par. 13)

Neither the critics nor the readers saw an advancement in this avoidance of repetition. For the book's detractors, the story failed for not conveying the essence surrounding World War II in the same way that *A Farewell to Arms* had done to World War I, and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* to the Spanish Civil War. There was also some harsh criticism of the style that mutated into something that distances considerably from the early Hemingway. Wagner-Martin reminds us that the very early studies carried out by authors like Philip Young had already pointed out the flawed language used in *Across the River and Into the Trees*.

One of the primary defects brought up by Young and corroborated by Wagner-Martin was the use of dialogues in a type of interview technique, in which one asks direct questions. Because of that, asserts Wagner-Martin, "the character Cantwell had reason to pontificate rather than simply answer" (168). By resorting to this dynamic, argues the scholar, Cantwell's knowledge becomes a show-off. There are many examples throughout the book that this is apparent. These are especially visible in the excerpts where Cantwell interacts with Jackson, the driver who takes him from Trieste to Venice for his weekend getaway.

> 'That's Torcello directly opposite us,' the Colonel pointed. 'That where the people lived that were driven off the mainland by the Visigoths. They built that church you see there with the square tower. There were thirty thousand people living there once and they built that church to honor their Lord and to worship him. Then, after they built it, the mouth of the Sile River silted up or a big flood changed it, and all that land we came through just now got flooded and started to

> breed mosquitoes and malaria hit them. They all started to die, so the elders got together and decided they should pull out to a healthy place that would be defensible with boats, and where the Visigoths and the Lombards and the other bandits couldn't get at them, because these bandits had no sea-power. The Torcello boys were all great boatmen. So they took the stones of all their houses in barges, like that one we just saw, and they built Venice.'
>
> He stopped. 'Am I boring you, Jackson?'
>
> 'No, sir. I had no idea who pioneered Venice.' (*ARIT* 56)

The dialogue is a typical interaction between preceptor and apprentice, which is also prompted in other previous works. What makes this one different, however, is the bragging tone that is present in the dialogue and that also appears in other parts of the book. Colonel Cantwell has the pretentious way of thinking that he could be teaching something by merely throwing a lot of information to the listener – in this case, Jackson. The chauffer seems to be uncultured of the facts presented but apparently thankful for the information received. Nevertheless, in his thoughts (one of the characteristics of the third phase is that characters "think" rather than "say"), Jackson has a different opinion of Cantwell: "He sure is a mean son of a bitch, Jackson thought, and he can be so God-damn nice" (*ARIT* 23).

The pretentious way of showing off is only one of the points that make the war narrative from the third period different from the previous ones. Another aspect that displays how Hemingway from the late years was distancing from the early Hemingway is the deviation from one of his most famous and strictly followed the rules. The style chosen for this book was in direct opposition to something that Hemingway himself evangelized throughout his life, that the strength of a story lies in what is implied but not stated. The iceberg principle, which Hemingway crafted, developed, and perfected, was eliminated from his last story on war.

David Wyatt is among the numerous scholars that affirm that in *Across the River and into the Trees* Hemingway achieves the opposite of the iceberg theory. For the scholar, Hemingway seems to include too much information and reduce the reader to the role of an "eager student":

> As the reader steadily discovers, this is not a novel in which the seen indicates the unseen or the unsaid is implied by the said. It is not a novel in which the sequence of motion and fact makes the emotion. Instead, it is a novel of expressed emotion, one in which Hemingway, however awkwardly, attempts to put things in instead of leaving them out. (44)

One possible explanation for this sudden shift in which the whole story is brought to light and very little is implied might reside in how the narrative is built. Much of the book relies on Cantwell's memories and thoughts, and it is much harder to leave things out once a writer decides to get into a character's mind. When the narrative is focused on presenting facts, it is possible to edit the story to keep only the essentials. When the story focuses on unveiling thoughts, the implied meaning stays at a bay.

In the profile by Lilian Ross for the magazine Vanity Fair, Hemingway confessed that he wanted it to make *Across the River and Into the Trees* his best novel about the war: "I am interested in the goddam sad science of war." In order to accomplish this feat, it was necessary to create the most believable character possible. Wagner-Martin explains that to make the character more believable, the writer relied on his ability to access the character's inner thoughts and mental life. This is one of the reasons that explain why Hemingway's writing in the third phase became introspective, and the iceberg theory has been neglected.

By accessing Cantwell's memories and using the resource of flashbacks, Hemingway wanted to explore the impacts of the war on an individual. However, he ended up bringing a confusing plotline that blunders the memories from the past. Says Wagner-Martin:

"Hemingway thought he had drawn the wide-ranging thoughts, re-actions, and memories of Richard Cantwell, hoping to create this believability. Evidently, readers of *Across the River and into the Trees* did not manage to see, or to appreciate, the activity of the Colonel's mind" (182).

The scholar also adds that there was a disconnection between the way that Hemingway wanted to explore the impacts of war on an individual and the way he finally portrayed it. The failure of Hemingway's depiction of a man tormented by his memories of war is made even worse if compared with the previous pieces of work from his literature. That might have been reflecting the confusion in Hemingway's mind. In the last two decades of his life, Hemingway became more introspective and left behind most of his principles to write about the war, one of his most cherished topics. That entices us to inquire whether this change could be noticed in the way war is portrayed in his journalism too.

10.1.1 War Journalism

A detailed analysis of Hemingway's dispatches of the wars he covered throughout his life help understand his evolution as a chronicler of events. It is only natural to imagine that the war correspondent that went to the battlefields in 1945 during World War II was much different from the reporter covering his first conflicts in Europe in the 1920s. The first notable point to highlight is that when Hemingway embarked to go to what would be his last war, he had established a reputation of a war strategist and an expert in the craft.

His technical skills alone could allow him to develop a special coverage of the war. But on top of that, what might have made his reporting interesting was the access he was granted on the battlefield. Hemingway reached certain places and people that were restricted to civilians and other reporters, such as when he followed American troops as they approached for an offensive at Omaha Beach. He witnessed one of the most critical moments in the war due to his connections and influences among the officials and military.

Due to the arrangement with *Collier's* to write only one article a month, Hemingway had plenty of time to spare, which led him to be involved in some controversial episodes. It is debatable whether it was the job of a war correspondent to gather military intelligence or lead a small group of soldiers in an offensive as Hemingway did. Still, his production during World War II was seen as a solid contribution to the world of reporting. That was officially recognized in a small ceremony in June 1947 at the U.S. embassy in Cuba. Thomas Putnam recounts that Hemingway was awarded a Bronze Star for his service as a war correspondent for having circulated "freely under fire in combat areas in order to obtain an accurate picture of conditions. Through his talent of expression, Mr. Hemingway enabled readers to obtain a vivid picture of the difficulties and triumphs of the front-line soldier and his organization in combat." (par. 50)

A closer analysis of the World War II dispatches shows that they differ substantially from the previous war reporting. In a similar way to what happened in Hemingway's literature on war, the focus of the third phase's reporting also went through mutation with a striking disparity from the early dispatches. The first difference worth noticing is that the war described by young Hemingway is one in which he was not a participant of the events but rather an observer. Therefore, his dispatches often offered a perspective full of nuances, with texts showing the impact of the combats in the lives of the civilian people and the reporter refraining himself from being in the story.

One could recall, for example, the dispatches from the Greco Turkish war in 1922. Hemingway, who was then 23 years old, described the grim sight around him, creating a vivid image of the Christian population of Eastern Thrace moving towards Macedonia. His narrative is focused on describing and informing rather than interfering or changing the course of events. In his famous "A Silent, Ghastly Procession," which later inspired a vignette in the book *In Our Time*, the young reporter writes:

> It is a silent procession. Nobody even grunts. It is all they can do to keep moving. Their brilliant peasant costumes are soaked and draggled. Chickens dangle by their feet from the carts. Calves nuzzle at the draught cattle wherever a jam halts the stream. An old man marches bent under a young big, a scythe and a gun, with a chicken tied to his scythe. A husband spreads a blanket over a woman in labor in one of the carts to keep off the driving rain. She is the only person making a sound. Her little daughter looks at her in horror and begins to cry. And the procession keeps moving. (*By-Line* 51)

This is remarkably different from the tone that he had used in his dispatches from the 1940s. Hemingway's articles on both the Sino-Japanese War and World War II were strongly characterized by providing information on the war's backstage, with many officials, Lieutenants and Generals speaking. However, there is little reference to the real people that had been making it one of the most brutal conflicts of the century. Whenever there is a reference, it is often brief and shallow and focuses on the war's official actors, like generals and lieutenants. This is the case of the story "Battle for Paris":

> The French had buried the Americans in the field beside the road where they had been ambushed, and while we were clearing the minefield, French women came out and put flowers on the graves and prayed on them. No reconnaissance outfit had come up yet, but Lieutenant Krieger's men had arrived and he was now in communications with the regiment by radio. (*By-Line* 373)

Besides, most of the articles on war focused on Hemingway as the protagonist of the story as much as – or more than – the people being interviewed or portrayed. As discussed in the previous chapter, the reporter's presence becomes central to the story. In "Voyage to Victory," for example, he uses the pronoun "we" throughout the story, including himself as just another member of the troops.

> No one remembers the date of the Battle of Shiloh. But the day we took Fox Green beach was the sixth of June, and the wind was blowing hard out of the northwest. As we moved in toward land in the grey early light, the 36-foot coffin-shaped steel boat took solid green sheets of water that fell on the helmeted heads of the troops packed shoulder to shoulder in the stiff, awkward, uncomfortable, lonely companionship of men going to a battle. (*By-Line* 346)

It would take several years until the expression "gonzo journalism" would be used for the first time. However, it could be argued that Hemingway's account from World War II could be an early precursor of this journalism style. [68] This name refers to a highly personal style of reporting in which the reporter takes a central role. It was used for the first time in the 1970s to describe Hunter S. Thompson's work. The first example of this type of journalism is the article "The Kentucky Derby is decadent and depraved," published in the short-lived magazine *Scanlan's Monthly* in June of 1970. In Steven Hoover's research guide to gonzo journalism, the scholar defines this type of journalism as one in which "the creator is not absent from their creation. Because it adds value for the audience, the creator's role in the story is highlighted rather than marginalized" (326). It is clear that Hemingway used this type of approach to communicate with the readers in the reporting from World War II.

In the magazine story, Hemingway would preach and show his knowledge of war. Besides, he takes on not only the role of an observer but also a protagonist of the action. The dynamic of voices in the reporting from World War II is full of dialogues, a characteristic Hemingway developed through the years. This is another feature that substantially differs the

[68] Gonzo journalism is often regarded as a sub-genre and more extreme version of New Journalism. Both New Journalism and Gonzo Journalism possess similar characteristics, such as including subjectivity and fiction to the text. The New Journalism's articles have well-developed characters, sustained dialogue, vivid scenes, and strong plotlines marked with dramatic tension. Gonzo Journalism, on the other hand, is more associated with an outlaw figure, the obsession for the rules of individuality and freedom, and the disenchantment with the American press and the American way of life.

last war reporting from the early dispatches: the stories are interspersed with dialogues of multiple voices, in which often Hemingway appears as one of them.

The following excerpt from the story "How We Came to Paris," published on October 7, 1944, told in the first person, shows through the dialogues the importance that Hemingway gives to himself in the story. He refers to himself in the story as *Papa*:

> Ahead and on our left, a German ammunition dump was burning, and the varicoloured anti-aircraft projectiles were bursting in the continuous rattle and pop of the exploding 20-mm stuff. The larger projectiles started to explode as the heat increased, and gave the impression of a bombardment. I couldn't locate Archie Pelkey, but later I found he had advanced on the burning munitions dump, thinking it was a fight.
>
> 'There wasn't nobody there, Papa,' he said; 'it was just a lot of ammunition burning.'
>
> 'Don't go off by yourself,' I said. 'How did you know we didn't want to roll?'
>
> 'Okay, Papa. Sorry, Papa. I understand, Papa. Only, Mr. Hemingway, I went off with Frère – the one who is my brother – because I thought he said there was a fight.'
>
> 'Oh, hell!' I said. 'You've been ruined by guerrillas.' (*By-Line* 390)

In the early reporting on the war, Hemingway used more extensive paragraphs and applied the technique of leaving some information behind to create a powerful image of the tension. At the time of the publication of the story on the Greco-Turkish war , Hemingway had just brought out *In Our Time* and was still dabbling on creating his iceberg theory. The story of the refugees from Thrace renders an image that is much more human. The reporter does not take any prominence but is a hidden observer of the fact that he is narrating. The protagonists

are the people retreating. The reporter's voice dilutes in the scene and is only a channel to picture the horrific war scenario.

In the World War II reporting, however, the subtle meanings and underlying tension created in the early reporting disappeared and gave more space to a technical approach. Moreover, the interviews conducted and the dialogues shown are primarily of the military members taking part in the war and not the civilians affected by it. Since the articles were too focused on war details, little was left to be said.

Emulating what happened later in his literature on war, the iceberg theory was not put into practice as in the early phase. This leaves us to conclude that Hemingway's writing about the topic of war had changed not only in his fictional stories but also in his journalism. As Wagner-Martin concludes, "the silence that he had chosen to represent wounded and dying consciousness, as in the vignettes of *In Our Time*, was more representative than the language he had occasionally ventured to put into soldiers' mouths" (158).

10.2 Foreignness and geographic spaces

One thing that is sure to be taken from Hemingway's biography is that foreign landscapes played a significant role for him, personally and professionally. Six of the seven novels that Hemingway published in his lifetime are set in foreign countries, with the main protagonist away from his homeland. As Harry Levin puts it, Hemingway's characters always "wander through the ruins of Babel, smattering many tongues and speaking a demotic version of their own" (74). In the third phase of Hemingway's literature, the stories of both fictional novels (*Across the River and into the Trees* and *The Old Man and the Sea*) and the non-fiction book (*The Dangerous Summer*) occur abroad in Italy, Cuba, and Spain, respectively.

The sensitiveness to find the points of disagreement and similarities between countries and cultures marked Hemingway's literary production extensively. The foreign protagonists are always put in contrast to their entourage, highlighting the differences between them. As

explained by Silvia Ammary, who wrote about the influence of the European culture on Hemingway's work,

> despite their foreignness, Hemingway's characters try to naturalize themselves within distinct limits to a life of expatriation. There is an attempt to connect and assimilate the old world despite the traumatic making of their generation and the fragility in their relationships in general. Hemingway made every attempt to integrate himself to the foreign culture and not to act out of a narrow-minded Americanism. (4)

This integration between foreigners and locals becomes increasingly successful as Hemingway's literary phases advance, though it is never completely finished. It suffices to compare Hemingway's first protagonist, a disoriented and lone Jake Barns in the Europe of the 1920s, with the fisherman Santiago. Despite being a foreigner, Santiago feels much like he belongs to Cuba. He is so adapted to his surroundings that many studies on *The Old Man and the Sea* overlook his foreignness and refer to him as a Cuban – not a Spanish – fisherman.

Hemingway's journalism tends to follow the same pattern. In the early stories of the 1920s, we can see in the articles the fresh eyes of a foreign reporter abroad that notices and shows contrasts between North America and Europe. This is not the case of the articles from the experienced war reporter in the 1940s or the bullfighter aficionado of the 1950s, as we will argue below.

Jeffrey Herlihy is one of the authors that has extensively written about geography and foreignness in Hemingway's stories. He defines foreignness as a distance from the social, linguistic, and cultural origins that shape the protagonist's faith. In the book *In Paris or Paname: Hemingway's Expatriate Nationalism*, the scholar contends that national displacement plays a central role of conflict in Hemingway's stories, on the same level as topics that are traditionally linked to his writing, such as sexuality, women, or war wounds. For

Herlihy, Hemingway uses the context of displacement and distancing from the homeland as a literary device to determine the protagonist's fate, success, or failure. "The foreign scene is the vehicle of success or failure (in every case failure), and the separation from compatriots and their native land is what mediates their fate" (14).

One of the primary points raised by Herlihy is that Hemingway characters – just as the writer himself – should be interpreted in the light of being *immigrants* rather than *foreigners*. According to the scholar, this is a better approach because "neither the man nor his main characters had a circular intention to return to their countries of origin" (4). The interesting difference in concept between "immigrant" and "foreigner" brought up by Herlihy has two direct implications for understanding the narrative patterns found in Hemingway's stories.

Firstly, there is a different experience in terms of cultural assimilation between someone who only travels and someone who decides to live overseas. Moving abroad – rather than traveling abroad – requires the individual to go through cultural adaptation. The interactions that Hemingway's foreign protagonist develops with the locals and the non-locals in every book are central to the plot's dynamics. The foreign protagonist wants to feel inserted and assimilate the new culture, typical in someone who decides to move abroad instead of only travel. The scholar summarizes the foreignness in Hemingway's literature:

> Hemingway's Spain in *The Sun Also Rises* is colored by linguistic and cultural distinctiveness of Basques, Castilians, and Andalusians; the Italy of *A Farewell to Arms* has a language with such distinct dialects that at times even natives cannot understand one another; the Spaniards of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* are markedly loyal not to Spain or Castile but to their regions therein; in the Italy of *Across the River and into the Trees* there are bilingual and bicultural Italians;

> and the Cuba of *The Old Man and the Sea* has cultural complexities from the Caribbean, Europe, North America, and Africa. (37)

A second point worth mentioning about Hemingway's character's foreign traits is that, much like the writer himself, they moved abroad as adults. This is not a lesser fact, as the sentiment of collective identity develops during childhood and adolescence. In Hemingway's fiction, protagonists try to remedy the feelings of losing their place of origin by adopting foreign behaviors through language, sports, alcohol, and spectacles like bullfighting. In the third phase, the catharsis is performed through Colonel Cantwell's remembering and Santiago's fishing. In journalism, the culture adaptation is shown through the intimate portrait of the foreign people, such as the bullfighters in the Dangerous Summer, who are depicted as Hemingway's friends.

When it comes to foreignness, the last of Hemingway's fictional characters is a fascinating one. Despite his background as a Spanish man living in a poor Cuban village, Santiago does not show any particular attachment to the country of origin. Nevertheless, primarily because of his accent, background, and ethnicity, he is still seen as a foreigner and needs to camouflage this sense of being an immigrant by adopting some of the locals' habits and practices. As explains Herlihy in the article "Santiago's Expatriation from Spain," the fisherman "adopts some of the cultural and social practices of his new country in an attempt to ease the stresses of expatriation—but, as we see clearly in his dreams and anecdotes about Spain, the old man cannot integrate fully with the Cuban community" (29).

10.2.1 Foreign American reporter

We would like to expand Herlihy's discussion and include in the analysis how the concept of foreignness plays out in Hemingway's journalistic articles. After all, except for the early reporting written in the North American Canadian newspapers in the 1920s,

Hemingway's news stories were mainly bylined from outside the United States – and this includes all the journalistic productions from the third phase.

Throughout four decades of writing, the way that Hemingway described foreigners and geographic spaces changed. In journalism, this change can be noticed, for example, in the way he reported countries and their people. In the 1920s, while living in Paris as a foreign correspondent, Hemingway's view of the Europe yet-to-be explored was fresh and enticing. The dispatches were often followed by descriptions that characterized the world around him. The messages are often interspersed with the novelties discovered by a young foreigner in Paris.

In his other significant incursion in the continent during the 1930s to cover the Spanish Civil War, Hemingway was also attracted by the land he was reporting. While talking to an American audience, his texts were somewhat a revelation of the horror of the war being fought in Spain. His gaze as a foreign reporter and the impact of the war on the population of Spain was made visible through the descriptions that provided an image of the battlefront. This is the case when he presents unforgettable characters like the chauffeurs of Madrid or the shelling of the city. The same thing happened in the travel writing for *Esquire* in the 1930s, in which his immersions in the African savannas or the Gulf Stream to fish brought new geographies closer to the readers. In both journalistic experiences from the 1920s and the 1930s, Hemingway participated in the events as an observer, an outsider, and a foreigner. The journalist acts as a "bridge" between foreign affairs and domestic readers.

In the 1940s, this attention towards local culture seemed to have disappeared from most of his war reporting. He did not speak about the impacts of the war on the citizens nor described the world around him accurately. There is less to be learned about the geographies and people from the veteran than from the cub reporter. In the third phase, it is in the journalistic piece on bullfighting *Life* that the concept of foreignness can be better observed. In the article

"The Dangerous Summer," Hemingway explicitly puts himself in the role of the foreigner that is experimenting with a new country. In the twenty-page article, he describes crossing the border in Spain twice, one in 1954 and another in 1958.

Even after spending a lifetime abroad and being intimate with the Spanish culture, at the age of 58 Hemingway still considers himself a foreigner and needs to make sure he is using the right words and intonation. This is how he describes his drive across the border between France and Spain in a reminiscence of a trip taken a few years back:

> He looked through the pages of the passport and then studied the photograph. 'Are you Hemingway?'
>
> I pulled myself up to modified attention and said, '*A sus ordenes'* which means in Spanish not only at your orders but also at your disposal. I had seen it and hard it said under many different circumstances and I hope I said it properly and in the right tone of voice . . . So that was how we came back to Spain and it seemed too good to be true and each time we were halted by the civil guard at the checkpoints along the Bidassoa River I expected us to be detained or sent back to the frontier. (78)

This excerpt shows that the condition of being a foreigner always accompanied Hemingway, similarly to what happens to Santiago and all the protagonists before him. As an avid explorer, the author spent a significant portion of his life traveling and living abroad. Even though he once said that he considered himself a Spanish author that had been born in America, the truth is that his American roots were always present and never disappeared from his observations. No matter how much Hemingway had traveled in his life, his vision of life was always using the United States as a reference.

10.2.2 Tourism vs. traveling

The international experiences that Hemingway lived were mostly possible because his lifespan coincided with the development of world mass tourism. During the first decades of the 20th century, traveling went from a luxury pertaining exclusively to a few wealthy people to becoming something accessible to the masses. Travel guides and magazines enticed people to visit certain destinations and managed to draw hordes of tourists to the same places. This would result in a reaction from those that were fortunate to travel before the so-called popularization of tourism. It is when the distinction between "traveler" and "tourist" started taking shape.

For many modernist writers, like Hemingway, Pound, Stein, Eliot, or Joyce, traveling and meeting new cultures became sources of inspiration for their works. According to Kevin Maier, these writers would routinely go "great lengths to differentiate their own cultural engagements from the scripted encounters the tourists they met were paying to experience" (74). Therefore, these writers and travel journalists heavily criticized the access of the people to places that were once exclusive.

The urge to differentiate the authentic travel experience from the commonplace tourist practice was present in Hemingway's narrative as a writer, and especially as a journalist. From his very early reporting, Hemingway tried to establish the differences between an authentic experience of traveling and interacting with locals from the mere depredation of a site. From the early beginnings as a correspondent in the 1920s, he was already having rants towards the number of Americans in the Parisian cafés. Later, during the 1930s, as a travel writer, Hemingway boasted about his access to exclusive places, such as safaris in Africa or fishing onboard expensive boats. The fact that few people had gone there – or had little chances of accessing these experiences – was a solid reason to write about them.

In the journalism from the third phase, this urge to travel to places where no one else had gone took Hemingway to China, to the fronts of World War II in England, France, and

Germany, and to the bullrings in Spain. In all these cases, however, the original experience changed its focus from *exclusive geographic places* to *exclusive situations*. The journalist stresses scenes – instead of landscapes – that not many people had access to. This is best seen in stories that present the backstage of a dinner with the Ambassador of Russia in China ("Russo-Japanese Pact") or what it is like being inside a fighter aircraft ("London Fights the Robots").

When it comes to bullfighting, the sport was an excellent example of how Hemingway managed to live a distinctive experience from everyone else. He shares with the audience the access to the world of bullfighting that was far-fetched for the typical tourist. Hemingway wrote an extensive profile on Antonio Ordóñez, showing his intimate relationship with the bullfighter and the family. The closeness was a reflection of Hemingway's blurred distinction between the foreigner and the locals. The access to people and the knowledge of the craft of bullfighting act as a tool for him to show his intimacy with different geographies.

In the same way that he detaches himself from the regular tourists, Hemingway also makes it clear in the story that he detaches from the pretentious writers who feel that know about bullfighting – when in fact they do not. In the first of the three installments of "The Dangerous Summer" published in *Time* magazine on September 5, 1950, he says:

> I am trying to avoid using a Spanish word whenever I can explain in idiomatic English. This is not always possible but I think it is better than the peppering, larding and truffling with bullfight terms and phrases that you get from the newly erudite writers that have disgusted me with trying to read anything about bullfight in English. By this time, if I were not trying as far as possible to say it in English or whatever it is I write, you could be so snowed under with Manoletinas, Giraldillas, Pedresinas, Trincherillas and other varieties of ballroom bananas that you could not see the paper for the words. Just remember

> that any pass that ends in ina or illa is probably a phony and was invented to impress a gullible public. (86)

As ironic as it seems, the travels boasted by Hemingway as being unique and different later became a sort of route for those who wanted to recreate the steps of the famous writer. It suffices to mention that the Lonely Planet guide makes frequent references to Hemingway's places. This is particularly the case of destinations like Spain, Cuba, and Florida. As Greg Richards and Julie Wilson, in the article "Travel Writers and Writers Who Travel," explain: "The simple, adventurous life described by Hemingway is so attractive to contemporary readers that many travel to recreate the Hemingway experience" (49).

The authors also highlight that many writers were also avid travelers, which shows an intimate connection between the experience of traveling and the hero's journey. "The form of the novel, often based on the idea of a hero setting out, experiencing trials and adventure, and returning home victorious and changed, mirrors the quest of the traveler" (52). Interestingly, the last book published in Hemingway's life represents a full circle in his life and career. His first novel, *The Sun Also Rises*, was heavily based on the experiences he had in his 20s in the fiestas of San Fermin, in which bullfighting plays an essential role. *The Dangerous Summer* was his account of the last trip to Spain to watch bullfighting. It completes the saga that started almost 40 years before.

The path of these four decades of writing is full of ups and downs, but the last few years show evidence of a downward trend. Economist David W. Galenson developed an intriguing theory of artistic creativity. In "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young or Old Innovator," the scholar examines the career of twelve modern novelists to study the ages at which they made their most significant contributions to literature. Galenson divided the novelists' level of

innovation between experimental and conceptual.[69] He demonstrated that the group of experimental novelists – in which he includes Charles Dickens, Mark Twain, and Virginia Woolf – have typically come up with their most important works later in their careers. In contrast, conceptual novelists – such as Herman Melville, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Ernest Hemingway – declined after writing landmark early novels. Galenson explains:

> The most common pattern for the conceptual writers was to publish the earliest of their three best books in their 20s and the latest in their 30s, whereas the most common pattern for the experimental writers was to enter their best period in their 40s and to end it in their 50s. (67)

The scholar underlines that the techniques for which Hemingway became famous – such as the theory of omission or dialogues – were developed early on. Hemingway "arrived at these devices, not through years of trial and error, but rapidly, largely through the study of earlier writers" (63).

Just like the archetypical hemingwayan hero, the author himself endured a lot of unhealed physical and psychological traumas. At the beginning of this chapter, we mentioned that with the last book of war, Hemingway wanted to show how a man survives the war scars of a war. It turns out he never does. The wounds never heal completely. Like Colonel Cantwell, Hemingway survived the war but did not survive the indelible memories it had left. These memories resonated with the professional that he had become and help explain why Hemingway's writing style had declined over the years, while it is also part of the reason why his legacy can never be denied.

[69] Galenson defines "conceptual innovators" the writers who set specific goals for their books, and therefore emphasize the plot. "Experimental innovators," on the other hand, have uncertain intentions. Therefore, their focus is on the characters.

CONCLUSION

Dead at the age of 61, Ernest Hemingway did not grow to be as old as his last character Santiago. Nevertheless, he did live long enough to experience a fruitful and adventurous life. William Cain, in the article "Death Sentences," says it is a miracle that Hemingway lasted as long as he did because "he wrote with a gun to his head every day" (118). It was maybe with an imaginary gun to his head and like all the protagonists of his books that Hemingway fulfilled his personal journey of the hero. As any such journey, his was full of peaks and valleys, both physical and metaphorical.

Hemingway's personal life encompassed the emotional roller coaster of four marriages, conflictive family relationships, and alcohol-fueled nights and days that only grew more intense as the years passed by. Hemingway's public figure, on the other hand, displayed a life that not many men of his time could be brave enough to face or rich enough to afford. His public persona abridged a wide range of personages with which Hemingway became associated, such as the sportsmen, the hunter, the traveler, the bon vivant, and the adventure-seeking man. Inside this kaleidoscope of facets that Hemingway assumed, the role of journalist was another one. In the same way that most of his passions, such as bullfighting, sports, and nature, journalism accompanied Hemingway throughout his journey. Together with his career as a fiction writer, the profession allowed Hemingway to devote his life to do what he felt was his true call: to write stories.

The objective of this thesis was to explore how the two aspects of Hemingway's writing are connected by shedding light on his often neglected journalistic career. Our primary research question was to know if it is possible to establish a connection between the evolution in Hemingway's journalism with his literature. Considering the three phases analyzed in this

thesis, it is possible to conclude that it is. After scrutinizing Hemingway's journalistic and literary works, we observed that the fictional and the journalistic production have never been excluding, nor have they taken separate roads. Hemingway's writing in the press and in fiction followed a very similar path regarding the *choice of topics* and *writing style,* and are strongly complementary in terms of *content*.

In terms of *choice of topics*, Hemingway can be called a thematic author. He claimed to have personal interests in some topics explored in his writings. In an interview with Harvey Brett for *The New York Times*, he confessed: "The themes have always been love, lack of it, death and its occasional temporary avoidance which we describe as life, the immortality or lack of immortality of the soul, money, honor and politics" (par. 4). In literature, Hemingway found in his favorite activities excellent channels to approach these topics. When Hemingway wrote about bullfighting, fishing, or the war, he was using these actions to express something else. As we could see in the previous chapters, the activities serve as an allegory to represent loss, courage, bravery, love (or the lack of it).

Upon analyzing Hemingway's journalism from a lifetime perspective, we can conclude that, in his journalistic activity, Hemingway mostly wrote about the topics that also appeared in his literature. The exception was perhaps his seven-month experience in Kansas and, to a certain degree, the early years as a roving reporter in Europe. In *The Kansas City Star*'s newsrooms, Hemingway did not have the option of choosing assignments. As a hard-news reporter, he was forced to write about whatever came up on the police station or the hospital emergency rooms during his shift. In the Toronto Star media group, that started to change. Even though editors might have chosen the assignments he would write from Europe, Hemingway began to fill out the pages with articles that interested him.

In the second and third phases, this freedom was fully blown. In the 1930s, Hemingway only wrote about whatever he wished in his *Esquire*'s column. It is when he

predominantly approached the topics that also permeated his literature, such as fishing, traveling or hunting. Later that decade, he returned to hard news reporting style to talk about two of his passions that were unfortunately together, Spain and the War. Finally, his last assignment on bullfighting for *Life* magazine crowned the life of a journalist that had mostly written about his passions. Hemingway's literary motto, that one should only write about what they know, could be transcended to his journalism. Hemingway mostly wrote about what interested him and topics that he knew about both in his journalism and literature.

In this work, we have also observed that these topics sometimes crossed the boundaries between journalism and literature. The articles on war, a topic present in the three phases of Hemingway's literature and journalism, sometimes mix the two types of narratives. Such was the case that the Greco-Turkish war coverage, published as a journalistic piece for *The Toronto Daily Star* in the 1920s, doubled as a vignette for his book *In Our Time*. In the second phase, the Spanish Civil War's reporting mixed hard news style with some profiles more artistically crafted, such as the chauffeurs of Madrid. Once again, literature complemented and crowned the experience in Spain with the novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

It is possible to notice that Hemingway's journalism and literature are similar not only in the choice of topics that he wrote about but also in the ones that he did not. As seen in the previous pages, women in his books barely exist. When they do appear, it is to play a counter-heroin that comes to ruin the characters' lives on purpose, such as Lady Brett, or by destiny like Catherine Berkeley's death. In the second phase, the heroin plays an almost childish role, as is the case of Maria in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. In the short stories, women simply disappear. Finally, in the third phase they reappear younger in the case of Countess Renata or continue being totally absent like in *The Old Man and The Sea*. The same treatment was given to the women in Hemingway's journalism. There was not much said through Hemingway's words in the press about the opposite sex. In the news articles women rarely appear, and when they do,

they usually have no names or talk through their husbands. His own wife was inserted in his *Esquire* articles and his bullfighting stories as a supporting character in the scene.

In terms of *writing style,* we could see that both journalistic and literary texts went through processes of change that reflect each other. In the 1920s, we can see a young Hemingway in his early stages, with a sharp eye to novelty. That is reflected in short sentences and sharp dialogues. It is no surprise that in his literature, Hemingway's protagonists were heroes in search of initiation, developing the role of an apprentice eager to learn. In his journalism, this dynamic often appeared too, such as the stories in which Hemingway learns how to live cheap in Paris or transcribing dialogues with an old fisherman about how to fish in streams.

In the 1930s, the way in which Hemingway projected his image through the texts was different. In the second phase of Hemingway's literature, his hero takes on a more active role and becomes a protagonist in action. In journalism, these were the years when Hemingway also became the center of his stories, with a lot of action involved, both in his column in *Esquire* and his dispatches from the Civil War. Finally, in the last phase of his literature, Hemingway's hero becomes more introspective, and his style reflected that. The iceberg theory stops playing a part in his last literary book of the war, for example. Cantwell's war memories were used as a hook to include – and not to leave out – information. Colonel Cantwell remembers, and the verb *think* appears often.

The same argument can be raised for his journalism. During World War II coverage, Hemingway even flirted with gonzo journalism by telling the backstage of the war and taking an active role in the actions. His news pieces were written a few months after they happened, which is also a form of remembering. Furthermore, Hemingway stopped being an observer to be a participant, so the iceberg theory in journalism did not have space to happen as it did in

the early years covering the Greco-Turkish war. This is one example that brings us to conclude that the same development in style was observed in his journalism as in his literature.

Finally, in terms of *content*, we can conclude that Hemingway develops the recurrent topics in journalism and literature in a way that they complement each other. In the first phase, *The Sun Also Rises* gives a convincing, eloquent, and accurate portrait of the general disillusionment of the so-called Lost Generation. Hemingway developed characters that, however fictional, were representative of the spirit, or the zeitgeist, of a time. The literature was able to capture the spirit of a generation in a way that Hemingway's journalism did not. Hemingway's reporting from Europe at that time did not show the same depth. In the three years in Paris, only one story tackled – and still only very broadly – the post-war generation's disillusionment.

Most of the journalistic stories bylined from Paris were a more direct and informative account of what was happening. Although these pieces were not written to transcend time, they provided a general and concrete side of what was being boiled in the world at that moment. Amongst Hemingway's dispatches were the description of international conferences, reporting on wars, or notes on the city of Paris. Therefore, it can be said that in journalism, he approached the topic in a different, more timely-centered fashion. The most profound feelings that Hemingway experienced being an expatriate during the Lost Generation years were more evident in his literature than in his journalism.

When the topic is politics, this order was inverted. Hemingway's political engagement was more openly expressed in his journalism than in his literature – something particularly surprising if taking into consideration the supposed impartiality of the craft of journalism. During the second phase, the relationship between the war and politics was bluntly exposed in his dispatches. When reporting the Spanish Civil War, his journalism alternated between hard news reporting and features. In these articles, Hemingway opted for being more outspoken

about politics than he had previously been. In the book about the episode, *For Whom the Bell Tolls,* politics is not at the forefront of the story. Hemingway goes behind more universally accepted truths, which transcend any particular politics. Therefore, it can be concluded that in terms of content, journalism and literature were highly complementary.

A secondary objective proposed by this work was to know if the journalistic texts reflect Hemingway's personal life in the same way that literature does. As we saw, Hemingway's corpus of writing in fiction can be interpreted as a continuity. Nick Adams from the early years becomes Jake Barns, who then becomes Frederic Henry. The hero gets older with Robert Jordan and finally reaches the late years with the reflexive Colonel Campbell and the persistent Santiago. The evolution of Hemingway's hero is, in the end, the evolution of Hemingway himself, as most scholars and biographers have already explored. Each character represented Hemingway's doubts, questions, perspectives of life in a certain period of his life. Is it possible to detect this development also in his journalism?

Emulating what happened in his fiction, we conclude that Hemingway's journalistic writing also reflects his personal life. Each of the three phases mirrors the man behind the journalist, who was also evolving – not necessarily for the best. A witness of the most significant events of the first half of the 20th century, Hemingway bylined articles from different geographies, narrating stories as he saw them happen. What a journalist chooses to observe, narrate, include in or edit out of a story reveals much of his own identity and points of view. Moreover, Hemingway was often the main character behind a story, as many of the news articles were written in the first person. Therefore, reading his journalism allowed us to see the evolution of his own self.

We grouped Hemingway's corpus in topics to verify if and how changes connect to his personal stories. It was possible to observe that some of Hemingway's interests remained the same, but the way that he narrated them changed considerably in each phase, and this

change was a reflection of who he was. Fishing is perhaps the best example that shows this development. In the early journalistic phase, as an apprentice, Hemingway was the reporter who taught Canadian readers how to make the most of their weekend getaway in the woods, spending very little.

Hemingway's second journalistic phase shows his transformation from a cub reporter into a lifestyle chronicler. Onboard expensive fishing ships, including his own boat named *Pilar*, money was not a big issue for Hemingway, who ventured into the ocean to do sea fishing. The more extravagant – and expensive – modality of the sport was restricted to few people that could afford it. *Esquire*'s target was a specialized audience who opened the magazine expecting to be filled in on Hemingway's last adventures in the deep sea. This is a big change from ten years before, when he was bylining stories as an unknown reporter for the Toronto Star group's newspapers. Therefore, the news article on fishing shows the development of an unknown journalist to a well-known character. Moreover, the choice of the media and the type of column written on fishing show Hemingway's interest in using the pages of the magazine to project his image and consolidate the *Papa Hemingway* figure.

In no fictional story can we see the same level of exhibitionism and gaiety as in his magazine reporting. In Hemingway's literature, we can also observe that fishing changed in nature from river fishing to sea fishing. Notwithstanding, in literature the activity is narrated to convey something more profound in meaning. The act of fishing is brought up in Hemingway's fiction as a moment of respite, such as Nick Adam's healing of war trauma or Jake Barne's forgetting his psychological emasculation. In fictional writing, Hemingway approaches the topic to represent universal truths. The truths that were hidden in him when he was going to sleep at night, in his war nightmares, or in his impulse for writing. The fictional fishing has never been used to project the self-esteem of a character, like his articles in *Esquire*. Rather the contrary, fishing emphasizes his sense of humility and close contact with nature.

Therefore, the journalistic articles lack the depth that appears in his literature. Journalism shows a facet of Hemingway's that was more practical and palatable for readers. It projected his real life but did not project the doubts and inquiries of a man. This was something reserved for his literature. Literature captures Hemingway's interior landscape while the journalistic articles display another side of his character. It is not that one is false, and the other is not. Both sides represented the same man. In the core, journalism and literature, when put side by side, offer a more comprehensive picture of Hemingway's life.

It is well-known that the texts are forgotten in journalism because one of the main characteristics of the news is immediacy. As everything immediate, it is meant to have a quick ending. However, Hemingway wanted to remain, which is why he chose to go beyond journalism and write fiction, even though he continued exerting both sides for all of his life. Hemingway might have lived with a gun in his head, and he decided when it was the moment to pull the trigger. At the end of the biography *Hemingway: A Life Story*, Carlos Baker re-enacts Hemingway's last moments: "He slipped in two shells, lowered the gun butt carefully to the floor, leaned forward, pressed the twin barrels against his forehead just above the eyebrows, and tripped both triggers" (563-564). Hemingway pulled two triggers; the two facets of his writing career died in the way they have always lived: together in the same man.

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