Constructing Modern Masculinity in the Travel Writing of Ernest Hemingway

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We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

T. S. Eliot
"Little Gidding"
1942

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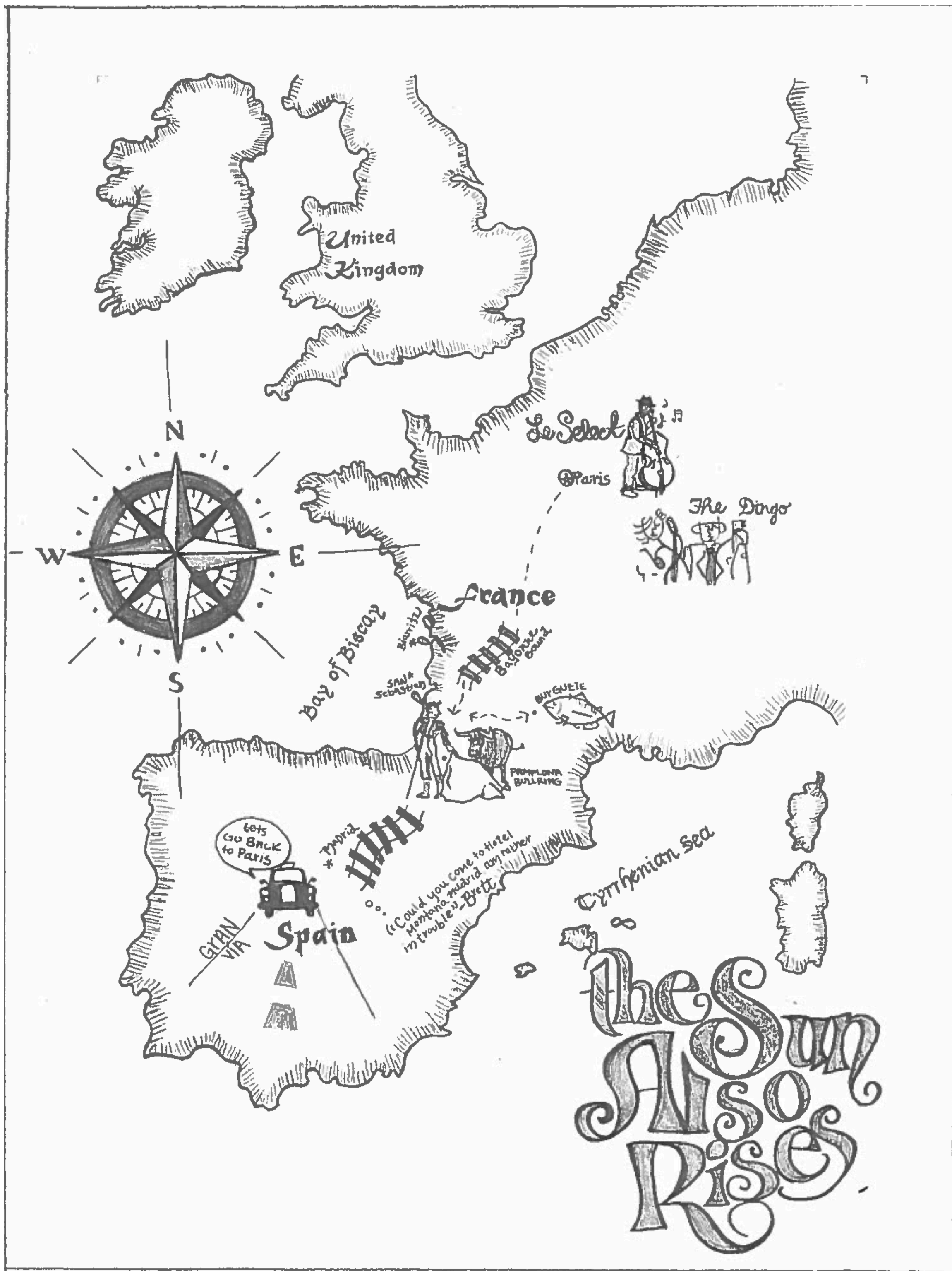

Illustrated by Elizabeth Jones, Georgetown College Class of 2019

Introduction – A Born Traveler and a Born Novelist

Ernest Hemingway was an author of nouns and verbs. He dedicated his career to crafting a uniquely stripped-down prose style, and he was famous for despising adjectives. But nouns and verbs did not simply serve as aesthetic tools for Ernest Hemingway; rather, they formed the conceptual foundation for his public persona and for his entire body of work. Hemingway wrote about places and actions. Drinking in Pamplona, loving in Italy, fishing in Cuba, hunting in Africa, writing in Paris, and fighting – well, anywhere – are subjects over which Hemingway has established a decisive creative monopoly. In doing so, he has cemented his position in the canon of American literature as one of the most famous travel writers of the 20th century.

As critic Carl Thompson notes, "travel writing" is a "loose generic label [that] has always embraced a bewilderingly diverse range of material" (Thompson 11). There is vast disagreement within the field of travel literature regarding what exactly it is, and what exactly it is not.[1] For instance, Paul Fussell's narrow, proscriptive definition of the genre would exclude Hemingway from it entirely, as his novels are *romans à clef* rather than pure nonfiction (Thompson 15). Allyson Nadia Field, on the other hand, explicitly labels Hemingway as a writer of the "experiential travelogue," because he offers "guides to a lifestyle" abroad (Field 29-30). This thesis will situate Hemingway's work within a broader view of the genre of travel literature, based on Thompson's definition:

> All travel writing is at some level a record or product of ["the encounter between self and other that is brought about by movement through space"], and of the

[1] Although some theorists may distinguish between the categories of "travel writing" and "travel literature," for the purposes of this thesis, the two terms will be used interchangeably.

> negotiation between similarity and difference that it entailed…It is also revelatory to a greater or lesser degree of the traveller who produced that report, and of his or her values, preoccupations and assumptions. And, by extension, it also reveals something of the culture from which that writer emerged, and/or the culture for which their text is intended. (Thompson 10)

Most theorists, including Fussell, agree with Thompson's assertion that travel literature's "pronounced emphasis on the narratorial self" is one of the most important characteristics of the genre (Thompson 14, 19), because it establishes travel writing as a powerful mode for exploring identity in a differential setting. As Eric J. Leed and Casey Blanton demonstrate, innumerable writers throughout history have utilized the narrative figure of "the journey" as a diversely effective metaphor for the act of identity construction. Because of Western society's traditionally restrictive norms of autonomy and mobility, Leed further argues that the journey is a "gendered activity," and that it is gendered as masculine (Leed 218-219). Leed writes: "In a vast portion of human history, men have been the travelers; and travel literature is – with a few significant, and often modern, exceptions – a male literature reflecting a masculine point of view," particularly in its treatment of exploration, penetration of the unknown, and domination (Leed 220). These themes carry implicit sexual undertones that traditionally pertain to the masculine experience. Just as writing for the public was historically a privilege reserved only to men, so too was traveling; in this way, "travel writing" stands as what once was – and perhaps continues to be – the definitive genre for constructing and expressing visions of masculinity.

Thompson argues that "one function of ["any"] travel account will usually be to consolidate the traveller's claim to full or proper masculinity" (Thompson 174). This

convention is precisely what Ernest Hemingway performs in his travel novels, and his persuasive construction and dissemination of ideal "modern" masculinity is what makes him most famous as a writer. Although his now mythic masculine image – a chest-thumping, hard-drinking, fear-nothing hero – is the product of a series of legendary characters such as Frederic Henry, Robert Jordan, and Santiago,[2] Hemingway first and most effectively established himself as an expert on the "full" and "proper" masculinity of the times through Jake Barnes, the protagonist of his 1926 novel *The Sun Also Rises*. By framing the development of Jake, a genitally-wounded World War I veteran and an American expatriate living in Paris, within his experiences traveling from France to Spain, Hemingway uses the travel trope of "masculine self-fashioning" to address the "anxieties emerging from a turn-of-the century crisis of masculinity," catalyzed by the war (*Dangerous Masculinities* 21, 1). The novel's specific participation in traditional forms of the genre of travel writing allows Hemingway to construct Jake's character as performing a masculinity in response to this crisis that was dominant, American, and distinctly for the modern age. In doing so, Ernest Hemingway both began his career as a literary force and made a lasting impact on the gendered values system of American society.

[2] The protagonists of *A Farewell to Arms* (1929), *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), and *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952).

Chapter One – Preoccupations with *Cojones*: The Crisis of Modern Masculinity

In his book of literary criticism *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Paul Fussell includes the following quote by Francis Hope: “All poetry since 1918 is war poetry” (Fussell 353). In the literature of the 1920s, the impact of World War I is certainly omnipresent; few events in history had ever provoked such drastic change in the social, political, and economic spheres of human existence before then. The writers and thinkers that are now referred to as the “Moderns” grappled with this change, pursuing “psychological introspection in the face of a shattered world” through their works (Blanton 60). They sought to rebuild the notion of a “self” that had been fragmented by the war, and they attempted to make sense of the unprecedented scale of global death that had occurred between 1914 and 1918.

Because the majority of the millions who had been killed were male soldiers, many modern writers were particularly concerned with addressing the shattering of masculine identity that, through both physical wounding and mental “shell” shock, had become the greatest cost of combat. Ernest Miller Hemingway (1899-1961) himself suffered trauma and underwent rehabilitation when he was severely wounded in the leg by an explosion while serving as an ambulance driver on the Italian front (Meyers 31-33). This experience deeply informed his early work. In particular, the influence of Hemingway’s direct exposure to the destruction of modern warfare reveals itself in his style and subject matter, locating his 1920s writing within the popular cultural discourse of the moment: an aggressive repudiation of the gendered values of the preceding Victorian Era (Strachey xi).

Lytton Strachey is one of the many modern writers who, along with Hemingway, participated in this symbolic rejection of "textbook" Victorian mores and ideals. In an introduction to Strachey's satirical treatment of the "heroes" of that period, *Eminent Victorians* (1918), Noël Annan explains the ideology that provoked the postwar social shift that informed these modern writers:

> The profound emotional impact of the horror and slaughter convinced many that the values which held good before the war must now by definition be wrong, if indeed they were not responsible for the war. A society which permitted such a catastrophe to occur must be destroyed, because the presuppositions of that comfortable prewar [society] were manifestly false. (*Eminent Victorians* xi)

In no figure was this system of humiliated, ruined cultural values better symbolized for the collective modern imagination than in the paragon of Victorian femininity, the Matriarch.

Cultural critics now argue that until the Roaring 20s, the "proper" role of women was codified by the "domestic deity 'Honoria':" "the Angel in the House" who, from within the private sphere, should preserve the moral wisdom and chaste virtue of society as a whole (Poovey 8). In his collection of essays on gender roles in the 19th century, *Sesame and Lilies* (1865), the prominent critic John Ruskin writes that the woman must confine herself to the home, "a place of Peace," where she is "incapable of error…enduringly, incorruptibly good…infallibly wise…self-renounc[ing]...[and servile to her husband's comfort]" (Ruskin 36). The definitive characteristics of the "respectable Victorian woman" were her piety, her lack of libido, and her strong maternal instinct, which made her inherently "self-sacrificing and tender" where men were "self-interested and aggressive" (Poovey 5-7). Widespread faith in these qualities bestowed the Victorian

woman in her role as wife and mother with the utmost "power [of] moral influence" and guidance over her husband and children (Poovey 8, Ruskin 32). Public conscience and moral order were governed by a "social organization that depend[ed] upon naturalizing monogamous marriage, a sexual division of labor, and a specific economic relation between the sexes" (Poovey 2). The ideals of the Victorian Era were thus imagined to be entirely "articulated upon gender," and gendered identity became defined by a highly constraining "binary opposition" between men and women (Poovey 6-10). The figure of the chaste Victorian Matriarch, embodied for many minds in the symbol of Queen Victoria herself, was the large, sanctimonious rock upon which this organization was built (Poovey 2).

After the shock of World War I, the moderns – in truth, a relatively exclusive group of white, upper-middle class intellectuals – sought to defy and overturn every ideal that the Matriarch had represented in their cultural texts, which included everything from literature to advertising to fashion (Douglas 6-8). The Matriarch was oppressive and domineering, and she had blindly led her men to massacre in the trenches. Her righteous reign must come to an end. Ann Douglas writes of the "matrophobia" and "symbolic matricide" expressed by the moderns: "There can be no doubt that the Victorian matriarch was scapegoated by her descendants; the ills of an entire society were laid at the door of the sex whose prestige is always held expendable" (Douglas 7). This "cultural matricide" made the 1920s the "roaring" decade that it was, appearing to give "fresh access to an adventurous new world of uninhibited self-expression and cultural diversity, a world the Titaness's bulk had seemed expressly to block" (Douglas 253). One of the

definitive changes to this newly imagined world was the bitter rejection of the Matriarch's discourse of piety and repression. Instead, the moderns "wished to expose the lies of the liberal Victorian Protestant establishment and its effete whitewash of the evil human heart" (Douglas 8, 40) by debunking the "Meliorist myth" of enlightenment progress (Fussell 8) and abandoning the wide-eyed innocence of the years before the war in favor of a new ideal: *Terrible Honesty* (Douglas 1).

The terrible honesty of the 1920s was "irreverent if not irreligious…alert to questions of honesty but hostile to all moralizing" (Douglas 8). The moderns took as their new Font of Truth the masculine, secular, scandalous psychoanalytic theory of Sigmund Freud (Douglas 21), and as their new mode, a roughly cutting voice of irony and black humor (Fussell 3, 8). Referencing Hemingway's famous last line of *The Sun Also Rises*, Ann Douglas defines the moderns' use of irony in this way:

> Irony, saying one thing and meaning another, the discourse of disbelief that claims a monopoly on self-knowledge and shreds the "pretty" in the interests of the true, became the only thoroughly accredited modern mode. As the moderns practiced it, irony played cruel step*father* to an orphaned faith. (Douglas 54 – my emphasis)

By ironically carving through what they believed to be the naiveté, stagnancy, façade, and excess of the Victorian Era, the moderns appeared to establish a new set of values and a new mode of cultural discourse for postwar society that disparaged the romantic, the sentimental, and the feminine as complicit with the odious Matriarch (Forter 27). In the collective modern imagination, to embody any of the characteristics of her traditional femininity was to represent the ills that had allowed the disaster of the Great War to occur. In the Matriarch's place, the society of the 1920s embraced a cult of

masculinity. After the years of death in the war, this would be the age of the rebirth of the American Man.

Modern female writers and cultural icons like Dorothy Parker, Edna St. Vincent Millay, and Zelda Fitzgerald stood just as much in resistance to the frumpy values of the Victorian Matriarch as did their male counterparts. Ann Douglas writes:

> The daughters of the Titaness were as instrumental in overthrowing her as her sons. The modern American women who aided the male writers, psychologists, and theologians in the masculinization process were at least as eager as their male peers to seize the liberties of adventurous autonomy, creative and rigorous self-expression, sexual experimentation, and full exposure to ethnic and racial diversity, liberties that had been even harder to come by for women than men, liberties against which the Victorian matriarch had, as her descendants saw it, ruthlessly campaigned. (Douglas 247)

Although far fewer women than men had personally experienced the horrors and casualties of the war, many had served overseas as nurses or had suffered the traumatic losses of husbands, fiancés, and brothers. The disillusioning impact of the war was universal. Maria Vérone, a prominent postwar feminist, expressed the disgust of many in her generation when she wrote: “The women who have preceded us…gave us the bad example of fake hair, false sentiments, marriage without love” (Roberts 678). The new modernized code of aggressively masculine values seemed to offer both transparency and independence, giving women a certain level of public freedom that the Matriarch had systematically squashed. By the height of the 1920s, modern young women were brazenly rejecting the ideals of their mothers in order to be more like men.

As current readers understand these cultural and literary denominations today, the moderns imagined the relationship between gender roles in the Victorian Era and in the postwar period to be entirely antithetical. If the Victorian woman was the Titaness, the

postwar woman was the Flapper. Sending “Victorian inhibitions and restrictions packing,” women in the 1920s were able to vote, “venture into business or a profession, attend college, drive an automobile, play cards outside their homes, smoke…drink alcohol, and use slang without critical comment…[and] dance the suggestive shimmy, the tango and the Charleston with abandon” (Jailer-Chamberlain 24-25). Nowhere were these new freedoms made more visible than in the decade’s fashions. Perhaps most notably, women of a certain socioeconomic class began to wear their hair short in a masculine bobbed style, they dyed their hair, and they wore “garish” colored lipstick, rouge, and dark eyeliner (Jailer-Chamberlain 25). They also began to diet to avoid having a matronly – Victorian – figure, devaluing “the ideal of the voluptuous, curvaceous woman” in favor of a “sinuous, smooth, ‘modernist’ one,” which they emphasized through streamlined, minimalist clothing (Roberts 658). Gone were the “hobbling skirts, tight waists, voluminous underthings and binding corsets” of the Victorian Era; instead, anyone wishing to become a flirty flapper lived and played in “dresses [that] hung straight from the shoulders and free from her body…To heighten the boyish look, she wore a sturdy cotton ‘flattener’ brassiere. Her arms were bared, and as the 1920s progressed, hemlines gradually crept up to the knee and higher” (Jailer-Chamberlain 27). The liberation that these new styles physically lent to the image of the modern woman can only have been sweetened by the distress that it heaped upon the scandalized conscience of the Old Guard.

The new fashions of the flapper served as a powerful and intentional aesthetic act of rebellion against the conservative values of the Victorian Era. As the French journalist

René Bizet observed, “every aspect of female dress had not only changed but become the mirror opposite of what it had been in 1900” (Roberts 658). The flapper’s style separated her from her Victorian mother and aligned her with modern men, and it symbolized the change in social perception that postwar women could now occupy roles other than that of the moralizing mother and wife. Fashion functioned as a “visual erasure of sexual difference…which characterized both the new female body and ‘womanhood’ itself,” giving access to “freedom of movement” and speed (Roberts 670, 662). This caused many to believe that masculinized style and social participation were transforming these “New Women” into “sexless eunuchs, non-mothers, and non-women” (Roberts 671). The flapper was not only fashionable and revolutionary, but she was also representative of the loss of innocence and domestic “virginal intimacy” that had been brought about by the ravages of war (Roberts 671-674). Although the Matriarch was the modern mind’s scapegoat, the Flapper was its reminder of death and destruction:

> Fashion bore the symbolic weight of an entire set of social anxieties concerning the war’s perceived effects on gender relations…The belief that women were becoming more like men and rejecting their traditional domestic role…was greatly exacerbated by the war’s disruption of the normal hierarchies of status between men and women. (Roberts 661)

The masculinization and liberation of postwar femininity was therefore a source of anxiety not only for supporters of the old Victorian values system, but also for the “Modern Man” himself. His anxiety over the new androgynous woman arose, among other things, from the fact that, after the war, “women drastically outnumbered men” (Fussell 342). For this reason, the “crisis of masculinity” that modern male writers like Ernest Hemingway confronted in their literature was just as much a product of the

shattering of masculine identity in combat as it was a reaction to the "battle of the sexes" that arose in the postwar decade (*Dangerous Masculinities* 1).

The literary movement that was fostered by the work of Ernest Hemingway and his contemporaries was "relentlessly masculinist" (*Dangerous Masculinities* 2). Thomas Strychacz writes that its "'pervasive politics of gender' include 'aspects of female suppression and exclusion, written in masculinist metaphors'" and that "its stylistic innovations [are] a function of 'masculine panic [and] a misogynistic virilizing of language,' compos[ing] a 'tough, masculine literary architectonics'" (*Dangerous Masculinities* 2). Hemingway himself most forcefully participated in modernism's masculinist metaphoric response to the gender crisis in his 1920s novels by manipulating the tropes of the genre of travel writing.

The first and, arguably, most famous of these travel novels, *The Sun Also Rises*, was published by Scribner's on October 22, 1926, to successful sales and reviews (Leff 55-65). In this breakout novel, Ernest Hemingway constructs a dominant vision of postwar, white American masculinity through his expatriate, veteran protagonist Jake Barnes. By participating in traditional conventions of travel literature, Hemingway affirms Jake's modern male identity in contrast to various manifestations of the trope of "the Other" (Adams, Bendixen, Blanton). Of *The Sun Also Rises*' "veritable buffet of hierarchized identities" (Onderdonk 69), the two "others" that are most significant to Hemingway's construction of Jake are the modern woman, who is realized in Jake's love interest Lady Brett Ashley, and the European, who is represented by the Spanish bullfighter Pedro Romero. Hemingway employs the travel narrative of the "monomyth"

to transform Jake's physical journey from Paris to the Spanish cities of Pamplona, San Sebastián, and Madrid into a psychological, symbolic experience, in which Jake, the hero, is seen by readers as "one who travels along a path of self-improvement and integration, doing battle with the 'others' who are the unresolved parts of himself" (Blanton 3). Hemingway also evokes the legacy of 18th and 19th century colonial and imperial travelogues, portraying Jake as the "narrator-adventurer" or "monarch-of-all-I-survey" figure who is bestowed with observational and discursive authority (Blanton 57). By structuring his novel around a journey abroad, Hemingway highlights differences of "class, religion, race, ethnicity, nationality, aesthetics, [and] epistemology" between the other characters and Jake, and he develops Jake's performance of gender as superior to theirs (Onderdonk 70).

Based on Judith Butler's theory that "gender is always a doing," Thomas Strychacz claims that masculine self-fashioning "emphasizes instead a fluid and always problematic self-staging," rather than any one essential idea or "pure state of manly being" (*Dangerous Masculinities* 3). Furthermore, he argues that:

> The social production of gendered modes of behavior cannot articulate perfect iterations or construct a seamless whole…[the gendered subjects], locked in formations of power working through the discursive realms that constitute them, experience multiple and contradictory processes of gender-fashioning…Under the trope of masculine self-fashioning, masculinity is held to be…relational. (*Dangerous Masculinities* 21-22)

This multiple, relational nature of masculine self-fashioning becomes particularly evident within the framework of travel literature, which conceptualizes identity as the product of a "complex and sometimes unsettling interplay between alterity and identity"

(Thompson 9).[3] Because *The Sun Also Rises* participates in the genre of travel writing, Jake's superior gender performance is in fact much more nuanced than the monolithic, "macho" masculinity that Hemingway is now heralded for creating. Instead, Hemingway establishes Jake's masculinity as *relational* to the other identities in the novel, and he affirms it as dominant and primary within the novel's ever-shifting system of power dynamics. In this way, *The Sun Also Rises* displays several different understandings of masculinity, which respond to the multiplicities and the paradoxes of the postwar decade itself.

[3] Similarly, Enric Bou explains that travelogues present a continuous "bi-directional movement" between the traveler's inner self and the unknown (Bou 168).

Chapter Two – To Hell With You, Lady Ashley: A Devaluation of The Feminine "Other"

The only force that breathed more life into the swaggering Hemingway myth than Ernest Hemingway himself was his relationship with women, both on and off of the page. Jeffrey Meyers emphasizes the importance of women to Hemingway's literary productivity: "He had, in fact, a new woman for each of his major works" (Meyers 42). Just as the tabloids reveled in the intrigues of his four marriages and various side-affairs – a prestigious pastime now taken up by groupies and biographers alike – so too did readers eagerly devour the hook-ups and break-ups of his most provocative partners in fiction. Despite the fact that he earned a notoriously nasty reputation in dealing with women – Gertrude Stein euphemistically observed that "Anyone who marries three girls…hasn't learned much" (Meyers 348) – Hemingway certainly spent enough time with them. This experience manifests itself in the compelling vitality of his heroines.

Few female characters in modern literature better embody the ambiguity and the threat of the "New Woman" in the 1920s than the anti-heroine of *The Sun Also Rises*, the determinedly drunk and delightfully devilish Lady Brett Ashley. By the time readers meet Lady Brett in chapter III, they have already been disgusted by the unsavory emasculating power of the Victorian Matriarch over the character Robert Cohn. In the first pages of the novel, Jake Barnes emphasizes the domineering nature of Cohn's ex-wife by recounting their union in the passive voice, and thus converts Cohn into a limp, inactive object: he "was married by the first girl who was nice to him" (SAR 12). The ex-wife, on the other hand, acquires power within the system of traditional matriarchy

through the creative force of her fertility, here understood in both physical and financial terms. Her name, her age, and her ethnicity are never mentioned; however, the reader knows that she is "rich" and that she was able to produce three children in five years (SAR 12). Cohn is also rendered impotent by the actions of his own mother, the ultimate icon of the Victorian matriarchy. She strips him of his inheritance and traps him in a prolonged state of infancy by insisting on remaining his source of "mother's milk" – a monthly allowance of three hundred dollars (SAR 12-13). Barnes completes Cohn's trio of harpies with the "forceful" Frances Clyne (SAR 13). He repeats his narrative use of the passive voice with polyptotonic verb constructions that stress Cohn's submissive status in an overtly physical, sexual way: he "had been taken in hand by a lady…[he] never had a chance of not being taken in hand" (SAR 13). Frances is "the lady who had him" – and her intense "determination" towards marriage makes her a *Victorian* lady – while Cohn is the hopeless benefactor of "careless possession and exploitation" (SAR 13).

The stagnant air of Robert Cohn's comically pathetic, somewhat repulsive life of stunted growth in the hands of Victorian women is dispelled by the arrival of the brazenly modern Brett. Like Cohn's harpies, Brett has sexual agency, but she differs greatly from them – and triumphs over them in the conquest of men – because she both puts on and is endowed with "attractive," masculine traits. Brett first introduces herself in this way with the cavalier greeting, "Hello, you chaps;" she then immediately includes herself within this male group by referring to *herself* as a "chap" (SAR 28-29). Brett repeats her self-determination as a "chap" throughout the text frequently. She also performs her gender by repeating gests of modern American masculinity. The concept of the "gest" is crucial

to Thomas Strychacz's argument that constructions of gender are performative and fluid (*Dangerous Masculinities* 3-9). Employing Bertolt Brecht's definition, Strychacz explains that a gest is "the dramatic moment that captures the gist of patterns of social behavior within an overarching structure of power" and "offers an unexpectedly profound critique of the modes and effects of male power," proving that the "materiality of human life [is] nothing other than constructed" (*Dangerous Masculinities* 3-4, 22). In *The Sun Also Rises*, Lady Brett Ashley's most prevalent masculine gests of choice include drinking alcohol excessively, being ironic, and wearing felt hats.

In that same moment of introduction – "Hello, you chaps" – Brett responds to Jake's inquiry, "Why aren't you tight?" [4] with a sarcastic, paradoxical joke: "Never going to get tight any more. I say, give a chap a brandy and soda" (SAR 29). Not only is Brett "One of the Boys" in name, but she is also one of the boys in behavior.[5] This direct combination of self-determination and action – which so lacks from Robert Cohn's initial scenes – repeats throughout Brett's entire performance of masculinized gender.

In other moments Brett's diction is varied, but the effect is still the same. In a playful exchange with her fiancé Mike Campbell, Brett inverts the declaration from her first bar scene: instead of including herself in the masculine group explicitly, she chooses to exclude herself from the feminine group. Mike drunkenly initiates the conversation by suggesting that they go to bed – "I say, Brett, let's turn in early" – and Brett replies: "Don't be indecent, Michael. Remember there are ladies at this bar" (SAR 85). When

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[4] Drunk.

[5] As Ann Douglas explains in *Terrible Honesty*, the 1920s marked the first time that women were able to drink in public, as men always had (Douglas 43).

other characters change the topic of the conversation, Brett insistently returns to the issue raised by Mike: “Brett pulled the felt hat down far over one eye and smiled out from under it. ‘You two run along to the fight. I’ll have to be taking Mr. Campbell home directly’” (SAR 85). Here, Brett is the performing agent who injects the conversation with sexual undertones and, therefore, renders it inappropriate for the ears of a Victorian woman. However, she portrays herself not as deviant from this gendered group, but rather as *not belonging* to it, by speaking of it in the third person. Brett thus distances herself from Victorian women linguistically, by engaging in a discursive gest that is coded to be “masculine:” producing dry humor in a “wet” context – the bar.

This bar scene also shows Brett employing one of her favorite masculine accessories in her gender performance: the felt hat. Throughout *The Sun Also Rises*, the reader sees that Lady Brett Ashley puts on or takes off masculine attributes – “poses” (*Dangerous Masculinities* 3) – in the same way that she puts on or takes off her hat. In this scene, she uses the hat as an enabling tool for transgression; she can make a daring sexual insinuation because she is performing under the norms of modern masculinity – or, rather, the brim of her “man’s felt hat” (SAR 35). Throughout the novel, Brett’s gestic use of hats proves to be, along with her pure physicality, her most powerful sexual tool.[6] In her seduction of Pedro Romero, her provocative masculine pose from the bar is perfectly mirrored by the young bullfighter, who “tip[s] his hat down over his eyes and change[s]…the expression of his face” (SAR 190). Romero’s posing of his hat presents

[6] It is worth noting how Brett acquired the hat that she uses to seduce Mike Campbell at the bar. When Mike asks, “Where did you get that hat?” she answers, “Chap bought it for me” (SAR 84).

just as much of an invitation as does Brett's in the bar scene, and she knows it. She flaunts her modernized sexuality and asserts her desire for Romero with as much, if not *more,* autonomy than the other male characters in the novel by publicly accepting Romero's proposition: "I would like a hat like that" (SAR 190). Romero promises to get her one, confirming the immediate certainty of their union: "I will. I'll get you one to-night" (SAR 190). Twenty minutes later, the pair have departed for Romero's hotel room.

In the same way, Brett can also take off her hat and present herself as less masculine and more "traditionally feminine" in the Victorian sense. After leaving the first bar scene in Paris, Brett appears hatless once she is sitting in the back of a taxicab with Jake (SAR 33). It is only after this moment of removal that Brett can interact with Jake on a romantic, emotional level. Her character acquires a "depth" that the reader could not access in the bar scene, which Jake, in a rare moment of abstract reflection, attributes to her eyes as he gazes down into them (SAR 34). Brett no longer refers to Jake – or to herself – as a "chap;" instead, he is her "darling," and the "chaps" become the distanced, universalized entity that she discusses in the third person (SAR 32-34). In this conversation, Brett appears to be vulnerable and sentimental in her experiences of love and loss: "You mustn't. You must know. I can't stand it, that's all. Oh, darling, please understand!…But darling, I have to see you. It isn't all that you know…That's my fault. Don't we pay for all the things we do, though?" (SAR 34). In these short, contradictory bursts of emotion, Brett reveals herself to be conflicted, tormented, uncertain, and regretful. These are qualities that her jocular, drunk, swaggering persona generally occludes.

This first taxicab scene between Brett and Jake mirrors the final and most famous scene of the novel. In this first cab ride, the reader can see the subtle way in which Hemingway incorporates the tropes of travel writing into his construction of gendered identity. Eric J. Leed observes that “travel is the most common source of metaphors used to explicate transformations and transitions of all sorts” (Leed 3). In *The Sun Also Rises*, Hemingway draws from the various symbolic possibilities offered by travel to create a space of transience – here, the taxicab in movement from one state to another – where characters’ gendered identities are at their most fluid. The “psychological meaning” inherent in the journey metaphor also suggests that Hemingway’s taxicab can serve within the novel as an alternative, private space where – while *driving* – the characters’ unconscious drives or “unresolved parts of [themselves]” become more clear (Blanton 2-3). The fact that *The Sun Also Rises* concludes in this alternative space may suggest something about resolution – or lack thereof – in the novel; however, in the first taxicab scene there is a finite end to the movement, and it is marked by Brett’s immediate restoration of her hat to her head: “When the taxi stopped I got out and paid. Brett came out putting on her hat” (SAR 35). Recovering herself from the moment of emotional intimacy, Brett re-asserts her masculine characteristics in her typical fashion: “She pulled her man’s felt hat down and started in for the bar…‘Hello you chaps,’ Brett said. ‘I’m going to have a drink’” (SAR 35-36).

Lady Brett Ashley’s performance of her gender as modernized and, therefore, masculinized is not restricted to her own sense of self in *The Sun Also Rises*; rather, Hemingway uses this construction of her character to contrast with the masculine

identities of all of the other characters in the novel. One of the most popular contemporary interpretations of the role of Brett Ashley as a masculinized modern woman is that she represents the threat of castration to male characters, by “assum[ing] her phallic attributes at the expense of the men surrounding her” (Eby 9). Orbiting around this “pure bitch-goddess” (Fulton 64), the modern universe depicted in *The Sun Also Rises* becomes “a world of phallic woundedness where male identity must be made” – and protected (Forter 29).

In his turn-of-the-century work *Hemingway’s Fetishism: Psychoanalysis and the Mirror of Manhood*, Carl Eby argues that Hemingway’s lifelong “erotic attachment to hair” appears as both a phallic attribute and a fetish within his work. He believes that “hair is itself a symbolic ‘female phallus,’ and all of Hemingway’s fetishized women are phallic women,” who serve as constant reminders of damaged or lost male identity (Eby 37-43). He states that in *The Sun Also Rises*, this “hair fetishism relates to the castration anxiety implicit in…Jake Barnes’ war wound,” an unspecified but irreversible genital injury that results in Jake’s impotence (Eby 39). According to Eby, Jake is the “lead contralto in Hemingway’s castrati choir,” representing the “general cultural malaise associated with…the rising sexual and social power of women,” symbolized by the terrible, “Great (Phallic) Mother,” Lady Brett (Eby 56-57).

These kinds of readings of Brett Ashley have been highly popularized by critics and developed to intellectually questionable extremes by dirty laundry-loving

psychoanalysts.[7] However, Brett's characterization as a promiscuous and emasculating threat to modern male identity can actually trace itself to the text of the novel, in a rather famous line attributed to the ridiculously romantic Robert Cohn, but uttered by Mike Campbell: "He calls her Circe…He claims she turns men into swine. Damn good. I wish I were one of these literary chaps" (SAR 148). In this sense, when Brett performs modern masculine gests, it does certainly come "at the expense of the men surrounding her" (Eby 9) – for it occasions the degradation and feminization of her male fellows.

The first instance of this occurs at the same time that Brett first asserts herself as masculine: in the bar in Paris (SAR 28). Just before Brett addresses her "chaps," Jake Barnes spends several paragraphs brooding over the group of "young men" that she arrives with. Although the text does not explicitly state that these men are homosexual, in accordance with Hemingway's "Iceberg Method," this detail is heavily implied and generally accepted to be true amongst scholars.[8] This passage has received much attention since its publication in 1926 for its homophobic tone, but more relevant to the discussion at hand is the way that Brett's contrasting presence within the group is directly linked to its feminization and, therefore, degradation in the text (Onderdonk 78).

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[7] Reacting to the proliferation of psychoanalytic interpretations of his work, Hemingway wrote: "Every young English professor sees gold in them dirty sheets now. Imagine what they can do with the soiled sheets of four legal beds by the same writer and you can see why their tongues are slavering" (Baker 751).

[8] The "Iceberg Method" was Hemingway's philosophy on writing, as stated in *Death in the Afternoon* (1932): "If a writer of prose knows enough of what he is writing about he may omit things that he knows and the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feeling of those things as strongly as though the writer had stated them. The dignity of movement of an iceberg is due to only one-eighth of it being above water" (Meyers 98).

Whether or not the reader accepts Eby's assertion that hair has phallic significance in Hemingway's writing, the most masculine and most modern of Brett Ashley's physical attributes is that her short "hair was brushed back like a boy's" (SAR 28). The young homosexual men who accompany her, on the other hand, seem angelic and even virginal with their "white hands," "white faces," and longer, blond "wavy hair" gleaming in the light from the doorway of the bar (SAR 30). One of the blond men politely refers to his male companion as "dear" – whereas Brett jokes with "chaps" – and, in scandalized amusement, he calls the prostitute Georgette "an actual harlot" (SAR 28). Brett refers to the prostitute simply as "it" (SAR 30). In perhaps the most provocative of the images of this impassioned passage, the same blond man dances "big-hippily" – not unlike the wide, matronly, imposingly fertile Victorian Matriarch (SAR 28). Brett, in contrast, is "built with curves like the hull of a racing yacht, and you missed none of it with that wool jersey" (SAR 30). She is sleek, hard, and fast – decidedly un-feminine.[9]

The antithesis drawn between Brett's gender and the gender of the young men is not accidental; rather, her presence, emphasized by Jake through obsessive repetition, is directly indicated to be the cause of their opposition's exaggeration. Anaphora marks Jake's description of the positional staging of the scene: "With them was Brett. She looked very lovely and she was very much with them…And with them was Brett" (SAR 28). The excess of this repetition is mirrored by the hyperbolic nature of Jake's disparaging, vitriolic description of the homosexual men. They are Victorian china dolls

[9] "Feminine" as it is understood by the modern movement's stereotyped view of Victorian gender ideals: "the voluptuous, curvaceous woman" (Roberts 658), who wore "hobbling skirts, tight waists, voluminous underthings and binding corsets" (Jailer-Chamberlain 27).

that he desperately wants to “shatter:” “I was very angry. Somehow they always made me angry. I know they are supposed to be amusing, and you should be tolerant, but I wanted to swing on one, any one, anything to shatter that superior, simpering composure” (SAR 28). Hemingway thus uses the contrast between the young men’s gender performance and the masculine poses of Brett to portray them as feminized and, therefore, an object of hateful ridicule that appears to make Jake physically ill with disgust (SAR 29).

As this scene exemplifies, Hemingway uses physicality and sexuality to symbolically mark the feminization of his male characters. However, as Todd Onderdonk observes, the relationships of power that are constructed between characters are also highly significant. Feminization – “men acting or being treated ‘like a woman’” – can also be produced in the text when characters “adop[t] or [are] forced into *states of shameful passivity or disempowerment*” (Onderdonk 61 – my emphasis). This is a far greater concern for Hemingway’s gendered vision than are sexual orientation and hairstyle.

In the novel, the constant feminization of male characters through their submission to the masculinized Brett continuously provokes their degradation. No one can escape her emasculating charm, and no one falls under her spell more deeply than Robert Cohn, the great fool of the novel who not only manages to be “taken in hand” by Victorian women, but is also “thrown over” by the modern one.[10] Cohn’s adoring affair with Lady Brett characterizes him as childlike, naïve, romantic, and sentimental, aligning him with the “wide-eyed innocence of the years before the war” (Douglas 1) and the

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[10] To borrow a wonderful phrase from one of F. Scott Fitzgerald’s infamous flappers, Jordan Baker (*The Great Gatsby* 177).

"false sentiments" of the purist Victorian Matriarch (Roberts 678). Greg Forter observes that, in Hemingway's work, "to be both sentimental and a man is to be at least implicitly feminized" (Forter 27); Robert Cohn proves that it is *also* to be degraded.

Robert Cohn is one of the most pathetic characters in the history of twentieth century literature. Each time that Lady Brett Ashley approaches him, either as a topic of conversation or in person, he is further devalued. When Cohn first asks Jake Barnes about Brett, his sensitive, chivalrous comments render him ridiculous and emasculated, especially in comparison to the tough-talking, ironic masculinity that Jake performs in response. Cohn claims, without any evidence beyond his own romantic idealizations, "I don't believe she would marry anybody she didn't love," and Jake cuts him down with the deadpan, fact-based: "Well. She's done it twice" (SAR 46-47). When Cohn, now an indignant "white" knight defending his Lady's honor (SAR 47),[11] protests, "I didn't ask you to insult her," Jake performs a double discursive gest of modern masculinity: he curses at Cohn, telling him to "go to hell," and he calls Cohn a "fool," a term that, throughout the novel, is shown to be synonymous with "sentimental" (SAR 47). Jake belittles Cohn's idealizing chivalry as childish "prep-school stuff" and even suggestively links him to the simpering, white, feminized young men from the bar by noting that Cohn "smiled again and sat down" (SAR 47). Through Jake's eyes, the reader sees Cohn as an easily placated, submissive non-man, a man without any relational authority. Jake makes

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[11] Hemingway emphasizes this marker of Cohn's virginal naiveté by repeating "white" twice, just as he does in his description of the homosexual men (SAR 30). Later on, he more explicitly characterizes Cohn as a romantic white knight when he writes: "He stood waiting, his face sallow, his hands fairly low, proudly and firmly waiting for the assault, ready to do battle for his lady love" (SAR 182).

this particularly obvious when he mockingly wonders: “What the hell would he have done if he hadn’t sat down?” (SAR 47). By physically lowering himself, Cohn accepts his own degradation. He then sentimentally confesses, “You’re really about the best friend I have, Jake,” and Jake once again shuts him down by performing modern masculinity, mentally rolling his eyes – “God help you” – and taking control of the situation by changing the topic of conversation to something unemotional and much more suitable for two single men: “Let’s get something else to eat” (SAR 47). In this interaction, the reader can see that the repeated, systematic feminization of Robert Cohn – provoked by his attachment to Lady Brett Ashley – is the product of a relational power dynamic that is constructed by the contrast between Jake’s performance of masculinity as modern and ironic and Cohn’s performance of masculinity as old-fashioned and sentimental.

Although Robert Cohn is the most degraded character of *The Sun Also Rises*, Brett’s other lovers also receive unflattering, feminizing evaluations in the text. Brett’s fiancé, the charming Scotsman Mike Campbell, is reduced to an inebriated, emotional, table-flipping, bankrupt disaster that, in the 21st century, would seem more at home on a reality TV show. Although Mike is decidedly more ironic than Robert Cohn, and he is generally well liked by the other characters, his inability to restrain his emotions undermines the success of his performance of modern masculinity. The humiliation of Brett’s constant infidelity and barefaced flirtation in his presence drives Mike to uncontrolled indulgence in both alcoholism and sentimentality. When Brett expresses her physical desire for the bullfighter Pedro Romero, Mike, in his drunken state, fails to dominantly claim authority by confronting Brett herself. Instead, he turns on the weakest

member of the group, Cohn, and in doing so he is lowered down to Cohn's degraded position: "Why don't you see when you're not wanted, Cohn? Go away. Go away, for God's sake. Take that sad Jewish face away. Don't you think I'm right?…Don't you think I'm right? I love that woman" (SAR 181). Mike's exclamations are marked by anaphora and interrogatives, which give them a pleading and hysterical tone befitting of the imaginary "damsel in distress" that Robert Cohn is trying to rescue. Lady Brett Ashley, on the other hand, maintains her modern, unemotional composure, "looking straight ahead at nothing," and thus elevating her own gender performance above the outdated, feminized sentimentality of her swinish suitors (SAR 182).

Jake Barnes is the novel's narrator, protagonist, and "Hemingway hero" (Meyers 293), but even he exhibits feminization in his gender performance and is, therefore, devalued in the social space of the novel because of his relationship with Lady Brett. Jake's emasculation is not solely caused by the literal castration and subsequent impotence of his war wound.[12] The reader can see that he performs many of the same feminized gests that Robert Cohn and Mike Campbell do. After the first taxicab ride with Brett, Jake makes his way to bed alone and shares a rare moment of vulnerable intimacy with the reader. In this scene, which gives this chapter of this thesis its title, Jake's rumination on his frustrated relationship with Brett occasions his feminization by making him incapable of successfully performing gests of modern masculinity (SAR 38). His irony spoils into bitterness, he curses Brett and the world in a childish, petulant manner, and, ultimately, he cries.

[12] In fact, some critics have argued that Jake is able to consummate his relationship with Brett through alternative methods (Fantina 93).

This scene occupies not even two full pages in the novel, and it covers the time that it takes for Jake to get into bed and fall asleep (SAR 38-39). It is striking how frequently the word "funny" appears in this small amount of print space, especially considering that its contents are wrenchingly melancholic. Jake uses the word "funny" six times in three paragraphs, as well as the related words "joke," "laughed," and "play," to furnish more details about the circumstances and consequences of his ghostly war wound, particularly regarding its relevance to his relationship with Brett. Jake's attempt to ironize his sexual situation is completely undermined by the artificiality of his use of the word "funny," as it is rendered suspect by its excessive repetition and illogical by the deeply psychological tone of the rest of the passage. Jake is not successfully controlled and, therefore, ironic, as he is in true moments of humor such as: "Georgette smiled that wonderful smile" (SAR 26). In this scene, Jake is angry and bitter. His unbridled emotional state is revealed by the ferocity and suddenness of his condemnations: "To hell with Brett. To hell with you, Lady Ashley…To hell with people" (SAR 38-39). After crying over Brett, which provides a very short-lived catharsis, Jake finally admits to the failure of his masculine pose, miserably: "It is awfully easy to be hard-boiled about everything in the daytime, but at night it is another thing" (SAR 42).

Throughout the novel, Jake Barnes continually battles against Brett's degradation of his gender identity by attempting to hide his romantic, sentimental emotions behind the gests of modern masculinity.[13] Another pivotal moment in which the text reveals the

[13] For example, the scene just discussed repeats itself later in Pamplona. After hearing Brett go to bed with Mike, Jake cannot fall asleep. He remarks in nearly identical language: "There is no reason why because it is dark you should look at things differently

constructed nature of Jake's gests – and thereby undermines them – occurs on the banks of the Irati River, when Bill Gorton asks Jake about his history with Brett. Jake attempts, once again, to disguise the depth of his sentiments by using excessive repetition of modern masculine gests – but he chooses vulgar language instead of humor. Lying under the shade of a tree, Bill asks:

> "Say, what about this Brett business?"
> "What about it?"
> "Were you ever in love with her?"
> "Sure."
> "For how long?"
> "Off and on for a hell of a long time."
> "Oh hell!" Bill said. "I'm sorry, fella."
> "It's all right," I said. "I don't give a damn any more."
> "Really?"
> "Really. Only I'd a hell of a lot rather not talk about it."
> "You aren't sore I asked you?"
> "Why the hell should I be?" (SAR 128)

Jake's excessive repetition of the words "hell" and "damn" – as with "funny" (SAR 38) – completely undermine his statement that he no longer cares about Brett, because their use is not controlled. When Jake tells Robert Cohn to "go to hell," he only says it once, and he effectively uses it to establish masculine, dominant authority in relation to Cohn's romantic, childish femininity (SAR 47). In this scene, Jake spouts expletives as blind, wild punches. They are a defense mechanism. The constructed, artificial nature of this gest, made obvious by anaphora, causes Bill to suspect the truthfulness of Jake's assertion – and the reader to question his performance of stoic, ironic masculinity. Just as Jake's repetition of "funny" contrasts jarringly with the

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from when it is light. The hell there isn't! I figured that all out once, and for six months I never slept with the electric light off. That was another bright idea. To hell with women, anyway. To hell with you, Brett Ashley" (SAR 151-152).

melancholy gloom of his nighttime tears, so too does the idyllic, romantic scenery of the Irati's banks grate unpleasantly against Jake's sharp, blustering language. Through the use of such figures as paradox and anaphora, the text reveals Jake's vulgar language – an otherwise authoritative, masculine gest – to be constructed as a pathetic denial of feeling, which makes Jake appear just as childish, feminized, and ridiculous as Robert Cohn or Mike Campbell.

All of these various moments of failure and feminization in Robert, Mike, and Jake's performances of masculine identity and their consequent degradation uniformly occur at the mention or appearance of Lady Brett Ashley. In this singular, sleek figure – this emasculating, dominating vixen – Hemingway symbolizes all of the modern ideological anxieties related to the rejection of the Victorian Matriarch and the threat of the New Woman. Lady Brett herself acknowledges the wide reach of her Circean power when she dismisses Jake's suggestion that they live together: "I don't think so. I'd just *tromper* you with everybody" (SAR 62).

Brett's use of the French verb "tromper" instead of its English translation, as well as the word's italicization, are strange and important. According to the Larousse French Dictionary, "tromper" translates as "to deceive," "to divert," "to be unfaithful," or "to abuse the confidence of someone." However, this denotative meaning seems less significant in the mouth of Lady Brett Ashley when compared to what it connotes in English: to "tromp" or to "trample."[14] In this way, Brett's claim that she would "*tromper*" Jake – and every other man – linguistically associates her with one of the most dominant,

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[14] According to the Oxford English Dictionary, "tromp" – a variant of "tramp" – is a verb that means: "to tread or walk with a firm, heavy, resonant step; to stamp."

threatening, masculine, phallic symbols of *The Sun Also Rises*: the Spanish fighting bull, or *toro bravo*, known for trampling and goring any man who crosses its path. This connotative reading of "*tromper*" is particularly compelling when the reader considers that Lady Brett does not speak in French at any other point in the novel, *and* that Hemingway generally does not use italics to differentiate foreign languages.[15] While the Italian colonel's lament of "Che mala fortuna" (SAR 39), the Spanish telegram from San Sebastian "VENGO JUEVES COHN" (SAR 132), and Georgette's French beverage order "Dites garçon, un pernod" (SAR 22) stand undistinguished from the English text, Brett's uncharacteristic, singular foreign verb choice is marked, suggesting that Hemingway is intentionally emphasizing the word to the reader for its symbolic meaning, rather than the literal meaning of its language, to highlight yet another expression of Brett's destructive, emasculating power.

The text associates Brett with the *toro bravo* much more emphatically during the fiesta of San Fermín in Pamplona, the central travel destination of the novel.[16] More or less comprising the second half of *The Sun Also Rises*, the Pamplona pages follow Brett, Cohn, Mike, Jake, and Jake's friend Bill Gorton as they celebrate the *corrida de toros* and attempt to drink the country dry, one wine skin at a time. The characters perform

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[15] Jake describes Brett as "talking French" to Pedro Romero on page 180; however, the "*tromper*" line marks the only instance in which she utters the language directly, in dialogue.

[16] The fiesta of San Fermín is a Spanish celebration that takes place every July in Pamplona, in the Basque Country. In addition to a variety of traditional cultural events, the main attractions of the fiesta are the *encierro*, or running of the bulls, and the *corrida de toros*, a series of bullfights held in an arena. In these fights, trained *toreros*, or matadors, work in a highly ritualistic fashion to ultimately kill the bulls. The San Fermín fiesta is now world-famous, largely because of Hemingway's deep personal interest in Spanish bullfighting culture and his depiction of the fiesta in *The Sun Also Rises*.

their very own *corrida* as the fiesta goes on around them, throwing wisecracks and insults like *picadores* and growingly increasingly more debauched in a slow burn to the violent climax of chapter XVII, in which Brett finally and completely manages to "tromper" her three suitors.[17] Just as the bull drives into the steers, Brett's promiscuous actions cause Cohn, Mike, and Jake to be emotionally and physically knocked down. Both Brett and the bull are powerful in their sexuality; the bull's "crest of muscle ris[es]" when he is in the ring in the same way that Brett flaunts her features at bars and restaurant tables (SAR 145). Cohn, Mike, and Jake are the dominated, castrated, feminized steers that "run around like old maids" and "can't…do anything" as they watch the bull and prepare to "take the shock"; Cohn, in particular, cannot help but stare (SAR 138, 144, 150).

Brett's masculine kinship with the bull is also apparent in the fact that the goring of the steers does not disturb her; instead, she studies it avidly (SAR 144). Hemingway plays with the expectations of the traditional gender roles of "dainty damsel" and "hardy hero" to demonstrate the inverted relationship of power between the masculinized Brett and the feminized men: Brett "d[oes]n't feel badly at all" about the violence, while the sensitive Cohn is so bothered and sickened by the sight that he becomes "quite green" (SAR 169). In a rare instance of obvious symbolism, Hemingway explicitly confirms the parallel between the characters and the animals in the ring when the inebriated Mike actually *calls* Cohn a steer to his face: "*Is* Robert Cohn going to follow Brett around like a steer all the time?...What if Brett did sleep with you? She's slept with lots of better people than you…Tell me, Robert. Why do you follow Brett around like a poor bloody

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[17] *Picadores* are assistants to the main bullfighter who attempt to pierce the neck muscle of the bull with lances while on horseback.

steer? Don't you know you're not wanted?" (SAR 146). Mike completes the dichotomy – and his own self-debasement – when he wildly interjects the question: "Aren't the bulls lovely?" (SAR 146). This is Mike's adjective of choice whenever he refers to Brett in the novel (SAR 85).

Throughout the majority of the novel, Jake is just as much a degraded "steer" in the bullring as Mike and Cohn are – yet his character somehow emerges as far more likeable, respectable, and trustworthy. Jake's degradation is differentiated from the bad behavior of Mike and Cohn, and his feminization is granted a higher level of dignity. Hemingway is only able to accomplish this by employing the tropes of the genre of travel literature. Because the narrative is structured around the figure of "the journey," Jake is elevated as the "Hemingway hero" and remains an admirable protagonist. Unlike Cohn and Mike, who react violently to being "tromped" and are ultimately driven off or abandoned by Brett, Jake learns to quietly accept his inferior role in their relationship. By masochistically submitting to the dominating power of Brett's will in the climactic chapters of the novel, Jake transforms the trip to Pamplona into an opportunity for his own growth and restoration.

"Testing" and "stripping down" of the self is a crucial function of the identity construction that occurs through the trope of the journey (Leed 1).[18] Jake's actions in Pamplona demonstrate that he embraces being dominated by Brett, and this acceptance of the trials posed by the group trip to Spain allows him to occupy the role of the hero "who travels along a path of self-improvement and integration, doing battle with the 'others'

[18] One of the best examples of this is Odysseus' voyage in the Homeric epic, *The Odyssey*.

who are the unresolved parts of himself" (Blanton 3). Because of *The Sun Also Rises*' specific participation in the genre of travel writing, its degraded protagonist is able to refashion the legacy of traveling heroes like Odysseus in order to redeem himself as a dominant man in the postwar world.

Jake's greatest act of submission to Brett's domination occurs in the infamous scene in which he sacrifices his relationship of *afición*, the passion for bullfighting, with the Pamplona hotel owner Montoya in order to fulfill Brett's demand that he set her up with Pedro Romero (SAR 187-191, 213). Not only does it pain Jake personally to facilitate an affair between Brett and another man, but Jake also knows that his matchmaking will alienate him from the exclusive social world of the Spaniards. After a feeble attempt to dissuade her, Jake gives in to Brett's will when he resignedly asks: "What do you want me to do?" (SAR 188). His submission provokes the punishment of exile that he was anticipating – "The hard-eyed people at the bull-fighter table watched me go. It was not pleasant" (SAR 191) – and the consequences then worsen in an unexpected twist of drama, giving the novel its climactic moment. Cohn, frustrated in his mildly deranged stalking of Brett's every move, demands that Jake reveal her whereabouts: "'I'll make you tell me' – he stepped forward – 'you damned pimp'" (SAR 194). This insult cuts Jake much more deeply than the hysterical Cohn could have ever imagined – for, in truth, Jake has not really "pimped out" Brett, as Cohn suggests, but rather he has exploited himself and his unique *afición* to give Brett the access to Romero that she craves. The blinded Cohn does not realize that it is actually Brett who is the "pimp," and Jake the prostituted object. The degradation of Jake that is caused by Brett's

desire is made complete both relationally and physically when Cohn proceeds to beat Jake to the ground, knocking him unconscious in front of a group of curious Spanish onlookers.

Being publically punched in the face by the novel's big loser, Cohn, tops off the long list of Jake Barnes' humiliations. Richard Fantina, along with many other Hemingway scholars, argues that Jake's submission to these humiliations demonstrates masochistic tendencies. He writes of Jake and of several other famed Hemingway protagonists: "Their general physical and psychological submission to women who alternately punish, humiliate, and nurture these suffering men, sufficiently demonstrates masochism" (Fantina 85). Fantina also claims that "the deferral of male sexual gratification characterizes masochistic literature" (Fantina 87). The lack of sexual power that defines Jake's masochism is thrown into relief by the exaggerated sexual power of the dominant Brett, and many critics argue that Jake's permanent inability to consummate his relationship with Brett is in fact the central conflict of the novel. [19]

Scholars have noted the cognitive dissonance that exists between Jake's status as an icon of the Hemingway "legend of machismo" and his repeated, even masochistic submission to being "tromped" in the text. However, it is because of this very submission that Jake is able to become a hero, albeit an unconventional one, at all. As Gilles Deleuze explains, Jake's story, like a modernized *Odyssey*, demonstrates "the hope of a rebirth of a new man that will result from the masochistic experience" (Deleuze 66). By embracing

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[19] The language of *The Sun Also Rises* itself also overtly points to this dichotomy when the characters discuss whether or not Brett is a "sadist" (SAR 170).

his suffering, Jake can “symbolically endanger [his] masculinity in order to test and fulfill [himself] as [a man]” (Fantina 96). In this way, Onderdonk writes, “His loss of agency becomes [the] occasion for him to *regain* agency” (Onderdonk 65 – my emphasis). What defines a Hemingway hero – a “real” masculine man – is then not *if* he is feminized, but rather how he *reacts* to this feminization (Onderdonk 66). For this reason, Robert Cohn earns the novel’s criticism and contempt, but Jake, in his eventual acceptance of submission, comes out on top.

The notion that Jake submits masochistically to Brett’s dominant sexuality in order to regain agency in their relationship is one manifestation of the larger transformative process that drives *The Sun Also Rises*: the travel trope of the journey. In moving from Paris to Burguete, Pamplona, San Sebastián, and finally Madrid, Jake must continuously confront the “Other” that is the modernists’ conception of the “New Woman:” an unprecedented, provocative, problematic travel companion who was a threat to traditional masculinity. In doing so, Jake addresses the “unresolved parts of himself” that Casey Blanton emphasizes in his definition of the travel trope of the “monomyth” hero (Blanton 3): namely, the physical, psychological, and emotional damages of his war wound.

Eric J. Leed writes that “the transformations of travel” occasioned by the confrontation with “the Other” “strip, reduce, and waste the passenger,” which accounts for Jake’s miserable, masochistic suffering throughout the majority of his trip (Leed 6). It is in surrendering to this ordeal, to “the logic and inevitabilities of mobility” (Leed 76) – such as Brett’s demand for Jake’s assistance in Pamplona and again in Madrid – that the

traveling hero can learn from his suffering, change, and, in Jake's case, find redemption as a man in the wake of the horrors of World War I.

During the fiesta in Pamplona, Jake reflects on his situation as a wounded man in the second "To hell with you" brooding bedtime scene. After cynically indulging himself in the belief that life is meaningless, Jake emends: "Perhaps that wasn't true, though. Perhaps as you went along you did learn something. I did not care what it was all about. All I wanted to know was how to live in it. Maybe if you found out how to live in it you learned from that what it was all about" (SAR 152). In classic Hemingway style, these lines are bare and simple, but their meaning is profound: Jake does not know how to exist as a man in the postwar world of the 1920s. His war wound has thrown his performance of masculine identity into crisis. After the transformative process of the journey to Pamplona, as Jake spends the day in Madrid with Brett before heading back home to Paris, the reader sees that Jake *has* learned how to "live in it." He has finally learned to have "Irony and Pity," which is introduced as the tenet of the modern American man by the character Bill Gorton, while he and Jake are fishing in Burguete before the fiesta (SAR 118-120).

Bill, who is consistently the most ironic character in *The Sun Also Rises*, is also the only man in their traveling group who does not appear to have any real romantic interest in Lady Brett Ashley. It is perhaps this impartiality that allows Bill to comfort and advise Jake as a sort of spiritual guru, or absinthe-toting fairy godmother. Bill alludes to the final scene of the novel when he teaches Jake about the importance of developing "Irony and Pity:"

> Bill stepped into his underclothes. "Show irony and pity."
> […]
> "Aren't you going to show a little irony and pity?"
> I thumbed my nose.
> "That's not irony."
> As I went down-stairs I heard Bill singing, "Irony and Pity. When you're feeling…Oh, Give them Irony and Give them Pity. Oh, give them Irony. When they're feeling…Just a little irony. Just a little pity…" He kept on singing until he came down-stairs. […]
> "What's all this irony and pity?"
> "What? Don't you know about Irony and Pity?"
> "No. Who got it up?"
> "Everybody. They're mad about it in New York. […]"
> […]
> "Poor," said Bill. "Very poor. You can't do it. That's all. You don't understand irony. You have no pity. Say something pitiful."
> "Robert Cohn."
> "Not so bad. That's better. Now why is Cohn pitiful? Be ironic."
> He took a big gulp of coffee.
> "Aw, hell!" I said. "It's too early in the morning."
> "There you go. And you claim you want to be a writer, too. You're only a newspaper man. An expatriated newspaper man. You ought to be ironical the minute you get out of bed. You ought to wake up with your mouth full of pity." (SAR 118-119)

The twenty-six repetitions of the words "irony" and "pity," as well as Bill's general penchant for dry humor, make this passage seem to be a whimsical, possibly inebriated panegyric; however, in fact it holds the key to Hemingway's restoration and reconstruction of Jake's masculine identity as autonomous, valued, and dominant in the shattered reality of the postwar world. Only after the transformative trip to Pamplona can Jake truly realize the importance of Bill's words: Irony is the performative mode of the modern man.[20] Bill reminds Jake that "only by becoming part of such (relational) ironic positionings can he hope to arrive at self-consciousness" (Dow 181), and it is a

[20] Over the past forty years, the majority of scholars who study what is now considered to be "Modernist Literature" have claimed that irony was the defining mode of the moderns (Douglas 54, Fussell 339).

consciousness that, as Jake's experience of suffering proves, "articulat[es] male humiliation and disempowerment as the condition of authorship in the modern world" (Onderdonk 67). Only irony can permit a man to distance himself emotionally from the painful realities of life after war in order to achieve stoic acceptance, and therefore control. Irony allows Jake to free himself from the false, romantic illusion that he and Brett could leave Paris and live happily together. Irony gives Jake the potential to someday find his war wound "funny" (SAR 38). Irony is the "conduit" to subjectivity (Dow 180), and Jake's eventual ironizing of his own feminization and degradation is what ultimately allows him to reclaim his authority as "one of the novel's only true men" in the final scene of *The Sun Also Rises* (Onderdonk 66).

In his essay "The Perils of Irony in Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*," William Dow explains that "the ironic status of the individual subject requires that the search for self-knowledge be linked to the discovery of how each subject is related to others, and how each subject assumes an intersubjective identity" (Dow 179). Confrontation with "The Other," here manifested in Lady Brett, is therefore the "engine" of both travel literature as a genre and of what Todd Onderdonk calls "modern knowledge" (Onderdonk 67). Hemingway's ironizing elevation of Jake Barnes is contingent upon the degradation of Lady Brett Ashley, and he initiates this shift in the relational power dynamic after the characters have parted ways at the conclusion of the fiesta trip. Brett, who is staying in Madrid with Romero, desperately summons Jake from his restorative sojourn in San Sebastián with two telegrams stating that she is "RATHER IN TROUBLE" (SAR 242-243). In Madrid, Jake finds a Lady Brett Ashley who is very different from the one that readers

love to hate throughout the majority of the novel. In the final pages, Brett resembles the "tromped" figures of the fiesta: she is sentimental, hyperbolic, uncontrolled – and, therefore, *feminized*.

Jake immediately notes the change in Brett when he arrives at her hotel room in Madrid. Although Brett claims that she has forced Romero to leave her because she's "not going to be one of those bitches that ruins children" (SAR 247), Brett's clearly distraught performance has provoked much debate amongst Hemingway scholars over whether or not this is true. While the credibility of Brett's story is vague, her sentimentality and vulnerability are as undeniable as they are uncharacteristic. Brett displays Mike's tendency for hyperbolic outbursts when she invites Jake with the urgent repetition to "Come in," "Come in," to her room (SAR 245). As Jake notes, Brett's is a room that is in "disorder" (SAR 245). Donald Daiker argues that "throughout *The Sun Also Rises*, the conditions of rooms consistently correspond to the emotional states of their occupants… Brett's disordered room points to her disordered life and psyche now that Romero has left her" (Daiker 76-77). The lack of self-control that had feminized Cohn, Mike, and Jake now serves to feminize Brett.

Although she claims that there is "nothing to tell" and that she "feel[s] rather good" (SAR 245-247), the repetition of markers of Brett's physical, emotional, and linguistic instability belies her performance of boyish nonchalance. She trembles, cries, and obsessively begs Jake six times, "Let's not talk about it. Let's never talk about it" – but she cannot seem to help bringing up Romero in their conversation, even after Jake has changed the subject (SAR 245-249). Brett's discourse goes in circles and contains

frequent anaphora of other concerns such as Romero's "being ashamed of [her]," his desire for her to become "more womanly," that he "really wanted to marry [her]," and her refusal "to be one of those bitches" (SAR 246-247). This Cohn-like insecurity and preoccupation with Romero indicate that in fact Brett's romantic interest in the bullfighter is located somewhere other than in his tight, green pants (SAR 169). In this way, "the romanticism that excludes Cohn from the category of epistemological manhood returns at the end of the novel to discredit Brett Ashley" (Onderdonk 73). Brett's desperation, dishevelment, and lack of humor in the absence of Romero reveal that she harbors true feelings – perhaps oriented towards marriage – for the bullfighter; her inability to accept, control, and move on from these feelings, like Cohn, embarrasses her in front of the collected, ironic Jake.

In this final famous sequence of *The Sun Also Rises*, Ernest Hemingway undoes his fierce masculinization of Brett's gender performance, stripping her of her modern "New Woman" characteristics and emphasizing traditional "Victorian" qualities in their place. For the first time in the novel, that defining feature of Brett's sexuality – her short, flapper hairstyle – is called into question: it is undesirable in the eyes of Romero and, therefore, a cause for Brett's unhappiness and disempowerment. She attempts to dismiss this with jocular profanity – "Me, with long hair. I'd look so like hell" (SAR 246) – but the fact that Brett continues to return to the subject suggests that she may be more affected by the standards of traditional femininity than readers had previously thought. This suspicion is introduced when Brett begs Jake to set her up with Romero: "I've lost my self-respect…I can't just stay tight all the time" (SAR 187). Brett's self-criticism, as

well as the fact that her hands usually shake when she drinks, reveals that she is sensitive not only to the unsustainability of her alcoholic behavior, but also to its social impropriety. She can't be one of the "chaps" forever; she needs to settle down with a man. Brett's inclination towards marriage is evident in her statement: "You know I'd have lived with him if I hadn't seen it was bad for him" (SAR 247). Romero is the first man in the novel towards whom Brett displays a real desire to live with permanently. She outright rejects the offer from Jake and shows little concern for the impact of cohabitation on Cohn (SAR 62, 89). Mike – who, readers will remember, *is* her fiancé – she simply abandons and returns to at will. The hard, hull-like exterior of Lady Brett is finally penetrated both physically and emotionally by the novel's central symbol of traditional, conservative virtue; the bull has been slain by the bullfighter.

While Hemingway uses "the romantic delusions that cause [Brett] to seek out…'true love'" (Daiker 81) to make her gender performance "less male" and more "Victorian," placing her amongst the novel's disempowered, he uses Jake's newfound capacity for "Irony and Pity" to construct his identity as modern, masculine, and dominant. Nowhere in the Madrid sequence is this more apparent than in the last lines of the novel:

> "Want to go for a ride?" I said. "Want to ride through the town?"
> "Right," Brett said. "I haven't seen Madrid. I should see Madrid."
> "I'll finish this," I said.
> Down-stairs we came out through the first-floor dining-room to the street. A waiter went for a taxi. It was hot and bright. Up the street was a little square with trees and grass where there were taxis parked. A taxi came up the street, the waiter hanging out at the side. I tipped him and told the driver where to drive, and got in beside Brett. The driver started up the street. I settled back. Brett moved close to me. We sat close against each other. I put my arm around her and she

> rested against me comfortably. It was very hot and bright, and the houses looked sharply white. We turned out onto the Gran Via.
>
> “Oh, Jake,” Brett said, “we could have had such a damned good time together.”
>
> Ahead was a mounted policeman in khaki directing traffic. He raised his baton. The car slowed suddenly pressing Brett against me.
>
> “Yes,” I said. “Isn’t it pretty to think so?” (SAR 250-251)

The set-up of this final moment is nearly identical to Brett and Jake’s first cab scene together, when they leave the bar in Paris (SAR 32-35). However, at the end of the novel, the power dynamic between the two has been completely flipped. In the first cab scene, Brett both suggests that they leave and decides where they will go; here, Jake directs the trip. Most importantly, in the first cab scene, Jake actively responds to Brett’s sentimentality with equally nostalgic, romantic feelings of his own; he sincerely engages with her bids for attention. In the final cab scene, Jake is distant and emotionally un-invested in indulging Brett’s “*What-If*,” nor does he cruelly reject her outright. In this last and most famous line of *The Sun Also Rises*, readers see that Jake has learned to use Bill Gorton’s lesson of “Irony and Pity” to finally overcome Brett Ashley, as a dominant modern American man.

Donald Daiker argues that Brett’s sentimentality in the line just before Jake’s results from the self-pity that she feels because of her separation from Romero (Daiker 83). He writes: “By responding ‘Isn’t it pretty to think so?’ Jake once and for all dismisses Brett’s fantasies as foolishly sentimental” (Daiker 83). Similarly, Todd Onderdonk claims that Jake’s response “suggests that it would be feminine naïveté to expect, in the future, anything less than more of the same” (Onderdonk 77). Brett’s constant cursing – “a sign of anger, pain, or distress” (Daiker 79) – continues through to

the end. In a manuscript edit, Hemingway deleted the profanity from Jake's last line, changing "It's nice as hell to think so" to the much more controlled – and feminizing – "Isn't it *pretty*" (Daiker 79 – my emphasis). Hemingway completely erases Brett's sarcastic sense of humor and deliberately crafts Jake's tone as pitying and ironic in order to definitively respond to the masculine anxieties of the postwar period's "battle of the sexes" (*Dangerous Masculinities* 1). In the juxtaposition of Brett's and Jake's final words, Hemingway asserts that acute control of the ironic mode is what differentiates and elevates the modern man over the feminine, sentimental "Other."

Brett's degradation and suffering will never develop into the self-conscious, ironic subjectivity that Jake has attained because her gender precludes her from being a true hero of the travel literature genre. As a 1920s woman, Lady Brett does not have the economic or social autonomy to travel independently in the way that Jake can. At the beginning of the novel, Jake establishes his authority as the protagonist when he refuses to accompany Cohn to South America, because he insists that he always attends the fiesta in the summer (SAR 18). Brett, on the other hand, is completely reliant on the presence and expense accounts of men like Cohn in order to travel. Hemingway explicitly points to this dichotomy when Jake explains why Brett would go to San Sebastián with such an unappealing companion: "She wanted to get out of town and she can't go anywhere alone" (SAR 107). At the end of the novel, not only is Brett romantically abandoned and emotionally distraught; she is also completely dependent upon Jake to escort her back to Paris, where she has no choice but to return to one of her old lovers. Jake, on the other hand, is detached, composed, and free to continue on in whatever manner he may choose

– perhaps by traveling to another country. By employing the trope of the journey as the central developmental force of the novel, Hemingway re-inscribes the masculine exclusivity of the travel writing genre itself at the same time as he constructs the dominance of Jake Barnes' performance of modern, white, American masculinity in relation to women in the postwar world.

Chapter Three – Tell Him That Bulls Have No Balls: A Devaluation of the European "Other"

Of the many different editions of *The Sun Also Rises* that have been published since 1926, about half depict flapper figures evocative of Lady Brett Ashley on the cover. The rest of the covers flame in flashes of orange, red, and gold, capturing the vibrancy of the Pamplona fiesta and centrally featuring Pedro Romero as he faces a charging bull. Jake's tumultuous relationship with the feminine "Other" may give the novel its most iconic quote, but it is the narration of his encounter with the Spanish countryside, culture, and people that leaves a lasting impression of the novel on the reader. Hemingway's own love affair with the land of Rioja, Goya, and suckling pig lasted longer than any of his four marriages, and it was decidedly more auspicious. He traveled to Spain for the first time in 1923, and the country would come to provide the setting for more of his major works than did any other location. After *The Sun Also Rises*, Hemingway went on to publish the renowned short stories "Hills Like White Elephants" (1927) and "The Capital of the World" (1936), the non-fiction bullfighting commentaries *Death in the Afternoon* (1932) and *The Dangerous Summer* (1960), correspondence covering the Spanish Civil War for the *Kansas City Star* and *The New York Times* (Meyers 303), the film script *The Spanish Earth* (1937), the play *The Fifth Column* (1938), and one of his greatest novels, the Spanish Civil War story *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940). By the end of his life in 1961, Hemingway had traveled all over Spain and had attended the San Fermín fiesta nine times (Meyers). He is largely credited with being the voice that brought Spanish culture to the American audience.

As much as *The Sun Also Rises* engages the travel literature trope of “the journey” by portraying the psychological evolution of the suffering hero – reading like a modern *Odyssey* that has soaked for a week at the bottom of a wine barrel – the detailed attention the novel pays to describing Spain itself also develops the trope within the context of the tradition of the ethnographies and travelogues of European colonial and imperial discourse.[21] Jake immediately and subtly alerts the reader to the relevance of *The Sun Also Rises*' generic antecedents in an early commentary that, as per usual, comes at the expense of Robert Cohn:

> Then there was another thing. He had been reading W. H. Hudson. That sounds like an innocent occupation, but Cohn had read and reread “The Purple Land.” “The Purple Land” is a very sinister book if read too late in life. It recounts splendid imaginary amorous adventures of a perfect English gentleman in an intensely romantic land, the scenery of which is very well described. For a man to take it at thirty-four as a guide-book to what life holds is about as safe as it would be for a man of the same age to enter Wall Street direct from a French convent, equipped with a complete set of the more practical Alger books. Cohn, I believe, took every word of “The Purple Land” as literally as though it had been an R. G. Dun report. (SAR 17)

The Purple Land is a novel that was published in 1885 by William Henry Hudson, a writer of British descent who was raised in Argentina but lived most of his adult life in London (Landau 27). The novel follows the adventures of the Englishman Richard Lamb as he travels throughout Uruguay, treating thematic binaries such as the colonizer versus the colonized, the “civilized” versus the “natural,” and the European versus the native Amerindian (Landau 27). By referencing this otherwise irrelevant book at the beginning of the second chapter of *The Sun Also Rises*, Hemingway presents his novel as also

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[21] The work of theorists such as Benedict Anderson, Homi Bhabha, Edward Said, and Gayatri Spivak, though not explicitly outlined here, has contributed to the understanding of colonial and imperial discourse that this thesis employs.

engaging with these topics and he localizes the work as a modern participation within the discourse of the 19th century British travelogue. Hemingway evokes the "imperial ethos" of this Victorian literary tradition through Jake's role as the "traditionally male narrator-adventurer" who, through the act of observing and describing the Spanish landscape, positions himself as dominant over the European man, represented by the figure of Pedro Romero (Landau 27; Blanton 57). In this way, Hemingway manipulates the European travelogue tradition to empower American masculinity, effectively challenging Eurocentrism in the wake of the destruction of World War I and the emergence of the United States as the new preeminent global economic power.

Scholars of the imperial travelogue argue that the typical hero of a travel narrative occupies a "monarch-of-all-I-survey position" in which he exoticizes the "Other" and assumes dominion over it (Blanton 57, Pratt 197-201). Mary Louise Pratt similarly identifies this role within the context of the Victorian travelogue as "the seeing-man:" "the white male subject of European landscape discourse – he whose imperial eyes look out and possess" (Pratt 9). In the world of *The Sun Also Rises*, Jake Barnes occupies this role. One of Jake's defining characteristics is that he is primarily a narrator who observes. This is evidenced by his career as a reporter, as well as by his social interactions with the larger cast of characters. Like other traveling narrators such as *The Great Gatsby*'s Nick Carraway or *On the Road*'s Sal Paradise, Jake only occasionally drives the action of the plot directly. He is an attentive but passive lens that watches and then shares the more exciting escapades of the other characters – namely, Robert Cohn, Mike Campbell, Brett Ashley, and Pedro Romero. Many critics consider Jake's proclivity for passive

observation, especially given his sexual impotence, to reflect voyeurism, and they frequently point to his somewhat strange admission that he has "a rotten habit of picturing the bedroom scenes of my friends" (SAR 21). However, when this is considered within the context of the novel's participation in the genre of travel literature, Jake's apparent passivity and voyeurism reveal themselves to be a strategy of domination, rather than a mark of exclusion, weakness, or longing. As the "surveying," "seeing" man, Jake imposes his foreign gaze on the Spanish landscape and all that it contains (Pratt 9, 197). In doing so, he exercises conventions of the imperial travelogue that enable him to feminize the European "Other" and claim masculine authority for himself (Blanton 57).

Looking, watching, and seeing are – along with drinking and eating – Jake Barnes' principal occupations in *The Sun Also Rises*, and in no other part of the novel is this more prominent than when he is traveling in Spain. In a work that is otherwise heralded for its sharp, sparse prose and nimble dialogue, Jake's narration of the Spanish countryside and culture contributes its most long-winded and descriptive passages. Unlike his quick, witty banter with Bill Gorton and Brett, Jake's Spanish scene-setting stretches on for pages, as leisurely as the sleeping donkeys that they pass on the road into the Basque country (SAR 99). Hemingway employs the repetition of certain images, colors, and qualities to create an archetypal vision of the four major Spanish locales portrayed in *The Sun Also Rises*: Pamplona and Burguete in the northeastern region of Navarra, San Sebastián in the bordering Basque Country (El País Vasco), and the capital city, Madrid. To characterize Pamplona – the location of the bullfights and, therefore, the Spanish town that is most central to the novel's plot – Hemingway highlights the "white dusty road," "the white

cattle grazing," buildings such as "an old castle" and "the great brown cathedral," the mountains and hills, the plains and valleys, the sun and the shade, and, of course, the bullring itself (SAR 99-114). Hemingway also defines and generalizes the inhabitants of this region. They, too, are constructed as an archetype for the purposes of the text:

> "Pretty nice, eh?"
> "These Basques are swell people," Bill said.
> The Basque lying against my legs was tanned the color of saddle-leather. He wore a black smock like all the rest. There were wrinkles in his tanned neck. He turned around and offered his wine-bag to Bill. Bill handed him one of our bottles. The Basque wagged a forefinger at him and handed the bottle back, slapping in the cork with the palm of his hand. He shoved the wine-bag up.
> "Arriba! Arriba!" he said. "Lift it up." (SAR 110)

Jake's narration portrays the Basque people as being primarily notable for their brown skin tone, their capacity to drink wine, their peasant simplicity, and their friendliness. He does not ever distinguish one Basque from another by giving them names; rather, they are referred to as a group – as "two of our Basques" (SAR 112), "the other Basques" (SAR 113), "several Basques" (SAR 110), or, simply, "The Basques" (SAR 109). This treatment closely resembles the representation of native peoples that can be seen in European colonial and imperial texts from the 17th through the 19th centuries (Spurr 22-27).

By penetrating the foreign territory of the Basque Country, imposing his own American gaze on its landscape, translating the voices of its non-English speaking people for an American audience, and defining it in a generalizing, archetypal, and at times even animalizing manner, Jake egoistically asserts his own outsider's authority within the framework of Spanish culture. He claims elite, intimate knowledge of the country through his status as an "aficionado" (SAR 136); he directs the travel experience of the

other characters from the moment that he says, "I wrote out an itinerary so they could follow us" (SAR 90); and he presumes to include himself and his drunken friends within the entire world of the *corrida*, declaring: "This hum went on, and we were in it and a part of it" (SAR 165). By surveying and then *describing* the identity of the Spanish "Other," Jake Barnes assumes "the standard ideological posture of the genre" of the imperial travelogue and establishes himself not as a passive observer, but rather as a dominant colonizer (Landau 27, Spurr 13-27).

Hemingway establishes Jake's performance of American masculine identity as dominant over the Spanish landscape most directly by contrasting him to the "Other" Pedro Romero, a figure that is symbolic of Spain itself. Although many critics believe that Romero encapsulates Hemingway's ideal of masculinity in the novel, and that he stands as the restorative "macho" foil to Jake's damaged virility, Jake's perspective as a modernized imperial travel narrator in fact allows him to exoticize, sexualize, objectify, and, therefore, *feminize* Romero. Jake fulfills the legacy of the travel literature of an imperialism that "has been underpinned by the tough entrepreneurial and managerial manhood claimed by white men [over] women and 'native' men – as this discourse might have it, the 'girlie men' – who, because of their color or nationality do not really count as men at all" (*Dangerous Masculinities* 16). Jake elevates his own performance of masculinity as relationally superior to the masculinity of the Spanish bullfighter by portraying Romero as both naively traditional and as an object of the gaze. In this way, *The Sun Also Rises* promotes a vision of American masculine identity that supports the

1920s' popular understanding of America as the new global power after the destruction of Europe in World War I.

In the discourse of mainstream Hemingway criticism, critics generally concur that Pedro Romero displays the qualities of ideal Hemingway masculinity in *The Sun Also Rises*.[22] Popularized Hemingway platitudes – namely, "Nobody ever lives their life all the way up except bull-fighters" (SAR 18) and "Courage is grace under pressure" (Baker 200) – have greatly contributed to this notion, and Hemingway himself was quite vocal throughout his lifetime about his admiration for certain bullfighters such as Cayetano Ordóñez, who was the inspiration for Pedro Romero (Meyers 156). Thomas Strychacz demonstrates the lasting effect of the writer's personal passion on critical interpretation of his work when he writes that, for Hemingway:

> Being a matador metonymically implies being a man…A matador for Hemingway…is a "model of manhood"…Philip Young employs the matador to illuminate what has probably been the most influential twentieth-century approach to Hemingway – the Code Hero – for the matador is the "man with the code, whom the hero studies, admires, and emulates."[23] Standing in the ring alone, facing death at every instant, holding to ritualized codes, the matador seems obviously to represent manhood through a chain of metonyms: courage, grace under pressure, battling the odds, enduring wounds, self-control, individualism, codes of honor, skill, professionalism, and so forth…The notion that the figure of the matador can signify a pure state or absolute ground of manhood for Hemingway has been thoroughly worked into the fabric of Hemingway studies. (*Dangerous Masculinities* 56)

Pedro Romero is universally praised for exhibiting these prize manly qualities in *The Sun Also Rises*, and he is undoubtedly the best bullfighter of the San Fermín *corrida*.

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[22] To cite a handful out of many examples, see: *Dangerous Masculinities* 49, Eby 69, Forter 33, Fantina 94, Hays 40, and Von Cannon 61.
[23] See Young 68.

Jake judges that “Pedro Romero had the greatness,” and he calls his bullfighting style “perfect” (SAR 220-221). Hemingway devotes seven full pages to describing Pedro’s work in the ring, making it one of the longest scenes in the novel – and longer than some of the chapters themselves. Romero’s masculinity as a *torero* is exemplary not only for its skill, grace, and acceptance of danger, but also for its autonomy. Unlike the men that Brett keeps under her thumb, Romero – Jake tells readers – “did it for himself, too, as well as for her. Because he did not look up to ask if it pleased he did it all for himself inside, and it strengthened him, and yet he did it for her, too. But he did not do it for her at any loss to himself. He gained by it all through the afternoon” (SAR 220). Romero is consistent in his display of stoic self-possession. When Robert Cohn brutally beats him because he has begun his affair with Brett, Romero – unlike Jake – continues to get up and challenge Cohn each time that he is knocked down (SAR 205-206). Romero’s honor in being beaten brings Cohn to tears and finally sends him packing, while Romero himself emerges triumphantly in the arena the next day: “The fight with Cohn had not touched his spirit but his face had been smashed and his body hurt. He was wiping all that out now. Each thing that he did with this bull wiped that out a little cleaner” (SAR 223). The qualities accorded to an excellent bullfighter define Romero as an admirable and heroic masculine figure.

Above all, Romero’s status as a bullfighter endows him with a marked phallic power that surpasses that of the other male characters in the novel and renders him a foil to Jake and his genital wound. It is widely accepted that the symbolism of the bullfight operates on “a principle of penetration” (Forter 33), with the sword-thrust of the

bullfighter into the bull "suggesting the sexual act" (Sullivan 12). It is this phallic power, presumably, that enables Romero to win the attentions of Brett from her troop of belligerent suitors – and if Brett is the bull, and Romero is the bullfighter, then their sojourn in the Hotels Montoya and Montana seems inevitable in light of the symbolic demand of the *corrida* (Sullivan 7). To critics who read *The Sun Also Rises* as endorsing a form of masculinity that embodies the values of Spanish – or, as most Americans know it, Hemingway – "machismo," Romero's ostentatious virility is an essential if not primary source of his authority as a man. However, because of the novel's unique engagement with conventions of travel literature, Romero's role as the European "Other" ultimately serves to objectify and degrade his virility under the dominant gaze of Jake and his compatriots. Romero may be the most overtly "macho" character in *The Sun Also Rises*, but he is not the protagonist of the story. Considered within the relational power dynamic of the novel, rather than his own Spanish context, Romero is really nothing more than a momentary source of entertainment, to be consumed by the Anglo-American characters.

When Jake tells Cohn in the beginning of the novel that "All countries look just like the moving pictures," he posits that travelers who visit a foreign country consume their experience of the "Other" by *watching* it (SAR 18). The primary purpose of the trip to Spain revolves around looking: for Jake, Brett, Cohn, Mike, Bill, and the other Anglo-American tourists in *The Sun Also Rises*, the *corrida de toros* is, above all, a spectacle. Pedro Romero – along with the bull – is the central visual object of that spectacle. The scenes set in Spain occupy the entire second half of the novel, but Romero himself is only present from chapter XV through chapter XVIII – about a fifth of the novel. In these

fifty-three pages alone, Romero is the object of visual verbs such as “look at,” “watch,” “see,” and “notice” forty-six times; he is described as being seen by “eyes” or “field glasses” four times; and he is objectified by four *totum pro parte* constructions, in which he is referenced as “the show” or “the spectacle.”

Romero’s position as the object of the gaze allows the Anglo-American audience not only to commodify him, but also to eroticize and sexualize him. Jake reveals this duality when he sardonically informs Montoya: “There’s one American woman down here now that collects bull-fighters,” which establishes Romero both as an observable and collectable material object, and as the prey of sexual desire (SAR 176). Romero’s physicality attracts the attention of all the Anglo-American characters, regardless of their gender or sexual orientation. When Jake and Bill meet Romero for the first time, Jake immediately notes Romero’s shining black hair, his posture, his clothing, and his youth; Jake also calls him “the best-looking boy I have ever seen” (SAR 167). Jake and the others repeat this judgment so frequently that it practically becomes Romero’s epithet (SAR 167, 170, 172). Other erotic features that Jake dwells on are Romero’s “clear and smooth and very brown” skin and “fine” hands (SAR 189). While Romero’s lithe sensuality elicits Jake and Bill’s general admiration, it provokes a much stronger response from Brett and, consequently, from Mike and Cohn. Brett can hardly contain her lust – and she makes little effort to as she sips her cocktails. Brett’s first remark on Romero gets right to the point: “Oh, isn’t he lovely,” Brett said. “And those green trousers” (SAR 169). She cannot stop looking at Romero (SAR 169, 179) and continuously ruminates on his clothing – and what lies beneath it – throughout the fiesta,

voyeuristically declaring to the dinner table: “My God! he's a lovely boy…And how I would love to see him get into those clothes. He must use a shoe-horn” (SAR 181). As Brett grows more and more vocal about her infatuation, Mike grows proportionately more agitated. He attempts to control Romero’s phallic power by transforming it into a source of humor at Romero’s expense, but he is thwarted by his own excessive inebriation:

> “Tell him bulls have no balls!” Mike shouted, very drunk, from the other end of the table.
> “What does he say?”
> “He’s drunk.”
> “Jake,” Mike called. “Tell him bulls have no balls!”
> “You understand?” I said.
> “Yes.”
> I was sure he didn’t, so it was all right.
> “Tell him Brett wants to see him put on those green pants.”
> “Pipe down, Mike.”
> “Tell him Brett is dying to know how he can get into those pants.”
> “Pipe down.”
> […]
> “Tell him Brett wants to come into—— ”
> “Oh, pipe down, Mike, for Christ’s sake!” (SAR 180)

Although Mike’s total lack of self-control humiliates him in this scene, his nationality and knowledge of English still enable him to exclude Romero from the table’s lewd discussion and thereby objectify him by making him the focus of increasingly overt sexual insinuations that culminate in an extended dash, which suggests much more than it elides. The climactic moment of Romero’s sexual objectification, however, results in Jake’s observational narration. It occurs at the end of Romero’s last bullfight, and it marks Romero’s exit from the present action of the novel. After Romero “bec[omes] one with the bull” by plunging the fatal sword into its neck (SAR 224) – a description which,

as Lawrence Kubie and others have noted, “is directly compared to a description of sexual intercourse” (Kubie 12) – Romero is surrounded and picked up by the exultant crowd. Jake watches from the stands and describes the action in the ring:

> The crowd wanted him…The crowd was the boys, the dancers, and the drunks. Romero turned and tried to get through the crowd. They were all around him trying to lift him and put him on their shoulders. He fought and twisted away, and started running, in the midst of them, toward the exit. He did not want to be carried on people’s shoulders. But they held him and lifted him. It was uncomfortable and his legs were spraddled and his body was very sore. They were lifting him and all running toward the gate. (SAR 225)

Ultimately, Romero’s virile excellence in penetrating and killing the bull is what directly causes his loss of autonomy. He no longer has command over his own body; his victory in the bullfight transforms him into a physical object that can be desired, overpowered, and controlled. This overpowering carries implicitly sexual undertones that develop from the symbolism of the bullfight. Romero is ravished by his (male) fans in a manner that prefigures the language of a passage in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), in which the Spanish heroine Maria expresses the deep pain that she continues to experience from having been raped by a group of fascists during the Civil War: “I do not wish to disappoint thee but there is a great soreness and much pain…I think it was from when things were done to me that it comes” (*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 341). Romero similarly suffers things being done to his body without consent – such as having his legs *spread apart* – that cause vulnerable soreness. This unsettling finale to the *corrida* undermines the value of Romero’s apparent performance of “ideal” masculinity by transforming it not only into an opportunity for him to be physically dominated by others, but also into an

opportunity for Jake, whose status as an American tourist physically and socially elevates him up and out of the fray, to observe Romero's feminizing loss of autonomy.

The erotically-charged descriptive and conversational attention that is devoted to Romero's body by the Anglo-American characters is conventional of colonial and imperial travelogues (Spurr 22-27, 170-172) – a fact that Jake alerts readers to when he tries to redirect Cohn's *Purple Land*-induced wanderlust for South America to a hunting expedition in British East Africa: "Go on and read a book all full of love affairs with the beautiful shiny black princesses" (SAR 18). That Romero's hair is also shiny and black suggests that, "for Hemingway, Hispanic culture possessed the allure of the exotic" much in the same way as did the indigenous peoples encountered by European explorers (Gladstein 81). Feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey explains that this eroticism arises from the experience of looking at another person as an object (Mulvey 17, 8).[24] Mulvey argues that this "pleasure in looking" is made possible by the gendered structure of power that governs patriarchal society, in which the woman is marked as the "signifier for the male other, bound by a symbolic order in which man can live out his fantasies and obsessions through linguistic command by imposing them on the silent image of woman still tied to her place as bearer of meaning, not maker of meaning" (Mulvey 7). The feminine figure is the "passive raw material for the active gaze" of the male who, through looking, explores, enjoys, and controls the object (Mulvey 17, 13). For this reason, in colonial and imperial travelogues, *and* in *The Sun Also Rises*, to be looked at is to be feminized, whereas to look is to dominate (Spurr 13-27, 170-172). This convention of

[24] Otherwise known as scopophilia, this eroticism was originally defined by Sigmund Freud in his *Three Essays on Sexuality* (1905).

travel literature allows Hemingway to position Jake, the otherwise passive observer, as performing a masculinity that is superior to Pedro Romero's active, complete virility, because Jake's identity as an American tourist endows him with the privilege and power of watching.

The other major theme of 18th and 19th century colonial and imperial travelogues that is visible in Hemingway's treatment of Spain, Spanish culture, and Pedro Romero in *The Sun Also Rises* is the vision of Spain as Edenic (Spurr 125-128). Hemingway portrays Spain as pertaining to the "Old World" (Bendixen 135), with its unspoiled, preindustrial landscape and its devotion to traditional Catholic values. Carrie Douglass notes that this pastoral idealization of Spain recalls another literary genre: that which "the nineteenth-century romantic poets and authors created," establishing the Spanish country as "a romantic paradise" (Douglass 107). Despite his fierce claim to connoisseurship and his gruff dedication to the "real" and the "true," *and* despite the fact that he bore witness to the many horrors of the Spanish Civil War, Hemingway himself bought into this romantic stereotype. In 1925, he wrote to F. Scott Fitzgerald:

> *To me heaven would be a big bull ring with me holding two barrera seats and a trout stream outside that no one else was allowed to fish in and two lovely houses in the town; one where I would have my wife and children and be monogamous and love them truly and well and the other where I would have my nine beautiful mistresses on 9 different floors.* (Baker 165)

Hemingway never managed to keep his wife and his mistresses separate from each other, but he did manage to capture his image of heaven on earth through the power of his typewriter. Jake and Bill's picnic lunch on the banks of the Irati with "icy cold" river-chilled wine and a nap in the shade (SAR 123-127), the big bowl of "wild

strawberries" for dessert at the Burguete inn (SAR 116), or the morning in San Sebastián that Jake swims in the Bay of Biscay while the "beautiful" local children play on the breezy Concha beach (SAR 240-241) make most readers of *The Sun Also Rises* long to jump on the next flight over to Spain. Many do.[25] Such descriptions of the Spanish landscape are archetypal, but they also mark when Hemingway is at his most poetic:

> In the Basque country the land all looks very rich and green and the houses and villages look well-off and clean…We were going way up close along a hillside, with a valley below and hills stretched off back toward the sea…We came around a curve into a town, and on both sides opened out a sudden green valley. A stream went through the centre of the town and fields of grapes touched the houses. (SAR 97-111)

> It was a beech wood and the trees were very old. Their roots bulked above the ground and the branches were twisted. We walked on the road between the thick trunks of the old beeches and the sunlight came through the leaves in light patches on the grass. The trees were big, and the foliage was thick but it was not gloomy. There was no undergrowth, only the smooth grass, very green and fresh, and the big gray trees well spaced as though it were a park. (SAR 122)

The great emphasis that is placed on the natural, pastoral, and idyllic qualities of Navarra and the Basque Country in *The Sun Also Rises* could just as easily be found in the poetry of Wordsworth, Coleridge, or Byron. Michael Von Cannon recognizes the novel's inheritance of the ideology of Romanticism when he writes that Jake's trip from France to Spain marks an "escape from his wartime and postwar condition into the realm of an ideal past," and that all of the characters similarly "retreat from urban corruption to Pamplona's 'pastoral simplicity'" (Von Cannon 59). Jake's sudden (though short-lived)

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[25] Hemingway-inspired trips have become a very popular subsection of the Spanish tourism industry. Itinerary-offering travel articles such as James Markham's "Hemingway's Spain" (*The New York Times*, 1985) and Chris Leadbeater's "The Old Man and the City: Hemingway's Love Affair with Pamplona" (*The Independent*, 2011) are abundant.

state of bliss upon arriving in Pamplona – "It had rained a little in the night and it was fresh and cool on the plateau, and there was a wonderful view. We all felt good and we felt healthy, and I felt quite friendly to Cohn. You could not be upset about anything on a day like that" – corroborates this theory (SAR 155). Allen Josephs attributes Spain's romantic potential to the impression that "the Spanish people, especially prior to the Spanish civil war, belonged to […] *homo naturalis* as opposed to *homo progressus*" (Josephs 222). Indeed, the vast majority of the people that Jake and his comrades encounter in Spain are the humble peasants who are as "brown and baked-looking" as the land that they inhabit (SAR 99); however, the most romantic, "natural" figure of the novel is the bullfighter Pedro Romero (Douglass 107).

Romero immediately distinguishes himself as the best bullfighter in the *corrida* – "a real one" in the eyes of Jake and Montoya (SAR 168) – because his movements are always "straight and pure and natural in line" (SAR 171). Jake repeatedly emphasizes that Romero exemplifies "absolute purity" in his performance (SAR 171-172). His bullfighting, unlike that of the other bullfighters, is not "faked," for he was naturally "born with" true talent (SAR 171-172). Romero moves in harmony with the natural elements of the Spanish countryside, which themselves "are all active participants in the bullfight" (Sullivan 15). Just as the Spanish countryside stands as an unspoiled vestige of Edenic paradise in the romantic imagination, Romero recalls an uncorrupted golden age of bullfighting that has since been lost.

All aspects of Romero's physicality are natural and pure. As Brian Sullivan explains, within the symbolic space of the bullfight, "at the other pole of sexuality is

virginity" (Sullivan 13). Both elements of this dichotomy are equally significant, and they coexist in the arena and in the *torero* (Sullivan 13). Romero's attractive features and powerful virility are only sexualized in a lewd way by drunks like Mike and Brett. Despite being a phallic character, Romero is constantly described as innocent, young, and even virginal by the adults who surround him. Jake explains that Romero "dominated the bull by making him realize he was *unattainable*" (SAR 172 – my emphasis); Montoya fears the negative influence of his exposure to the Americans, commenting, "He ought to stay with his own people. He shouldn't *mix* in that stuff" (SAR 176 – my emphasis); and Lady Brett Ashley reveals that, until her, Romero had "only been with two women before. He never cared about anything but bull-fighting" (SAR 248). Romero's virginal innocence is accentuated by the fact that he is nineteen, and that he is always referred to in the text as a "boy," "kid," "lad," or "child" – but never as a "man."[26] Brett most decisively labels Romero in this way when she repeatedly declares why she ended their affair: "I'm thirty-four, you know. I'm not going to be one of these bitches that ruins children" (SAR 247). Romero, pure in physical form and innocent in youth, thus appears to be the Adam of the Eden that is Spain in the imagination of the romantic poets – and even of Hemingway himself.

The colonial and imperial travelogues of the 18th and 19th centuries express this same romantic vision in describing the foreign countries that they explore (Spurr 125-128, 156-157); however, what the romantic poets glorified, these travelers viewed as a source of disempowerment (Spurr 28-31). European invaders used the natives'

[26] See *The Sun Also Rises* pages 166, 167, 170, 187, and 206 for examples.

"innocence" and lack of exposure to "civilization" to justify their domination (Spurr 28-31, 161). By constructing his masculine ethos within the generic framework of the travel narrative, Hemingway similarly establishes Jake's performance of modern American masculinity as superior to Pedro Romero's natural Spanish virility. Although Hemingway portrays Romero as pure and pertaining to an ideal past, he also negatively contrasts the bullfighter to the wounded Jake as naïve and unfit for the realities of the postwar world.

Pedro Romero's values are just as stuffy and antiquated as those of the Victorian Matriarch. Although he is seduced by "a big glass of cognac" and "a woman with bare shoulders, at a table full of drunks" (SAR 180-181), Romero's ultimate, sober insistence that Brett become "more womanly" by "growing her hair out," accepting his financial support, marrying him, and becoming stationary (SAR 246) reflects his deeply ingrained, traditional, Spanish-Catholic morality. As Todd Onderdonk writes, this makes Romero distinctly "unmodern:" "his Old World belief in masculine dominance – evidenced by his wanting to 'tame' Brett […] – appears childishly ineffectual beside Jake's mature resignation" to Brett's assertive promiscuity (Onderdonk 83). This, in the "modern" imagination, places Romero in league with the Catholic *Matriarca* – the *paella*-stirring twin sister of the Victorian Titaness, who makes her presence known in the text through an abundance of churches and the judgments of nameless, conservative female figures such as the wine bottle-counting innkeeper (SAR 116), the scandalized observers of Brett (142), and the unyielding hotel manager in Madrid (SAR 244).

Jake and his companions make their modern disparagement of Catholicism quite evident by trivializing, satirizing, and commodifying the tradition. Although Jake,

himself a Catholic, seems to make the greatest effort to be religious, he dryly dismisses the Church as futile and sanguine in the postwar world when he reflects on his time in the hospital recovering from his wound: “The Catholic Church had an awfully good way of handling all that. Good advice, anyway. Not to think about it. Oh, it was swell advice. Try and take it sometime. Try and take it” (SAR 39). In other moments this dismissal transforms into outright satire, such as when Jake and Bill cannot get lunch on the train to Spain because of the volume of Catholics on pilgrimage (SAR 91-93). Bill complains: “When do us Protestants get a chance to eat, father?...It’s enough to make a man join the Klan” (SAR 93). Later, finally well-fed on the banks of the Irati, Jake wonders when God created the chicken; Bill, “sucking [on a] drumstick,” responds: “How should we know? We should not question. Our stay on earth is not for long. Let us rejoice and give thanks…Let us rejoice in our blessings. Let us utilize the fowls of the air. Let us utilize the product of the vine. Will you utilize a little, brother?” (SAR 126). Inspired by these Sacred Mysteries, the two promptly get drunk and pass out.

The idea that religion is only worth having insofar as it can obtain a timely lunch is a materialistic attitude that all the Anglo-American characters share. When Jake prays, he prays: “that the bull-fights would be good, and that it would be a fine fiesta, and that we would get some fishing. I wondered if there was anything else I might pray for, and I thought I would like to have some money, so I prayed that I would make a lot of money” (SAR 103). Brett views praying as equivalent to wishing on a shooting star, or perhaps writing to Santa Claus: “Never does me any good. I’ve never gotten anything I prayed for” (SAR 213). She attributes this low success rate to the fact that she has “the wrong

type of face" for "a religious atmosphere" (SAR 212). These commentaries, though amusing, reveal that the realities of the postwar decade have completely detached characters like Jake, Bill, and Brett from genuine faith in organized religion. Hemingway himself expressed a lifelong ambivalence towards Catholicism and Christianity as a whole (Meyers 178, 186, 321), and this lack of faith is a common theme in many of his works. One of the most famous examples of his atheistic, nihilistic attitude comes from the 1933 short story "A Clean Well Lighted Place," in which Hemingway parodies the Lord's Prayer using the Spanish word for "nothing:" "Our nada who art in nada, nada be thy name, thy kingdom nada thy will be nada in nada as it is in nada" (*Winner Take Nothing* 23). Pedro Romero's committed alignment to the conservative values of his Spanish-Catholic upbringing, therefore, destabilizes his masculine authority in the eyes of the traveling American characters because it marks him as naïve, sentimental, and distinctly *un*modern.

Jake characterizes Romero as unmodern and, thus, improperly masculine in the postwar world not only through his blind faith in religion, but also through his ignorant attitude towards mortality. When Jake introduces Romero to Brett, she initiates their flirtation by reading his fortune in his palm. Brett tells Romero that he will live a long time, and Romero responds: "I know it…I'm never going to die" (SAR 189). Jake, who has personally witnessed the horrors of warfare, knows that everyone dies – probably sooner rather than later. Romero's sanguine ignorance and indulgence in "sentimental illusion" (Forter 29) likewise excludes him from participating in the modern, ironic mode. William Dow writes that "all descriptions of Romero's work fall outside of any

ironic connotation; indeed, Jake's comments on him are some of the most solemn and earnest in the novel" (Dow 188). As he dominantly inserts himself into the Spanish discourse of bullfighting, Jake excludes Romero from the discourse of his fellow travelers because of his lack of understanding of the harsh realities and painful suffering of life in the postwar world. The constant emphasis on Romero's youth, naiveté, and inexperience constructs Romero as a "premodern Other" who cannot be the ideal masculine figure because he "lack[s] the modern sophistication of that status" (Onderdonk 74). By characterizing Romero, who would otherwise appear to be the "macho" paragon of the novel, and his role as a bullfighter as primordial and uncivilized (Douglass 100), Hemingway evokes the discourse of the imperial travelogue to elevate Jake's American, modern masculinity as superior to the masculinity of Romero. The postwar gender value system that Hemingway constructs and supports in *The Sun Also Rises* is, therefore, hardly monolithic; rather, it is based on a complex and even paradoxical system of shifting relationships of power, which ultimately favor the "modernized" American man.

The relationship of power that Hemingway establishes between the "modern" Jake and the belittled, primitive Romero mirrors the greater political and economic relationship between the United States and Europe in the 1920s. Ann Douglas writes that in "the decade after the Great War…America seized the economic and cultural leadership of the West" (Douglas 3). Considered "the only [true] victor of the war" (Fussell 343), America "emerged an undisputed Great Power by virtue of manufacturing and shipping materiel" (Fussell 343) and "replace[d] agriculture with industry, a primarily domestic

marketplace with an international one, use value with exchange value, and production with consumption" (Leland 40). With this new financial standing and its territory untouched by trenches or bombs, the United States "became creditors of all the other belligerents" (Fussell 343). Europe, on the other hand, was picking up the pieces of its ravaged landscape and suffering economy.

Jake's social capital as an American living in Europe is evidenced by the economy of tourism that *The Sun Also Rises* portrays. The plot is structured around a constant spending of money that enables Jake and the other traveling Anglo-American characters to enjoy the food, drink, nightlife, and culture of the towns and cities that they visit. They are the patrons, whereas the French and Spanish people that they encounter provide services. The vast majority of the European characters in the novel are hotel managers, waiters, bartenders, shopkeepers, and drivers; even Pedro Romero makes his living by entertaining the tourists. The transactions that define this relationship mark the text in Jake's detailed accounting of his many purchases, bets, tips, and bargains. Unlike the Basque peasants, who ride in crowded wagons instead of private motor cars and drink cheaply in the local wine shops because money has "a definite value in hours worked and bushels of grain sold" (SAR 156), Jake spends his money freely "so that I had a good time," and because he believes that "the world was a good place to buy in" (SAR 152). His ability to circulate money in European tourism "allows Jake to imagine himself as a fully realized male and an agent of U.S. economic power, in control of the modernizing marketplaces he inhabits…[and to participate] in the rituals of masculinity, creating his particular identity as a gentleman and aficionado" (Leland 38, 41). Jake's expenditures,

then, are a social investment in "the rituals of an expatriate 'Hemingway hero'" just as much as they are a symbol of the emergence of American consumerism and the postwar economic boom (Leland 41).

Jake's power of the purse determines his social status in relationship to the other characters. In the same way, the American economy of the Roaring 20s greatly impacted the country's position in the larger world order. This postwar prosperity in the global market combined with "the notion that US entry into World War I had 'saved' Europe [to diminish] the American's sense of cultural inferiority" (Bendixen 136). Bill Gorton ironically dramatizes this newfound American confidence when he teases Jake for spending too much time in Europe:

> Don't you read? Don't you ever see anybody? You know what you are? You're an expatriate. Why don't you live in New York? Then you'd know these things. What do you want me to do? Come over here and tell you every year?...You know what's the trouble with you? You're an expatriate. One of the worst type…You've lost touch with the soil. You get precious. Fake European standards have ruined you. You drink yourself to death. You become obsessed by sex. You spend all your time talking, not working. You are an expatriate, you see? You hang around cafés…You don't work. One group claims women support you. Another group claims you're impotent. (SAR 120)

Bill's speech pokes fun at the 1920s expatriate stereotype, but at its source it is reflective of the popular American conceit of the decade: the sun was setting on the cultural Rule of Europe and rising on the Age of America. According to Bill's exaggerated expression of this opinion, to be Europeanized is to be out of touch with reality, ignorant of modern development, decaying, lazy, and disempowered. This attitude reveals itself in Jake's narrative impressions of other male European characters, such as the ridiculous, retired, romantic Greek Count Mippipopolous (SAR 60) and the

completely ineffectual but well-dressed Spanish carabineer border patrol (SAR 98). The idea that living in Europe renders a man "precious," "ruined" by "fake standards," and indebted to women reveals that the vision of masculinity that Ernest Hemingway constructs in *The Sun Also Rises* does not solely implicate individual characters, the author, or the reader alone. It also pertains to the decade's global discourse of power, in that it posits the symbolic, political entity of the American nation as dominant and masculine, and the entity of Europe as decadent and feminized.

Peter Hays supports the claim that *The Sun Also Rises*' gendered value system carries deep national significance because of the prevalence of "historical markers…for themes of freedom from colonial domination" in the novel ("Imperial Brett" 238). He writes that *The Sun Also Rises* pulses with "a spirit of rebellion from domination by exacting masters, a need to be free from the control of others" ("Imperial Brett" 238). In publishing a story that affirmed the American travel hero's superiority to the European objects around him, Hemingway participated in the promotion of America's emergence on the stage of the international community after hundreds of years of European colonial and imperial reign – years during which Spain and Great Britain were major players. For the first time in history, it appeared that the rebellious little colonies of the New World were making their way to the top of the global food chain, and "Americans in the 1920s [started to like] the term 'America' precisely for its imperial suggestion of an intoxicating and irresistible identity windswept into coherence by the momentum of destiny" (Douglas 3). Ernest Hemingway, himself a newly rising force, channeled this momentum into his literature to produce his first successful novel (Hays 6-7).

While *The Sun Also Rises* immediately caught the attention of its audience with its stark style, its dirty, drunken escapades, and its obvious reference to real-life people, the novel's engagement in the genre of travel literature also contributed to its popularity. Mary Louise Pratt writes of this power of the travel narrative in reference to the preceding Victorian Era: "Travel books were very popular. They created a sense of curiosity, excitement, adventure, and even moral fervor about European expansionism" (Pratt 3). *The Sun Also Rises* took up the generic mantle of the imperial travelogues and transformed it to serve American interests, giving readers a dominant, masculine, modern travel hero in the figure of Jake Barnes, who excited their sensibilities and their imaginations in the postwar decade. Through Jake's "imperial eyes," Ernest Hemingway himself imposed a dominating, romanticizing, feminizing gaze on the country that he so frequently traveled through, and he commercialized it to jumpstart his career as a major modern American novelist, as prominent and as masculine as the nation itself.

Conclusion – Instructive Anecdotes from a "Professional He-Man"

Todd Onderdonk aptly summarizes nearly a century of literary criticism when he writes: "If there is widespread agreement that masculine identity is a central concern in Hemingway's work, there is anything but consensus about how it functions there" (Onderdonk 70). Any sampling of scholarly articles that treat the ubiquitous question of '*Ernest Hemingway and masculinity*' will unearth a range of theories that are built upon vastly different concepts – including misogyny, sodomy, sportsmanship, nymphomania, the Oedipus Complex, masochism, sadism, star-crossed lovers, homosexuality, homophobia, the patriarchy, and gender crossing. The potentiality for such a drastically divergent multitude of readings is particularly manifest in *The Sun Also Rises*. Since the novel's publication in October 1926, critics have argued over everything from plot points as specific as 'Do Brett and Jake engage in alternative methods of sexual intercourse?'[27] to perhaps the greatest question of the story: '*What* is the meaning of the novel's final line?'[28] This thesis' participation in the conversation is but one small indication that the vitality of the 'Hemingway & Gender Debate' is as vibrant as ever.

The simplistic and even vulgar diction, quick pace, and approachable manner of *The Sun Also Rises* belie the novel's deep complexity. Its bare, dialogue-driven style, while easy to consume, frequently lacks explicit elaboration of crucial plot and character development. Readers will recall that this narrative reticence is born from one of

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[27] Richard Fantina discusses the wide variety of theories that surround what takes place between Brett and Jake in the narrative gap marked by "Then later" in chapter XVII (SAR 62), when the two are alone in Jake's apartment (Fantina 93-94).

[28] William Adair (202-203), William Dow (190-191), Richard Fantina (93-94), Lorie Fulton (77), Peter Hays ("Imperial Brett" 242-242), and Todd Onderdonk (85-86) are just a few of the writers who have published their thoughts on this problem.

Hemingway's principal rules of writing: a writer accomplishes more by saying less, for a true writer can "omit things that he knows," while still giving his reader "a feeling of those things."[29] As the wealth of discordant criticism suggests, readers have hardly shared the same sense of "feeling" as they have attempted to fill in those textual holes. Many sink even deeper into the interpretative quagmire when they give in to the temptation to look to Hemingway's own perplexing biography for enlightenment. It is sufficiently problematic to examine the published text itself, without the added speculation provoked by the psychotic quirks of Ernest Miller Hemingway.

The Sun Also Rises is brimming with ambiguity, ambivalence, and paradox. Hemingway frequently refrains from directly attributing lines in dialogue, leaving readers to guess at *who* exactly is speaking in a given moment. This lack of clarity can be particularly vexing in weighty scenes, such as Jake and Brett's more impassioned exchanges. The novel's heavily ironic tone, though entertaining, similarly works to obscure "true" intent and sentiment by "excluding and distancing" (Dow 178). This distancing effect is a defining feature of the novel, and it impacts the reader's relationship to the characters just as much as it informs relationships within the story. However, as the second chapter of this thesis has demonstrated, the novel's ironic stance is hardly absolute. Jake's airtight, dry one-liners dissolve into tears in the lonely evening lamplight of an empty bedroom (SAR 39); Brett's hands tremble uncontrollably until she has sipped on enough liquid courage to "see her through" (SAR 248); and Mike's bombastic one-man-show explodes into shrimp-flinging hysteria with enough provocation (SAR

[29] Otherwise known as the "Iceberg Method" (Meyers 98).

211). Scenes such as these allow Greg Forter to pose the argument that *The Sun Also Rises* is stylistically ambivalent: "[It] works to compensate for the emotion it omits yet continues to yearn for…Style allows Hemingway and his characters neither openly to embrace lost affect nor to do without it, neither to lay claims to a hard masculinity nor really to renounce it" (Forter 31-33). These vulnerable irregularities – what Forter calls "sentimental lapses" (Forter 30) – give emotional depth to the novel's value system, and they secure the engagement of readers.

This ambivalence also foments outright paradox. The first and perhaps most obvious of the "contradictory notions" at work in the novel that most frequently provoke critics precedes the story itself (Fulton 61). Ernest Hemingway was very fond of beginning his works with epigraphs, and *The Sun Also Rises* is indelibly marked by two:

> "*You are all a lost generation*."
> – Gertrude Stein in conversation
>
> "*One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth forever…**The sun also ariseth**, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to the place where he arose…The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north; it whirleth about continually, and wind returneth again according to his circuits…All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full; unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again.*"
> – Ecclesiastes (SAR 7 – my emphasis)

These epigraphs are equally monumental – the latter gave the manuscript its final title, while the former permanently lodged a group of artists in the world's imagination – but they are utterly opposed in every other sense. Cited in both Hemingway and Stein's memoirs, the turn of phrase "You are all a lost generation" became the impudent slogan for the 1920s. It is punchy, frank, and condemnatory, pessimistically determining the fate of those who survived the ravages of World War I and irreversibly detaching them from

both past and future societies as a hopeless, discrete entity. The Old Testament passage, conversely, dates back to some two thousand years prior and is almost as long as the infinitude that it describes. It solemnly affirms the all-encompassing, timeless power of nature and highlights its divine regenerative potential. The total antithesis between the existential outlooks expressed by these two epigraphs immediately casts doubt over any assertion of definitive judgment regarding how to interpret meaning in *The Sun Also Rises*.[30]

The other primary paradox that fans the critical flame is, of course, that "hell of a joke" (SAR 34) that immortalizes this novel: that its protagonist and hero "tries to define himself as a ["real"] man even as a war-related genital wound denies him the most basic assertion of manhood" (Fulton 61, Forter 27). Jake Barnes is characterized by what he *lacks*, and he likewise must differentiate himself by *negative* contrast to "the Other." As this thesis has shown, the very dominance of Jake's performance of identity throughout the novel is *dependent* upon the identities of the other characters, which dictate the conditions for "his presence and knowledge" (Dow 186). Jake's "paradoxical posture of victimhood and superiority" – especially to characters like Lady Brett Ashley and Pedro Romero, who would otherwise appear to be the prevailing performers of masculine traits – continuously challenges his canonized status as a "Hemingway Hero" (Onderdonk 66).

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[30] Hemingway further contributes to this doubt in his letters to F. Scott Fitzgerald in the spring preceding the publication of *The Sun Also Rises*. He proposes to dedicate the novel to his infant son, Jack, as a "Collection of Instructive Anecdotes" (Baker 199). One month later, he retracts this idea, writing to Fitzgerald: "It is so obviously *not* a collection of instructive anecdotes and is such a hell of a sad story – and not one at all for a child to read – and the only instruction is how people go to hell" (Baker 204).

The uncertainty surrounding Jake's role is perhaps most strongly reflected by the pronounced critical disagreement over the outcome of the novel and its famous final taxicab scene. This thesis has already examined the symbolic possibility of the taxicab in *The Sun Also Rises* as an alternative space of fluidity and transience, physically and psychologically removed from the normative pressures of society. The fact that the novel's conclusion – Jake's ultimate repudiation of Brett's advances – occurs in this alternative space questions the permanence of the success of his superiority and self-control. When Jake steps out of the cab, will he remain free from Brett's subjugating attractions? Or, as Brett reverts back to her public persona with the donning of her hat, will he just allow himself to be *trompered* all over again? The mirroring between this final passage and the initial taxicab scene further suggests such irresolution, portraying the content of the novel as a mere iteration of an ongoing, open-ended cycle. Peter Hays also stresses the cyclical nature implied by the scenes' mirrored relationship: "Jake and Brett leave for a circular taxi ride – circular as the novel's title and the novel itself" (Hays 4). The closure of the novel in such a state of repetitive transience makes Jake's "triumphant" ending highly ambiguous (Fantina 96). The only thing that readers *can* be sure of at the end of *The Sun Also Rises* is, paradoxically, the novel's ambiguity: it concludes with a question mark.

Many scholars, such as Paul Fussell, attribute the ambiguous, ambivalent, paradoxical nature of *The Sun Also Rises* to its identification as a postwar novel. It is certainly true that a sinister undercurrent of trauma darkens the novel's tone, calling attention to itself in minor moments: Jake and Bill's loathing of the German café waiter

(SAR 214), the armless soldier on the beach in San Sebastián (SAR 241), comparisons drawn between the bullfight and battle (SAR 202-204), and, most poignantly, the revelation of Brett's abuse at the hands of her ex-husband, the PTSD-afflicted Sir Ashley (SAR 207). Mary Louise Pratt writes that "important historical transitions alter the way people write, because they alter people's experiences and the way people imagine, feel, and think about the world they live in" (Pratt 5). The complexity of *The Sun Also Rises*' attitude and style must, at least to a degree, be a response to the shattered, chaotic reality of the postwar period. However, the popular perception of this novel – and of Hemingway's larger body of work – both at the time of its publication and in the present day does *not* predominantly reflect an awareness that his construction of modern, white, American masculinity is relational, ambiguous, and even contradictory. Despite the actual content of his texts, Ernest Hemingway continues to stand in the collective literary imagination as the epitome of monolithic *machismo*.

Historical research shows that, at the time of the publication of *The Sun Also Rises*, a "public and private legend of machismo [was] already developing around Hemingway" (Onderdonk 62). Hemingway's performance of masculinity in both his personal life and his works became a source of controversy in the circles of the café *Sélect* and the Dingo Bar far before disciples of New Criticism and Psychoanalysis got their hands on his material. Zelda Fitzgerald, who enjoyed a lifelong relationship of mutual antagonism with her husband's comrade, criticized Hemingway for being "a professional he-man," snarling: "No one is as masculine as you pretend to be" (Meyers 164). Personal enmities bled into the professional realm with the publication of

Wyndham Lewis' scandalous 1934 article "The Dumb Ox," which reviewed *Men Without Women*, *In Our Time*, *A Farewell to Arms*, and *The Sun Also Rises*. Lewis belittled Hemingway as unintellectual and brutish, calling him a "macho author" only "praised for his robust novels of action" (Hays 15). Just a few years later, discussions of the "Hemingway Code" of heroic masculine morality began to emerge as a common theme in scholarly journals (Hays 17).

Even more striking was the speed with which Hemingway's influence and reputation spread "beyond Paris and the literary reviews" following the publication of *The Sun Also Rises* in 1926 (Meyers 192). The novel, which "consolidated [Hemingway's status] as a major American writer," also soon became a popular "craze" (Meyers 192, Cowley 3). Malcolm Cowley recalls this in his 1934 memoir, *Exile's Return*: "[College girls] were modeling themselves after Lady Brett…[and] bright young men from the Middle West were trying to be Hemingway heroes, talking in tough understatements from the sides of their mouths" (Cowley 225-226). Peter Hays argues that it was precisely such archetype-centered reviews by contemporaries like Cowley that "[would] create 'the Hemingway Industry'" (Hays 22), a lucrative source of capital that produced Hemingway memoirs, biographies, anthologies, documentaries, Hollywood films, more biographies, and oh-so-many cocktail recipes. In a 1981 newspaper article titled "Hemingway 'Industry' Thriving," journalist Mike Brumas reports: "Almost anyone who ever had a frozen daiquiri with Ernest Hemingway at the Floridita Bar in Havana seems to have written a book about him" (Brumas 22). Nearly forty years later, this Industry is arguably more stable than journalism itself.

As Brumas' article notes, both the symbolic and the monetized vitality of the Hemingway Industry are particularly visible in the tourism that sprang up and then flourished around the locales that Hemingway's travel novels depict. This is especially true for *The Sun Also Rises*: "It put Pamplona on the tourist map and the town has never recovered" (Meyers 192). Allyson Nadia Field writes that, "with *The Sun Also Rises*, Hemingway not only contributes to the body of travel literature that offers an insider's perspective on the lifestyle of the self-exiled writers [who made Western Europe] in the 1920s legendary;" he also "mythologizes the historic moment" (Field 36). As the proliferation of Hemingway-themed travel guides and articles will suggest, there is something irresistible about his vision.

The reception of the work of Ernest Hemingway and its constructions of masculinity is inextricably bound to the effects of the conventions of travel writing that he employs. *The Sun Also Rises*' participation in the travel genre contributed just as much, if not more, to the rapid growth of its popularity as did its witty, sad, transgressive characters. Travel writing, rooted in the "older imperial rhetorics of conquest associated with the absolutist era" (Pratt 9), emphasizes "a firm sense of the differences…between cultures, regions, and ethnicities, and by dealing in stereotypes...delivers a consoling, self-congratulatory message to the privileged, middle-class Westerners who are its principal readers" (Thompson 5). The dominating, penetrating gaze of Jake Barnes, the adventurous American expatriate exploring a romanticized Europe, appealed to postwar readers in the United States because it reflected the newly powerful global position of their nation. This accounts for the undeniable reality that fans and scholars alike have

ignored the contradictions and complexities present in *The Sun Also Rises*, to focus instead on its display of "tough manhood" (*Dangerous Masculinities* 85). Although power is no more a monolithic construct than discourse or gender, the legend of "Hemingway *Machismo*" stuck unilaterally because of travel literature's powerful potential for identity construction. Just like the 18th century colonizer, Hemingway used his construction of the traveling Jake Barnes to inscribe both his own masculine dominance and the masculine dominance of 1920s America onto the landscape of Europe. By traveling around the world and then writing about it, Ernest Hemingway permanently influenced the evolution of both the global perspective on the United States as an economic and political power *and* American culture's gendered value system.

Along the way, he turned himself into an author.

Author's Note

I began this thesis as Ernest Hemingway would: with an epigraph.

The four lines I selected from T. S. Eliot's poem "Little Gidding," published in the 1943 collection *Four Quartets*, support what I have written in three different ways. They affirm my argument in that they express the same movement and developmental purpose of "the journey," around which my reading of *The Sun Also Rises* revolves; they stylistically evoke the novel's circularity and potentiality, which the mirror taxicab scenes so maddeningly and so beautifully create; and, in a purely symbolic sense, they perfectly represent my own personal experience with the work of Ernest Hemingway.

I first read *The Sun Also Rises* in my junior year of high school, for my Advanced Placement English class. Rather – I first read about three-fourths of *The Sun Also Rises* in my junior year of high school, because its assignment coincided with the SAT exams. I read the novel too soon and too fast for it to impress me in any meaningful way, and I now recall my anxiety over not completing the reading far more clearly than I do any particular reaction to the novel itself.

I became enchanted by Hemingway four years later, at the outset of my junior year at Georgetown. I was completing summer courses in Spain and would soon move to Italy for the entire fall semester, and my father had suggested that I read *A Moveable Feast* to inspire me to keep a journal of my own adventures in Europe. *A Moveable Feast*, published posthumously in 1964, is Hemingway's most retrospective and therefore most romantic work. I was immediately enamored of the expatriate lifestyle that he idealized, and I set off on literary pilgrimages to the cobwebbed Parisian corners of Shakespeare

and Company, the yellow shores of San Sebastián, and the shaded gallery of the infamous Café Iruña – with Hemingway, a notebook, and occasionally a bottle of wine in hand.

One of the principal challenges that I had to confront as I proposed, researched, and wrote this thesis was the need to detach myself from the magnetism of the Hemingway Myth in order to evaluate his texts in a scholarly, cliché-free manner. Developing a critical, incisive perspective on his work over the past year through the "exploration" of the writing process has, as Mr. Eliot predicted, brought me back to where I started – *The Sun Also Rises* – as well as to a new understanding of the novel and of myself.

Thomas Strychacz, whose logic has fundamentally informed this thesis, asserts that the "roles of actual readers" are just as important an object of "scrutiny" as "[the characters] within the fictive world of the novel," because their discursive performance of interpretation "participate[s] in the production of meaning" as influentially as the content of the text itself does (*Dangerous Masculinities* 7, 4). For this reason, he emphasizes that "the male or female scholar" must "foreground the (self-) critical work" that necessarily shapes his or her argument (*Dangerous Masculinities* 7), for the "strategies of defamiliarization" that he or she will deploy in the search for insight "expose the [very] character of that participation" (*Dangerous Masculinities* 4). The process of disentangling myself from the enticing, easy stereotypes that have dictated so much of what has been said about Ernest Hemingway has indeed been revelatory of my participation in the discourse that surrounds him: it is rather provocative.

Why would a young female student of literature with the freedom to concentrate on any subject she wished choose to spend an entire year writing about an author who expressed antagonism towards women, if not outright *sexism*, in both his personal life and his published works? There are many possible answers to this question, not least of which are my admiration for Hemingway's craftsmanship, my attraction to the travel narrative, and the depth of my study of Spanish language and culture – but they are not entirely satisfactory. I have argued that Hemingway constructs a gendered, nationalized dynamic of postwar power relations amongst the characters in *The Sun Also Rises* that elevates physical autonomy, irony, transgression, stoicism, and modernity as masculine, American values, while it degrades traditionalism, conservatism, sentimentality, innocence, and lack of control as feminine and European. I have also argued that the novel was so successful in popularizing its "masculine" values that it influenced the greater evolution of society and culture in the America of the 1920s. I will now argue that, ninety years after the publication of *The Sun Also Rises*, we continue to be subject to this influence.

As the collective American imagination embraced the age of these so-called "modern" values, it largely did away with the privileged social space that was afforded to women under the mores of the Victorian Era. This space was in many ways a cage gilded with the guise of morality, but it was a space nonetheless, where constructs of "femininity" could be dominant in their own right. In the Roaring 20s, cultural texts like flapper fashion and *The Sun Also Rises* promoted the values of their constructs of "masculinity" as desirable for *all* genders. American society loves its humor; it also has

claimed that “Women Aren’t Funny.” Who would want to be a drag like Frances Clyne when she could be a chap like Lady Brett? As women like Dorothy Parker and Edna St. Vincent Millay broke through barriers to become more like men, they conceded some of the authority that they had once possessed precisely by being women.

Strides have been made in the past few years to reclaim a space that values the distinctly “feminine” experience, but I believe that the attractions of being “One of the Boys” still linger in the backs of American minds. We have internalized the preoccupation with *cojones* that gave the 20th century intellectual elite its authority and now maintains this elite’s primary status in the literary canon.

This is not to dismiss or renounce the thought that has gone into this thesis. It is only to be aware of the constructed nature of my own critical gaze as a reader, as well as its power to be a maker of meaning.

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[32] For the sake of clarity, I refer to this primary source as “SAR” in parenthetical citations.

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